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The Frontispiece Explain'd.

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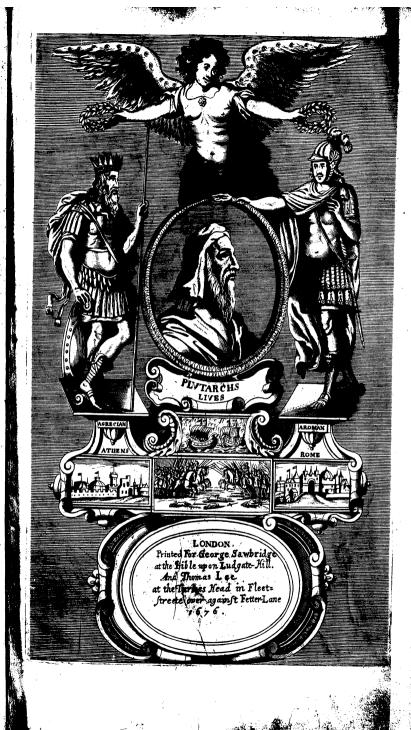
Joment 1751

TRave, Learned Plutarch, like the glorious Sun Alone Triumphant in his Radiant Throne, I'th' midit amongit the Planets, who receive Their lustre thence : So by His Pen he gives The Noblest Greek and Roman Heroes, Whom Rome Or Athens, choisest Nurseries, Or other places had brought forth, new Lives. Their crumbled Statues, by all-eating-Time Long since devourd, He recommends to Fame Their better part, their Splendid Adions,
Land and Sea faiths, their Confultations;
Deep Plots, and Military Stratagems, Close Policies; and that mysterious Gem, The Art of Conquering and Governing.
The Gown and Sword (both jufty meriting Victorious Baiet) impartially, who Crowns, And Him too, by whose breath Her Trumper's blown. Happy, Great plutarch, who giv'lt them their due, And thereby mak'lt thy Self Immortal too. The Serpentine-preath'd-Orb, doth Typific And Hieroglyphick out Eternity; That circles Thie, and showres its influence On Them. Yet thy just soul cannot dispense VVithtainting crimes; both base Detraction, And, Courts-gest, servile Adulation, VVho equally contemn'st; and so mak'st good, Their choice, who being askt, VVhat 'twas they wou'd Reprieve fromth' flames, should (as too lately some Have wisht the same, and worse) that Barb rous doom Find execution, should all Books be burn'd That treat of Humane Learning? they return'd This Answer, Twas Thy Works; Thou do'ft, they knew, In thy unflattering Mirror, clearly shew VVhat steers the VVorld; to th' life do'st represent Vertue and Vice, Reward and Ponishment. Let Truths out balance Fictions, and then read VVhat's in Romanza's feign'd, here Verifi'd. VVhence Nobler Spirits will fublimate their flame; Baser, amend perhaps, if but for shame.

* Apollo's (happier if Paul's) Priest, from Thee
VVou'd Christians need not learn Moralitie.

.

& Voffins de Hift, Grec. l. 7.





Grecians & Romans,

Compared together, by that Grave Learned

PHILOSOPHER & HISTORIOGRAPHER

Of CHERONEA.

Translated out of GREEK into FRENCH, by AMES AMIOT Abbot of Bellogane, Bilhop of

Auxerre, one of the Kings Privy Counsel, and great Almner of FRANCE. With the LIVES of

HANNIBAL & SCIPIO AFRICAN:

Translated out of LATIN into FRENCH, by

CHARLES del ESCLUSE,

By Sir THOMAS NORTH Knight.

Hereunto are added the Lives of EPA MINONDAS, of PHILIP of Macedon of DIONY SIUS the Elder, Tyrant of Sicilia , of Augustus Casar, of Plut ARCH, and of SENECA: With the Lives of Nine other Excellent Chieftains of War: Collected out of ENYLIUS PROBUS, by S. G. S. And Englished by the aforesaid Translator,

> To which are also added, The LIVES of Twenty Selected

Of Ancient and latter times; Translated out of the Work of that famous Historiographer to the King of FRANCE and POLAND

ANDREW T H E V E T. To which, for clearer Explanation and Emendation of the former Translation (in feveral places) are subjoyned Notes and Explications upon PIUTARCHS LIVES; Collected out of XYLANDER, CRUSERUS, HENRY STEPHANUS and others, with the SYNCHRONISM's and COTEMPORARY PERSONS

with THEM; Shewing the several Ages in which They lived. And now in this Edition are further added .

The Lives of Several Eminent Persons, Translated out of the aforesaid ANDREW THEVET.

CAMBRIDGE,

"Printed by John Hayer, for George Sambridge, at the Bible on Ludgate-Hill, London, ANNO DOM. M. DC. LXXVI.

without hope of Heaven, what Mould we do, that look for humortality ? And lo edding the excouragement of the learning learning. wardnels of their own disputpers what is on the lieut in a cr. what become in peace, which they will have be ready to do, for the weath

nels; befeeching your M. joby with all humility not to rejeathe

By the Grace of God, of England, France and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, Go.

Nder hope of your Highness Gracious and accustomed Fayour. I have prefumed to prefent here unto your Majesty, Plutarchs Lives Translated, as a Book fit to be protected by your Highness and meet to be let forth in English. For who is fitter to give countenance to so many great States, then fuch an High and Mighty Princels ?- who is fitter to revive the dead memory of their Fame

then the that beareth the lively image of their Vertues? who is fitter to Authorize a work of fo great Learning and Wildom , then the whom all do honour as the Muse of the world? Therefore I humbly befeech your Majefty to fuffer the simpleness of my Translarion, to be covered under the ampleness of your Highness protection. For, Most Gracious Soveraign, though this Book be no Book for your Majesties self , who are meeter to be the chief Story , then a Student therein, and can better understand it in Greek; then any man can make it English: yet I hope the common fort of your Subjects shall not only profit themselves hereby, but also be animated to the better service of your Majesty. For among all the prophane Books that are in reputation at this day, there is none (your Highness best knows) that teacheth so much Honour, Love, Obedience, Reverence, Zeal , and Devotion to Princes , as these Lives of Plurareh do. How many examples shall your Subjects read here, of several persons and whole Armies, of Noble and Base, of Young and Old, that both by Sea and Land, at home and abroad, have strained their wits, not regarding their states, ventured their persons, yea cast away their Lives, not onely for honour and fafety, but also for the pleasure of their Prince ?

Then well may the Readers think, if they have done this for Heathen Kings, what should we do for Christian Princes? If they have done this for Glory, what should we do for Religion? If they have done this

o konse om ede liene i od om y ere homil i er seine A 19 goden i od om mengen og ere hom mengene att

OF CHEROSCIA Transfer of Grant a free Parkers ... Anthropological Conference of the Conference of Manches of the Conference of the Con

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And therefore that your Highness may give grace to the Book , and the Book way do his fervice to your Majefty. I have Translated it out of French, and do here most humbly present the same unto your Highness; beseeching your Majesty with all humility, not to reject the good meaning, but to pardon the egrous of your most humble and obegient subjection diervast, who prayers God long to multiply all graces and blessing upon your Majely.

Written the 16. of Fannary, 1579.

Your Majesties most humble and obedient fervant

THOMAS NORTH.

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To the Reader.

HE profit of Startes, and the praifs of the Anthor, are sufficiently declared by Minor, in the Spisser Reader; is thus I finds not med to make many words thereof. And industry the medit of the Market was the profit and industry from the medit of the Market with your own difference and industry from the medit of the Market. All other learning to private, good and engineering, good suberflowing, good subsets them Elearch. All other learning to private, the start for Twiverfries then Cites, faller of continustation then experience, more continuable with Students then start is the more continuable with the starting all other Books, exhibit the fall of the starting all other Books, as is in heter you see that we would be supposed to the Anthor. I mill not damp has love may decive me, for I must need seve him with whom I have the Anthority in the supposed of the Market. For all there were fain to take their matter, at the fortune of the Gonneries where of they wrete. For all the man being excellent in wis, learning, and expresence, hash chosen By Grain starts. The assumer were jam to large surre master, as now primes y to committee of they wrote, fell site. But this man being excellent in wit, learning, and experience, bath chosen has freight. Afts of the best profest, of the famous of Raisons of the world. But I will leave the judgicularity of his fellow. My onely purpose is to define you to excuse the faults of my translation, which was greatlents, and with the opinion of my diligence and good interes. And so I wish you all the sound in the sound with the opinion of my diligence and good interes. And so I wish you all the profit of the Book, Fare ye well.

THOMAS NORTH.

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HE reading of books which bring but a vain and unprofiable pleasure to the Reader, is justly misliked of wife and grave men. Again, the reading of such as do but onely bring profit, and make the Reader to be in love therewith, and do not ease the pain of the reading by some pleasanness in the same to do seem somewhat barth to divers delicate wits, that cannot tarry long upon them. But such Books as yeeld pleasure and profit, and do both delight and teath, have all that, a man can define why they should be universally liked and allowed for all sorts of men, according to the common faying of the Poet Horace:

That is which matcheth profit with delight;

Dath with britisk in every suits arisely.

have all that a man can deture way they insula be universally liked and allowed of all forts of men, according to the common faying of the Poet Horzee:

That is which mackets profit with delight;

Deth wis the prize is every point aright.

Either of the delight, and delighting the more becaule of the profit. This commendation (in my opinion) is most proper to the reading of flories; to have pleafure and profit matched together, which kind of delight, and teaching, meeting in this wile/Arm in Arm, ball more allowance with on writing or integring on the profit in the profit matched together, which kind of delight, and teaching, meeting in this wile/Arm in Arm, ball more allowance with one writing or integring on the man of Hilboriographers, then they are to any other kind of writers i because an Hilbory is an orderly Register of protable phers, then they are to a sy other kind of writers i because an Hilbory is an orderly Register of protable phers, then they are to appeted in times past, to maintain the continual remembrance of them, and to leave for the other two parts should be unperfect, and well near unprofitable: so may it also be fail; that an Hilbory is the very treatury of mans like whereby the notable doings and shyings of men and the wonderful, askeyouture and strange case ("which the long continuance of time bringseth forth") are preferred from the death of soggethiness. Hereupon it rites that Plate the wile faith, that the name of History was goon to the crooting of maners, so shay the second go four memory, which otherwise would be soon lost, and retain little. And we may well perceive thow greatly we be beholding unto it, if we do no more but consider in how boards, and have happened be plunged, if the remembrance of all things that have been done, and have happened before we meet board, we may be soon to so the sound of the plunged, if the remembrance of things past to their fuee the sound of th

fome notable qualities, representing unto us the manners of strange Nations, the laws and customs of old time, the particular affairs of men, their confultations and enterprifes, the means that they have used

to compais them withal, and their demeaning of themselves when they were come to the highest, or thrown down to the lowest degree of state. So asit is not possible for any case to rise either in peace or war, in publick or private affairs, but that the person which shall have diligently read, well conceived,

and throughly remembred Hiftories, shall find matter in them whereat to take delight, and counsel

whereby to refolve himfelf to take a part, or give advice unto others, how to choose in doubtful and

dangerous cafes that which may be for the most profit, and in time to find out to what point the matter

will come, if it be well handled : and how to moderate himfelf in prosperity , and how to chear up and

bear himself in adversity. These things it doth with much greater grace, efficacy, and speed, then the

Books of Moral Philosophy do : foramuch as examples are of more force to move , and instruct, then

are the arguments and proofs of reason, or their precise precepts, because examples be the very forms of

our deeds, and accompanied with all circumstances. Whereas reasons and demonstrations are general

and tend to the proof of things, and to the beating of them into understanding and examples tend to

shewing of them in practile and execution, because they do not onely declare what is to be done, but

also work a oesire to do it, as well in respect of a certain natural inclination which all men have to sol-

low examples, as allo for the beauty of Vertue, which is of fuch power, that wherefoever the is feen the

maketh her felf to beloved a 'd liked'. Again, it doth things with greater weight and gravity, then the inventions and devices of the Poets: because it helpeth not it self with any other thing then with the

inventions and devices of the Poets: Decame it respects not it feet with any other tuning then with the plain truth, whereas Poetry doth commonly enrich things by commending them above the Stars and their deferving because the chief intent thereof is to delight. Moreover, it doth things with more grace and modefly then the Civil Laws and Ordinances do: because it is more grace for a man to teach and instruct, then to chastife or punish. And yet for all this, an History allo hash his manner of punishing

the wicked, by the reproach of everlafting infamy, wherewith it defaceth their remembrance; which is

a great mean to withdraw them from vice, who otherwife would be leadly and wickedly dispoted. Like-

a great mean to window the immortal praise and glory wherewith it rewardeth well-doers, is a very

lively and tharp four for men of noble courage and gentleman-like nature, to cause them to adventure upon all manner of noble and great things. For books are full of examples of men of high courage and

wildom, who for defire to continue the remembrance of their name by the fure and certain record of

Histories, have willingly yeelded their lives to the service of the Common weal, frent their goods,

full-tained infinite pains both of body and mind in defence of the oppreffed, in making common buildings,

in flabiliting of Laws and Governments, and in the finding out of. Arts and Sciences necessary for the maintenance and ornament of mans life; for the faithful registering whereof, the thank is due to Histo-

ries. And although true Vertue feek no reward of her commendable doing like a hireling, but con-

tenteth her felf with the confcience of her Well-doing : yet not withftanding I am of opinion , that it

is good and meet to draw men by all means to good doing; and good men ought not to be forbidden

to hope for the honour of their vertuous deeds, feeing that honour doth naturally accompany vertue, as

the shadow doth the body. For we commonly see, that not to feel the sparks of defire of honour, is

an infallible fign of a bale, vile, and clownilli nature: and that fuch as count it an unnecessary, needles,

or unfeemly thing to be praifed, are likewife no doers of any things worthy of praife, but are common-

ly men of faint courage, whose thoughts extend no further then to their lives, whereof also they have no

further remembrance, then is before their eyes. But if the counfel of old men be to be greatly efteemed,

because they must needs have seen much by reason of their long life : and if they that have travelled long

in strange Countries, and have had the managing of many affairs, and have gotten great experience of

the doings of this world, are reputed for Sage, and worthy to have the reins of great Governments out into their hands: how greatly is the reading of Hiltories to be effected, which is able to furnish put into their hands:

us with more examples in one day, then the whole courfe of the longest life of any man is able to do?

Infomuch that they which exercise themselves in reading as they ought to do, although they be but

young, become such in respect of understanding of the affairs of this world, as if they were old and

gray headed, and of long experience. Yea though they never have removed out of their houses, yet are they advertised, informed, and satisfied of all things in the world; as well as they that have shortned

their lives by innumerable travels and infinite dangers, in running over the whole earth that is inhabit-

ed: whereas on the contrary part, they that are ignorant of the things that were done and came to pass

before they were born, continue fill as children, though they be never fo aged, and are but as ftrangers in their own native Countries. To be short, it may be truely said, that the reading of Histories

is the School of Wildom, to fashion mens understanding, by considering advisedly the state of the

world that is paft, and by marking diligently by what laws, Manners, and Diffipline, Empires, Kingdoms, and Dominions, have in old time been stablished, and afterward maintained and increased: or

contrariwise changed, diminished, and overthrown. Also weread, that when soever the right Sage and

Vertuous Emperor of Rome, Alexander Severus, was to consult of any matter of great importance,

whether it concerned Wars, or Government: he always called fuch to counfel, as were reported to be

well feen in Histories. Notwithstanding I know there are that will stand against me in this point, and

uphold, that the reading of Hiftories can serve to small purpose, or none at all, towards the getting of skill: because skill consisteth in action, and is gendred by the very experience and practife of things

that he hath feen with his eyes, and found true by proof, according to the faying of the Ancient Poet

Afranius :

To the Readers.

My name is Skill, my Syre experience hight, And Memory bred and brought me forth to light.

Which thing was meant likewife by the Philosopher that faid, that the hand is the inftrument of skill. By reason whereof it cometh to pass (fay they) that such as speak of matters of Government and state, but specially of matters of war by the book, speak but as book Knights, as the French Proverb termeth them, after the manner of the Grecians, who call him a book Pilot, which hath not the fure and certain knowledge of the things that he speaks of : meaning thereby, that it is not for a man to trust to the understanding which he hath gotten by reading, in things that consist in the deed doing, where the hand is to be fet to the work: no more then the often hearing of men talk and reason of painting, or the disputing upon colours, without taking of the penfil in hand, can ftand a man in any ftead at all to make him a good Painter. But on the contrary part, many have proved wife men and good Captains, which could neither write nor read. Besides this, they alledge further, that in matters of war, all things after from year to year, by means whereof the fleights and policies that are to be learned out of books, will ferve the turn no more then Mines that are blown up. According whereunto Cambyfes telleth his fon fyrm in Xenophon, that like as in Musick the newest songs are commonly the best liked of for once, because they were never heard of afore : So in the wars, those policies that never were practised afore, are those that take best success, and commonly have the best effect, because the enemies do least doubt of them. Nevertheless I am not he that will maintain, that a wife Governour of a Common-weal, or a great Captain, can be made of fuch a person, as hath never travelled out of his study, and from his book : howbeit that which Cicero writeth of Lucius Lucullus, is true, that when he departed out of Rome as Captain General and Lieutenant of the Romans, to make war against King Mithridates, he had no experience at all of the wars, and yet afterward he bestowed so great diligence in the reading of Histories, and in conferring upon every point with the old Captains and men of long experience whom he carried with him, that by the time of his coming into Afa, where he was indeed to put his matters in execution, he was found to be a very fufficient Captain, as appeared by his deeds: infomuch that by those ways, clean contrary to the common order of war, he discomstited two of the most puissant and greatest Princes that were at that time in the Eaf. For his understanding was so quick, his care so vigilant, and his courage so great, that he needed no long training, nor gross instruction by experience. And although 1 grant there have been divers Governours and Captains, which by the onely force of nature (furthered by long continued experience)have done goodly and great exploits : yet can it not be denied me, but that if they had matched the gifts of nature with the knowledge of learning and the reading of histories, they might have done much greater things, and they might have become much more perfect. For like as in every other cunning and skill wherein a man intendeth to excell : fo alfo to become a perfect and fufficient perfon to Govern in peace and war, there are three things of necessity required, namely, Nature, Art, and Practice. Nature (in the case we treat of) must furnish us with a good mother-wit, with a body well disposed to endure all manner of travel, and with a good will to advance our felves: Art must give us judgement and knowledge, gotten by the examples and wife discourses that we have read and double read in good Hiftories : and Practice will get us readiness, affuredness, and the case how to put things in execution. For though Skill be the ruler of doing the deed, yet it is Vertue of the mind which teacheth a man the mean point between the two faulty extremities of too much and too little, wherein the commendation of all doings confifteth. And who oever he is that goeth about to attain to it by the onely tryal of experience, and had rather learn it at his own coft, then at another mans : he may well be of the number of those that are touched by this ancient Proverb, which faith, Experience is the School-miffrie of fools : because mans life is fo short, and experience is hard and dangerous; specially in matters of war, wherein (according to the faying of Tamacheu the Athenian Captain) a man cannot fault twice, because the faults are so great, that most commonly they bring with them the overthrow of the state, or loss of the lives of those that do them. Therefore we must not tarry for this wit that is won by experience, which cofteth fo dear, and is so long in coming, that a man is oft times dead in seeking of it before he have attained it, so as he had need of a second life to employ it in because of the overlate coming by it. But we must make speed by our diligent and continual reading of Histories both old and new, that we may enjoy this happinels which the Poet speaketh of :

> Ahappy wight is he that by mishaps Of others, doth he ware of ofterclaps.

By the way, as concerning those that fay that paper will bear all things: if there be any that unworthily take upon them the name of Historiographers, and do deface the dignity of the story for hatred or favor, mingling any untruth with it:that is not the fault of the History, but of the men that are partial, who do abuse that name unworthily, to cover and cloak their own passions withall, which thing shall never come to pals, if the writer of the ftory have the properties that are necessary required in a story-writer, as thefe : That he fet afide all affection, be void of envy hatred and flattery ; that he be a man experienced in the affairs of the world, of good utterance and judgement, to difcern what is to be faid, and what to be left unfaid; and what would do more harm to have it declared then do good to have it reproved or condemned : for a fruch as his chief drift ought to be to serve the Common-weal, and that it is but as a regifter to fet down the judgements and definitive fentences of Gods Court, whereof some are given ac-

tording to the ordinary course and capacity of our weak natural reason, and other some go according to Gods infinite Power and Incomprehensible Wisdom, above and against all discourse of mans understanding, who being unable to reach the bottom of his judgements, and to find out the first motions and grounds thereof, do impute the cause of them to a certain fortune, which is nought else but a fained device of mans wit, dazeled at the beholding of fuch brightness, & confounded at the gazing of so bottomless a deep : howbeit, nothing cometh to pass nor is done without the leave of him that is the very right and truth it felf, with whom nothing is past or to come, who knoweth and understandeth the very original causes of all necessity. The consideration whereof teacheth men to humble themselves under his mighty hand, by acknowledging that there is one first cause which over-ruleth nature, whereof it cometh, that neither hardiness is always happy, nor wisdom always fure of good success. These so notable commodities are every were accompanied with fingular delight, which proceedeth chiefly of diverfity and novelty, wherein our nature delighteth, and is greatly defirous of : because we having an earnest inclination towards our best prosperity and advancement, it goeth on still, seeking in it every thing which it taketh to be goodly, or good in this world. But forafmuch as it findeth not wherewith to content it felf under the cope of heaven, it is soon weary of the things that it had earnestly defired before, and so goeth on wandering in the unskilfulness of her likings, whereof the never ceaseth to make a continual changing untill the have fully fatisfied her defires, by attaining to the last end, which is, to be knit to her chief felicity, where is the full perfection of all goodliness and goodness. This liking of variety cannot be better relieved then by that which is the finder out and the preferver of time, the father of all novelty, and messenger of antiquity. For if we find a certain singular pleasure, in hearking to such as be returned from some long voyage, and do report things which they have seen in strange Countries, as the manners of people, the natures of places, and the fashions of lives, differing from ours: and if we be sometime so a raylifed with delight and pleafure at the hearing of the talk of fome wife, difereet, and well-fpoken old man, from whose mouth there floweth a stream of speech sweeter then hony, in rehearing the adventures which he hath had in his green and youthful years, the pains that he hath endured, and the perils that he hath over-passed, so as we perceive not how the time goeth away : how much more ought we to be ravished with delight and wondring, to behold the state of mankind, and the true success of things, which antiquity hath and doth bring forth from the beginning of the world; as the fetting up of Empires, the autiquiy until and using the firing and falling of Kingdoms, and all things elfe worthy admiration, and the fame lively fet forth in the fair, rich, and tree table of Eloquence? And that fo lively, as in the very reading of them we fee our minds to be fo touched by them, not as though the things were already done and paft, but as though they were even then prefently in doing, and we find our felves carried away with gladness and grief through fear or hope, well near as though we were then at the doing of them: whereas notwithstanding we be not in any pain or danger, but onely conceive in our minds the adversities that other folks have endured, our felves fitting fafe with our contentation and eafe, according to those verses of the Poet Lucretius ;

It is a pleasure for to sit at ease

Upon the Land, and sitely for to see

How ether folks are tossied on the Seas,

That with the blushering winds turmoited be.

Not that the sight of others misseries

Doth any way the boness beats design:

But for because it like the Weed car yes.

To see barms free, that on one selects might light.

Also it is seen that the reading of Histories doth so hold and allure good wits, that divers times it not only maketh them to forget all other pleafures, but also serveth very fitly to turn away their griefs, and fometimes also to remedy their diseases. As for example, we find it written of Alphonius King of Naples, that Prince fo greatly renowned in Chronicles for his wildom and goodness, that being fore fick in the City of Capua, when his Phyficians had spent all the cunning that they had to recover him his health, and he saw that nothing prevailed: he determined with himself to take no more medicines, but for his recreation cauled the story of Quintus Curtim, concerning the deeds of Alexander the Great, to be read before him: at the hearing whereof he took to wonderful pleasure, that nature gathered strength by it, and overcame the waywardness of his difease. Whereupon, having soon recovered his health, he difcharged his Phylicians with fuch words as thefe: Feaft me no more with your Hippocrates and Galen, fith they can no skill to help me to recover my bealth but well fare Quintin Curtim that could fo good skill to help me to recover my health. Now if the reading and knowledge of Histories be delightful and profit able to all other kind of folk: I fay it is much more for great Princes and Kings, because they have to do with charges of greatest weight and difficulties, to be best stored with gifts and knowledge for the discharge of their duties : seeing the ground of stories is, to treat of all mainer of high matters of estate, as wars, battels, Cities, Countries, treaties of peace and alliances; and therefore it feemeth more fill for them, then for any other kind of degrees of men: because they being bred and brought up tenderly; and at their ease, by reason of the great regard and care that is had of their persons (as meet is for so great states to have they take not so great pains in their youth for the learning of things as behooveth those to take, which will learn the noble ancient languages, and the painful doctrine comprehended in Philotophy. Again , when they come to mans effate , their charge callett them to deal in great affairs , fo as there re-

maineth no exercise of wit more convenient for them, than the reading of Histories in their ownTongue. which without pain is able to teach them even with great plea are and case, whatsoever the painfull Works of the Philosophers concerning the Government of Common wealths, can shew them. to make them skilfull in the well Ruling and Governing of the People and Countries that God hath put under their subjection. But the worst is , that they ever (or for the most part) have such manner of persons about them, as seek nothing else but to please them by all the ways they can, and there are very few that dare tell them the truth freely in all things: Whereas on the contrary part, an History flattereth them: ot, but layeth open before their eyes, the faults and vices of fuch as were like them in greatness of Degree. And therefore Denetring Phalering (a man renowned as well for his skill in the good Government of a Common-weal, as for his excellent Knowledge otherwise) counselled Ptolomy , first King of Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great, that he should often and diligently read the Books that treated of the Government of Kingdoms, because (faid he) thou shalt find many things there, which thy servants and familiar friends dare not tell thee: Moreover this is another thing, that fuch great Personages cannot easily travell out of the bounds of their Dominions, to go view strange Countries, as private persons do : because the jealousie of their Estate, and the regard of their Dignity, requires that they should never be in place where another man might command them. And oftentimes for want of having feen the Countries, and known the People and Princes that are their neighbours, they have adventured upon Attempts without good ground: To avoid the which, the instruction they may have by the reading of Histories, is one of the easiest and fittest remedies that can be found. And though there werenone other cause then onely this last, surely it ought to induce Princes to the often and diligent reading of Histories, wherein are written the Heroicall Deeds of Wife and Valiant Men, specially of Kings that have been before them: the confideration whereof may cause them to be desirous to become like them, specially which were of Stately and Noble Courage: because the seeds of Princely Vertues that are bred with themselves, do then quicken them up with an emulation towards those that have been or are equall in Degree with them, as well in respect of Nobleness of Blood, as of Greatness of State, so as they be loth to give place to any person, and much less can find in their hearts to be out-gone in Glory of Vertuous doings. Whereof innumerable examples might be alledged, if the thing were not so well known of it felf, that it were much more against reason to doubt of it, than needfull to prove it. Therefore a man may truely conclude, that an Hiftory is the School-Miffris of Princes, at whose hand they may without pain, in way of patime, and with fingular pleasure learn the most part of the things that belong to their Office. Now, according to the diversity of the matter that it treateth of, or the order and manner of writing that it uleth, it hath fundry names given unto it: but yet among the rest, there are two chief kinds. The one, which setteth down mens doings and adventures at length, is called by the common name of an History: The other, which declareth their natures, fayings and manners, is properly named their Lives. And although the ground of them both do close very near in one, yet doth the one respect more the Things, and the other the Persons: the one is more common, and the other more private: the one concerneth more the things that are without the man, and the other the things that proceed from within: The one, the events; the other, the confultations: between the which there is oftentimes great odds, according to this answer of the Persian Siramnes, to such as marvelled how it came to pais, that his devices being fo politick, had fo unhappy fucces: It is (quoth he) because my devices are wholly from mine own invention, but the effects of them are in the disposition of Fortune and the King. And furely among those that ever have taken upon them to write the Lives of Famous men, the chief prerogative, by the judgement of such as are clearest fighted, is justly given to the Greek Philosopher Plutarch, born in the City of Charenes in the Country of Ba-otia, a Noble man, perfect in all rare Knowledge, as his Works may well put men out of doubt, if they lift to read them through, who all his life lorg, even to his old age, had to deal in affairs of the Common weal, as he himfelf witneffeth in divers places, fpecially in the Treatife which he intituled, Whether an old man ought to meddle with the Government of a Common-weal or not: and who had the hap and Honour to be Schoolmaster to the Emperour Trajan, as is commonly beleeved, and as is expresly pretended in a certain Epistle set before the Latine Translation of his matters of State, which (to fay the truth) feemeth in my judgement to be fomewhat fulpicious, because I find it not among his Works in Greek: besides that it speaketh as though the Book were dedicated to Trajan, which thing is manifeltly disproved by the beginning of the Book, and by divers other reasons. Yet notwithstanding, because methinks it is sagely and gravely written, and well-beseeming him, I have set it down here in this place : Plutarch unto Trajan fendeth greeting: "I know well, that the modefty of your nature was not defirous of Soveraignty, "though you have always endeavoured to deferve it by your Honourable conversation; by reason whereof you have been thought fo much the worthier of it, as you have been found the further off "from all ambition. And therefore I do now rejoyce in your vertue and my Fortune, if it be fo " great as to cause you to administer that thing with Justice, which you have obtained by Defert. "For otherwise, I am sure you have put your self in hazard of great danger, and me in perill of "flanderous tongues, because that Rome cannot away with a wicked Emperour, and the common "voice of the people is always wont to cast the faults of the scholars in the teeth of their School-"mafters: As for example, Seneca is railed upon by flanderous tongues, for the faults of his scho-" lar Nero: The scapes of Quintilians young scholars, are imputed to Quintilian himself: and

's Socrates is blamed for being too mild to his hearers. But as for you, there is hope you shall do "all things well enough, so you keep you as you are. If you first fet your self in order, and then difpole all other things according to Vertue, all things shall fall out according to your defire.

I have set you down the means in writing, which you must observe for the well governing of your "Common-weal, and have shewed unto you of how great force your behaviour may be in that "behalf. If you think good to follow those things, you have Plutarch for the director and guider " of your life: if not, I protest unto you by this Epistle, that your falling into danger, to the over-"throw of the Empire, is not by the Doctrine of Plutarch. This Epiftle wineffeth plainly, that he was the Schoolmafter of Trajan, which thing feemeth to be avowed by this writing of Suidas: Plutareh being born in the City of Charonea in Baotia, was in the time of the Emperour Trajan, and somewhat before. But Trajan honoured him with the Dignity of Consulship, and commanded the Officers and Magistrates that were throughout all the Countrey of Illyria, that they should not do anything without his Counsell and Authority. So doth Saidas write of him, And I am of opinion, that Trajan being so wise an Emperour, would never have done him so great Honour, if he had not thought himself greatly beholden to him for some speciall cause. But the thing that maketh me most to believe it true, is, that the same goodness and justice appeared to be naturally imprimed in most of $T_{r,ijan}$ (ayings and doings, whereof the pattern and mould (as a man may term it) is cast and set down in Platarchs Morals, so as men may perceive expresly, that the one could well skill to perform rightly, that which the other had taught wifely : For Dion writeth, that among other Honours which the Senate of Rome gave by Decree unto Trajan, they gave him the title of the Good Emperour. And Emropins reporteth, that even unto this time, when a new Emperour came to be received of the Senare, among the cries of good handfell, and the withes of good luck that were made unto him, one was; Happier be thou than Augustus, and better then Trajan. Howsoever the case stood, it is very certain that Plutarch Dedicated the collection of his Aposhtheemes unto him. But when he had lived a long time in Rome, and was come home again to his own house, he fell to writing of this excellent Work of Lives, which he called Parallelon, as much to fay, as a coupling or matching together, because he matcheth a Grecian with a Reman, setting down their Lives each after other, and Comparing them together, as he found any likeness of Nature, Conditions, or Adventures betwirt them, and examining what the one of them had better or worfer, greater or leffer than the other: which things he doth with so goodly and grave Discourse every where, taken out of the deepest and most hidden lecrets of morall and naturall Philosophy, with fo fage Precepts and fruitfull Instructions, with fo effectuall commendation of vertue, and detestation of vice, with fo many goodly allegations of other Authors, with fo many fit comparisons, and with fo many high inventions; that the Book may better be called by the Name of the Treasury of all rare and perfect Learning, than by any another name. Also it is said, that Theodorus Gaza, a Grecian of singular Learning, and a Worthy of the ancient Greece, being asked on a time by his familiar friends (which faw him to earnestly given to his study that he forgot all other things) What Author he had leverest choose, if he were at that point that he must needs choose some one to hold him to alone, did answer, that he would choose Plutarch, because that if they were all put together, there was no one both fo profitable, and fo pleafant to read, as he. Soffins Senecio to whom he Dedicateth his Work, was a Senator of Rome, as witneffeth Dion, who writeth that the three persons whom Trajan most loved and honoured, were Soffim, Parma, and Celfus, infomuch that he caused Images of them to be fet up. Trust is that he wrote the Lives of many other men, which the spitefulnels of the time hath bereft us of, among which he himself maketh mention of the Lives of Seipo Africanus, and Metel-Ins Numidicus. And I have read a little Epiftle of a fon of his, whose name is not expressed, copied out of an old copy in the Library of St Mark in Venice, wherein he writeth to a friend of his, a Register of all the Books that his Father made: and there among the couples of Lives, he setteth down the Lives of Scipio and Epaminondas, and lastly, the Lives of Augustus Cafar, of Tiberius, of Caligula, of Claudius, of Niro, of Galba, of Vitellius, and of Otho. But having used all the diligence that I could in fearching the chief Libraries of Venice and Rome, I could never find them our. Onely I drew our certain diversities of readings, and many corrections, by conferring the old written Copies with the printed books: which have stood me in great stead to the understanding of many hard places: and there are a great number of them which I have restored by conjecture, by the judgement and help of fuch men of this age, as are of greatest knowledge in Humane Learning. Yet for all this, there remain some places unamended, howbeit very few, because some lines were wanting in the Originall Copies, whereof (to my feeming) it was better for me to witness the want by marking it with some star, than to guess at it with all adventure, or to add any thing to it. Now finally, If I have overshot my self in any thing, as it is very easie to do in so hard and long a Work, specially to a man of lo small ability as I am: I beseech the Readers to vouchfase for my discharge, to admit the excuse which the Poet Horace giveth me, where he faith :

> A man may well be overfeen In Work: that long and tedious been.

Specially fith that of fo many good men men, and of skill, as have heretofore fet hand to the translating of it, there was never yet any one found that went through with it in any Language, at least-wife that I have feen or heard of: and that such as have enterprised to translate it, specially into

Latine, have evidently witneffed the hardnefs thereof, as they may enfily perceive which lift to confer their Translations with mine. Nevertheless if it so fortune that men find not the speech of this Translation so flowing, as they have found some other of mine, that are abroad in mens hands; the steech the Readersto consider, that the office of a fit Translator consistent not onely in the faithfull expersing of his Authours meaning, but also in a certain refembling, and shadowing out of the form of his style, and the manner of his speaking: unless they will commit the errour of some Painform of his style, and the manner of his speaking: unless they will commit the errour of some Painform of his style is and gross where he should be short; and gross where he should be seed to get a style of the styl

The

The TABLE of the Noble Grecians and Romans, Compared by Plutarch of Chæronea.

THefeus, Romulus, Lycurgus, Numa Pompilius, Solon, Publicola, Themifocles. Furius Camillus, Pericles, Fabius Maximus, Alcibiades, Coriolanus, Paulus Æmylius, Timoleon, Pelopidas, Marcellus, Ariftides, Marcus Cato, Philopeamen, T. Q. Flaminius, Pyrrus, Caius Marius, Lyfander, Solla.	Psg.1. Compared. 15.3 33. Compared. 50. Compared. 95. 113. 132 Compared. 150. Compared. 120. Compared. 225. Compared. 225. Compared. 230. Compared. 305. Compared. 305. Compared. 310. Compared. 310. Compared. 310. Compared. 310. Compared. 310. Compared.	31. 63. 92. 163. 202. 237. 270. 302. 328.	Sertorius. Eumenes. Agefilaus. Pompeius. Alexander. Julius Caefar. Phocion. Cato Utican. Agis & Cleomenes Tiberius & Caius Gi Demofthenes. Cicero. Demetrius. Antonius. Artaxerxes. Dion. Marcus Brutus. Artaxus. Galba.	Pag. 450. Compared. 483. 486. Compared. 508. 509. Compared. 557. 559. Compared. 616. 623. Compared. 697. 662. Compared. 697. 669. Compared. 730. 732. Compared. 785. 787. 798. Compared. 857. 859. 867. 869. 877. Compared. 909.
Lyfander. Sylla. Cimon. Lucullus.	371.} Compared. 386.} 409. Compared. 421.	406 448	Otho. Hannibal. Scipio African.	877. Compared, 909.

Lives added.

Pag. 1020. 1021. 1023. 1024. 1025. 1026.

Lives added on the Impression, 1657.

Constantine the Great, Archimedes à Phil sopher of Greece, Diogenes the Greeian Phil sopher. Constantine Paleologus. Cefar Lahvis Just nianus. Abstrole the Stagiritian Philosopher. Homer the Greeian Peet. Sappho the Lesbian Poetes. Saladin the Sultan of Ægypt. Edward Prince of Wales. Charlemain or Charles the Great, King. France, and Emperour of Roine.	Pag. 1. Tamberlain Emperous of the Tartars. 5. Prifician the Cac farcan Grammarian. 7. Artemifia the Wife of Maufolus King of Salaria, or Halicannaffes in Greece. 13. Marcus Terentius Varro. 14. Hifmael Sophi King of Perfia. 22. George Caffriot, called Scanderbeg, Prince of Epire, 23. Tamombeut the laft Soldan of Egypt. 30. Atabipa King of Peru. 30. Inhabipa King of Peru. John Guttemberg a Moguntian, Inventer of the Art of Printing.
Trance, min - 1	

Lives added on this Impression, 1676.

Ferdinand Cortez a Spaniard. Batil Dute of Mulcovy. Schaftian 1 King of Portugal.	Pag. 75. Quoniambec 79. Christopher Columbus a Genoese. 82.	86. 88. THE
Sebastian 1. King of Portugal.	02()	THE

THE

LIVES

OF THE NOBLE

Greeks and Romans,

The most of them compared together by that grave and Learned Philosopher and Historiographer,

PLUTARCH

o F

CHERONEA.



Ann. Mund.

THESEUS.

Ant. Christ.

IKE as the Historiographers which do fet forth the Defcription of the Earth in Figure (my Friend Soffius Senecie) are wont to place in the lowermost part soffius Senecie of the Maps, the far distant Regions unknown unso, them, and to mark in the a Senator of Margen fuch like Norse and Reasions as these: Beyond these Countries are nothing but deep dry sands without water, full of foul ill favoured wenemous beafts, or much mud unnavigable, or Seventa forfaken for cold, or else the Sea frozen with Ice: Even so in this my History, I could speak of strange things, and more ancient, and further off from mean memory. But herein I have compared the Lives of some Noble men, the one with the other, having sollowed all those times, whereof the Monatorius contributes the whole there me may solve for even great liveshood, or rather write at the solution of the so

the Lives of some Noblemen, the one with the other, having followed all those times, whereof the Monuments remain yet so whole, that was may speak of very great likelihood, or rather write a very troth. What hath been written before, is but of strange saynings, and full of monstrous fables, imagined and devised by Poets, which are altogether uncertain, and most ontrue. However, the theoretic office set forth the Lives of Lyenigus (which established the Laws of the Lacademonians), and of King Numa Pompilius, methought I might with reason also ascend unto the time of Romalus, sithence I was come to near unto his time. Wherefore having long debated with my self what exceptions the Poets said:

Elbilus the Poets said:

What

What Champion may with such a man compare? Or who (think 1) Shall be against him fet ? Who is fo bold? or who is he that dare

Who is jo boint or who is never after the Defend his force in Judo sprounter met?

In the end I refolved to compare him which did fer up the noble and famous City of Athens, unto him which founded the glorious and invincible City of Rosse, Wherein I would have wished that the Fables of her Antiquity had been fet out fo in our writings, that we might yet bave graced then with fome appearance of Hifforical narration. But if by chance in fome places they range a little too boldly out of the bounds or limits of true appearance, and have no manner of conformity with any credibleness of matter: the Readers incourtefie must needs hold me excused, accepting in good part that which may be written and reported of things fo extreamly old and ancient, Now furely methinks, that Taylors in many things was much like unto Romalist. For being both begotten by flealth and out of lawful Matrimony, they were both bruited to be both of the fred of gods. Both valiant were, as all the word doth know,

Bothwere very wife and ftrong befides of body. The one of them built Rows, and the other the City of ATRENS, two of the most noble Cities of the world. The one and the other were ravishers of women, and neither the one nor the other could avoid the mischief of quarrel and contention with their friends, and to defile themselves with the bloud of their nearest kinfmen. Moreover, they fay that both the one and the other in the end did get the hate and ill-will of their Cuizens. At the least if we believe those things which are left written, and carry greatest shew of troth,

The lineage of The few of his Fathers side was descended of the right lineage of Exclusivess the great, and of the first Inhabitants which occupied the Countrey of ATTICA, the which fince were called AUTOCTHONES, as much to fay, as born of themselves. For there is no memory or other mention made, that they Pelept King of came out of any another Countrey then that. And of his Mothers fide he came of Pelops, who was in his time the mightieft. King of all the Countrey of Prior onnesses, not to much for his goods and riches, as for the number of children which he had. For his Daughters which were many in number, he bettowed them on the greatest Lords of all the Countrey; his Sons also which likewife were oct, he bettowed them on the greatest zones of an ine country; and one and which internet were many, he dispersed into every City and Free-Town, finding means to make them Governous and Heads of the same. Pithem Grandsather to These on the Mothers side, was one that sounded the little City of TRORERN, and was reputed to be one of the best learned and wifest men of his time. Bus the knowledge and wildome, which only carried estimation at that time, confisted altogether in grave fentences and moral fayings; as those are which wan the Poet Hestodus such fame for his Book entituled. The works and daies, in the which is read even at this prefent this goodly fentence, which they

Pitheus, the Grandfather of Pitheus.

Ægeus the

Thefeus.

father upon Pitheis: Thou shalt perform thy promise and thy pay

To hired men, and that without delay. And this doth Ariftorle the Philosopher himself testifie : and the Poet Euripides also, calling Hyppolitim the Scholler of the holy Pitheur, doth fufficiently declare of what estimation he was: But Agem desiring (as they say) to know how he might have children, went into the City of DELPROS to the Oracle of Apollo: where by a Nun of the Temple, this notable Prophecy was given him for an anfwer: the which did forbid him to touch or know any woman, untill he was returned again to ATMENS. And because the words of this Prophecy were somewhat dark and hard, he returned by the City Tao-BEEN, to tell it unto Pitheus. The words of the Prophecy were thefe:

O thou which art a gem of perfelt grace, Pluck not the tap out of thy trusty tun, Before thou do return unto thy place In Athens Tower from whence thy race doth run. Pithem understanding the meaning, perswaded him, or rather cunningly by some device deceived him.

Æthra the and the Mother of Thefe-

in fuch fort, that he made him to lie with his Daughter called Libra . Agem, after he had accompanied with her, knowing that file was Pithem Daughter with whom he had lien, and doubting that he had gotten her with child, left her a Sword and a pair of Shoes, the which he hid under a great bollow oftone, the hollownets whereof ferved just to receive those things which he layed under it, and made no living creature privy to it but her alone; fraightly charging her, that if fhe happened to have a 2010, when he were come to mans eftate, and of ftrength to remove the ftone, and to take those things from under it which he left there; that the thould then fend him unto him by those Tokens, as fecretly as the could, that no body elfe might know of it: for he did greatly fear the Children of one called Pallar, the which lay in wait and spiall by all the means they could to kill him, onely of despite because he had no children, they being fitty brethren, and all begotten of one Father. This done, he departed from her: y Sons. Children, they being may breunen, and an organism of soudily Son, the which from that time was Why Thefau And Adhra within few moneths after was delivered of a goodly Son, the which from that time was Why Thefau And Adhra within few moneths after was delivered of a foodly Sons of knowledge his Father had laved unwas fo called. called The fews: and as forme fay, fo called, because of the Tokens of knowledge his Father had layed under the stone. Yet some others write, that it was alterwards at ATHENS when his Father knew him, and avowed him for his Son. But in the mean time, during his infancy and childhood, he was brought Connider The- up in the house of his Grandfather Pibeus, under the government and teaching of one called Connider, his School-mafter : in honour of whom the ATHENIANS to this day do facrifice a Weather, the day before the great Feaft of Thefeur, having more reason to honour the memory of this Governour, then of a Silanian and of a Parringias, to whom they do honour also, because they painted and cast moulds of the Images of Thefens. Now there was a custome at that time in Gasaca, that the young men

after their infancy and growth to mans state, went into the City of DELPHOS, to offer part of after their minancy and good Apollo. Thefew also went thither as others did : and some say that the A custom to their nairs in the Temple of Appendance and the Mental and the state of the Mental and the Action to place where the ceremony of this Offering was made, hathever fince kept the old name (and yet con-offer hairs at place where the certain of the did not flave his head but before onely, as Homer faith, like the fashion Delphor tinuth) The feid. Howbert ne and not mave instruction to the Abantes in old time: and this manner of thaving of hairs, was called for his fake, The feidan The feidmanner of the Abantes, in troth they were the very first that shared themselves after this of sharing. Annua Concerning the they learned it not of the Arabians, as it was thought of fome; neither did The Abases. they it after the imitation of the MISSIANS; but because they were warlike and valiant men, which did joyn neer unto their enemy in battell, and above all men of the world were skilfulleft in fight hand to hand, and would keep their ground : as the Poet Architechus witnesseth in these verses ;

They use no flings in foughten fields to have, Nor bended bows : but [words and trenchant blades. For when fierce Mars beginneth for to rave In bloudy field, then every man invades His fiercest for, and fighteth hand to hand: Then do they deeds, right cruell to recempt. For in this wife, the brave and warlike band Do flew their force, which come from Negropont.

The cause why they were thus shaven before, was, for that their enemies should not have the vantage. The cause of The caule why they were trust in a trust of the head while they were fighting. And for this felf-fame confideration, thairs before. to take them by the him before.

Alexander the great commanded his Captains to cause all the MACEDONIANS to shave their him before.

Alexander Mac Describer Mabeards: because it is the easiest hold (and readiest for the hand) a man can have of his enemy in fightgames made the ings to hold him fast by the same. But to return to The sem. Æthra his Mother had ever unto that Macconizat mg, to note into the control of the time kept it fecret from min, who was instituted and the range and man great it out across that beards, he was begotten of Neptume, because the TROEZENIANS have this god in great veneration, and do These said to worthip him as patron and protector of their City, making Offerings to him of their first fruits and be Neptunet they have for the mark and framp of their Money, the three picked Mace, which is the fign of Neptune, Son. they have not the main amount of the prime and luftiness of his youth, and that with the Trazentcalled his Trident. But, after he was come to the prime and numers or ms yourn, and that with the six Coine fitringth of his body he shewed a great courage, joyned with a naturall wisdom and stayedness of the strength of his body he shewed a great courage, joyned with a naturall wisdom and stayedness of the strength of his body he shewed he stayed his stayed his stayed his stayed his stayed he truly the order of his birth, and by whom he was begotten, made him to take his Fathers tokens of birked mace. truly the order of his birth, and by whoming was regorder, made introduced in Fathers which he had hidden there, and gave him confield to go by feat to ATHENS unto him. The state of the five adult had been and took his Fathers tokens from under it: Howbeith earlieved for the plainty, that he would not go by fea, notwithshanding that it was a great deal the fafer way, and for the plainty, that he would not go by feat, notwithshanding that it was a great deal the fafer way, and the time. bis Mother and Grandfather both had inftantly intreated him, because the way by land from Troe-ZEN to ATHENS was very dangerous, all the wayes being befet by robbers and murtherers. For the world at that time brought forth men, which for strongness in their arms, for swiftness of their feet, and for a generall frength of the whole body, did far pais the common force of others, and were never weary for any labour or travell they took in hand. But for all this, they never employed these gifts of nature to any honest or profitable thing, but rather delighted villanously to burt and wrong others: as if all the fruit and profit of their extraordinary ftrength had confifted in cruelty and violence only, and to be able to keep others under and in subjection; and to force, destroy, and spoil all that came to their hands. Thinking that the more part of those which think it a shame to do ill . and commend juffice, equity and humanity, do it of faint cowardly hearts, because they dare not wrong others, for fear they should receive wrong themselves; and therefore, that they which by might could have vantage over others, had nothing to do with such quiet qualities. Now Hercules, travelling Hercules a deabroad in the world, drave away many of those wicked theevish murderers, and some of them he stroyer of slew and put to death, other as he passed through those places where they kept, did hide themselves theeves. for fear of him, and gave place: infomuch as Hercules perceiving they were well tamed and brought low, made no further reckoning to purfue them any more. But after that by fortune he had flain Iphitus with his own hands, and that he was paffed over the feas into the countrey of Lydia, where Appendix Annual Appendix a long time, condemning himfelf unto that voluntary pain for the murHeralet ferther he had committed: all the Realm of Lydia during his abode there, remained in great peace with Omphale. and security from such kind of people. Howbeit in GREECE, and all thereabout, these old mischies began again to renew, growing hotter and violenter then before : because there was no man that punished them, nor that durst take upon him to destroy them. By which occasion, the way to go from PELOPONNESUS to ATHENS by land was very perilous. And therefore Pithens declaring unto Thefem, what manner of theeves they were that lay in the way, and the outrages and villanies they did to all travellers and wayfaring men, fought the rather to perswade him thereby to take his voyage along the feas. Howbeit in mine opinion, the fame and glory of Hereules noble deeds, had Thefeas following before fecterly fet his heart on fire, so that he made reckoning of none other but of him, and eth Hereules. lovingly hearkned unto those which would feem to describe him what manner of man he was, but

chiefly unto those which had seen him, and been in his company, when he had said or done any thing

worthy of memory. For then he did manifestly open himself, and he selt the like passion in his

heart, which Themistocles long time afterwards endured, when he faid ; that the victory and tri-

umph of Milisades would not let him fleep. For even fo, the wonderfull admiration which Thefens

pricketh men Thefeus and Hercules near Kinfmen.

Defice of fame and in the day time, pricked forward with emulation and envy of his glory, he determined with himfelf one day to do the like; and the rather, because they were neer kinfmen, being Cosins removed by the mothers fide : For Libra was the daughter of Pithens, and Alemena (the mother of Hercules) was the daughter of Lyfidies, the which was half-fifter to Pitbens, both children of Pelops and of his wife Hippodamia. So he thought he should be utterly shamed and disgraced, that Hercules travelling through the world in that fort, did feek out those wicked thieves to rid both sea and land of Periphete: Co- of the City of E PID AUR UM, was a robber called Periphete: This robber uded for his ordinary and weapon to carry a club, and for that cause he was commonly surnamed Corpnetes, that is to say, a

thief.

Sciron a notable robber, thrown down the rocks by Thefeus.

> Æxeus. Cycreus.

them: and that he, farre otherwise, should flye occasion that might be offered him, to fight with them that he should meet on his way. Moreover, he was of opinion, he should greatly shame and dishonour him, whom same and common bruit of people reported to be his father; if in shunning occasion to fight, he should convey himself by sea, and should carry to his true father also a pair of fhoors (to make him known of him), and a fword not yet bathed in bloud. Where he should rather feek caufe, by manifelt tokens of his worthy deeds, to make known to the world of what noble bloud he came, and from whence he was defeended. With this determination, Thefeus holderh on his purposed journey with intent to hurt no man, yet to defend himself, and to be revenged of those which would take upon them to assault him. The first therefore whom he slew within the territories weapon to carry a cino, and for intercalicine was commonly administration of the country of the him, that he killed him. Whereof he was fo glad, and chiefly for that he won his club, that ever feat. him, that he killed him. Whereot he was to grad, and chically to matter. And like as this spoil of Thefeur carried after he carried it himself about with him, as Herenter did the Lyons kinne. And like as this spoil of Thefeur upon all the Clubbe he the Lyon did winnesse the greatnesse of the beast which Harcules had slain, even so The sees went all wan of Periabout, flewing that this club which he had gotten out of anothers bands, was in his own hands phere 23 Herea invincible. And lo going on further, in the streights of P B L O P O N N E S u s he killed another, called Sinnis, furnamed, Pityceamtes, that is to fay, a wreather or bower of Pine-apple trees: whom he put to death in that felf cruell manner that Sinnis had flain many other travellers before. Not that he had experience thereof, by any former practife or exercise: but onely to flow, that clean strength Sinnis Pipo- could do more then either Art or exercise. This Sinnis had a goodly fair daughter called Perigonna, canner a cruell which fled away when she saw her sather slain: whom he followed and sought all about. But she had hidden her felf in a grove full of certain kinds of wild pricking rufhes called Steebe, and wild Spefine. Prigums Sia- rage, which the fimply like a child intreated to hide her, as if they had heard, and had fenfe to un-Peritemas Sin- 14ge, winter the mappy the a time antenance of the state of the stat never cut them down, nor burn them. But Theless finding her, called her, and tware by his faith he would use her gently, and do her no hurt, nor displeasure at all. Upon which promise she came out of the bush, and lay with him, by whom she was conceived of a goodly boy, which was called Menalippus. Afterwards Theseus married her unto one Disanus, the some of Eurius the Occhalian. Mealipper of Orthis Mealippus the fonne of Thefem, came foxus: the which with Ornyem brought meninto. Grant decountry of C A R I A, where he built the City of J O X I D E S, And hereof cometh that old ancient ceremony, observed yet unto this day by those of Jo x 1D E 5, never to burn the briers of wild Sperage, nor the Steebe, but they have them in some honour and reverence. Touching the wild Phot the wild favage Sow of Crommyon, otherwise named Phota, that is to say, overgrown with age: she was not a bearlt to be made light account of, but was very fierce, and terrible to kill. The fess notwithflanding tarried for her, and killed her in his journey, to the end it flould not appear to the world, that all the valiant deeds he did, were done by computition and of necessity: adding thereto his opinion alfo, that a valiant man should not only fight with men, to defend himself from the wicked; but that he should be the first, to assault and slay wild hurtfull beasts. Neverthelesse others have written, that this Phaa was a woman robber, a murderer, and naught of her body, which spoiled those that passed by the place called CROMMYONIA, where she dwelt : and that she was surnamed a Sow, for her beaftly bruitish behaviour and wicked life, for the which in the end she was also slain by Thefeas. After her he killed Sciron, entring into the territories of MEGARA, because he robbed all travellers by the way, as the common report goeth: or as others fay, for that of a cruel, wic ked, and favage pleasure, he put forth his feet to those that passed by the sea side, and compelled them to wash them: And then when they thought to stoop to do it, he still spurned them with his feet, till he thrust them headlong into the sea; so The seasons the washing down the rocks. Howbeit the writers of MEGARA impugning this common report, and defirous (as Simnider faith) to overthrow it that had continued by prefeription of time, did maintain that this Sciron was never any robber, nor wicked person, but rather a pursuer and punisher of the wicked, and a friend and kinsman of the most honest and justest men of GRECE. For there is no man but will confesse, that ARCH was the most vertuous man among the GRECIANS in his time, and that Cychrem the SALAMINIAN is honoured and reverenced as a God at ATHENS: and there is no man also but knoweth that Pelem and Telamon were men of fingular vertue. Now it is certain, that this Sciren was son in law to Cychreus father in law of Accus, and grandfather of Pelew and Telamon, the which two were the children of Endisda, the daughter of the faid Sciron, and of his daughter Chariclo. Also it is not very likely, that so many good men would have had affinity with fo naughry and wicked a man: in taking of him, and giving him that which men love best of all things in the world. And therefore the Historiographers say, that it was Arching thin not the first time, when Thefers went unto ATHENS, that he killed Sciron, but that it was many days after, when he took the City of ELEUSIN, which the MEGARIANS held at that time, where he deceived the Governour of the City, called Discles, and there he flew Sciron. And these bethe objections the MEGARIANS alledged touching this matter. He flew also Cercyon the ARCADIAN . in the City of ELEUSIN, wraftling with him. And going a little further, he flew Damaster, otherwise fur- Damastes Pronamed Procrustes, in the City of HERMIONIA; and that by stretching of him out, to make him crustes, a crue named Procraftes, in the city of the beds, as he was wont to do unto Arangers that paffed by, muritirer flaid even with the length and measure of his beds, as he was wont to do unto Arangers that paffed by, muritirer flaid even with the length and measure of the least. even with the rengal and manager of Theleus, who punished Tyrants with the felf-lame pain and torment of Theleus. Theleus did that in imitation of Hercules, who punished Tyrants with the felf-lame pain and torment of Theleus. which they had made others fuffer. For even so did Hercules sacrifice Busirus. So he stilled Ambeus ings. in wraftling. So he put Cycrus to death, fighting with him man to man. So he brake Termerus head, from whom this Proverb of Termerus evil came, which continueth yet unto this day : for this Ter- Termerus evil. merus did use to put them to death in this fort whom he met ; to joll his head against theirs. Thus proceeded Thefens after this felf-fame manner, punishing the wicked in like fort, justly compelling them to abide the same pain and torments, which they before had unjustly made others abide. And so he held on

his journey until he came to the River of CEPHISUS, where certain persons of the house of the Cephisus a Ri-Physalides were the first which went to meet him, to honour him, and at his request they purified him ver of Baotia. according to the Ceremonies used at this time: and afterwards having made a facrifice of propitiation The Phytaliaccording to the Ceremonies thea at this time; and anterwaves making made a factifice of prophation and the first unto their gods, they made him great chear in their houses; and this was the first notable entertainment he found in all his journey. It is supposed he arrived in the City of Athens, the eighth day of Thessian in the castof the moneth of June, which then they called Cronins. He found the Common-wealth turmoiled their hours. with feditions, factions and divisions, and particularly the house of Ageus in very ill termes also, This factions becaule that Medea (being banished out of the City of Corintal) was come to dwell in Athens, Planaro call-and remained with Agens, whom she had promised oft by vertue of certain medicines to make him cut militabil. to get children. But when she heard tell that Thefeus was come, before that the good king Ageus (who was now, become old, suspicious and afraid of sedition, by reason of the great factions within the City at that time) knew what he was, she perswaded him to poison him at a feast which they Modes perswawould make him as a stranger that passed by. Theseus failed not to go to this prepared feast where- ded Agene to

unto he was bidden, but yet thought it not good to disclose himself. And the rather to give Agens poison Theseoccasion and means to know him, when they brought the meat to the board, he drew out his sword us. so though he would have cur withall, and sheweshit unto him. Agens seeing it, knew it straight, Agent acand forthwith overthrew the cup with poison which was prepared for him: and after he had enquired of knowledgesh him and asked things, he embraced him as his fon. Afterwards in the common affembly of the in- Thefeus for his habitants of the City, he declared, how he avowed him for his fon. Then all the people received fon, him with exceeding joy, for the renown of his valiantness and manhood. And some say, that when Ægens overthrew the cup, the poison which was in it, fell in that place where there is at this prefers a certain compals inclosed all about within the Temple which is called *Delphinion*. For even there in

that place, in old time, stood the house of Agens: in witness whereof, they call yet at this present time the image of Mercury (which is on the fide of the Temple looking towards the rifing of the Sun) the Mercury gate of Agens. But the Pallantides, which before flood alwayes in hope to recover the Realm of Athens, at the leaft after Agens death, because he had no children: when they faw that Thefeus was known, and openly declared for his fon and heir, and fucceffor to the Realin, they were not able any longer to bear it, feeing that not only Ægeus (who was but the adopted fon of Pandion, and nothing at all of the blood-Royal of the Eritheides) had usurped the Kingdom over them, but that The feus also should enjoy it after his death. Whereupon they determined The Pallantito make war with them both; and dividing themselves into two parts, the one came openly in arms des take arms with their father, marching directly towards the City: the other lay close in ambush in the village against Ageof GARGETTUS, meaning to give charge upon them in two places at one instant. Now they us and Thefeur. brought with them an Herald born in the Town of AGNUS, called Leos, who bewrayed unto Leos an Herald The fens the fecret and device of all their enterprize. The fens upon this intelligence went forth, and been altered fer on those that lay in ambush, and put them all to the sword. The other which were in Pallas their treason company understanding thereof, did break and disperse themselves incontinently, and this is the to Theseas.

cause (as some say) why those of Pallena do never make affinity nor marriage with those respectively. of AGNUS at this day: and that in the Town when any Proclamation is made, they never speak these words which are cryed every where else throughout the whole countrey of ATTICA, Acouste Leos., (which is as much to fay, as hearken, O people) they do fo extreamly hatethis fame word Leos, for that it was the Heralds Name that wrought them that treason. This done, Thefeus, who would not live idly at home and do nothing, but desirous therewithall to gratifie the people, went his way to fight with the Bull of Marathon, the which did great midfulet to the inhathe Bull of bitants of the country of Trrapolis. And having taken him alive, brought him through the Marathon tobitants of the country of Trrapolis. And having taken him alive, brought him through the Marathon tobitants of the country of Trrapolis. And having taken him alive, brought him through the Marathon tobitants of the country of Trrapolis. And having taken him alive, brought him through the Marathon taken him through the Marathon Delphicus. Now concerning Hecale, who was reported to have lodged him, and to have given Thefeas. him good en retainment, it is not altogether untrue. For in the old time, those Towns and villages cur. thereabouts did affemble together, and made a common facrifice which they called Hecalefion, in ho-

nour of Jupiter Hecalion, where they honoured this old woman, calling her by a diminutive Name, gapiner Hecal Hecalena: because that when she received Theseus into her house being then but very young, tien. the made much of him, and called him by many pretty made Names, as old folks are wont to call young children. And forafmuch as she made a vow to Jupiter to make him a solemn facrifice, if Thefeus remained fafe from the enterprise he went about, and that she died before his return: in recompence of the good chear the made him, the had that honour done unto her by The-feu commandment, as Thiloshopsu hath written of it. Shortly after this exploit, there came certain

of King Miner Ambassadors out of Casta, to ask a Tribute, being now the third time that it was The Abraims demanded, which the ATRINIANS payed for this cause. Androgem, the eldest fon of King Mipayed Tibute not, was flain by treason within the countrey of ATTICA: for which cause Minos pursuing the reunto Mast venge of his death, made very hot and tharp Wars upon the Athenians, and did them great King (c Great, land Rose Rose Rose all this the goods did fharolto minish and focuree all the countrey, as well with for the death of Addregors and famine, as also with plague and other milchiefs, even to the drying up of their Rivers. The Athenians perceiving their fore troubles and plagues, ran to the Oracle of Apollo, who answered them that they should appeale Minos, and when they had made their peace with him, then the wrath of the gods would cease against them, and their troubles should have an end. Whereupon the ATHERIAN' fent immediately unto him, and intreated him for peace: which he granted The manner of them, with condition that they should be bound to fend him yearly into Carta, seven young boys, and as many young girls. Now thus far all the Hiftoriographers do very well agree, but in the reft not. And they which feem furtheft off from the troth, do declare, that when these young boys were delivered in Carra, they caused them to be devoured by the Minotaure within the Labyrimb: or elfe that they were shut within this Labyrimb, wandring up and down, and could find no place to get out, untill fuchtime as they died, even famished for hunger. And this Minotante, as Euripides

The Minotaure the Poet faith, was

A Corps combin'd, which monstrous might be deem'd:

Theaters at

A Boy, a Bull, both man and beaff it feem'd.

The Libyrinth But Philocherus writeth, that the Carrans do not confels that, but fay that this Labyrinth was a police in goal or prison, in the which they had no other hurt, faving that they which were kept there under lock and key, could not fly nor flart away: and that Mines had in memory of his fon Androgens, inflicted games and playes of prize, where he gave unto them that wan the victory, those young children of ATHEMS, the which in the mean time, notwithstanding, were carefully kept and young cunuren or a man, the winds man and that at the first games that were kept, one of the Terrat one of Kings Captains called Taurus, who was in best credit with his master, wan the prize. This Taurus was a churlish and naughty natured man of condition, and very hard and cruel to these children of ATHERS. And to verifie the same, the Philosopher Arisonle himself, speaking of the Commonwealth of BOTTISIANS, declareth very well, that he never thought that Mines did at any time Othe Batici want of Athans to be put to death: but faith, that they poorly toyled in Carra, Phi lib. coule the children of Athans to be put to death: but faith, that they poorly toyled in Carra, even to crooked age, earning their living by true and painful fervice. For it is written, that the CRATANS (to fatisfic an old vow of theirs, which they had made of ancient time) fent fometime the first-born of their children unto Apollo in the City of DELFROS: and that amongst them also they mingled those which were descended of the ancient prisoners of Arabas, and they went with them. But because they could not live there, they directed their journey first into Iraly, where for a time they remained in the Realm of Puezia, and afterwards from thence went into the confines of THRACIA, where they had this name of Borrisians. In memory whereof the daughters of the Bottisians in a folemn Sacrifice they make, do use to fing the foot of this Song : Let us to ATHENS go. But thereby we may fee how perilous a thing it is, to fall in displeasure and enmity with a City which can fpeak well, and where Learning and eloquence do flourish. For ever fince that time, Minus was alwayes blazed and difgraced throughout all the Theaters of Arrans. The teffi-King Minus time, Minus was alwayes blazed and dilgraced throughout all the I heaters of Annua. Internet, who calleth him the moft worthy King, doth nothing at all help him, nor the praise defanted by the mony of Hessiadus, who calleth him the moft worthy King, doth nothing at all help him, nor the praise of Homer, who nameth him Jupiters familiar friend, because the tragical Poets got the upper hand in differentiation, notwithstanding all these, and upon their stages where all the Tragedies were plaid, they ftill gave forth many ill favoured words and foul freeches of him, as against a manthat had been most cruel and unnatural. Yet most men think, that Minor was the King that established the Laws, Radamanubus, and Radamanubus the Judge and preferver of them, who caused the same also to be kept and obser-The third time ved. The time being now come about for the payment of the third. Tribute; when they came to compete the third time ved. of payment of the fathers which had children not yet married, to give them to be put forth to take their chance and the libure. lot: the Cirizens of Aranna began to murmur against Ligens, alledging for their griefs, that he the distance with the cirizens of Aranna began to murmur against Ligens. And that to bring the The Athenians 101: the Citizens of Athens began to murmur against Agens, alleaging for their griefs, that he are grieved to who only was the cause of all this evil, was only alone exempted from this grief. And that to bring the government of the Realm to fall into the hands of a stranger his bashard, he cared not though they their Children were bereft of all their natural children, and were unnaturally compelled to leave and forsike them.

These just sorrows and complaints of the fathers whose children were taken from them, did pierce the heart of The feat, who willing to yield to reason, and to run the self same fortune as the Citizens did, willingly offered him(elf to be fent thither, without regard taking to hishap or adventure. For The general control of the Citizens greatly effected of his courage and honourable difposition, and dearly loved him the Children for the good affection he feemed to bear unto the commonalty. But Agent having used many reafons and persuasions to cause him to turn and stay from his purpole, and perceiving in the end there was no remedy but he would go, he then drew Lots for the Children which should go with him. Hellanieus notwithstanding doth write, that they were not those of the City which drew Lots for the that thould go. Children they should fend, but that Mines himself went thither in person, and did choose them, as he The Attentions chofe Thefeus the first, upon condition agreed between them : that is to wit, that the ATBBNIANS should furnish them with a Ship, and that the Children should ship and imbark with him, carrying na Creatin aftip weapons of war; and that after the death of the Minotaure this Tribute flould ceafe. Now before that time, there was never any hope of return, nor of fafety of their children; therefore the ATHE NIAMS alwayes sent a ship to convey their Children, with a black fail, in token of affired loss.

Nevertheless Thefeus putting his father in good hope of him; being of a good courage, and promifing boldly that he would fet upon this Minotaure, Agens gave unto the Mafter of the thip a white fail, Agens giveth commanding him that at his return he should put out the white sail, if his son had escaped; if the matter not, that then he should set up the black sail, to shew him as ar off his unlucky and unfortunate the ship a not, that then he mound at up the chance. Simonides notwithstanding doth fay, that this sail which Agens gave to the Master, white sail, to chance. was not white, but red, died in grain, and of the colour of Scarlet, and that he gave it him to return of Thefignifie afar off their delivery and fafety. This Master was called Phereclus Amarsiadas, as seus. Simonides faith. But Philosorms writeth, that Scirus the SALANINIAN gave to Thefeus a Master called Nausubeus, and another marriner to tackle the sails, who was called Phans because the ATHENIANS at that time were not greatly practifed to the sea. And this did Scirus, for that one of the Children on whom the Lot fell was his nephew: and thus much the Chappels do testifie, which Theseus built afterwards in honour of Nausthem, and of Pheas, in the village of Phalerus, joyning to the Temple of Seirus. And it is faid moreover, that the feast which they call Cyberness, Joylung to the Feath of Patrons of the fairs, is celebrated in honour of Cyberness, them, Now after the Lots were drawn, These was taking with him the Children allotted for the Tri. games, bute, went from the Pallace to the Temple called Delphinion, to offerup to Apollo for him and for them an offering of supplication, which they call Hiceteria, which was an Olive bow hallowed, Hiceteria offerwreathed about with white wool. After he had made his prayer, he went down to the fea fide to Thefeur takenh imbark, the fixth day of the moneth of March: on which day at this prefent time they do fend their thin with the young girls to the same Temple of Delphinion, there to make their prayers and petitions to the gods. Tribute chil-But some say, that the Oracle of Apollo in the City of DELPHOS had answered him, that he should dren the fixth But some tay, that the Oracle of 27 pour in the City of Land third in his voyage: for which, and take Venus for his guide, and that he should call upon her to conduct him in his voyage: for which, and faileth into cause he did sacrifice a Goat unto her upon the sea-side, which was found suddenly turned into a faileth Ram, and that therefore they furnamed this goddels Epitragia, as one would say, the goddels Penus Epitraof the Ram. Furthermore, after he was arrived in Carra, he slew there the Minotaure (as the gia. most part of the ancient Authors do write) by the means and help of Ariadne: who being faln in Thefens flew fancy with him, did give him a clue of thred, by the help whereof the taught him, how he might the Minoraure easily wind out of the turnings and cranks of the Labyrinth. And they say, that having killed this Artelne. King Minotaure, he returned back again the fame way he went, bringing with him those other young Minos daugh children of ATHEMS, whom with Ariadne also he carried afterwards away. Pherecides faith more- ter, over, that he brake the keels or bottoms of all the ships of CRETA, because they should not sudden. Theseurreturns ly set our after them. And Demon writeth, that Taurus (the Captain of Minos) was killed in fight Taurus overby Theseur, even in the very haven mouth, as they were ready to ship away, and hoise up fail. Yet come of These Philochorus reporteth, that King Minos having fet up the Games, as he was wont to do yearly in the us, was a man honour and memory of his Son, every one began to envy Captain Taurus, because they ever looked that he should carry away the game and victory, as he had done other years before; over and above that, his authority go thim much ill will and envy, because he was proud and stately, and had in suspicion that he was great with Queen Pasiphae. Wherefore when Theseus required that he might Terressore. supprior that he was great with other rapphase. Wherefore when respect required that a dwith Page accounter with Taurus, whitos easily granted it. As it is being a following colline of the those specific women should be present, to see those open sports and sights, Ariadne being at these games, amongst have wise. the reft, fell further in love with The fem, feeing him so goodly a person, so strong, and invincible in How Arisans wrestling, that he far exceeded all that wrestled there that day. King Minos was so glad that he had sell in love taken away the honour from Captain Taures, that he fent him home frank and free into his counwith Theleus.

Minos fendetti try, rendring to him all the other prisoners of ATHERS; and for his sake clearly released and for Thesens home gave the City of ATHENS the Tribute which they should have payed him yearly. Howbeit, Clide- with his primus fearching out the beginning of these things to the utmost, reciteth them very particularly, and soners, and reafter another fort. For he faith, about that time there was a general restraint throughout all leaseth the Attention of Garages, reftraining all manner of people to bear fail in any veffel or bottom, wherein there were their Tribute, above five persons, except only Jason, who was chosen Captain of that great ship Argus, and had A marine Commission to sail every where, to chase and drive away rovers and pirats, and to scour the seas Law. throughout. About this time, Dadalm being fled from CARTA to ATHEMS in a little Bark, Mino Datalus flight. contrary to this reftraint, would needs follow him with a fleet of divers veffels with oars; who becontacty to this retirating, would neces routow tim with a neet of curvers venes with oars; who being by force of weather driven with the coast of SIGLIE, fortuned to die there. Asterwards his hing Minist it.

fon Deucation, being marvelloully offended with the Armbriant, fent to summon them to delipercution king yet Dadalas unto him, or else he would put the children to death, which were delivered to his father Minist fon sent for hoftages. But Thefere excused himself, and faid he could not forfake Dadalus, considering he to Athens to was his near kiniman, being his Coulin-german; for he was the fon of Merope, the daughter of E- demand Dadarichihesse. Howbeit by and by he caused many vessels secretly to be made, part of them within At-TACA it felf in the village of Thymerades, far from any high-wayes; and part of them in the City of Thomas, by the sufferance of Pithem his grandfather, to the end his purpose should be kept the more fecret. Afterwards when all his ships were ready, and rigged out, he took sea before the CRRTANS had any knowledge of it: infomuch as when they faw them afar off, they did take them for the Barks of their friends. Thefeus landed without resistance, and took the haven. Then Thefeus failed then nor the Barks of their friends. The fews landed without reliffance, and took the haven. Then having Dadalus, and other banished Carrains for guides, he entred the City it felf of Goosta wan the City where he shew Demailson in a fight before the gates of the Labyrimb', with all his guard and officers of Graffus, and about him. By this means the Kingdom of Carra fell by inheritance into the hands of his fifter flew Densation.

Ariadne. Thefeue made league with her, and carried away the young children of ATHENS which

were kept as hostages, and concluded peace and amity between the ATHENIANS and the CRETANS: who promifed, and sware, they would never make wars against them. They report many other things also touching this matter, and specially of Ariadne: but there is no troth nor certainty in it. For some fay, that Ariadne hung her felf for forrow, when she faw that Thefeus had cast her off. Others write, that the was transported by mariners into the Isle of Naxos, where the was married unto OEnarus the Priest of Bacchus: and they think that Thefeus left her, because she was in love with another, as by these verses should appear:

Agles the Nymph was lov'd of Theseus, Who was the Daughter of Panopeus.

Hercas the Magarian faith, that these two verses in old time were among the verses of the Poet Hefodus, howbeit Pififratus took them away: as he did in like manner add these other here in the description of the hells in Homer to gratifie the ATHENIANS.

Bold Theseus, and Perithous stout, Descended both from gods immortal race, Triumphing still, this weary world about In feats of arms, and many a comely grace.

OEnopion and Others hold opinion, that Ariadne had two children by Thefens: the one of them was named OEno-Staphjus, The pia, and the other Staphylus. Thus amongst others the Poet Jon writeth it, who was born in the Ille of CHIO, and speaking of this City, he saith thus :

O Enopian which was the fon of worthy Theseus, Did cause men build this stately Town, which now triumpheth thus.

Now what things are found feemly in Poets fables, there is none but doth in manner fing them. But one Paenon born in the City of AMATHUNTA, reciteth this clean after another fort, and contrary to all other: faying, that Thefeus by tempest was driven with the Isle of CYPRUS, having with him Ariadne, which was great with child, and so fore fea-fick, that she was not able to abide it. In so much

Thefeus leav- as hewas forced to put her aland, and himself alterwards returning aboard, hoping to save his ship aeth Ariadae in gainst the storm, was compelled forthwith to loose into the sea. The women of the countrey did cour-Cyria. teoully receive and intreat Ariadne: and to comfort her again (for the was marveloully out of heart, to fee the was thus forfaken) they counterfeited Letters, as if Thefens had written them to her. And which hild in the groaning time was come, and the to be layed, they did their belt by all possible means to

fave her, but the died notwithstanding in labour, and could never be delivered : So she was honourably buried by the Ladies of CYPRUS. Thefeus not long after returned thither again, who took her death marvellous heavily, and left money with the inhabitants of the Countrey, to facrifice unto her yearly: and for memory of her, he caused two little Images to be molten; the one of copper,
The ceremony and the other of filver, which he dedicated unto her.
This facrifice is done the second day of Septemof the facilities ber, on which they do yet observe this ceremony: they do lay a young Child upon a bed, which pitdirect of Arial.

me in Gyptus.

This statute with a second a second per of the second property of the second property of the second per of the seco Wenns Ariadne, Stans do yet call the grove where her Tombe is fet up, the wood of Venus Ariadne. And yet there

Two Mines: are of the NANIANS, that report this otherwise: saying, There were two Mines, and two Ariadad two Arianes; whereof the one was married to Bacebus in the Isle of NANOS, of whom Staphylus was born: and the other the youngest, was ravished and carried away by Theseus, who afterward for fook her, Corcina Ariand the came into the Isle of Naxos with her Nurse called Corcyna, whose grave they do shew yer to this day. The second Ariadne died there also, but she had no such honour done to her after her

death, as to the first was given. For they celebrate the Feast of the first with all joy and mirth : where Thefens re- the Sacrifices done in memory of the fecond, be mingled with mourning and forrow. Thefeus then turneth out of departing from the Isle of Carra, arrived in the Isle of Dalos, where he did factifice in the Creta into the Temple of Apollo, and gave there a little Image of Venus, the which he had gotten of Ariadne. Then

lile of Delos. with the other young boys that he had delivered, he danced a kind of dance, which the Dallans keep to this day, as they fay; in which there are many turns and returns, much after the turnings of the Labyrinth. And the DELIANS call this manner of dance, the Crane, as Dicaarcus faith. And

The Coar Dance The feur danced it first about the Altar, which is called Ceraton, that is to fay, horn-staff; because it is made and builded of horns only, all on the left hand well and curioully fer together without any other binding. It is faid also, that he made a game in this Isle of Datos, in which at the first was

Palm a token given to him that overcame, a branch of Palm for reward of victory. But when they drew near to the coast of ATTICA, they were all joyful, he and his Master, that they forgot to set up their white The least Malter fail, by which they should have given knowledge of their health and safety unto Agens: Who seeing

othis filh for the black fail afar off, being out of all hope evermore to fee his fon again, took fuch a grief ar the white fail, his heart, that he threw himfelf headlong from the top of a cliff, and killed himfelf. So foon as The-

"Figur death. fear was arrived at the Port named "Phalerus, he performed the facrifices which he have to the Thefau atti-The gods at his departure: and fent an Herald of his before unto the City, to carry news of his fale arrived his Tribute.

The Herald found many of the City mourning the death of King Legens, Many other recei-

fafety. The Herald was content to take the garland, yet would he not in any wife put it on his head, The Herald

but did wind it about his Heralds rod he bare in his hand, and so returned forthwith to the sea, where Thefeus made his facrifices. Who perceiving they were not yet done, did refuse to enter into the Temple, and stayed without for troubling of the facrifices. Afterwards all ceremonies finished, he

ved him with great joy, as may be supposed. They would have crowned him also with a garland of slowers, for that he had brought so good tydings, that the Children of the City were returned in

went in and told him the news of his fathers death. Then he and his company mourning for forrow, hafted with speed towards the City. And this is the cause, why to this day, at the feast called Oscopho-

ria (as who would fay the fraft of boughs) the Herald hathon to his head, but his rod only crowned with flowers, and why the affiftants also after the Sacrifice done, do make such cries and exclamations: Eli, lenf, ion, ion: whereof the first is the cry and voice they commonly use to another to make haste, or else it is the foot of some long of Triumph: and the other is the voice and cry of men as it were in fear and trouble. After he had ended the Obsequies and Funerals for his Father, he performed all his Sacrifices unto Apollo, which he had vowed, the feventh day of the moneth of October, on which they October called arrived, at their return into the City of A T H E N S. Even fo the culton which they use at this day to Pranchon, the Attion feethe all manner of pulse, cometh of this: that those which then returned with Theses, did seethe in tongue. a great brais pot all the remain of their provision, and therewith made good chear together. Even Hered of Ire-

in such fort as this come up the cuftom to carry a branch of Olive, wreathed about with wool, which some in the life they call Irefone: because at that time they carried boughs of upplication, as we have old you be. of Humes and fore, About which they hang all forts of fruits: for then barrennessed did cease, as the verfes they sang

afterwards did witneffe

Bring him good Bread that is of fav'ry taste, With pleafant Figgs, and drops of dulcet mell: Then fomple Oyl, his body for to baste, And pare good Wise, to make him fleep full well.

Howbeit there are fome which will fay, that these veries were made for the Heraelides, that is to say,

those that descended from Hercules: which flying for their safety and succour unto the A T H E N I-A N S, were entertained and much made of by them for a time. But the most part hold opinion, they were made upon the occasion aforesaid. The vessell in which Theseus went and returned, was a Gal- Theseus went liot of thirty oars, which the A T H E N I AN S kept untill the time of Demetria, the Phalerian, always into Creta with taking away the old pieces of wood that were routen and area area in the Phalerian, always into Creta with the Tributetaking away the old pieces of wood that were rotten, and ever renewing them with new in their places. So that ever fince, in the disputations of the Philosophers touching things that increase, to wit, whe- Galliot of thirther they remain always one, or be made others: this Galliot was always brought in for example of ty oars.

doubt. For fome maintained, that it was fill one veffell: others to the contrary defended it was not Disputation fo. And they hold opinion also, that the feaft of boughs which is celebrated at ATHENS at this about increase time, was then first of all instituted by Theseus. It is said moreover, that he did not carry all the alledged for a wenches upon whom the Lots did fall, but chose two fair young boyes, whose faces were sweet and deli-doubt. cate as maidens be, that otherwise were hardy and quick-spirited: but he made them so ost bathe themfelves in hot bathes, and kept them from the heat of the Sunne, and so many times to wash, annoint,

fpeech, countenance and fashion of young maids, that they seemed to be like them, rather then young boyes: For there was no manner of difference to be perceived outwardly, and he mingled them with the gyrls, without the knowledge of any man. Afterwards when he was returned, he made a proceffion, in which both he and the other young boyes were apparelled then, as they be now which carry boughs on the day of the feaft in their hands. They carry them in the honour of Bacchus and Ariadne. following the fable that is told of them: or rather because they returned home just at the time and feason, when they gather the fruit of those trees. There are women which they call Deipnophores, that is to fay, supper-carriers, which are affiftants to the Sacrifice done that day, in representing the Mo-

and rub themselves with Oyls, which serve to supple and smooth their skins, to keep fresh and fair their colour, to make yellow and bright their hair; and withaldid teach them so to counterfer the

thers of those upon whom the Lots did fall, because they in like fort brought them both meat and drink. There they tell tales, for fo did their mothers tattle to their children to comfort and encourage them. All these particularities were written by Demon the Historiographer. There was moreover a place chosen out to build him a Temple in : and he himself ordained, that those houses which had paid tribute before unto the King of CRETA, should now yearly thenceforth become contribu-

taries towards the charges of a Solemn Sacrifice, which should be done in the honour of him: and he did aftign the order and administration of the fame, unto the house of the Physalides, in recompence function the fame in the of the curtefie which they shewed him when he arrived. Furthermore after the death of his Father Physiker, Agent, he undertook a marvellous great enterprife; for he brought all the inhabitants of the whole who were the Province of ATTICA, to be within the City of ATHENS, and made them all one Corporation, first that scawhich were before dispersed into divers Villages, and by reason thereof were very hard to be assembled together, when occasion was offered to establish any Order concerning the common State. Many

times also they were at variance together and by the ears, making warres one upon another. But Thefembrought The fens took the pains to go from village to village, and from family to family, to let them under the inhabitants stand the reasons why they should consent unto it. So he sound the poor people and private men reasos in he countrey dy to obey and follow his will, but the rich, and fuch as had authority in every village, all against it. of Attica into Neverthelesse he wan them, promising that it should be a Commonwealth, and not subject to the one city: power of any fole Prince, but rather a popular State. In which he would onely referve to himself the

charge of the Warres, and the prefervation of the Laws: for the reft, he was content that every Citizen in all, and for all should bear a like sway and authority. So there were some that willingly granted thereto. Others who had no liking thereof, yeelded notwithftanding for fear of his displeasure and power; which then was very great. So they thought it better to confent with good will, unto that he required, then to tarry his forcible compultion. Then he caused all the places where Justice was ministred, and all their Halls of assembly to be overthrown and pulled down. He removed straight

hare a rod in

Afty the Town-house of the Athe-The Feafts Panathenaa. Common-The Oracle of

Apollo at Del-

all Judges and Officers, and built a town-house, and a Counsell-hall, in the place where the City now ftandeth, which the Athenians call Asty, but he called the whole Corporation of them, ATHENS. Afterwards he inflituted the great Feaft and common Sacrifice for all the Countrey of ATTICA, which they call Panathenea. Then he ordained another Feaft also upon the fixteenth day of the moneth of fune, for all fit angers which should come to dwell in ATHENS, which was called Metacia, and is kept even to this day. That done, he gave over his Regall power according to The contraction is promife, and began to fet up an Effate or policy of a Commonwealth, beginning first with the eth, his king dom, and ma- fervice of the gods. To know the good fuccesse of the fortune of this City: from whence this Answer wom, and make the Oracle of Apollo in Delphos, to enquire of the fortune of this City: from whence this Anliwer was brought unto him:

O thou which art the Sonne of Ægeus, Beget by him on Pithem Daughter dear : The mighty fove, my Father glorious, By his decree hath faid there Shall appear A fut all end of every City here. Which end he will shall also come adown. Within the walls, of this thy stately Town. Therefore shew thou, a valiant constant mind And les no care, nor cark thy heart displease : For like unto a bladder blown with wind Thou halt be tost, upon the surging seas, Yet let not dint of dolours thee disease. For why ? show shalt not perish nor decay , Nor be ore come, nor yet be cast away.

It is found written also, that Sibylla afterwards gave out such a like Oracle over the City of

ATHENS:

The bladder blown may fleet upon the fludde, But cannot fink , nor flick in filthy mudde.

Moreover, because he would further yet augment his people, and enlarge his City, he entited many to come and dwell there, by offering them the felf fame freedom and priviledges which the natural born Citizens had. So that many judge, that these words which are in use at this day in ATHENS, when any open Proclamation is made , All people, come je bither : bethe felf fame which Thefeus then cauled to be proclaimed, when he in that fort did gather a people together of all Nations. Yet for Thefen maketh all that , he fuffered not the great multitude that came thither tagge and ragge , to be without diffindifference of thos of degrees and orders. For he first divided the Noblemen from Husbandmen and Artificers, flates and deappointing the Noblemen as judges and Magiftrates to judge upon matters of Religion, and touching appointing the Problemen as judges and magnification judge upon matters on Actigion, and toltching grees in his Commonweal, the fervice of the gods: and of them also he did chuse Rulers, to bear civil Office in the Commonweal. weal, to determine the law, and to tell all holy and divine things. By this means he made the Noblemen and the two other effates equall in voice. And as the Noblemen did paffe the other in honour, even fo the Artificers exceeded them in number, and the Husbandmen them in profit. Now that The-Thefeus the first feus was the first who of all others yeelded to have a Commonweal or popular Estate (as Arificele that gave over faith) and did give over his Regall power : Homer himself feemeth to testific it, in numbring the Ships popular State. CIANS, he onely calleth the ATHENIANS People. Moreover The function of the Roll of Manager and Money, which he marked with the framp of an Ox. in memory of the Roll of Manager and Company of the Roll of the R Minor, or elfe to provoke his Citizens to give themselves to labour. They say also that of this Money they were fince called Hecatomban, and Decaban, which fignifieth worth an hundred Oxen, and worth ten Oxen, Furthermore having joyned all the territory of the City of MEGARA unto the Thefeus Coin. countrey of ATTICA, he caused that notable sour-square Pillar to be set up for their confines within the straight of Peloponnesus, and engraved thereupon this superscription, that declareth the feparation of both the countries which confine there together. The superscription is this:

Where Titan doth begin, his beams for to display, Even that way stands Ionia, in fertile wife alway : And where again he goeth, adown to take his rest, There stands Peloponnesus land, for there I count is west.

It was he also which made the Games called Ifthmia, after the imitation of Hereules, to the end that as the GRECIANS did celebrate the Featt of Games called Olympia, in the honour of Japiter, by Herentes ordinance: fo, that they should also celebrate the Games called Ifthmia, by his order and institution, in the honour of Neptune. For those that were done in the Straights in the honour of Melicerta, were done in the night, and had rather form of Sacrifice or of a mystery, then of Games Thefess ered- and open Feaft. Yet fome will fay, that these Games of Ishmia were inflituted in the bonour and ed the Games memory of Sciren, and that Thefens ordained them in fatisfaction of his death; because he was his Tibbusis in the Cofin-german, being the Sonne of Cantthus, and of Heniocha the Daughter of Pitheus. Others say that it was Sinnia and not Sciron , and that for him Thefeu made thefe Games, and not for the memory of the other. Howfoever it was, he specially willed the CORINTHIANS, that they should give unto those that came from ATHENS to see their Games of Ishmia, fo much place to fit down before them (in the most honourable part of the feast place) as the fail of their ship should cover, in

the which they came from ATHENS: thus do Hellanicus and Andron Halicarnaffeus write hereof. Touching the voyage he made by the fea Major, Philochorus, and some others hold opinion, that he Thefeus journing went thither with Hercules against the AMAZONES: and that to honour his valiantness, Hercules into Mare magave him Antiopa the AMAZONE. But the more part of the other Historiographers, namely Hellani- jus. cus, Pherecides, and Herodorm, dowrite, that Thefeus went thither alone, after Hercules voyage, and that he took this AMAZONE prisoner; which is likeliest to be true. For we do not find that any other who went this journey with him, had taken any AMAZONE prisoner besides himself. Bion also the Antique the Historiographer, notwithstanding this saith, that he brought her away by deceit and stealth. For the Amazone 12-AMAZONES (faith one) naturally loving men, did not flee at all when they faw them land in vished by Thetheir countrey, but fent them prefents, and that Thefeus entired her to come into his Ship, who feut, brought him a present : and so soon as she was aboard, he hoysed his fail, and so carried her away. Another Historiographer Menecrates, who wrote the History of the City NICEA in the country of BYTHINIA, faith: That Thefens having this AMAZONE Antiopa with him, remained a certain time upon those coasts, and that amongst other he had in his company three younger brethren of ATHENS, Ennius, Thors, and Solois. This laft, Solois, was marvellously in love with Antiopa, Solois fell in and never bewrayed it to any of his other companions, faving unto one with whom he was most fa- love with Anmiliar, and whom he trufted best: so that he reported this matter unto Antiopa. But she utterly rejected his fuit, though otherwise she handled it wisely and courteously, and did not complain to Thefeus of him. Howbeit the young man despairing to enjoy his love, took it so inwardly, that desperately he leapt into the River, and drowned himself: Which when Thefeus understood, and the salais drowncause also that brought him to this desperation and end, he was very forry, and angry also. Where- ed himselffor upon he remembred a certain Oracle of Pythia, by whom he was commanded to build a City in that love. place in a strange countrey, where he should be most forry, and that he should leave some that were about him at that time, to govern the fame. For this cause therefore he built a City in that place, which he named PYTHOPOLIS, because he built it onely by the commandment of the Nun Pythia. He called the River in the which the young man was drowned, Solois, in memory of him: Solois ft. and left his two Brethren for his Deputies and as Governours of this new City, with another Gentleman of ATHENS, called Hermus. Hereof it cometh, that at this day the PYTHOPOLITANS call a Pythopolis certain place of their City, Hermus house. But they fail in the accent, by putting it upon the last built by fyllable: for in pronouncing it so, Hermus signifieth Mercury. By this means they do transfer the honour due to the memory of Hermus, unto the god Mercury. Now hear what was the occasion The cause of of the wars of the AMAZONES, which methinks was not a matter of small moment, nor an en- the wars of terprize of a woman. For they had not placed their Camp within the very City of ATHENS, nor the Amazones had not fought in the very place it felf (called PNYCE) adjoyning to the Temple of the Mufes, if against the they had not first conquered or subdued all the country thereabouts: neither had they all come at the first, so valiantly to affail the City of ATHENS. Now whether they came by land from so far 2 countrey, or that they passed over an arm of the sea, which is called Bosphorus Cimmericus, being Bosphorus Cimfrozen as Hellanicus faith, it is hardly to be credited. But that they camped within the precinct of the mericus an arm very City it felf, the names of the places which continue yet to this present day do witness it, and of the sea. the graves also of the women which died there. But so it is, that both Armies lay a great time one in the face of the other, ere they came to battle. Howbeit at the length Thefens having first made Sacrifice unto Feare the godders, according to the countel of a Prophecy he had received, he gave them Thefeut fightbattle in the moneth of August, on the same day, in the which the ATHENIANS do even at this ethabattle present day solemnize the Feast, which they call Boedromia. But Clidemus the Historiographer, de- with the Amifirous particularly to write all the circumstances of this encounter, saith; that the left point of their The order of battle bent towards the place which they call AMAZONION: and that the right point marched by the Amazone the fide of CHRYSA, even to the place which is called PNYCE, upon which the ATHENIANS battle. coming towards the Temple of the Mufes, did first give their charge. And for proof that this is true, the graves of the women which died in the first encounter, are found yet in the great street, which goeth towards the gate Piraica, near unto the Chappel of the little god Chalcodus. And the ATHE. MIANS (faith he) were in this place repulled by the AMAZONES, even to the place where the Images of Eumenides are, that is to fay, of the Furies. But on the other fide also, the ATHENIANS coming towards the quarters of Palladium, Ardettus, and Lucium, drave back their right point even to within their Camp, and flew a great number of them. Afterwards, at the end of four moneths, peace Peace concluwas taken between them by means of one of the women called Hyppolita. For this Historiographer ded at four calleth the AMAZONE which Thefeus married, Hyppolita, and not Antiopa. Nevertheless, some say moneths end, that she was slain (fighting on Thefers side) with a dart, by another called Molpadia. In memory by the means whereast the Biller thick is indeed to Tamber the Biller this is indeed to the Biller this is indeed the Biller this is indeed to the Bill whereof, the Pillar which is joined to the Temple of the Olympian ground, was fet up in her honour. We are not to marvel, if the history of things so ancient, be found so diversly written. For there are also that write, that Queen Antiopa, sent those secretly which were hurt then into the City of CAL-CIDE, where some of them recovered, and were healed: and others also died, which were buried near to the place called AMAZONION. Howfoever it was, it is most certain that this war was ended by agreement. For a place adjoyning to the Temple of Thefens, doth bear record of it, being called Orcomosium: because the peace was there by solemn oath concluded. And the sacrifice also Orcomosion the doth truly verifie it, which they have made to the AMAZONES, before the Feaft of Thefins, long name of a time out of minde. They of Magana also do shew a Tombe of the AMAZONES in their City,

which is as they go from the market place, to the place they call Rhus; where they find an ancient

Olympis.

Ancient Tombes of lofenge fashi-Thermolon Hamon. fl.

Hybbolisus by Antiopa. Phadra Thefeus Wife and Minor Daughter King of Thefeus marriages.

brethren in ried Deilamia. The Lapithe overcome the Centauri. at Trackina.

Tombe, cut in form and fashion of a losenge. They say that there died other of the AMAZONES alfo, near unto the City of CHABRONDA, which were buried all along the little brook passing by the same, which in the old time (in mine opinion) was called Thermodon, and is now named Hamon, as we have elsewhere written in the Life of 'Demosthenes. And it seemeth also, that they did not pass through THESSALY without fighting : for there are feen yet of their Tombes all about the City of Scoruss, hard by the rocks which be called the Doggs-head. And this is that which is worthy memory (in mine opinion) touching the wars of thefe AMAZONES. How the Poet telleth, that the AMAZONES made wars with Thefeus to revenge the injury he did to their Queen Antiopa, refufing her, to marry with Phadra: and for the murder which he telleth that Hercules did, that methinks is altogether but a device of Poets. It is very true, that after the death of Antiopa, Thefeus married Phadra, having had before of Antiopa a Son called Hyppolitus, or as the Poet Pindarus writeth, Demophon. And for that the Historiographers do not in any thing speak against the tragical Poets, in that which concerneth the ill hap that chanced to him, in the persons of this his Wife, and of his Son: we must needs take it to be lo, as we find it written in the Tragedies. And yet we find many other reports touching the marriages of Thefeus, whose beginnings had no great good honest ground, neither fell out their ends very fortunate: and yet for all that they make no Tragedies of them, neither have they been played in the Theaters. For we read that he took away Auaxo, the TROSZENIAN, and that after he had killed Sinnis and Cercyon, he took their Daughters perforce: and that he did also marry Pheribea the Mother of Ajax, and afterwards Pherebaa, and Toppa the Daughter of Iphicles. And they blame him much alfo, for that he fo lightly for fook his Wite Ariadne, for the love of Agles the Daughter of Panopeus, as we have recited before. Laftly, he took away Hellen: which ravifiment filled all the Realm of ATTEA with wars, and finally was the very occasion that forced him to forsake his countrey, and brought him at length to his end, as we will tell you hereafter. Albeit in his time other Princes of GREECE had done many goodly and notable exploits in the wars, yet Herodorus is of opinion, that Thefeus was never in any one of Thefeur battles them: faving that he was at the battle of the Lapithe against the Centauri. Others say to the con-Thefau battles them: I away that he was at the journey of Colchide with John, and that he did help Meleager to kill the Proveth, Not wild Bore of Calydonia: from whence (as they say) this Proverb came; Not without Thefeus: meaning that such a thing was not done without great help of another. Howbeit it is certain that Thefeus felf did many famous acts, without aid of any man, and that for his valiantness this Pro-Proverb, This verb came in use, which is spoken; This is another Thesens. Also he did help Adrastus King of the is another The. Argives, to recover the bodies of those that were flain in the battle, before the City of THE-BES. Howbeit it was not, as the Poet Euripides faith, by force of arms, after he had overcome the THER NS in battle; but it was by composition: And thus the greatest number of the most ancient writers do declare it. Furthermore, Philochorns writeth, that this was the first treaty that ever was made to recover the dead bodies flain in battle: Nevertheless we read in the histories and gests of Hercules, that he was the first that ever suffered his enemies to carry away their dead bodies, after they had been put to the fword. But wholoever he was, at this day in the village of ELEUTHERES, they do shew the place where the people were buried, and where Princes Tombes are seen about the City of ELEUSIN, which he made at the request of Adrastus. And for testimony hereof, the Tragedy Afchilus made of the ELBUSINIANS, where he caufeth it to be spoken even thus to Thefens himself, doth clearly overthrow the peritioners in Emipides. Touching the friendship betwixt Pirithous and him, it is faid it began thus: The renown of his valiancy was marvelloufly blown abroad through all Gazzes, and Pirithons defirous to know it by experience, went even of purpose to invade his Countrey, and brought away a certain booty of Oxen of his, taken out of the Countrey of MARATHON. Thefeus being advertised thereof, armed straight, and went to the rescue. Pirithous hearing of his coming, fled not at all, but returned back fuddenly to meet him. And so foon as they came to see one another, they both wondred at each others beauty and courage, and so had they no defire to fight. But Pirishous reaching out his hand first to Thefeus, faid unto him , I make your felf judge of the damage you have fuftained by my invafion, and with all my heart I will make fuch satisfaction, as it shall please you to asses it at. Thefeus then did not only release him of all the damages he had done, but also requested him he would become his friend, and brother in arms. Here-Thefau fwom upon they were presently sworn brethren in the field : after which oath betwirt them, Pirishous married Deidamia, and fentto pray Thefeus to come to his marriage, to vifit his Countrey, and to make merry with the Lapithe. He had bidden also the Centeurs to the feath: who being drunk, committed many lewed parts, even to the forcing of women. Howbeit the Lapitha chaftifed them to well, that they flew fome of them prefently in the place, and drave the rest forwards out of the countrey by the help of Thefeus, who armed himself, and fought on their fide. Yet Herodorus writeth the matter fomewhat contrary, faying, that Thefeus went not at all untill the war was well begun; and that it was the first time that he faw Hercules, and spake unto him near unto the City of TRACHING when he was then quiet, having ended all his far voyages and greatest troubles. They report that this meeting together was full of great cheer, much kindness and honourable entertainment between them, and great courtesie was offered to each other. Nevertheless methinks we should give better credit to those writers that say they met many times together, and that Hercules was accepted and received into the brotherhood of the mysteries of Elbusin, by the means of the countenance and favour which Thefeus shewed unto him: and that his purification also was thereby allowed of, who was to be purged of necessity of all his ill deeds and cruelties, before he could enter into

the company of those holy mysteries. Furthermore, Theseus was fifty years old when he took away Hellen and ravished her, which wasvery young, and not of age to be married, as Hellanic us faith. Theleas files By reason whereof, some seeking to hide the ravishment of her as a haynous fact, do report it was years old when not he, but one Idas and Lynceus that carried her away, who left her in his cuftody and keeping her away, who left her in his cuftody and keeping her away. and that Thefeus would have kept her from them, and would not have delivered her to her Brethren Caftor and Pollux, which afterwards did demand her again of him. Others again fay, it was her own Father Tyndarus, who gave her to keep, for that he was afraid of Enariphorus the Son of Hippocoon, who would have had her away by force. But that which cometh nearest to the troth in this case, and which indeed by many Authors is testified, was in this fort. Theseus and Perithons went together, to the City of LACEDEMON, where they took away Hellen (being yet very young) The magneeven as the was dancing in the Temple of Diana, furnamed Orthia: and they fled for life. They of Hellows carifor LACEDEMON fent after her, but those that followed went no further then the City of TEGEA, ment.

Now when they were escaped out of the Country of PELOPONNESUS, they agreed to draw Lors Plant Orthit together, which of them two should have her, with condition that whose Lot it was to have her, he should take her to his Wife, and should be bound also to help his Companion to get him another. It was Thefens hap to light upon her, who carried her to the City of APHIDNES, because the was thefanter yet too young to be married. Whither he caused his Mother to come to bring her up, and gave his Hellen in the Friend called Aphidnes the charge of them both, recommending her to his good care, and to keep it City of Aprilfo fecretly, that no body should know what was become of her. Because he would do the like for The fact were Perithous (according to the agreement made betwirt them) he went into Epirus with him to with Feritheas fteal the Daughter of Aidonaus, King of the Molossians, who had furnamed his Wile Pro- bind Efratio ferpina, his Daughter Proferpina, and his Dog Cerberus, with whom he made them fight which fleat Proferies. ferpina, his Daughter Proferpina, and nis Dog Ceroerus, with whom he made menting a winding a mar Aldonear came to ask his Daughter in marriage, promiting to give her to him that should overcome his Ceradulhier. berus. But the King understanding that Perishous was come, not to request his Daughter in marriage, but to fteal her away, he took him Priloner with Thefeus; and as for Perithous, he caused in pieces with him presently to be torn in pieces with his Dog, and shit Theseus up in close prison. In the mean Cerberus. time there was one at ATHENS called Menestheus, the Son of Peteus : which Peteus was the Son Thefeus close of Orneus, and Orneus was the Son of Eritheus. This Menestheus was the first that began to flatter the people, and did feek to win the favour of the commonalty, by fweet enticing words: by which device heftirred up the chiefest of the City against Thesens (who indeed long before began to the weary of him) by declaring unto them how Thesens had raken from them their Royalties and Signiories, and had shut them up in such sort within the walls of a City, that he might the better keep them in subjection and obedience in all things, after his will. The poor inferiour fort of peoples he did stir up also to Rebellion, perswading them that it was no other then a dream of Liberty that was promifed them: and how contrariwife they were clearly dispossessed and thrown out of their own houses, of their Temples, and from their natural places where they were born, to the end onely that of many good and loving Lords which they were wont to have before, they should now be compelled to serve one onely head, and a strange Lord. Even as Menestheus was very hot about this practife, the War of the Tyndarides fell out at that instant, which greatly furthered his pre- The war of tence. For these Tyndarides (to wit the Children of Tyndarus) Castor and Pollux, came down with the Tyndarides a great Army against the City of ATHENS : and some suspect fore that Menestheus was cause of with the Athetheir comming thither. Howbeit at the first entry they did no hurt at all in the countrey, but only demanded restitution of their Sister. To whom the Citizens made answer, that they knew not where she was left: and then the Brethren began to make spoil, and offer war indeed. Howbeit there was one called Academus, who having knowledge (I cannot tell by what means) that the was fecretly hidden in the City of APHIDNES, revealed it unto them. By reason whereof the Tyndarides did always honour him very much, so long as he lived, and afterwards the LACEDEMONIANS, having of burnt and destroyed the whole countrey of ATTICA throughout, they would yet never touch the Academy of ATHENS for Academus fake. Yet Dicearchus faith, that in the Army of the Tyndarides there were Academis why two ARCADIANS, Echedemus and Marathus, and how of the Name of one of them, it was then called fo called. the place of Echedemy, which fithence hath been called Academia: and after the Name of the other, which seems won there was a Village called MARATHON, because he willingly offered himself to be sacrificed before and razed by the battle, as obeying the order and commandment of a Prophecy. So they went and pitched their the Tyntarides Camp before the City of APHINES, and having won the battle and taken the City by affault, they also that the City of APHINES, and having won the battle and taken the City by affault, they food that at the razed the place. They fay that Alyeus, the Son of Seiron was flain in this field, who was in the Hoff of Seiron was flain in this field. the Tyndarides, and that after his Name, a certain quarter of the Territory of MEGARA, was called spinious.

Alyons, in the which his body was buried. Howbeit Here as writeth, that The fens felt did kill him before APHIDNES: In witness whereof he alledgeth certain verses which speak of Alycus.

While as he fought with all his might and main In thy defence fair Hellen for to fight, In Aphidnes upon the pleasant plain, Bold Theseus to cruel death him dight.

Howheir it is not likely to be true, that Thefeus being there, the City of APHIDNES, and his Mother also were taken. But when it was won, they of ATHENS began to quake for fear, and Menestheus counselled them to receive the Tyndarides into the City, and to make them good chear, fo they would make no wars but upon Thefeus, which was the first that had done the wrong and injury; and that to all other else they should shew favour and good will. And so it fell out. For

Deor. lib. 3. Kings called Ansiles. Anaces, why J.thra taken

when the Tyndarides had all in their power to do as they listed, they demanded nothing elfe but that The The Latitus they might be received into their Corporation, and not to be reckoned for strangers, no more than Hereales was : the which was granted the Tyndarides, and Aphidnus did adopt them for his Children, as Pylins had adopted Hercules. Moreover they did honour them as if they had been gods, calling them Anaces. Either because they ceased the wars, or for that they ordered themselves so well, that their whole Army being lodged within the City, there was not any hurt or displeafure done to any person: but as it became those that have the charge of any thing, they did carefully watch to preferve the good quiet thereof. All which this Greek word Anaco; doth fignifie, whereof perchance it comes that they call the Kings Analtes. There are others also who hold opinion that they were called Anaces, because of their Stars which appeared in the air. For the ATTICAN Tongue faith, Anecas, and Anecathen, where the common people fay Ano, and Anothen, that is to fay, carried to La above. Nevertheles Libra, Thefeus Mother, was carried priloner to LACEDEMON, and from thence to TROIA with Hellen, as fome fay: and as Homer himfelf doth winnels in his vertes, where he ons of Homers speaketh of the Women that followed Hellen:

Athra the Daughter dear of Pitheus aged Sire,

And with her fair Clymene she, whose eyes most men desire.

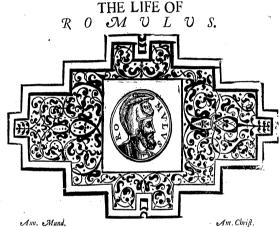
Yet there are other who as well reject these two veries, and maintain they are not Homers: as also they reprove all that is reported of Munyebus: to wit, that Laicide being privily conceived of him by Demophor, he was brought up fecretly by Athra within TROIA. But Hefter the Historian in his thirteenth of his Histories of ATTICA, maketh a recital far contrary to other, faying, that some hold opinion, that Paris Alexander was flain in battle by Achilles and Patroclus in the Country of Thesopinion, that Paris Alexander was flain in battle by Achilles and Patroclus in the Country of Those and that his Brother Hetter took the City of Troezen, from whence he brought away Arbra: in which there is no manner of appearance or likelihood. But Admins King of the Molossians, feating Hercules one day as he paffed through his Realm, defcended by chance into talk of The few and Perithous, how they came to steal away his Daughter secretly, and after told how they were also punished. Hercules was marvellously forry to understand that one of them was now dead, and the other in danger to die; and thought with himfelf that to make his mone vered out of Defaults, it would not help the matter: he belought him only that he would deliver Thefeus for pilon by Htr his fake. And he granted him. Thus Thefeus being delivered of his captivity, returned to ATHENS, and the matter is the belought him only that he would deliver Thefeus to the thing the state of his captivity, returned to ATHENS, and the granted him. where his friends were not alrogether kept under-by his enemies : and at his return he did dedicate to where his rivenes were not an openical kept and arroy in a constant a last in his own honour. And where Hercules all the Temples, which the City had before caused to be built in his own honour. And where first of all they were called The feat, he did now farnamethem all Hercules, excepting four, as Philochorus writeth Now when he was arrived at ATHENS, he would immediately have commanded and ordered things as he was wont to do: but he found himself troubled much with fedition, because those who had hated him of a long time, had added also to their old cankred hate, a distain and contempt to fear The Athenian him any more. And the common people were now become fo stubborn, that where before they would diffinition to they have done all that they were commanded, and have fpoken nothing to the contrary; now they looked to be born with and flattered. Whereupon Thefens thought at the first to have used force, but he was forced by the faction and contention of his enemies to let all alone; and in the end, defpairing he should ever bring his matters to pass to his desire, he secretly sent away his Children unto the Isle of Eu-BOEA, to Eiphener the Son of Chalcodus. And himself after he had made many withes and curies against the Athenians, in the village of Gargettus, in a place which for that cause to this day is called Araterion, (that is to fay, the place of curlings) he did take the leas, and went into the Isle of Scinos, where he had Lands and Pollettons, and thought allo to have found Friends. Lycomedes reigned at that time, and was King of the Ille, unto whom Thefens made request for fone Land, as intending to dwell there; albeit forme fay that he required him to give him aid against the ATHENIANS. Lycomedes, were it that he doubted to enterrain to great a Perforage, or that he did it to gratifie Meinto the Ifle o These crucity all his Country round about: but when he had him there, he threw him down headlong from the top of the Rocks to the bottom, and put him thus unfortunately to death. Yet other write, that he fell down of himfelf by an unfortunate chance, walking one day after supper as he was wont. There was no man King of Athens at that time that did follow or purfue his death, but Menefibe u quietly remained King of ATHENS: and the Children of The few, as private Soldiers followed Elphraor in the Wars of TROIA. But after the death of Menefibeus, who died in the journey to TROY, Thefens Sons returned unto ATHENS, where they recovered their State. Sithence there were many occasions which moved the ATHENI-ANS to reverence and honour him as a demy-god. For in the Battle of Marathon, many thought they faw his shadow and image in arms, fighting against the barbarous people. And after the wars of the Medes (the year wherein Pheden was Governour of ATHENS) the Nun Pithia answered the ATHE NIANS, who had fent to the Oracle of Apollo: that they should bring back the bones of Thefeus, and putting them in fome honourable place, they should preferve and honour them devously. But it was a hard matter to find his grave; and if they had found ir, yet had it been a hard thing to have brought his bones away, for the malice of those barbarous people which inhabited that Isler which were forwild and the like of Scient which is the state of the state of those with the like of Scient which were forwing taken the Island(as we have the like of Scient which were forwing taken the Island(as we have the like of \$150 written in his Life) and feeking his grave: perceiving by good hapan Eagle pecking with her beak, and 793, and bring freaping with her claws in a place of fome pretty heighth: ftraight it came into his mind (as by divine

inspiration) to search and dig the place, where was found the Tomb of a great body, with the head of a Spear which was of brafs, and a Sword with it. All which things were brought to ATHENS by

Cimon in the Admiral-gally. The ATHENIANS received them with great joy, with processions and goodly Sacrifices, as if Thefeus himfelf had been alive, and had returned into the City again. At this day all these relicks lye yet in the midst of the City, near to the place where the young men do These we Tomb. nse all their exercises of body. There is free liberty of access for all slaves and poor men (that are afflicted and pursued by any mightier than themselves) to pray and sacrifice in remembrance of These who while he lived was protector of the oppreffed, and did courteoully receive their requests and Petitions that prayed to have aid of him. The greatest and most folemn Sacrifice they do unto him. is on the eighth day of October, in which he returned from CRETA with the other young Children of A-THENS. Howbeit they do not leave to honour him every eighth day of all other moneths, either because he arrived from TROEZEN at ATHENS the eighth day of June, as Diodorus the Colinographer writeth: or for that they thought that number to be meetelf for him, because the bruit ran he was begotten of Meptune. They do facrifice also to Neptune the eighth day of every moneth, because the number of eight is the first cube made of even number, and the double of the first square: which called different doth represent a ftediaftness immoveable, properly attributed to the might of Neptune, whom for lists and Gain-

this cause we surname Asphalius, and Gaiochus, which by interpretation doth fignifie the lafe keeper and class.

The end of THESEUS Life.



Ann. Mund. 3198.

the stayer of the earth.

HE Historiographers do not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for Divers crimiwhat cause the great Name of the City of ROME (the glory whereof is One about the Name of Rome blown abroad through all the world) was first given unto it. For some think that the Pelaigians, after they had overcome the greatest part of the world, and had inhabited and subdued many Nations, in the end did stay

themselves in that place where it was new builded; and for their great ftrength and power in arms, they gave the Name of Rome unto the City, as fignifying power in the Greek tongue. Other fay, that after the taking and destruction of TROIA, there were certain TROIANS, which faving themselves from the sword, took such vessels as they found at ad-

venture in the Haven; and were by windes put to the Thus CANE shore, where they anchered near unto the River of Tyber. There their Wives being to fore fea-fick, that possibly they could not any Tybris st. more endure the boifterous furges of the feas, it happened one of them among the rest (the Noblest and wifest of the company) called Roma, to counfel the other Women of her companions, to set their Ships afire; which they did accordingly. Wherewith their Husbands at the first were marvelloully offended. But afterwards, being compelled of necessity to plant themselves near unto the City of Pallantium, they were appealed when they faw things profper better then they hoped for, finding the foil there fertile, and the people their neighbours civil and gentle in entertaining them. Wherefore among other The beginning honours they did to requite this Lady Roma, they called their City after her Name, as from whom came of killing their the original cause of the building and soundation thereof. They say, that from thence came this custom histolle on the continuing yet to this day at ROME, that the Women faluting their Kins olks and Husbands, do kils from the Tre-

them on the mouth, for fo did thefe TROIA N Ladies to please their Husbands, and to win them again, after they had loft their favours, and procured their displeasures with burning of their ships. Other fay, that Roma was the Daughter of Iralin, and of Lucaria, or elfe of Telephus the Son of Hercules, and Wife of Aneu: other lay, of Afeanius the Son of Aneu, who named the City after her Name. Other hold opinion, that it was Romanus (the Son of Oliffes and of Circe) that first founded ROME: other will fay, that it was Romus the Son of Emathion, whom Diamedes fent thither from TROIA. Other write, that it was one Romis a Tyrant of the LATINS, who drave the Thuscans out of flose parts: which departing out of Thessaly, went first of all into Lydia, and afterwards from Lypia into It aly. And furthermore, they who think that Romulus (as indeed it carrieth best likelihood) was he that gave the Name to the City, do not agree about his ancestors. For some of them write, that he was the Son of Aneas, and of Dexistes the Daughter of Phorbus, and that he was Vables of Roredus birth. brought into ITALY of a little Child with his Brother Remus: and that at that time the River of Tyber being overflown, all other Ships were call away, faving the Ship in which the two little Boys were, which by great good hap came to ftay upon a very plain even ground on the bank : and because the Children beyond all hope were faved by this means, therefore the place was afterwards called ROMA. Other fay, that Roma the Daughter of the first Trojan Lady was married unto Latinus the Son of Telemachus, by whom the had Romulus. Other write, that it was Amilia the Daughter of Amau, and of Lavinia, which was begotten with child by the god Mars. Other tell a tale of Romalus birth, nothing true nor likely. For it is faid that there was fometime a King of Alba named Tarchetim, a very wicked and cruel man, in whose house through the permission of the gods, appeared such a like vision: that there rose up in the hearth of his chimney the form and fashion of a mans privy-member, which continued there many days. And they fay, that at that time there was in Thuscane an An Oracle of Oracle of Thetis, from whom they brought unto this wicked King Tarebetius fuch an answer; that he Therefore There of There, from whom they of organization and the state of thould cause his Daughter yet unmarried to have carnal company with the ftrange thing, for she should cause his Daughter yet unmarried to have carnal company with the strange thing, for she should be famous for his valiancy, for strength of body, and his happy success, should be famous for his valiancy, for strength of body, and his happy success, wherein he should exceed all men of his time. Tarchetim told this Oracle unto one of his Daughters, and willed her to entertain this ftrange thing: but fhe diffaining to do it, fent one of her waiting women to undertake the entertainment. But Tarchetius was fo mad at this, that he caused them both to be taken to put them to death: howbeit the goddess Vesta appeared to him in his sleep in the night, and charged him he should not do it. Whereupon he did command them to make him a piece of Cloath in the prifon, with promife that they flouid be married when they had finished it. These poor Maids toiled at it all the live long day, but in the night there came other (by Tarchetiss commandment) that did undo all they had done the day before. In the mean time, this waiting woman that was got with child by this ftrange thing, was delivered of two goodly boys or twins: whom Tarchetiun gave unto one Teratius, with express commandment he should cast them away. This Teratius carried them to the bank of the River: thinker came a fhe-Wolf and gave them fack, and certain Birds that brought little crums and put them in their mouthes, untill a Swineheard perceiving them, and wondring at the fight, did boldly go to the Children, and took them away with him. These lufants being thus preferved, after they were come to mans state, did set upon Tarchettin and sew him. One Promathion an Italian writer, delivereth this ftory thus. But the report that carrieth best credit of all, and is allowed of by many writers, cometh from Diocles Peparethian (whom Fabius Pictor followeth in many things) who was the first that put forththis story among the Grecians, and especially the chiefest points of it. Though this matter be formwhat diversly taken, yet in effect the story is thus. The right line and bloud of the Kings of Alba descended from Aneas, by succession from the Father to the Son : and the Kingdom fell in the end between two Brethren, Nimitor and A-See the frag. mulius. They agreed by Lot to make division between them, whereof the one to have the Kingdom, and the other all the Gold, Silver, ready Money, Goods and Jewells brought from TRO1A. Numitor see and Hall by his Lotchofe the Realm for his portion: Anulius having all the Gold and Treasure in his hands, did find himfelf thereby the ftronger, and fo did eafily take his Realm from him. And fearing left Romalus kin- his Brothers Daughter might have Children which one day might thruff him out again, he made her a Nun of the goddefs Vestas, there to pass her days in virginity, and never to be married: (fone call her Rhea, other Sylvia, and other Ilia) nevertheless not long after the was found Resentar Mo- with child, againft the rule and proteffion of the Veftal Nuns. So nothing had faved her from present death, but the Petition of Antho the Daughter of King Anulius, who entreated her Father for her life : yet notwithftanding fhe was ftraightly locked up, that no body could fee her, nor speak with her, left the should be brought to bed without Amulias knowledge. In the end she was delivered of two fair Boys and marvellous great twins: which made Annulius more afraid than before. So he commanded one of his men to take the two Children, and to throw them away, and deftroy them. Some fay that this fervants Name was Faustulus: other think it was he that brought them up. But whofoever he was, he that had the charge to throw them away, put them in a Trough, and went towards the River with intention to throw them in. Howbeit he found it rifen fo high, and runing so swiftly, that he durft not come near the waters side, and so they being in the Trough, he laid them on the bank. In the mean time the River swelling still, and overflowing the bank, in such fort that it came under the Trough, did gently list up the Trough, and carried it unto a great plain, called at this prefent Cermanum, and in the old time Germanum (as I take it) because the ROMANS called the Brothers of Father and Mother, Germani. Now there was near unto this Common. place a wild Fig-tree which they called Ruminalis, of the Name of Romulus, as the most part thought: Raminalis.

or elsebecause the beasts seeding there, were wont to come under the same in the extream heat of the day, and there did ruminate, that is, chew their cud in the shadow : or perhaps because that the two Children did fuck the teat of the Wolfe, which the ancient LATINS call RUMA, and they at this day do yet call the goddess on whom they cry out to give their Children suck, Rumilia. The goddess And in their facrifices to her they use no wine, but offer up Milk and Water mingled with Hony. To Rumilja. these two Children lying there in this sort, they write, there came a she-Wolse, and gave them suck, and a Hitwaw also which did help to nourish and keep them : These two beasts are thought to be confecrated to the god Mars, and the LATINS do fingularly honour and reverence the Hitwaw. This did much help to give credit to the words of the Mother, who affirmed she was conceived of those two Children, by the god Mars. Howbeit some think she was deceived in her opinion ; for Amulius that had her maidenhead, went to her all armed, and perforcedid ravish her. Other hold opinion that the Name of the Nurse which gave the two Children suck with her breafts, gave occafion to common report to erre much in this tale, by reason of the double signification thereof. For the LATINS do call with one felf name she-Wolves Lupas, and Women that give their bodies to all comers; as this Nurse the Wife of Faustulus (that brought these Children home to her house) did use to do. By her right Name she was called Acca Laurentia, unto whom the ROMANS do sacrifice yet unto this day : and the Priest of Mars doth offer unto her in the moneth of April, the shed nce yet unto this day. and the Feaft it felf is called Laurentia. It is true that Wife, the they honour also another Laurentia for like occasion. The Clark or Sexton of Hercules Temple, not nursed the they honour alto another Laurentia to the octation, they honour alto another Laurentia to the knowing one day how to drive away the time, as it should seem, of a certain liveliness and boldness, Treins, knowing one day how to give away the time, as it should seem, of a certain liveliness and boldness, Treins, knowing one day how to give a way the time of the did win, Hercules The Greek did defire the god Hercules to play at Dice with him, with condition that if he did win, Hercules The Greek did defire the god Hercules to play at Dice with him, with condition that if he did win, Hercules The Greek did defire the god Hercules to play at Dice with him, with condition that if he did win, Hercules The Greek did defire the god Hercules to play at Dice with him, with condition that if he did win, Hercules The Greek did defire the god Hercules to play at Dice with him, with condition that if he did win, Hercules The Greek did defire the god Hercules to play at Dice with him, with condition that if he did win, Hercules The Greek did defire the god He fhould be bound to fend him fome good fortune; and if it were his luck to lofe, then he promifed the Hercules he would provide him a very good supper, and would besides bring him a fair Gentlewoman to lye withall. The conditions of the play thus rehearfed, the Sexton first cast the Dice for Hercules, and afterwards for himself. It fell out that Hercules wan, and the Sexton meaning good faith, and thinking it very meet to perform the bargain that himself had made, prepared a good supper, Laurenita and hired this Laurentia the Curtifan, which was very fair, but as yet of no great fame to come to it. Feath and hired this Laurentia the Curtifan, which was very fair, but as yet of no great faint to come to he Taurentia. Thus having feafted within the Temple, and prepared a bed ready there, after supper he locked her Curtifan. into the Temple, as if Hercules should have come indeed and lain with her. And it is faid for troth, that Hercules came thither, and commanded her in the morning she should go into the market-place, and falute the first man shemet, and keep him ever for her friend. Which thing she performed, and the first man she met was called Tarrutius, a man of great years, and one that had gathered together Tarrutius. marvellous wealthand riches. He had no children at all, neither was he ever married. He fell acquainted with this Laurentia, and loved her so dearly, that shortly chancing to die, he made her heir of all he had : whereof the disposed afterwards by her last Will and Testament, the best and greatest part unto the people of ROME. Moreover it is reported also, that she now being grown to be famous and of great honour (as thought to be the Lemman of a god) did vanish away suddenly in the felf-same place where the first Laurentia was buried. The place at this day is called Velabrum; Velabrum; because the Riverbeing overflown, they were often times compelled to pass by boat to go to the market-place, and they called this manner of ferrying over, Velatura. Other fay, that those Tumblers Decade: 110.7. and common Players, which shewed fundry games and pastimes to win the savour of the people, were wont to cover that passage over with canvas clothes and vails, by which they go from the marketplace to the Lifts or shew-place where they run their Horses, beginning their race even at that place; and they call a vail in their tongue Velum. This is the cause why the second Laurentia is honoured at ROME. Faustulus chief Near-heard to Amulius, took up the two Children, and no body knew it, as fome fay; or as others report (the likest to be true) with the privity and knowledge of Numitor Amulius Brother, who fecretly furnished them with money that brought up the two young Children. It is faid also they were both conveighed unto the City of the GABIANS, where they were brought up at school, and taught all other honest things, which they use to teach the Sons and Romulas and Children of good and Nobleman. Further they say, they were Named Remus and Romalus, be-Remus and they were found sucking on the teats of a Wolfe. Now the beauty of their bodies did tion. presently shew, beholding only but their stature and manner of their countenances, of what nature and lineage they were: and as they grew in years, their manly courage encreased marvel loully, so as they became stout and hardy men, insomuch as they were never troubled or astonied at any danger that was offered them. Howbeit it appeared plainly that Romelus had more wit and understanding than his Brother Remus. For in all things wherein they were to deal with their neighbours, either concerning hunting, or the bounds and limits of their Paftures, it was eafily discerned in him, that he was born to command, and not to obey. For this cause they were both exceedingly beloved of their companions, and of those which were their inferiours. As for the Kings Heardimen, they paffed not much for them, faying that they were even like themlelves, and so feemed not to care a pin for their anger or dipleasure, but wholly gave themselves to all gentlemanly exercises and trades, thinking to live idly and at ease without travel, was neither comely nor convenient: but to exercise and harden their bodies with hunting, running, pursuing murderers and theives, and to help those which were oppressed with wrong and violence, should be credit and commendation to them. By reason whereof, in very short time they grew to great fame and renown. And it fell out by chance there arose some strife and variance between the Heardsmen of Amalius, and the Heardsmen of Numitor: insomuch as those that were Numitor's

carried away by force some Cattle of the others. The other side would not bear that, but pursued fast

after, and beating them well-favouredly, they made them take their legs, and brought back again the greatest part of the Cattle they had carried away with them. Whereat Numitor stormed mar-

velloufly, but yet his men feemed to make but little account of it, and purposing revenge, they ga-

thered about them a good company of vagabonds (that had neither home nor refting place) and

certain fugitive bondmen which they enticed ill-favouredly, encouraging them to steal away from

their Masters. Thus one day whilest Romulius was busie about some Sacrifice (being a devout man

and religious, and well given to ferve the gods, and to learn to divine and tell beforehand what

things should happen and come to pass) it happened the Heardmen of Numitor to meet Remus very

flenderly accompanied, fo they fell upon him fuddenly: blows were dealt roundly on both fides,

and men were hurt on either part. Howbeit Numitors men in the end proved the stronger part, and

took Remus by force, and carried him straight before Numitor alledging many complaints and

matters against him. Numitor durst not punish him of his own authority, because he seared his Bro-

ther Annlius, who was fomewhat terrible: but went unto him, and earnestly belought him to do him

juffice, and not to fuffer him being his own Brother, to receive such injury of his men. There was not

a man in the City of ALBA, but did greatly millike the injury done to Numitor: and fpake it open-

ly, that he was no person to be offered such a wrong. Insomuch as Annilius moved herewith, did deliver Remus into his hands, to punish him as he thought good. Whereupon Numisor carried him

home with him. But when he had him in his house, he began to consider better of him, with admira-

tion how goodly a young man he was, how in heighth and strength of body he passed all the rest of his people, and perceiving in his face an affured conflancy, and bold fledfarf courage that yeilded not, nor was abafiled for any danger he faw towards him: and hearing also the report of his acts and manhood to be answerable to that he saw: (being chiefly moved in mine opinion, by some secret inspi-

ration of the gods, which ordain the depth of great matters) began partly by conjecture, and partly

by chance to take a conceit of him. So he asked him what he was, and who was his Father and Mo-

ther: fpeaking to him in a more gentle wife, and with a friendlier countenance then before, to make

the troth from thee, for thou feemest to be more worthy to be King then thy Brother Amelius. For

wit of Fausfulus and of Laurentia: I say we, because my Brother and I are two twins. But seeing

Romalue a gediy man.

Permetaken of Maniters heardsmen.

Remus Orati- him the bolder to answer, and be of better hope. Remus boldly answered him : Truly I will not hide the birth of himfelf and his thou enquireft, and hearest first before thou condemnest; and he condemnest before he examine or Brother Roma. hear the parties. Untill now we thought we had been the Children of two of the Kings fervants, to

we are now falfly accused unto thee, and by malicious surmised tales are wrongfully brought in danger of our lives: we intend to discover our selves, and to declare strange things unto thee, whereof the present perill we now stand in, shall plainly prove the troth. Men say that we have been begotten miraculously, fostered and given suck more strangely, and in our tender years were sed by Birds and wild Beafts, to whom we were cast out as a prey. For a Wolfe gave us suck with her teats, and an Hitwaw (they fay) brought us little crums, and put them in our mouths, as we lay upon the bank by the River, where we were put in a Trough that at this day remaineth whole, bound about with plates of Copper, upon the which are some Letters engraven half worn out, which peradventure will one day ferve for fome tokens of knowledge (unprofitable for our parents) when it Numitors wif- shall be too late, and after we are dead and gone. Numitor then comparing these words, with the age the young man feemed to be of, and confidering well his face, did not reject the hope of his imagination that fmiled on him, but handled the matter fo, that he found means to speak secretly with Faullalus care his Daughter, notwithstanding at that time she was kept very straightly. Faulfulus in the mean to fave Remus. time hearing that Remus was prifoner, and that the King had delivered him already into the hands of his Brother Numitor to do juffice, went to pray Romalus to help him, and told him then whose Children they were: for before he'had never opened it to them but in dark speeches, and glauncing wise, and fo much as fufficed to put them in some hope. So Faustulus taking the Trough with him at that time, went unto Numitor in all hafte, as marvelloufly afraid for the prefent danger he thought Remus in. The Kings fouldiers which warded at the gates of the City, began to gather forme fulpicion to Faufti-lus manner of coming: and he made himself to be the more suspected, being questioned with about the cause of his repair thither, that he faultred in his words; besides they espited his Trough which he carried under his cloak. Now amongst the Warders, there was by chance one that was the man to whom the Children were committed to be east away, and was present when they were left on the bank of the river to the mercy of Fortune. This man knew the Trough by and by, as well by the fashion, as by the Letters graven upon it: who mistrusted straight that which was true indeed. So lie did not neglect the thing, but went forthwith to the King to tell him the matter, and led Faustutus with him to have him confess the troth. Faustulus being in this perplexity, could not keep all close upon examination, but did utter out somewhat of the matter, and he told not all. For he plainly justified the Children were alive: yet he faid they were far from the City of ALBA, where they kept beafts in the fields. And as for the Trough, he was going to carry it to Ilia, because she had divers times prayed him to let her see and seel it: to the end she might be the more assured of her hope, who promised her that one day she should see her Children again. So it chanced unto Amulius at that time, as it commonly doth unto those that are troubled, and do any thing in fear or anger, as a man amazed thereat, to fend one presently (who in all other things was a very honest man, but a great friend of his Brother Numitors) to ask him if he had heard any thing that his Daughters Children were alive. This person being come to Numitors house, found him ready to embrace Remus, who fell to be witness

thereof, and of the good hap discovered unto Numitor; whereupon he perswaded him how to set upon his Brother, and to dispatch the matter with speed. So from that time forward, he took their part. On the other fide also the matter gave them no leisure to defer their enterprise, although they had been willing: for the whole case was somewhat blown abroad. So Romelus then got straight a power, and drew very near the City, and many of the Citizens of ALBA went out to joyn with him, who either feared or hated Amulius. Now Romulus power which he brought (over and beside those Citizens) was a good number of fighting men, and they were divided by hundreds, and every hundred had his Captain who marched before his Band, carrying little bundles of grass or of boughs tied to the end of their poles. The LATINES call these bundles Manipulos, whereof it cometh that yet at this day in an Army of the ROMANS, the Souldiers which are all under one Enfign, are called Manipulares, Munipulsees So Remus stirring up those that were within the City, and Romulus bringing in men from without, the whereof so Tyrant Amulius fell in such fear and agony, that without providing any thing for his fafety, they called. came upon him suddenly in his Pallace, and slew him. Thus you hear how near Fabius Pictor and Amultus slain; Diocles Peparethian do agree in reciting the story, who was the first (in mine opinion) that wrote the foundation of the City of ROME: howbeit there are that think they are all but fables and tales devifed of pleasure. But methinks for all that, they are not altogether to be rejected or discredited, if we will confider Fortunes strange effects upon times, and of the greatness also of the ROMAN Empire; which had never atchieved to her present possessed power and authority, if the gods had not from the beginning been workers of the same, and if there had not also been some strange cause, and wonderful foundation. Amulius being now flain as before, and after that all things were appealed and reduced to good order again, Remus and Romulus would not dwell in the City of ALBA, being no Lords thereof, nor also would be Lords of it, so long as their Grandfather by the Mother side was alive. Wherefore after they had restored him to his estate, and had done the honour and duty they The building ought unto their Mother, they purposed to go and build a City in those places where they had been of Rome. first brought up, for this was the honestest colour they could pretend for their departing from ALBA. Peradventure they were enforced fo to do whether they would or not, for the great number of banished men, and fugitive flaves which were gathered together by them for their firength, who had been utterly loft and cast away, if they had been once discharged by them. Therefore it was of necessity that they should dwell by themselves, separated in some place, to keep this number together and in some order. For it is true, that the inhabitants of the City of ALBA would not suffer such banished persons and runagates to be mingled amongst them, nor would receive them into their City to be tree among them. All which appeareth sufficiently: first, because they took away Women by force: and fo not of infolency, but of necessity, when they found no man that would bestow any of them. It is manifest also they did greatly honour and make much of the Women they had taken away before. Furthermore, when their City began a little to be fetled, they made a Temple of refuge for all fu- Afilent Tem? gitives and afflicted persons, which they called the Temple of the god Asilaus: where there was ple a Sanctufanctuary and fafety for all forts of people that repaired thither, and could get into the Temple: for any for all hambon is used alledged, they could not deliver any bondman to his Matter, nor Delvoy to his Credition, milled perform lanctuary and latery for all oris or people that repaired thinks, and collection to his Creditor, nilhed perform whom it was alledged, they could not deliver any bondman to his Mafter, nor Debtor to his Creditor, nilhed performs whom it was alledged, they could not deliver any bondman to his Mafter, nor Debtor to his Creditor, and figures. nor the murtherer to the Justice, that was fled thither for succour, because the Oracle of Apollo the Delphian, had expresly enjoyeed them to grant fanctuary to all those that would come thither for it. So by this means in short space their City slourished, and was replenished: where at the first foundation of it, they say there was not above One thousand Houses, as more at large hereaster shall be declared. When they came now to the building of their City, Romulus and Remus the two bre-Strife between thren fell suddenly at strife together about the place where the City should be builded. For Ro- Romulus and mulus built ROME, which is called four-square, and would needs it should remain in the place Remus. which he had chosen. Remus his Brother chose another place very strong of situation, upon Mount Remonstrum. Aventine, which was called after his name Remonium, and now is called Rignarium. Notwithstanding in the end they agreed between themselves, this controversie should be decided by the flying of Birds, which do give a happy divination of things to come. So being fet in divers places by themselves to make observation, some say that there appeared unto Remus six, and to Romulus twelve Vultures. Others fay that Remus truly faw fix, and Romulus feigned from the beginning that he faw twice as many: but when Remus came to him, then there appeared twelve indeed unto Romulus: and this is the cause why the ROMANS at this day in their divinations and soothsayings of the flying of Birds, do marvelloully observe the flying of the Vulturs. It is true which the Historiogra- The Romans pher Herodotus Ponticus writeth; that Hercules rejoyced much when there appeared a Vulture to observe the him, being ready to begin any enterprise. For it is the fowl of the world that doth least hurt, and flying of Vulnever marreth nor destroyeth any thing that man doth fow plant or fet, considering that she feedeth on carrion only, and doth never hurt nor kill any living thing. Also she doth not prey upon dead fowl, for the likeness that is between them: where the Eagles, the Dukes and the Sakers, do murther, kill, and earthofe which are of their own kind. And yet as Afchylus faith,

By preying still upon his proper kind. Moreover, other Birds are always (as a man would fay) before our eyes, and do daily flew themdelves unto us : where the Vulture is a very rare Bird, and hardly to be seen, and men do not easily find their ayries. Which hath given some occasion to hold a false opinion, that the Vultures are

Needs must that Fowl accounted be most vile,

Most ravening, and full of filthy mind, Which doth himself continually defile,

20 passagers, and come into these parts out of strange Countries. The Prognosticators also think, that fuch things which are not ordinary, and but feldom feen, be not natural, but miraculously fent by the gods to prognofticate fomething. When Remus knew how his brother had mocked him, he was very angry with him. And when Romulus had cast a ditch, as it were for the wall about his City, Remus did not onely fcorn it, but hindred also his work, and in the end for a mockery leapt over Remus flain by his Wall. To conclude, he did for much, that at the laft he was flain there by Romulus own hands, as fome fay: or as other hold opinion, by one of his men, which was called Celer. In this Fight they flew Faustulus, and Plistinus also his brother, who had holpen him to bring up Romulus. How-Soever the matter sell out, this Celer absented himself from Rome, and went into the Countrey of Romulus or THUSCANE. And they say, that men which are quick and ready upon a fodden, took their names Celens, where- ever after of him, and were called Celeres. As amongst others, Quintus Metellus after the death of Centres, where-Gladiatores) fighting at the sharp, they surnamed him Celer, for that the ROMANS marvelled how he could prepare his things in lo short a time. Furthermore, Romulus having now buried his Brother, and his other two bringers up (called foster fathers) in the place they call Remonia, began then to build and lay the foundation of his City, fending for men out of THOSCANE, who did name and teach him particularly all the Ceremonies he had to observe there, according to their Laws and Ordinances, as a great holy Mystery. And first of all they made a round Dirch in the place called at this day Comitium, into which they did cast their chiefest and best things, which men use lawfully for good, and naturally as most necessary. After that they did throw also into it, a little of the Earth, from whence every man came, and mingled these all together. This Ditch in their Ceremonies is called the World, in Latine Mundus, even the felf-fame name the Latines call the Univerfal. About this Dirch they did trace the compass of the City they would build, even as one would The World. draw a circle about a center. This done, the Founder of the City taketh a Plough, to which he faftneth a Culter or Plough-share of brass, and so yoaked in the Plough an Ox and a Cow, he himself holding the Plough, did make round about the compass of the City a deep Furrow. Those which followed him, had the charge to throw the Turves of Earth inward into the City, which the Ploughfhare raised up, and not to leave any of them turned outward. The Furrow thus cast up was the whole compals of their Wall, which they call in Latine Pomarium, by shortning of the Syllables, for post murum, to wit, after Wall. But in the place where they determined to make a Gate, they did take off the Plough-share, and draw the Plough, with leaving a certain place unbroken up: whereupon the ROMANS think all the compals of their Walls holy and facred, except their Gates. why fo called. For if their Gates had been hallowed and fanctified, they would have had a conscience through them to have brought in, or carried out of the City, any things necessary for the life of man, that The Walls The Feaft day had not been pure and clean. Now they believe certainly, that this Ceremony of the Foundation of of Romer four-their City was made the one and twentieth of April: because the Romans do yet keep that day dation the 21 holy day, and call it the Feaft of the Nativity of their Countrey. On which day they did not in old time facrifice any thing that had life, as efteeming that day (which was the Nativity of their City) to be most meet to be kept clean and pure from being polluted or defiled with any blood. Notwithof April. standing before Rome was builded they had another Feast, called the Shepheards or Heards-mens Holy-day, which they did celebrate upon the fame day, and called it Palilia. Now at this day the beginnings of the moneths with the ROMANS is clean contrary to the GRECIANS: yet for all this, they hold opinion for certainty, that the day on which Romulus founded his City, was affu-The Feast redly that which the GRECIANS call Triacada, that is to fay, the thirtieth day. On which there was seen an Eclipse of the Moon, which they suppose was observed by the Poet Antimachus (born in the City of TEOS) in the thirteenth year of the fixth Olympiad. Likewise in the time of Mar-An Eclipse of the taying of the foundation of a learned man, and one that had read as much of ancient Stories as any ROMAN) there was a friend of his called Tarutim, a great Philosopher and Mathematician, who being given to the calculation of Aftronomy for the delight of speculation only, wherein he was thought most excellent: Varro a Philo- it did fall out that Varro gave him this question, to search out what hour and day the Nativity of Ro-Sopher, Taruti- mulus was, who gathered it out by certain accidents, as they do in the resolutions of certain Geometrical questions. For they say, that by the self-same Science, one may tell before of things to tician.

The hour of a come, and to happen to a man in his life, knowing certainly the hour of his Nativity: and how one The hour of a may tell also the hour of his Nativity, when by accidents they know what hath hapned to him all may be calcu- his life. Taratise did the question that Varro gave him. And having throughly confidered the adven-

ing, in which hour there was a whole Eclipse of the Sun: and that he was born into the world,

And that Rome was begun by him on the ninth day of the Moneth which the ÆGYPTIANS call

Pharmuthi, and answereth now to the Moneth of April, between two and three of the clock in

the morning. For they will fay, that a city hath his revolution and his time of continuance appoint-

ed, as well as the life of a man: and that they knew by the fituation of the Stars, the day of her

beginning and foundation. These things and such other like, peradventure will please the Readers

better, for their strangeness and curiosity, then offend or mislike them for their falshood. Now after

that he had founded his City, he first and foremon did divide in two companies all those that were of The Roman age to carry Armour. In every one of these Companies there were three thousand Footmen, and Legion 3000 three hundred Horsemen: and they were called Legions, because they were forted of the chosen Horsemen. men that were picked out amongst all the rest for to fight. The remain after these was called Populiss, Romains initia which fignifieth the people. After this, he made a hundred Counsellors of the best and honestest turath a Commen of the City, which he called Patricians: and the whole company of them together he called momentality men of the City, which the cancer ratherms, as one would fay, the Councel of the Ancients. So they were called Patricians, as fome tricing and will fay, the Councel of the Fathers lawful children, which few of the first Inhabitants could show. Sanators to It may be, some will say this name was given them of Patrocinium, as growing of the protection they had by the Sanctuary of their City, which word they use at this day in the self-same signification: as one that followed Evander into ITALY, was called Patron, because he was pitiful, and relieved the poor and little children, and fo got himself a name for his pity and humanity. But methinks it were more like the troth to fay, that Romulus did call them fo, because he thought the chierest men should have a fatherly care of the meaner fort : considering also it was to teach the meaner fort, that they should not fear the authority of the greater, nor envy at the honours they had, but rather in all their causes should use their favour and good will, by taking them as their Fathers. For even at this present, strangers call those of the Senate, Lords or Captains: but the natural ROMANS call them, Patres Conferenti, which is a name of Father-head and Dignity without envy. Patres that It is true, that at the beginning they were onely called Patres, but fithence, because they were many friend joyned unto the first, they have been named Patres Conscripti, as a man should say. Fathers of record together: which is the honourablest Name he could have devised to make a difference betwise the Senators and the People. Furthermore, he made a difference between the chiefer Citizens, and the bafer People, by calling the better fort Patroni, as much to fay, as Defenders: and the meaner Patroni, C. fort Clientes, as you would fay, Followers, or men protected. This did breed marvellous great love control. and good will among them, making the one much beholding to the other, by many mutual courtefies and pleasures : for the Patrons did help the Clients to their Right, defended their Causes in judgment, gave unto them counsel, and did take all their matters in hand. The Clients again enterchangeably humbled themselves to their Patrons, not onely in outward honour and reverence towards them, but otherwise did help them with money to marry and advance their daughters, or else to pay their Debts and Credit, if they were poor or decayed. There was no Law nor Magistrate that could compell the Patron to be a Witness against his Client : nor yet the Client to Witness against his Patron. So they increased and continued all other Rights and Offices of amity and friendfhip together, faving afterwards they thought it a great fhame and reproach for the better and richer, The shame of to take reward of the meaner and poorer. And thus of this matter we have spoken sufficiently, the Romans to Moreover, four moneths after the foundation of the City was laid, Fabius writeth, there was a great take gifts of ravishment of women. There are some which lay it upon Romulus, who being then of nature war-poor men. like, and given to Prophecies and Answers of the gods, foretold that his City should become very great and mighty, to as he raifed it by Wars, and encreased it by Arms: and he sought out this co-Tour to do milchief, and to make War upon the SABYNS. To prove this true, some say he caused lour to do milchief, and to make War upon the SABYNS. 10 prove this true, folie by the cantel the ravifle-certain of their Maids by force to be taken away, but not past thirty in number, as one that rather ment of the ment of the fought cause of Wars, then did it for need of Marriages: which methinks was not likely to be true; Sabyne wo but rather I judge the contrary. For feeing his City was incontinently replenished with people of men. all forts, whereof there were very few that had Wives, and that they were men gathered out of all Countries, and the most part of them poor and needy, so as their neighbours distained them much, and did not look they would long dwell together: Romulus hoping by this violent taking of their Maids and ravishing them, to have an entry into alliance with the SABYNS, and to entice them further to join with them in Marriage, if they did gently entreat these Wivesthey had gotten, enterprized this violent taking of their Maids, and ravishing of them in such fort. First, he made it to be commonly bruted abroad in every place, that he had found the Altar of a god hidden in the ground, about the raand he called the name of the god, Confus: either because he was god of Counsel; whereupon the vishment of ROMANS at this day in their Tongue call Confilium, which we call Counsel : and the chief Magi- the Sabyus ftrates of their City Confules, as we fay Counsellors. Other fay, it was the Altar of the god Nep- Daughters, tune, furnamed the Patron of Horses. For this Altar is yet at this day within the great Lifts of the Neptune the City, and ever covered and hidden, but when they use the running Games of their Horse-race. O- god of horsether fay, because Counsel ever must be kept close and secret, they had good reason to keep that Al- men. tar of this god Confus hidden in the ground. Now other write, when it was opened, Romulus made a Sacrifice of wonderful joy, and afterwards proclaimed it openly in divers places, that at such a day there should be common Plays at ROME and a solemn Feast kept of the god Confiu, where all that were disposed to come should be welcome. Great numbers of People repaired thither from all parts. He himfelf was fet in the chiefest Seat of the Show-place, apparelled fair in Purple, and accompanied with the chief of the City about him. And there having purposed this Ravishment you have heard of, he had given the fign before : that the same should begin, when he should rife up The execution and fold a pleight of his Gown, and unfold the same again. Hereupon his men stood attending with of the Ravishtheir Swords: who fo foon as they perceived the fign was given, with their Swords drawn in hand, The number of and with great shouts and cries, ran violently on the Maids and Daughters of the SABYNS to take the Sabyne them away and ravish them; and suffered the men to run away, without doing them any hurt or women ravish violence. So fome fay, there were but thirty ravished, after whose names were called the thirty ed.

Celet.

tures, deeds, and gests of Romalus, how long he lived, and how he died: all which being gathered accidents and conferred together, he did boldly adge for a certainty, that he was conceived in his mothers Remuter nativity is calcula. womb, in the first year of the second Olympiad, the three and twentieth day of the moneth which ted by Taraii the ÆGYPTIANS call Cheac, and now is called December, about three of the clock in the morn-

the 21 of the Moneth of Thoth, which is the Moneth of September, about the rifing of the Sun. An Eclipse of the Sun when Romalus was

Romulus lieft Daughter called Primt.

Talaffia.

ceremony at Rome.

Sextilis, Auguft. Platarch in his Proble. Confuelit. The Sairns what they were.

The number of Lineages of the People of Rome. Howbeit Valerius Antias writeth, that there were five hundred and feven and twenty: and Tuba, fix hundred fourfcore and three. In the which is fingularly to be noted for the commendation of Romulus, that he himself did take then but onely one of the Maids, named Hersilia: that afterwards was the onely cause and mediation of peace betwixt the Romanus Wife. SABYNS and the ROMANS. Which argueth plainly, that it was not to do the SABYNS any hurt, nor to fatisfie any difordinate luft, that they had fo forcibly undertaken this ravishment : but to join two Peoples together, with the straightest bonds that could be between men. This Herstlia as some say, was married unto one Hostilius, the noblest man at that time amongst the ROMANS: or as others write, unto Romulus himfelf, which had two Children by her. The first was a Daughter, and her name was Prima, because she was the first : the other was a Son, whom he named Aollins, because of the multitude of People he had affembled together in his City, and afterwards he was furnamed Abillius. Thus Zenodorus the TROEZENIAN writeth; wherein not withfranding called Addiss there be divers that do contrary him. Among those which ravished the Daughters of the SABYNS, it is faid there were found certain mean men carrying away a marvellous passing fair one. These met by chance on the way certain of the chief of the City, who would have taken her by force from them; which they had done, but that they began to cry, they carried her unto Talassius, who was a young man marvellously well beloved of every body. Which when the other underflood, they were exceeding glad, and they commended them: infomuch as there were fome which fuddenly turned back again, and did accompany them for Talassius sake, crying out aloud, and often on his The cause why name. From whence the custom came, which to this day the ROMANS sing at their Marriages, the Rossias do Taluffins, like as the GRECIAN: fing Hymeneus. For it is faid he was counted very happy that fing the Name he met with this Woman. But Sextius Sylla, a CARTHAGINIAN born, a man very wife, and well learned, told me once it was the cry and fign which Romulus gave to his men to begin the Ravishment: whereupon those that carried them away went crying this word Talassius, and that from thence the Custom had continued, that they fing it yet at their Marriages. Nevertheless the most part of Authors, specially Juba, thinks it is a warning to remember the new-married-women of their work, which is to fpin, which the GRECIANS call Talassia, the Italian word at that time being not mingled with the Greek. And if it be true the ROMAN's used this term of Ta-Liffin, as we of GREECE do use, we might by conjecture yield another reason for it, which should carry a better likelihood and proof. For when the SABYNS after the Battle had made peace with the ROMANS, they put in an Article in favour of the Women in the Treaty, that they should not be bound to ferve their Husbands in any other work but in spinning of Wool. Ever fince this Custom hath grown, that those which give their Daughters in Marriage, and those who lead the Bride, and such as are present at the Wedding, speak in sport to the new married Wise, laughing, Talaffius: in tokenthat they do not lead the Bride for any other work or service, but to spin Wool. Thereof this hath been the use to this day, that the Bride doth not of her self come over the threshold of her Husbands door, but she is holfed prettily into the House: because the SABYNE women at that time were fo lift up, and carried away by force. They fay also, that the manner of making the shed of the new wedded Wives hair, with the Iron head of a Javelin, came up then likewife: this Story being a manifest token that these first Marriages were made by force of Arms, and as it were at the Swords point : as we have written more at large in the Book, wherein we render and shew the causes of the ROMANS Fashions and Customs. This Ravishment was put in execution about the eighteenth day of the Moneth called Sextilis, and now named August: on which day they yet celebrate the Feaft they call Confualia. Now the SABYNS were good men of War, and had great numbers of People, but they dwelt in Villages, and not within enclosed Walls: being a thing fit for their noble courages that did fear nothing, and as those who were descended from the LACE-DAMONIANS. Nevertheless they seeing themselves bound and tied to peace by Pledges and Hostages, that were very near allied unto them, and searing their daughters should be ill intreated, sent Ambassadors to Romulus, by whom they made reasonable offers and perswasions, that their Daughters might be delivered unto them again, without any force or violence, and then afterwards, that he would cause them to be asked in Marriage of their Parents, as both Reason and Law would require, to the end that with good will and confent of all Parties, both Peoples might contract Amity and Alliance together. Whereunto Romulus made answer, he could not restore the Maids which his People had taken away and married : but most friendly he prayed the SABYNS to be contented with their Alliance. This answer being returned, and not liked, whilst the Princes and Commonalty of the Acron ling of SABYNS were occupied in confultation, and about the arming of themselves: Acron King of the the Contactor Centnesses (a man exceeding couragious and skilful in Wars, and one that from the beginmileth War ning miftrufted the over-hold and flour Enterprizes that Romains was likely to attempt) confidering with Romains. the late Ravishment of the SABYNS Daughters, and how he was already greatly dreaded of his Neighbours, and somewhat untolerable, if he were not chastisfed and brought lower, first began to invade him with a puiffant Army, and to make hot and violent Wars upon him. Romulus on the other fide prepared also, and went forth to meet him. When they were come so near together, that they might fee one another, they fent defiance to each other, and prayed that they two might fight man to man amidst their Armies, and neither of theirs to stir a foot. Both of them accepted of it, and Romulus making his Prayerunto Jupiter, did promise and make a Vow: That if he did A rea thin in give him the victory to overcome, he would offer up to him the Armour of his Enemy, which he did. For first he slew Acron in the Field, and afterwards gave Battle to his men, and overthrew

them also. Lastly he took his City, where he did no hurt nor yet displeasure to any, saving that he commanded them to pull down their Houses, and destroy them, and to go dwell with han at ROME: where they should have the felf-same Rights and Priviledges which the first Inhabitants did enjoy. There was nothing more inlarged the City of ROME then this manner of policy, to join always unto it those she had overcome and vanquished. Romulus now to discharge his Vow, and in fuch fort that his offering might be acceptable to Jupiter, and pleasant to his Citizens to behold, did cut down a goodly straight grown young Oak, which he lighted on by good fortune, in the place where his Camp did lie: the fame he trimmed and fet forth after the manner of victory, hanging and tying all about it in fair order, the Armour and Weapons of King Acron. Then he girding Regulation his Gown to him, and putting upon his long buth of hair a Garland of Lawrel, laid the young unith Oak upon his right shoulder, and he first marched before towards his City, and sung a royal Song of Victory, all his Army following him in Arms unto the City in order of battle: where his Citizens received him in all passing wife and triumph. This noble and stately entry ever since hath given them. The beginning minds in fuch fort, and in statelier wife to make their triumph. The offering of this Triumph was de- of triumph. dicated to Jupiter furnamed Feretrian : because the Latine word Ferire fignifieth to hurt and kill : and the Prayer Romulus had made, was, he might hurt and kill his Enemy. Such Spoils are called trian in Latine, Spolia opima: therefore faith Varro, that opes fignific riches. Howbeit methinks it were Spolia opima: more likely to fay, that they were so named of this word opus, which betokeneth a deed, because he must needs be the chief of the Army, that hath slain with his own hands the General of his Enemics, and that must offer the Spoils called Spolia opima, as you would say, his principal Spoils and Deeds. This never happened yet but to three Roman Captains onely : of the which Romulus was the first, who flew Acron King of the CENINENSES. Cornelius Coffus was the fecond, who killed To- Three Romans lumnius, the General of the Thus cans. Clodius Marcellus was the third, who flew Britomar- only obtained tus, King of the GAULES, with his own hands. And for the two last, Coffus and Marcellus, they footla opinal. made their entry into the City, carrying their Triumphs upon Chariots triumphant: but Romulus did not fo. Therefore in this point Dionysius the Historiographer hath erred, writing that Romulus did enter into Rome upon a Chariot triumphant. For it was Tarquinius Priscus the son of Ben Tarquinius maratus, who first did set out Triumphs in so stately and magnificent show. Other hold opinion it Priscusthe first was Valerius Publicola, who was the first that ever entred upon triumphant Chariot. Concerning that triumph-Romulus, his Statues are yet to be feen in Rome, carrying his Triumph afoot. After this over- ed in Chariot. throw and taking of the Chninenses, the Inhabitants of the Cities of Fidena, Crustu-licola. MERIUM, and ANTEMNA, role all together against the Romans, whiles the other Saryns The Cities of also were a preparing themselves. So they fought a Battle, in which they took the overthrow: Fidena, Cruand left their Cities to the spoil of Romulus, their Lands to be given where he thought good, and stumerium, and and ten titel Charles to the John E. Romalus then did give their Lands among his Citizens, except of Antemas, those Lands which did belong to the Fathers of the Maidens that they had taken away and ravished. Romalus. For he was contented that the Fathers of them thould keep still their Lands. By and by the other The Sabras led SABYNS stomaching thereat, did chuse them a General called Tatins, and so went with a puissant by Tatins, went Army toward the City of Rome, whereunto to approach at that time it was very hard, the Castle to befrege the Army toward the City of Rome, whereant to approach a that the Rome, within which there was City of Rome, or Keep of their City being feated where at this day the Capitol standeth, within which there was City of Rome. a great Garrison, whereof Tarpeius was Captain, and not his Daughter Tarpeia, as some will say, trayeth the who fet out Romulus as a fool. But Tarpeia the Captains Daughter, for the defire she had to have Cattle, and all the gold Bracelets which they did wear about their arms, fold the Fort to the SABYNS, and letteth in the asked for reward of her Treason, all they did wear on their left arms. Tatius promised them unto Salyns her: and the opened them a Gate in the night, by the which the did let all the SABY NS into the Caffle. Antigonus then was not alone, who faid, He loved those which did berray, and hated them Antigonus and that had betrayed; nor yet Cafar Augustus, who told Rymitalces the THRACIAN, That he Augustus Caloved Treason, but he hated Traytors. And it is a common affection which we bear to wicked perfons, whilft we frand in need of them: not unlike for all the world to those that have need of the Aft findlinde gawl and poyfon of venemous Beafts. For when they find it, they are glad, and take it to serve their turn; but after their turn is ferved, and they have that they fought, they hate the cruelty of fuch Beafts. So played Taring at that time. For when he was gotten into the Caftle, he commanded the SABKINS (for performance of his promise he had made to Tarpeia) they should not stick to give her all they wear on their left arms, and to do as he did: who taking from his own arm first, the Bracelets which he wore, did cast it to her, and his Target after : and so did all the rest in Note the relike forth informuch as being borne down to the ground by the weight of Bracelets and Targets, the ward of Treadied as pressed to death under her burden. Nevertheless Tarpeius self was attainted, and condem-fen. ned also of Treason, by Romalus order, as Juba faith; it is set forth by Sulpirius Galba. They to death that write now otherwise of Tarpeia, saying she was the Daughter of Tatius, General of the SA-BYNS, and was forced by Romulus to lie with him, and how the was punished in this fort by her own Father after her faid Treason committed : those I say, amongst whom Antigonus is one, are not to be credited. And the Poet Simylus also doth dote most, who faith Tarpeia fold the Capitol not to the Sarras, but to the King of Gaures, with whom the was in love, as in these Verses doth

Tarpeia, that Maid of foolish mind,

them

(Infervent flames of beastly love be blind. Wherewith the King of Gaules did make her swell) Caus'd stately Rome surprized for to be By Enemies, as every man may fee. And so through hope of bis fidelity Betray d her Sire, with all his Family.

And a little after, in speaking of the manner of her death, he saith also: Yet lo : the Gaules, those worthy men of might, Threw her not down into the waves of Po, But from their Arms, wherewith they wont to fight, They cast their Shields upon her body so, That the Supprest with Such an heavy weight, (Ah wofull Maid) to death was fmother'd straight.

This Maiden therefore being buried in the same place; the whole Hill was called afterwards Tarpeim after her name, which continued untill Tarquinim the King did dedicate all the place to Jupiter: for then they carried her bones into fome other place, and fo it loft her name. Unless it be that rock of the Capitol, which at this present time they call Rupes Tarpeia, from the top whereof they were wont in old time to throw down headlong all wicked Offenders. When the SABYNS now had gotten this hold, Romalus being exceeding wroth, fent them a defiance, and bad them Battle if they durst. Tatim straight refused not, considering if by mischance they were diffressed, they had a fure refuge to retire unto. The place between the two Armies where the Fight should be, was all round about environed with little hills. So as it was plain, the Fight could not be but sharp and dangerous, for the discommodiousness of the place, where was neither ground for any to fly, nor yet the ngitt or twist Romalus any space for any long chace, it was of so small a compass. Now it fortuned by chance, the River of Tyber had overflown the banks a few days before, and there remained in it a deeper mud than men would have judged, because the ground was so plain, and was even where the great Marketplace of ROME standeth at this day. They could discern nothing thereof by the eye, because the upper part of it was crufted, whereby it was the more ready for them to venture upon, and the worfe to get out, for that it did fink underneath. So the SABYNS had gone upon it, had not Curtius danger been, which by good fortune flayed them. He was one of the nobleft and valiantest men of the SABYNS, who being mounted upon a Courler, went on a good way before the Army. This Courfer entring upon the crufted mud, and finking withall, began to plunge and ftruggle in the mire: whereat Cartius proved a while with the spur to stir him, and get him out, but in the end seeing it would not be, he left his back, and faved himself. The same very place to this day is called after his name, Lacin Curtins. The SABYNS then scaping thus this danger, began the Battle. The Fight did grow very cruel, and endured to great a while, the Victory leaning no more to the one Curtius Lake. fide than to the other. There died in a small space a great number of men, amongst whom Hossilius was one, who as they say, was the Husband of Hersilia, and Grandsather to Hossilius that was King . The Sabyns give battle to of the ROMANS after Numa Pompilim. Afterward there were (as we may think) many other Encounters and Battles between them . howbeit they make mention of the last above all the rest, where-Hoftilius flain. in Romalus had so fore a blow on his head with a ftone, that he was almost felled to the ground, insomuch as he was driven to retire a little out of the Battle. Upon which occasion the ROMANS gave back also, and drew towards Mount Palatine, being driven out of the Plane by force. Romulus began now to recover of the blow he had received, and fo returned to give a new onfer, and cryed out all he might to his Soldiers to tarry, and shew their face again to their Enemy. But for all his loud crying, they left not flying still for life, and there was not one that durst return again. Whereupon Romulus lifting up his hands straight to Heaven, did most fervently pray unto Jupiter, that it would please him to flay the flying of his People, and not duffer the ROMANS Glory thus to fall to their utter destruction, but to repair it by his savour again. He had no sooner ended his Prayer, but di-

vers of his men that fled, began to be afhamed to By before their King, and a fudden boldness came

upon them, and their fear therewithall vanished away. The place they furt stayed in, was where as

gathering themselves together again, they repulsed the SABYNS even to the place they call now Regia, and unto the Temple of the Goddels Vefta: where both the Battles being prepared to give

a new Charge, there did fall out before them a strange and incredible thing to see, which stayed them

that they fought not. For of the SABYNE Women whom the Romains had ravished; fome ran

of the one fide, other of the other fide of the Battles, with Lamentations, Gryes, and Shouts,

stepping between their Weapons, and among the slain Bodies on the ground, in such fort that they

feemed out of their wits, and carried as it were with fome Spirits... In this manner they went to

find out their Fathers and their Husbands, some carrying their suckling Babes in their arms, other

having their hair loofe about their eyes, and all of them calling, now upon the SABYNS, now up-

on the ROMANS, with the gentleft names that could be devifed: which did melt the hearts of both

Parties in fuch fort, that they gave back a little, and made them place between both the Bat-

tles. Then were the Cryes and Lamentations of every one plainly heard. There was not a man

there but it pitied him, as well to fee them in that pitiful cafe, as to hear the lamentable words they spake adding to their most humble Petitions and Requests that could be anyway imagined, palling wife Perswasions and Reasons to induce them to a Peace. For what offence (say they) or

Curtius the

Sabyne.

Japlier Stator. now is the Temple of Jupiter Stator, which is as much to fay, as Jupiter the Stayer. Afterwards

women,

have left us with them fo long, that process of time, and the straightest bonds of the World, have ther salpse nave tett us wan them to only, and mortally before we hated, that we are conftrained now to be both Armies. flighted thus, to fee them fight, yea and to lament and dye with them, who before unjustly took us from you. For then you came not to our rescue when we were Virgins untouched, nor to recous from you. For them when they wickedly affaulted us, poor fouls but now ye came to take the Wivefrom their Husbands, and the Mothers from their little Children. So as the help ye think to give us now doth grieve us more, then the forfaking of us was forrowfull to us then. Such is the love they have born unto us, and fuch is the kindness we bear again to them. Now, if ye did fight for any other caufe then for us, yet were it reason ye should let fall your Armes for our sakes (by whom you are made Grandfathers and fathers-in-law, Coufins and Brothers-in-law) even from those against whom you now bend your force. But if all this war began for us, we heartily befeech you then that you will receive us with your Sons-in-law, and your Sons by them, and that you will reftore unto us our Fathers, our Brethren, our Kinsfolks and Friends, without spoyling us of our Husbands, of our Children, and of our joyes, and thereby make us woful Captives and Prifoners in our minds. These requests and perswasions by Herfilia, and other the SABYN Women being heard, both the Armies stayed, and held every body his hand, and straight the two Generals imparled together. During which parle they brought their Husbands and their Children, to their Roundes and Fathers and their Brethren. They brought meat and drink for them that would eat. They dreffed Tativa imparts up the wounds of them that were hurt. They carried them home with them to their Houses together. They shewed them how they were Mistresses there with their husbands. They made them see how greatly they were accounted of and efterned; yea how with a Wedlock-love and reputation they were honoured. So in the end peace was concluded between them, wherein it was articled. That Peace between were honoured. So in the end peace was concluded octween them, wherein it was article a track the Roman the Sabyn women which would remain with their husbands should tarry fill, and be exempted and the Sabyn the Saby the SABYN women which work or fervice (as above recited) fave only fpinning of Wool. And that the SABYNS gairties, why and ROMANS should dwell together in the City, which should be called ROME, after Romains to called name: and the Inhabitants should be called Quirites, after the name of the City of Tatius King of the SABYNS, and that they should reign and govern together by a common consent. The place where this peace was concluded, is called yet to this day Comitium: because that Coire, in the La-Comitium. tine Tongue fignifieth to affemble. So the City being augmented by the one half, they did chufe of the SABYNS another hundred new PATRICIANS, unto the first hundred of the ROMANS that were cholen before. Then were the Legions made of 6000 Footmen, and 600 Horlemen. After they The Roman divided their Inhabitants into three Tribes, whereof those that came of Romalus, were called Ram-Legion 6000 Legion Good nenfis after his name: those that came of Tation were called Tationfes after his name: and those that Foomen, and were of the third flock, were called Lucrenfes, as from the Latine word Lucin, called with us a Grove 600 Hortewere of the third stock, were caused Lincremies, as it out the Launic world Links, cance with the afterwards were men. in English, because thickness great number of people of all forts did gather, which afterwards were The Romans made Citizens of ROME. The very word of Tribus (which fignifiesh bands, wards, or hundreds) Tribus. doth witness this beginning of ROME from Wards or Hundreds. For hereupon the ROMANS call those at this day, their Tribune, which are the chief heads of the people. But every one of these principall Wards had afterwards ten other paron ar. Wards under them, which some think were called after the names of the thirty SABYN women that were ravished : but that seemeth false , because many of them carry, the names of the places they came from. Howbeit at that time many Honour given things were stablished and ordained in honour of the women: as to give them place, the upper hand to women. in meeting them : the upper hand in streets: to speak no foul or dishonest word before them, no man to unwray himself, or shew naked before them; that they should not be called before criminal Judges fitting upon Homicides and murderers: that their children should wear about their necks a kind of Jewell, called Bulla, fashioned in manner like these water bubbles that rise upon the water when it beginneth to rain: and that their Gowns should be garded with Purple. Now the two Kings did not flyaight confer together to foon as any occasion of business was offered them, but either of them did first counsell alone with his hundred Senators, and afterwards they did all affemble together. Taim dwelt in the place where now is the Temple of Juno Moneta: Romalus in the place Taim and Rocalled at this prefent, The stairs of the fair bank then, The descent of Mount Palatine, as they mutat palaces. go to the Show place or great Lifts, where they fay was fometime the holy Cornell-tree, whereof they make fo great account. Romalus one day defirous to prove his ftrength, threw (as it is faid) The holy a dart from Mount Aventine toward Mount Palatine; the staff whereof was of a Cornell-tree; and Comell-tree, the Iron of it entred to deep into the ground, being a lufty fat foyl, that no man could pull it out, although many proved it, and did the best they could. The ground being very good and fit to bring forth Trees, did so nourish the end of this staff, that it took root, and began to spread branches: fo that in time it became a fair great Cornell-tree, which the Successors of Romaius did inclose with a wall, and did keep and worship it as a very holy thing. If by chance any went to see it, and found it looked not fresh and green, but like a Tree withered and dried away for lack of moysture: he went away straight as one asraid, crying to all he met (and they with him went crying still) in every place, Water, water, as it had been to have quenched a fire. Then ran they thither out of all Quarters with Veffels of water, to water and moift the Tree. In the time of Caim Cafar, who caused the stairs about it to be repaired, they say the Labourers raising the place,

what displeasure have we done to you, that we should deserve such an heap of evils, as we have alwhat dispersions that the words of ready fuffered, and yet you make us bear? we were as you know violently (and against all Law) ra- The words of vified by those, whose now we remain. But our fathers, our brethren, our mothers and friends, Herfilia and oving

Latercalia.

percians do run through the

and digging about this Cornell-tree, did by negligence hurt the roots of the fame in fuch fort, as The Subjust u- afterwards it dried up altogether. Now the SABYNS received the Moneths after the manner of the fed the Romans ROMANS, whereof we have written sufficiently in the life of Numa. Romulus again used the Sa-BYNS shields: and both he and his people changed the fashion of their Armour and Weapons they used. For the ROMANS before did carry little Shields, after the fashion of the ARGIVES. As for either of their Holy-dayes and Sacrifices, they kept them both altogether, and did not take away any of them , which either the one or the other people observed before , but they added thereunto Fealts, Matro- fome other new. As that which they call Matronalia, which was inflitted in honour of the Woreans, outers men, because by their means peace was concluded. And that also of Carmentalia, in the honour natia, Carmenta of Carmenta, whom some suppose to be the Goddels of Fate or Destiny : because she hath rule and power over the Nativities of men : by reason whereof the mothers call upon her often, and reverence her very much. Other fay, she was the wife of Evander the ARCADIAN, who being a Prophetels inspired by the god Phabus, gave the Oracles in Verse; whereupon she was surnamed Carminia, because that Carminain Latine fignifieth Verses: for it is of certainty that her proper name was Nicofrata. Howbeit there are some which give another manner of derivation and interpretation of this word Carmenta, which is the likelier to be true : as if they would fay, Carens mente; which fignifieth wanting wit, for the very fury that taketh them when they are inspired with the propheticall spirit. For in Latin Carere betokeneth to lack : and Mens signifieth wit. As for the Feast of Palilia, we have told of it before: but the Feast of Lupercalia, confidering the time of celebrating thereof, it feemeth it is ordained for a purification. For it is celebrated on the unfortunate days of the Moneth of February, which are called the purging days. The days in the old time on which they did celebrate the fame, were called Februata. But the proper name of the Feaft, is as much to fay, as the Feafts of Wolves. Wherefore it feemeth to be a Feaft of great antiquity, and instituted by the ARCADIANS which came in with Ewander: albeit the name of Wolves is as common to the females, as the males, and so it might perhaps be called, by reason of the Wolf that brought up Romulus. For we fee those which run up and down the City that day, and they call Luberci, do begin their course in the very place where they say Romulus was cast out. Howbert, many things are done, whereof the original cause were hard now to be conjectured. For Goats about a certain time of the year, are killed; then they bring two young boyes, Noble-mens fons, whose foreheads they touch with the knife beblouded with the bloud of the Goats that are facrificed. By and by they dry their foreheads with wooll dipped in milk. Then the young boys must laugh immediately after they have dried their foreheads. That done, they cut the Goats skins, and make thongs of them, which they take in their hands, and run with them all about the City stark naked (faving they have a cloth before their fecrets) and so they ftrike with these thongs all they meet in their way. The young wives never shun them at all, but are well contented to be striken with them, believing it helpeth them to be with child, and also to be easily delivered. There is another thing yet in this and do facrifice Feast, that these Lupercians which run about the City, do also facrifice a dog. Concerning this Feaft, the Poet named But as doth write somewhat in his Elegies, where shewing the occasion of the fond Customs and Ceremonies of the Romans, he doth fay, that Romulus after that he had flain Amulius, did run straight with great joy to the very place where the wolf gave him and half dimension in the first fuck, in memory of which running, he faith this Feaft of Lupercalia was celebrated: and that the Noblemens younger fons do run throcy the City, striking and laying on them that they meet in their way with their Goat-thongs, in token that Remus and Romuliu ran from ALBA unto that place, with their drawn fwords in their hands. And that the touching of their forehead with a bloody knife, is in remembrance of the danger they flood in at that time to have been flain. Last of all, the drying of their foreheads with wooll, dipped in milk, is in memory of the milk they sucked of the Wolves. But Caim Acilim writeth that Remm and Romalm before Rome was built, did happen to lose their beafts on a day, and after they had made certain Prayers unto Faunus for the finding of them, they ran here and there flark naked as they went a feeking of them. for fear they should have been troubled with overmuch hear and sweating. And this is the cause he saith, why the LUPERCIANS do at this day run about naked. And if it be true, they make this Sacrifice for a purging, a man might fay they might offer up a dog for that purpole, as the GRE-CIANS in their Sacrifices of purgation, do use to carry out all their dogs. And in many places they do observe this Ceremony, to drive out the dogs, which they call Periscylacismes. Otherwise, if it be of a thankfulnels to the Wolf that gave Romalus luck, and faved him from perishing, that the ROMANS do folemnize this Feast: it is not impertinent they should facrifice a dog, because he is an enemy to the Wolves. Unless a man would fay, it was to punish this beast which troubleth and letteth the Lupercians when they run. Some fay also it was Romulus, who first instituted it a Religion to keep holy fire, and that first ordained holy Virgins, which are called Vestales : other do ascribe it to Numa Pompilius. Notwithstanding it is most certain otherwise, that Romelus was a very devout Nuns and ho- man, and greatly skilfull in telling of things to come by the flying of birds, for which cause he did orly fire inflitudinarily carry the Augurs crooked staff, called in Latin Litum. It is a rod crooked at the end, wherewith the Augurs or Soothfayers when they fit down to behold the flying of birds do point out & mark the quarters of the Heaven. They carefully kept it within the palace: howbeit it was loft in the time of wars with the GAULES, when the City of ROME was taken. Afterwards when these barbarous people were chased & driven out, it was found again (as it is faid) all whole, within a great hill or heap of ashes, having no manner of hurr, where all things elfe about it had been confumed and marred with the fire.

He is faid to have made certain Laws, among which there is one that feemeth fomewhat hard, Romalus laws which is: that the man is fuffered to put away his wife, and in some case to give her nothing: and like liberty is not given to the wife to put away her Husband. As if the may be proved to have confented to the poyloning of her children, or to have counterfeited her husbands keyes, or to have committed adultery. But if he put her away for any other cause, then the one half of the Goods is adjudged to the wife, and the other moity to the Goddes Ceres: and he that putteth away his wife after this fort, is commanded further to facrifice to the Goddels of the Earth. This also was notable in Rom lus, who having ordained no pain nor punishment for Parricides (that is, for those that kill their Parents) called yet all murther Parricide, to fhew how deteftable that murther was; and as for their Parents) cancer yet at the participation of Parriciae, ne thought a diversity of the World. For in 600 years together it was not known No Parriciae fuch wickedness would never happen in the World. that any man in ROME committed such an offence, and the first Parricide with them was Lucius O- known in Rom. thing, after the Wars of Hannibal. But enough touching this matter. Furthermore in the first 600 years toyear of the reign of Tatim, fome of his kinfmen and friends met by chance on the way certain gather. year of the reign of Tatim, tonic of its animate and Income of the reign of Tatim, tonic Office.

Ambassadors, coming from the City of Laurentin unto Rome, whom they set upon, and the sirft man the first man meant to have robbed them. The Ambassadors resisting them, and not willing to deliver their mothat slew his ney, they made no more ado, but flew them. This hainous deed being thus committed, Romelus ewa tather at was of opinion they should be executed openly in the high-way for example. But Tatim deferred it Resec. was of opinion they should be executed openly in the high-way to campbe. But I allow active the should be executed openly in the high-way to campbe. But I allow active the should be executed openly in the high-way to campbe. But I allow active the should be executed openly in the high-way to campbe. But I allow active the should be executed openly in the high-way to campbe. But I allow active the should be executed openly in the high-way to campbe. But I allow active the should be executed openly in the high-way to campbe. fell out one with the other. For in all things elfe, they carried themselves as honestly as might be the to Rume one to the other, ruling and governing together, with a common confent and good accord. But the The death of Parents and Kinsfolks of those who were murdered, when they faw they could have no justice be- Tatizs in Lr. cause of T. tius, watched him one day as he sacrificed with Romulus, in the City of LAVINIUM, vinium. and stabbed him in, without offering Romulus any violence, but rather praised him for a good and righteous Prince. Romnlus caused the body of Tatius to be straight taken up, and buried him very honourably in Mount AVENTINE, about the place now called ARMILUSTRIUM. Further he Armitustrium. never shewed any countenance to revenge his death. There are some Historiographers that write, that those of the City of LAURENTUM being affraid at this murder, did deliver forthwith to Romulus the murderers of the Ambassodors. He notwithstanding did let them go again, saying: One murther was requited by another. This gave some occasion of speech to think, he was glad he was murther was required by another the Sabyns neither stirred nor rebelled for all this, but some of them bedience to were afraid of him for the great love they bare him, other for his power he was of, and other for the Romalus. honour they gave him as a god, continuing still in duty and obedience towards him. Divers strangers allo had Romulus valiantly in great honour: as amongst others, those who then were called the ancient LATINES, which fent Ambaffadors to him to make league and amity with him. He devised to take the City of FIDENA which was near to ROME. Some fay he took it upon a fudden, having fent Romandus took before certain Horf-men to break down the hooks and hinges with force, which the Gates hang dent. by : and himself came after with the rest of his army, and stole upon them, before the City mistrusted any thing. Other write that the FIDENATES first invaded his Country; and foraged unto the very Suburbs of ROME, where they did great harm: and how Romulus laid an ambush in their way, as they returned home, and flew a great number of them. When he took their City, he did not raze it, but made a Colony of it (as a place to fend the over-increase of Rome unto) whither he sent afterwards two thousand five hundred ROMANS to inhabit there: and it was on the thirteenth day of April, which the ROMANS call the Ides of the same Moneth. Not long after there rose such a great Plague at Plague in ROME, that men died fuddenly, and were not fick: the Earth brought forth no fruit: brute It trained blood Beafts delivered no increase of their kind: there rained also drops of blood in ROME, as they say, In- at Rome. fomuch as befides the evils men felt in this extremity, they fell in a marvellous fear of the wrath of the gods. Afterwards perceiving the like hapned to the Inhabitants of LAURENTUM, then every man judged it was the very vengeance and heavy hand of the gods: who plagued and punished these two Cities for the murder committed upon Tatim, and the Ambassadors that were killed. Whereupon the murderers of both fides were apprehended and executed: and these plagues by and by ceased both in the one and the other City. Romulus befides, did purifie the Cities with certain Sacrifices that he devised, which they keep still at this day, at the gate called Ferentia. But before the plague ceased, the CAMERIANS came to affault the ROMANS, and had overcome all the Countrey, supposing they should not be able to withstand them, because they had been so fore troubled with the plague. Yet notwithstanding, Ron ules fet upon them with his Army, and wan the field of them, in which conflict there were flain about 6000 men. After the battell done, he took their City, and conveyed to ROME the ken by Roma one half of the Inhabitants that remained. After this, he fent twice as many ROMANS as there were lust. naturall CAMERIANS left at CAMERINE, to dwell there among them. This was done the first day of August: so great was the multitude of the Inhabitants of ROME that had increased in 16 years from the first foundation of the City. Among other spoiles he got there, he carried away a Chariot of brass with four horses, which he caused to be set up in the Temple of Vul an, and his own Statue upon it, and Victory crowning him with a Garland triumphant. His power being grown thus great, his weak Neighbours did submit themselves unto him, being contented to live in peace by him. His stronger Neighbours were atraid of him, and envied much his greatness, and did take it no good policy to suffer him thus to rise in the face of the World, and thought it meet speedily to daunt his glory , and clip his wings. The first of the Thuscanes that bent their power against him ,

were the VEIANS, who had a great Countrey, and dwelled in a strong and mighty City. To pick

a quarrell to him, they fent to have delivered to them the City of FIDENA, which they faid be-

longed unto them. This was thought not onely unreasonable, but a thing worthy laughing at, considering that all the while the FIDENATES were in War and danger, the THUSCANES never

came to their aide, but had suffered them to be slain, and then came to demand their Lands and Tenements, when other had possession of them. Therefore Romalus having given them an Answer full

This was on the feventh day of the Moneth now called July, which then was named Quintilis, leaving no manner of certainty elfe of his death that is known, fave onely of the day and the time Romales vaniwhen he vanished, as we have said before. For on that day the ROMANS do at this present many thed away no

Rossulus mawith the Vei-

Romilus converteth the Kingdom of Common-

of mockery and derifion, they divided their power into two Armies, and fent the one against them of FIDENA, and with the other they marched towards ROME. That which went against the City of FIDENA prevailed, and killed there two thousand ROMANS: the other was overthrown and discomfitted by Romulus, in which there died eight thousand VEIANS. Afterwards they met again somewhat near the City of the FIDENATES, where they fought a battell, and did confels the chiefest exploit was done by Romulus own hands that day, who shewed all the skill and valiantness that was to be looked for in a worthy Captain. It seemed that day, he far exceeded ble valiantness the common fort of men, in strength of body and feats of Armes. Nevertheless that which some fay, is hardly to be credited: and to be plain, is out of all compass of belief and possibility. For they write, there were fourteen thousand men slain at that Battell, and that more then half of them were flain by Romalus own hands: and the rather, for that every man judgeth it a vain brag and oftentation which the MESSENIANS report of Aristomenes, who offered in Sacrifice to the gods three hundred Beafts of Victory, as for fo many LACEDEMONIANS himself had flain in the Battell. Their Army being thus broken, Romalus fuffered them to fly who by swiftnels could fave themselves, and marched with all his power in good array towards their City. The Citizens then confidering their late great loss and overthrow, would not hazard the danger of withstanding him, but went out all together, and made their humble petition and suite for peace. All was granted them for a hundred years, fave they should forgo their Territory called Septemagium, that was the seventh part of their Countrey : and yeeld to the ROMANS all their falt-houses by the Rivers fide, and deliver fifty of their chiefest Citizens for their pledges. Romulus made his entry and Triumph into Rome for them, the day of the Ides of October, which is the fifteenth day of the fame moneth, leading in his Triumph many prisoners taken in those Wars: and among others, the Generall of the VEIANS, a very ancient man, who fondly behaved himself in his charge, and shewed by his doings, that his experience was far short for his years in the Wars. And from thence it cometh, when they offer to the gods to give thanks for his Victory, that even at this day, they bring to the Capitoll through the Market-place, and old man apparelled in a Purple Robe, and with a Jewell called Bulla about his neck, which the Gentlemens young Children wear, about their necks: and an Herauld goeth hard by him, crying, Who buyeth, who, the SARDIANIANS? because they hold opinion the Thus CANES are come of the SARDIANIANS, and the very City of VEIES standeth in the Countrey of Thuscane. This was the last War that Romalus had offered him: after which he could not beware of that which is wont to happen almost to all those, who by sudden prosperity and fortunes speciall favour, are raised to high and great estate. For trust-Profestive in- ing to prosperity and good success of his acts, he began to be more strange and stately, and to carcreate of pride ry a fowerer countenance then he was wont to do before: leaving to be after his old manner, a courteous and gracious Prince: and gave himself in fashions to be somewhat like a Tyrant, both for his Apparell, and flately port and Majesty that he carried. For he ware ever a Coat of Purple in grain and upon that, a long Robe of Purple colour : and gave audience, fitting in a wide Chaire of Celeres Romu- Estate, having ever about him young men called Celeres, as we would say, flights, for their swiftness and speed in executing of his Commandments. Other there were that went before him, who carried as it were Tipftaves in their hands, to make the People give room, and had Leather Thongs about their middle to bind fast streight, all the Prince should command. Now in old time the LATING faid, Ligare was to bind : but at this present they say Alligare, from whence it cometh that the Uthers and Serjeans are called Littorer. How beit methinks it were more likely to fay, they had put to a c, and that before they were called Litures, without a c. For they be the very fame which the GRECIANS call Liturgus, and be in English, Ministersor Officers: and at this day, Leitos, or Leos in the GREER Tongue fignifieth the people. Romulus now after his Grandfather Numitor was dead at the City of ALBA, and that the Realm by inheritance fell to him: towin the favour of the People there, turned the Kingdom to a Common-weal, and every year did chuse a new Magutrate, to minister justice to the SABY NS. This president taught the Noblemen of Rone to feek and defire to have a free Estate, where no Subject should be at the commandment of a King alone, and where every man (hould command and obey as should be his course, Those which were called Patricians in ROME, did meddle with nothing, but had onely an honourable Name and Robe, and were called to Councell rather for a fashion, then to have their advice or counfell. For when they were affembled together; they did onely hear the Kings pleasure and commandment, but they might not speak one word, and so departed : having no other preeminence over the Common-wealth , faving they were the first that did know what was done. All other things thereby did grieve them less. But when of his own meer Authority, and as it were of himself, he would as pleafed him , befrow the conquered Lands of his Enemies to his Souldiers, and restore again to the VETA WS their Hoftages as he did : therein plainly appeared , how great injury he did to the Senate. Whereupon the Senators were suspected afterward that they killed him, when within few days after it was faid, he vanished away so strangely, that no man ever knew what became of him.

things, in remembrance of the misfortune which happened to them then. It is no marvell, the cer- man knew rainty of his death was not known! 'Teeting Scipio Africanus was found after supper dead in his house, have and no man could tell, nor yet did know how he died. 'For some say; that he fainted and died suddenly, being of weak complexion. Others say, he poyfoned himself; others think his Enemies did fortunate day get secretly in the night into his house, and smoothered him in his bed. Yet, they found his body laid to the Rossian. on the ground, that every body might at leifure confider, if they could find or conjecture the man. The dash of ner of his death. Howbeit Romalus vanished away suddenly, there was neither seen piece of his Signature. Garments , nor yet was there found any part of his body. Therefore fome have thought that the Divis opiniwhole Senators fell upon him together in the Temple of Vullan, and how after they had cut him in one of Rusaulan pieces, every one carried away a piece of him, folded close in the skirt of his Robe. Other think death. alfo. this vanishing away was not in the temple of Vultan, nor in the presence of the Senators only. but they fay that Romulus was at that time withour the City; near the place called the Goats Marth, where he made an Oration to the People, and that fuddenly the weather changed, and overcast so terribly, as it is not to be told nor credited. For first, the Sun was darkned as if it had been very night; this darkness was not in a calm or still, but there fell horrible thunders, boysterous winds, and flashing lightnings on every side, which made the people run away, and scatter here and there but the Senators kept still close together. Afterwards when the lightning was past and gone, the day cleared up, and the Element waxed fair as before : then the people gathered together again, and fought for the King, asking what was become of him. But the Noblemen would not fuffer them to enquire any further after him, but counfelled them to honour and reverence him as one taken up into Heaven: and that thenceforth in flead of a good King, he would be unto them a mercifull and gracious god. The meaner fort of people (for the most part of them) took it well , and were very glad to hear thereof, and went their way worthipping Romulus in their hearts, with good hope they should prosper by him. Howbeit some seeking out the troth more eagerly, did cumber fore and troubled the PATRICIANS, accuring them, that they abufed the common People with vain and fond perswassions; whilst themselves in the mean time had, murdered the King with their own hands. While things were thus in hurly burly, fome fay there was one Julius Proculus, the noblest of all the PATRICIANS, efteemed for a marvellous honest man, and known to have been very familiar with Romalus, and came with him from the city of ATBA: that stepped forth before all the People, and affirmed (by the greatest and holiest Oaths a man might swear) that he had met Romulus Fulius Procutive on the way, far greater and fairer, then he had feen him ever before, and armed all in white Ar- met with Romour , shining bright like fire : whereat being affraid in that fort to fee him , he asked him yet : O mulus after his mour, mining origin the first whereas oring animal institution for him, in assection yet. Vanishing.

King, why half thou thus left and forfaken us, that are fo fallfy accused and charged to our utter dif
Romalist Oriacredit and shame, by thy vanishing? To whom Romalus gave this answer: Procelus, it hath pleased eletoProculus, the gods from whom I came, that I should remain among men so long as I did: and now having built a City, which in glory and greatness of Empire shall be the chiefest of the World, that I should return again to dwell with them, as before, in Heaven. Therefore be of good comfort, and tell the ROMANS, that they exercifing prowels and temperancie, shall be the mightiest and greatest People of the World. As for me, tell them I will henceforth be their god, protector, and patron, and they shall call me Quirinus. These words seemed credible to the ROMANS, as well for the honesty of the man that spake unto them, as for the solemn outles he made before them all. Yet I wot not how, honoured as a some Celestial Motion, or Divine Inspiration helped it much : for no man said a word against it. And god, fo all suspicion and accusation laid aside, every man began to call upon Quirinus, to pray unto him, and to worship him. Truly this tale is much like the talesthat the GRECIANS tell of Aristeas the Aristeas aPro-Proconnessan, and of Cleemedes the Aftypalaian. For they say, that Arifteas died in a Fullers work connessan tahouse, and his friends coming to carry away his body, it fell out they could not tell what became of ken out or mens fight at it : and at that instant there were some which came out of the fields, and affirmed they met and spake ter he was with him, and how he kept his way towards the City of CROTONA. It is faid also that Cleemedes dead. was more then a man naturally strong and great, and therewithall mad, and furious hasty. For after Chomeles Amany desperate parts he had plaid, he came at the last on a day into a School-house full of little children, the roof whereof was born with one pillar, which he did hit with fo terrible a blow of his fift, ly out of mens that he brake it in the midft, so as the whole roof fell and dashed the poor children in pieces. The fight, being people ran straight after him to take him: but he threw himself forthwith into a Chest, and pulled the talt locked in lid upon him. He held it to faft down, that many striving together all they could to open it, they were a chest. not able once to ftir it. Whereupon they brake the Cheft all in pieces, but they found the man nei-

the Prophetels answered them in this Verse: Cleomedes the last of demy gods.

The report goeth also that Alemenes corpse did vanish away, as they carried it to buriall, and how in Alemenes body ftead thereof they found a stone laid in the beere. To conclude, men tell many other such wonders, vanished out that are far from any appearance of truth: onely because they would make men to be as gods, and of the beere. equall with them in power. It is true, that as to reprove and deny Divine Power, it were a lewd and wicked part : even so to compare Earth and Heaven together, it were a meer folly. Therefore we must let fuch Fables go, being most certain that, as Pindarus saith, it is true:

ther quick nor dead. Whereat they were marvellously amazed, and fent to Apollo Pythia, where

Each living Corps most yeeld at last to death, And every life must lees his vitall breath: The foul of man , that onely lives on hie,

THESEUS.

The foul eter-

And is an image of Exernise.

For from Heaven it came, and thither again it doth return, not with the body, but then foonest, when the foul is furtheft off and feparated from the body, and that the is kept holy, and is no more defiled with the flesh. It is that the philosopher Heracliess meant, when he said . The dry light, is the best soul which slyeth out of the body, as lightning doth out of the cloud: but that which is joyned with the body being full of corporall pallions, is a grofs vapour, dark and maftle, and cannot ned with the body being into or corporan pantons, as a gross vapour, tark and maints, and cannot flame, arife or shoot out like lightning. We must not believe therefore, that the Bodies of noble and vertuous men, do go up together with their fouls into Heaven, against the order of nature. But this we are certainly to believe, that by the vertues of their fouls (according to Divine Nature and Juffice) they do of men become Saints, and of Saints half Gods, and of half Gods, entire and perfect Gods: after that they are perfectly (as it were by Sacrifice of purgation) made clean and pure, being delivered from all pain and Mortality, and not by any civil Ordinance, but in troth and pure, pening activetice from an Pani and Storious and Now touching Remulus furname, which afterwards was called Qurinus, fome fay, that it lignifieth as much as Warlike; others think it was fo called because the ROMANS themselves were called *Quiries*. Others write, that men in old time did call the point of a Spear, or the Dart in tell, *Quirie*, by reason whereof the image of Juno sure named Quiritides, was fet up with an iron Spear, and the Spear which was confecrated in the Kings

Palace, was ralled Mars. Furthermore it is an use amongst men, to nonour them with a Spear or Dare, which have shewed themselves valiant in the Wars; and that for this cause Romains was furnamed Quirinus, as who would day, god of the Spears and Wars. There was finee built a Temple unto him, in the Hill called Quiring, and so named of him. The day whereon he vanished, is cal-

led the flying of the people, or otherwise the Nones of the Goates. For on that day they go out of

the City to do Sacrifice in the place called the Fenne, or the Goates Marth, and the ROMANS call

a Goat, Capra. As they go thus together, they call with lowd fhouts and cries upon divers Ro-

MAN , names , 48 Marcus, Cnew , and Gaise , in token of the flying that was then : and they called one another back again, as they ran away in great fear and diforder. Howbeit other fay, that it is not done to flow the running away, but to hew their freed and diligence, and refer it to the Story.

not done to mew the comming away , one to they manage a see an angelier , and teler it to the Story. Now after the GAULES that had taken ROME were expulled by Gamiliu, the City was fo weaken-

ed, that they could feat recover their force and firength again : wherefore many of the LATINES

was called Quirinus.

The hill of Quirinus. No-

Livius Pofthumius Generall.

joyning together, went with a great mighty Army, under the conduct of Living Poshuming, to war against the Romans. This Poshuming brought his Camp as near the City of Rome 2s he could, and fent to the ROMANS by a Trumper to let them understand, how the LATINS were defirous by new Marriages to reftore their old ancient amity and kindred that was neer hand decayed between them : and therefore if the ROMANS would fend them a convenient number of their Daughters and young Widows to marry with them , they would have peace, as they had before time with the SABYNS, upon the like occasion. The ROMANS hereat were so troubled, thinking that to deliver their Women in such fort, was no better then to yeeld and submitthemselves to their Philosis a waite Enemies. But as they were thus perplexed, a Waiting-made called Philosis (or as other call her, Tuing maids fud- :ola) gave them counfell to do neither the one nor the other, but toule a policy with them, by means whereof they should scape the danger of the Wars, and should also not be ried nor bound to any Pledge. The Device was , they should send to the LATINS her self, and a certain number of their fairest Bond-maids, trimmed up like Gentlewomen , and the best Citizens Daughters , and that in the night the would lift them up a burning Torch in the air, at which fign they should come armed, and fer upon their Enemies as they lay alleep. This was brought to pass: and the LATINS thought verily they had been the ROMANS Daughters. Philoric failed not in the night to lift up her fign, and to shew them a burning Torch in the top of a wild Fig-tree: and did hang certain Coverlets and Clothes behind it, that the Exemies might not fee the light, and the ROMANS CONtrariwise might discern ir the better. Thereupon so soonas the ROMANS saw it, they ran with all speed, calling one another by their names, and issued out of the Gates of the City with great haste: and fo took their Enemies upon a fudden, and flew them. In memory of which Victory, they do yet solemnize the Feaft called the Nones of the Goats, because of the wild Fig-tree called in Latin Caprificus. And they do feast the Women without the City, under shadowesmade of the boughs of Fig-trees. The Waiting-maids, they run up and down, and play here and there together. Afterwards they feem to fight, and throw stones one at another, as then they did when they holp the ROMANS in their Fight. But few Writers do avow this Tale, because it is on the day time that they call fo each other by their names, and that they go to the place which they call the Goats Marth, as unto a Sacrifice. It feemeth this agreeth better with the first History when they call one another by their names in the night, going against the LATINS: unless peradventure these two things after many years happened upon one day. Furthermore, they fay Romulus was taken out of the World, when he was four and fifty years of age, and had reigned eight and thirty years by accompt.

Romulus age

THE COMPARISON OF THESEUS with ROMULUS.



whom he had delivered from them. Furthermore, he might have gone to ATHENS by fea, and never needed to have travelled, or put himself in danger with these robbers, considering he never

received hurr by any of them: whereas Romalus could not be in fafety whilest Amalius lived. Here-

upon it may be alledged, that Thesew unprovoked by any private wrong or hurt received, did set

commeth a People-pleaser, or a cruell tyram: and so causeth his Subjects to despise or have him.



Hus have we declared all things of Thefem and Romulus worthy memory. But to compare the one with the other: it appeareth first, that Thefew of his own voluntary will, without compulsion of any (when he might with fafery have reigned in the City of TROEZEN, and fucceeded his Grandfather in no small Kingdom) did defire of himself, and rather men are profought meanes to aspire to great things: and that Rommlus on the other vosed to great fide, to deliver himself from bondage and fervitude that lay fore upon Enterprises. him, and to escape the threatned punishment which still did hang over his head, was certainly compelled (as Plato faith) to flew himself Plato in Pha

hardy for fear: who feeing how extreamly he was like to be handled. donc. was of very force constrained to feek advantage, and hazard the enterprize of attaining high and great things. Moreover the chiefest act that ever he did, was, when he slew one onely Tyrant of the City of ALBA called Amuliu: where Thefew in his journey onely, as he travelled, gave his mind to great enterprises, and flew Sciron, Scinnis, Procrustes, and Corgnetes. And by ridding them out of the world, he delivered GREECE of all those truell Tyrants, before any of those knew him

upon these detestable Thieves and Robbers : Remus and Robulus contrariwise, so long as the Tvrant did them no harm, did fuffer him to oppressand wrong all other. And if they alledge, these were noble deeds, and worthy of memory: that Romulus was hurt fighting against the SABYNS, and that he flew King Acron with his own hands, and that he had overcome and subdued many of his Encmies : then for Thefeus on the other fide may be objected , the Battell of the CENTAURI , the Wars of the AMAZONS, the Tribute due to the king of CRETA: and how he ventured to go himself thither with the young Boyes and Wenches of ATHENS, as willingly offering himself to be devoured by a cruell beaft, or else to be flain, and facrificed upon the Tombe of Androgeus, or to become Bond-flave, and tied in Captivity to the vile Service of cruell men and Enemies, if by his courage and manhood he could not deliver himself. This was such an act of Magnanimity, Justice and Glory, and briefly of fo great Vertue, that it is impossible truly to be fet out. Surely me thinks the Philosophers did not ill define Love, when they faid the was a Servitour of the gods, to fave Love the Miyoung folks, whom they thought meet to be preferved. For, the love of Ariadne was in mine opi- nitter of the nion the work of some god, and a mean purposely prepared for Theseus safety. Therefore the gods. woman is not to be reproached nor blamed for the love the bare Thefeus, but rather it is much to be wondred at, that every man and woman in like wife did not love him. And if of her felf the fell in love with him, I fay (and not without cause) she afterwards deserved to be beloved of a god, as one that of her own Nature loved Valiantnesse and Honour, and entertained men of singular value. But both Thefeus and Romulus being naturally given to rule and reign, neither the one nor the other kept the true form of a King, but both of them did degenerate alike, the one changing himself into a popular man, the other to a very Tyrant. So that by fundry humours, they both

fell into one mischief and errour. For a Prince above all things must keep his Estate: which is no The office of leffe preferved by doing nothing uncomely, then by doing all things honourably. But he that a Prince. is more fevere or remis then he should be, remaineth now no more a King or a Prince, but beYet me thinks the one is an errour of too much pity and baseness, and the other of too much pride and cruelty. But if we may not charge Fortune with all mischances happening unto men, but that we ought to confider in them the diversities of manners and passions, seeing anger is unreasonable, and wrath rath and patitionate: then can we not cleer the one, nor excuse the other of extreme rage and passion, in the fact committed by one against his Brother, and by the other against his natural Son. Howbeit the occasion and beginning of anger doth much excuse Thefins, who moved with the greatest cause that might be, was put into such choler and passion. But if Romulus variance with his Brother had proceeded of any matter of counfell, or cause of the Commonweal; there is none so simple to think, that his wildom would fo suddenly have fet upon him. Whereas Thefers in contrary manner killed his Son, provoked by those pallions that few men can avoid; to wit, love, jealousie, and falle report of his Wife. Moreover Romulus anger went to the effect; whereof the iffue fell out very lamentable: The fees anger stretched no further then to rough words and old folkes curses in their heat: For it seemeth, cursed Fortune, and nought else was the cause of his Sons only mishap, as fore-spoken and wished for somewhat by his Father. These be the speciall things may be alledged for Thefeus. But for Romulus this was a notable thing in him : First, His beginning being very low and mean, and his Brother and he taken for bondmen, and the Children of Hogheards, before they were themselves all free, they set at liberty in manner all the LATINS, winning at one instant many Titles of glory and honour : as, Deftroyers of their Enemies, Defenders of their Parents, Kings of Nations , Founders of new Cities , and no overthrowers of the old : whereas Thefem of many habitations and houses made onely one, and did overthrow and pluck down divers States, bearing the Names of ancient Kings, Princes, and half-gods of ATTICA. All these also did Roppulus afterward, and compelled his Enemies whom he had overcome, to destroy their own houses, and to come and dwell with their Conquerours: And in the beginning, he never changed nor increafed any City that was built before, but built himself a new city out of the ground, getting all together, Land, Countrey, Kingdom, Kindred and Marriages, without lofing or killing any man : and to the contrary, rather he did good to many poor vagabonds, who had neither Countrey, Land nor houses, and defired nothing elle but to make a People amongst them, and to become Citizens of some City. Also Romalia bent not himself to follow Theeves and Robbers , but subdued by force of armes many

Romains love he died: the most part of Authors do charge other with the death of him. But it is certain that

Wherein Ro-

Thefens detect- he never offended him willingly, no not so much as ignorantly. Contrary I think Thefem, who ed for oblivion failing by negligence to put out his white faile at his return, cannot be cleared of parricide, how

Romulus ravishment of women ex-

put away in

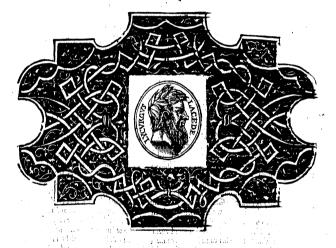
eloquent an Oration foever could be made for his excuse; yea though it were before the most favourable judges that could be. Wherefore an ATHENIAN very well perceiving that it was an hard thing to excuse and defend so foul a fault, doth seign that the good old man Agem having news brought him that his Sons Ship was at hand, did run in so great haste to his Castle, to see his Son arrive afar off, that as he ran, his foot hit against something and overthrew him: as though he had none of his people about him, or that never a man feeing him run so hastily to the sea side, did make haste to attend and wait upon him. Furthermore, Thefens faults touching Women and Ravishfeed for his ra- ments, of the twain, had the leffe shadow and colour of honefty: Because Thefens did attempt it enems, of the twam, had the tene madow and colour of nonetty: Decaute 1 notem and attempt it very often: for he ftole away Ariadne, Antiope, and Anaxo the TROEZENIAN. Again, being ftepped in years, and at later age, and apfi marriage, he ftole away Hellen in her minority, being nothing neer to confent to marry. Then his taking of the Daughters of the TROEZENIANS, of the LACEDEMONIANS, and the AMAZONS (neither contracted to him, nor comparable to the birth and linage of his own Countrey which were at ATHENS, and descended of the Noble race and progeny of Erithems, and of Cecross) did give men occasion to suspect that his womanishness was rather to satisfie lust, then of any great love. Romulus now in a contrary manner, when his people had taken eight hundred or thereabouts, of the SABINE Women to ravish them, kept but onely one for himself that was called Hersilia, as they fay, and delivered the rest to his best and most honest Citizens. Afterwards by the honour, love and entertainment that he caused them to have and receive of their Husbands, he changed this violent force of ravishment, into a most perfect bond and league of amity: which did fo knit and joyn in one these two Nations, that it was the beginning of the great mutuall love which grew afterwards betwirt those two Peoples, and consequently of the joining of their powers together. Furthermore, time hath given a good testimony of the love, reverence, constancy, kindness, and all matrimoniall offices that he established by that means betwixt Man and Wife: For in two hundred and thirty years afterwards, there was never Man that durft made in Rome forfake or put away his Wife, nor the Wifeher Husband. And as among the GRECIANS, the tor 230 years best learned men , and most curious observers of Antiquities , do know his Name that was the first murderer of his Father and Mother : even fo all the ROMANS knew what he was, which first durit put away his Wife: It was one Spurius Carvilius, because his Wife was barren and had no Children. The effects also do agree with the testimony of the time: For the Realm was common unto the Kings of both Nations; and through the alliance of these Marriages that began first of Ravishments, both Nations lived peaceably, and in equality, under one civill policy, and well governed Commonweal,

mighty and puiffant people: he took Cities, and triumphed over Kings and Princes which he had vanquished in battell. And touching the murder of Remus, it is not certainly known of whose hands

Remulus delivered his Mother from apparent death, and restored his Grandsather to the royall Throne of Ana, who before was depoted and brought from a King to fervile obedience, without any regard of honour or dignity; to whom he did many more great pleafures and fervices: Befides

The ATHENIANS contrariwife, by Theless Marriages, did get neither love nor Kindred of any one Theless marriage person, but rather they procured wars, enmitties, and the saughter of their Citizens, with the loss ages cause of in the end of the City of APHIDNES: and yet very hardly, and by the mercy of their enemies bles, (whom they honoured as gods) they escaped for him, the danger which the TROIANS suffered afterwards, for the felf act done by Alexander Paris. So it fell out at the last, that his Mother was not only in danger, but even feelingly suffered like misery and captivity, which Hecuba did afterwards, when the was forfaken of her Son: unless peradventure those things that they write of the imprisonment and captivity of Athra, be found falle and but fables, as for the fame and memory of The few were behoveful, that both it and many other things also, were of no more troth nor likelihood. That which they write of Romnius divinements, maketh great difference between him and The fews. Romalus more For Romalus in his birth was preferred by the marvellous favour of the gods: The few to the contrary acceptable to the gods then was begotten against the gods will, as appeared plainly by the answer of the Oracle to Agens, that Theleus, he should not meddle with any Woman in a strange and forreign Countrey.

THE LIFE OF LYCuRGUS.



Ann. Mund. 3046.

Ast. Christ.



Man cannot speak any thing at all of Lycurgus, who made the Lawes of the LACEDEMONIANS, but he shall find great contrariety of him amongst the Historiographers. For of his Parentage and travell out of his Countrey, of his Death and making of Laws, of his form of Government and order of executing the fame, they have written diverlly. And yet above all things, concerning him, they agree worst about the time he lived in: For some of them (and Aristotle is of that number) will needs have him to have been in the time of Iphytus, and that he did help him to stablish the Ordinance, that all Wars should ceaseduring the Feast of the games Olympicall: for a testimony whereof,

they alledge the Copper coyt which was used to be thrown in those games, and had found graven upon it, the Name of Lieurgus. Others counting the days and time of the succession of the Kings of Lacedenon (as Exatostenes and Apollodorus) say, he was many yeares before the first Olympiad. Timam also thinketh there were two of this Name, and in divers times, howbeit the one having more ellimation then the other, men gave this Lyeurgus the glory of both their doings. Some to Lacedamon, fay the eldeft of the wain was not long after Homes; and some write they saw him. Xénophon shew-rep. eth us plainely he was of great antiquity: faying he was in the time of the Heraclides, who were nearest of bloud by descent to Hercules. For it is likely Kenophon means not those Heraclides, which

Of the Heradide Paufanias. Diedorus. and Ctemens Strom. lib.1.

I.ycurgus kindred.

Prodicos, Regents, or Pro-

teffors of

young Kings

in minority.

descended from Hercules self : for the last kings of Sparta were of Hercules progeny, as well as the first. Therefore he meaneth those Heraclides, which doubtless were the first and nearest before Herenles time. Nevertheless though the Historiographers have written diversly of him, yet we will not leave to collect that which we find written of him in ancient Histories, and is least to be denied, and by best testimonies most to be proved. And first of all, the Poet Simonides faith, his Father was called Prytanis and not Eunomiss: and the most part do write the Pedigree otherwise, as well of Lycurgus felf, as of Eunomus. For they fay, that Patrocles the Son of Ariftodemus begat Some, and Some begat Eurytion, and Eurytion begat Prytanie, and Prytanie begat Ennomue, and Eunomus begat Polydettes of his first Wife, and Lycurgus of the second Wife, called Dianaffa: yet Entlycides another Writer, maketh Lycurgus the fixt of descent in the right line from Polydettes, and the eleventh after Hercules. But of all his ancestors, the Noblest was Sons, in whose time the City of SPARTA subdued the ILOTES, made them slaves, and did enlarge and increase their Dominion, with the Lands and Possessions they had got by Conquest of the ARCADIANS. And it is said that Sous himself being on a time straitly belieged by the CLITORIANS, in a hard dry ground, where no water could be found, offered them thereupon to restore all their Lands again that he had gotten from them, if he and all his company did drink of a fountain that was there not far off. The A fubtle pro- CLITORIANS did grant unto it, and Peace was also sworn between them. Then he called all his Souldiers before him, and told them, if there were any one amongst them that would refrain from drinking, he would refign his Kingdom to him: howbeit there was not one in all his company that could (or would) forbear to drink, they were fo fore athirft. So they all drank heartily except himself, who being the last that came down, did no more but a little moyst his mouth without, and fo refreshed himself, the enemies selves standing by, and drank not a drop. By reason whereof, he resulted afterwards to restore their Lands he had promised, alledging they had not all drunk. But that notwithstanding, he was greatly esteemed for his acts, and yet his house was not named after his own Name; but after his Sons Name Eurytion; they of his house were called Eurytionides. The reason was, because his Son Enrytion, to please the people, did first let fall and give over the fole and absolute power of a King. Whereupon there followed afterwards marvellous disorder and diffolution, which continued a great time in the City of SPARTA. For the people finding themfelves at liberty, became very bold and disobedient : and some of the Kings that succeeded, were hated even to death, because they would perforce use their ancient authority over the people. Other, either to win the love and good-wils of the people, or because they faw they were not ftrong enough to rule them, did give themselves to diffemble. And this did so much increase the peoples loose and rebellious minds, that Lycurgus own Father being King, was flain among them. For one day, as he was parting a fray between two that were fighting, he had such a wound with a kitchin-knife, that he died; and left his Realm to his eldeft Son Polydettes, who died also soon after, and without Heir of his body, as was supposed. Insomuch as every man thought Lycurgus should be King: and to he took it upon him, untill it was understood that his Brothers Wife was young with Child. Which thing fo foon as he perceived, he published openly, that the Realm belonged to the Child that should be born, if it were a Son. After this he governed the Realm, but as the Kings Lieutenant and Regent. The LACEDEMONIAN'S call the Regents of their Kings that are left within age, Prodicos. Lycurem Brothers Widow did fend, and let him fecretly understand, that if he would promise to marry her when he should be King , that the would come before her time , and either miscarry or destroy that she went with. Lycurgus streetably abhorring this brutish and savage unnaturalness of the woman , did not reject her offer made him , but seemed rather to be very glad , then to diflike of it. Nevertheless he sent her word again, she should not need to try masteries, with drinks and medicines to make her come before her time ; for in fo doing , fhe might bring her self in danger , and be cast away for ever. Howbeit he advised her to go her full time , and to be brought abed in good order, and then he would find means enough to make away the Child that should be born. And so with such perswasions he drew on this woman to her full time of delivery. But so soon as he perceived she was near her time, he sent certain to keep her, and to be present at her labour; commanding them, that if the were brought abed of a Daughter, they should leave her with she woman; and if it were a Son, they should forthwith bring it to him, in what place soever he was, and what butiness soever he had in hand. It chanced that the came even about hopper-time and was delivered of a Son. As he was fitting at the table with other Magistrates of the City of a fervants entred the Hall, and preferred to him the little Babe, which he tenderly 1908 in his arms. and faid open to them that were preferr? Behold my Lords of Spana, here is them born und cettle Lackda-motion. Here is the company of the Lackda-motion. Here is the company of the lackda-motion. Here is the company of the company of the people. This he saw all the lookers on relbying much and might hear the lackda-motion. Here is the company of the people. This he saw all the lookers on relbying much and might hear the lackda-motion. He was the company of the reigned offely as King but Halle. Ith. I Citizens, that there were more that willingly obeyed him for his vertue, then for that he was the Kings Regent, or that he had the government of the whole Realm in his hands. Notwithstanding there were some that bare him displeasure and malice, who sought to hinder and disgrace his credit, and chiefly the friends and kindred of the Kings, Mother; whole Power and Honour were thought much impaired by Lycurgus authority; infomuch, as a Brother of hers called Leonidus, entring boldly into great words with him on a day, did not flick to fay to his face, I know for a certainty one of these days thou will be King; meaning thereby to bring him in suspicion with the Citizens. Which

thing though Lycureus never meant, yet of a fubil and crafty wit, Leonidus thought by giving out fuch words, that if the young King happened to die in his minority naturally, it would be miltrufted that Lycuren had fecretly made him away. The Kings Mother also gave out such like speeches. which in the end did so trouble him, with the fear he had, what event might fall out thereof that he determined to depart his Countrey, and by his absence to avoid the suspition that therein might grow upon him any way. So he travelled abroad in the world as a ftranger, untill his Nephew had Lycargus tragrow upon limitary way. So the third in his Kingdom. He having with this determination taken treys. his journey, went first of all into CRETA, where he diligently observed and considered the manner of their living, the order of the government of their Commonweal, and ever kept company with the best, and ever was conferring with the most Learned. There he found very good Laws in his indgement, which he noted of purpose to carry home to his Countrey, to serve when time should come. He found there other Laws also, but of them he made no reckoning. Now there was one man that above the reft was reputed wife and skilfull in matters of State and Government, who was called Thales; with whom Lycurgus did so much by intreaty, and for familiar friendship, that he perswaded him to go with him unto Sparta. This Thales was called the Poet Harper, whereupon Thales a Poet he had that Title and Name; but in effect he sang all that the best and sufficientest Governours of the harper world could devise : for all his Songs were goodly Ditties , wherein he did exhort and perswade the people to live under obedience of the Law, in peace and concord one with the other. His words were fet out with such tunes, countenance and accents, that were so full of sweetness, harmony and piercing, that inwardly it melted mens hearts, and drew the hearers of a love to like the most honest things, and to leave all hatred, enmity, fedition and division, which at that time raigned among them. So as it may be faid, he it was that prepared the way for Lycman, whereby he afterwards reformed and brought the LACED & MONIANS unto reason. At his departing out of CRETA, he went into Asia, with intent (as it is faid) to compare the manner of life and policy of those of CRE- Lycurgus his TA (being then very straight and severe) with the superfluities and vanities of 10 NIA: and Affa.

the reupon to consider the difference between their two manners and governments, as the Physician doth, who to know the whole and healthfull the better, doth use to compare them with the fick and difeafed. It is very likely it was there, where he first faw Homers Works, in the hands of the heirs and fucceffours of Cliophilm : and finding in the fame, as well many sules of policy, as the great pleafure of Poets faining, he diligently copied it out, and made a volume thereof to carry into GREECE. It is true, there was much fame abroad of Homers poefics among the GRECIANS, howbeit there The praife of were few of them brought together, but were featured here and there in divers mens hands, in pam. Homers works. were two or units trought together, our rete appetational and have an united money manua, in patter from philets and pieces unlewed and without any order; but the first that brought them for to light a Homer Poems philets and pieces unlewed and without any order; that he was in this compressable and they have found to the heave in this compressable and they have found to the heave in this compressable and they have found to the heave in this compressable and they have found to the heave in this compressable and they have found to the heave in the heave in this compressable and they have been also the heave in mong men, was Lyeurgen. The EGYPTIANS fay, that he was in their countrey alfo, and that having Gracians found there one notable Ordinance among other, that their fouldiers and men of war were fepara-brought to ted from the reft of the people, the brought the practife of it into SPARTA: where fetting the Mer- light by Lychants, Artificers and Labourers every one apart by themselves, he did establish a noble Common-curgus. wealth. So the EGYPTIAN Historiographers, and some others also of GREECE do write. He was also in Africa, and in Spain, and as far as India, to confer with the wife men there, that were called the Philosophers of INDIA. I know no man that hath written it, faving Arithocrates, that was Hipparethin fon. The LACEDEMONIANS wished for him often when he was gone, and fent divers and many a time to call him home : who thought their Kings had but the honour and title of Kings, and not the vertue or majefty of a Prince, whereby they did excell the common people. But as for Lyewyw, they thought of him thus , that he was a man born to rule, to command, and to give order, as having in him a certain naturall grace and power, to draw men willingly to obey him. Moreover the Kings themselves were not unwilling to have him to return home, because they hoped that his presence would somewhat bridle and restrain the people from their infolency and disobedience toward them. Whereupon Lycurges returning home in Lycurgus rethis opinion and affection of men , it fell out that he was no fooner arrived , but he began to devife turneth and this opinion and affection of men; it reli out that he was no sooner arrived; but he began to devite how to after the whole government of the Commonweal; and throughout to change the whole the Commonweal. course and order of the State: thinking that to make only certain particular Lawswere to no pur-wealth. pose, but much like, as one should give some easier medicine, to purge an overthrown body with all humours and diseases. Therefore he thought first that all gross and superfluous humours were meet to be diffolved and purged, and then afterwards to give them a new form and order of government. When he had thus determined with himself, before he would take in hand to do any thing, Lycurgurcounhe went to the City of DEL PHOS: where after he had facrificed to Apollo , he consulted with him about his matters. From whom he returned with his glorious title by the Oracle of Pythia: O beloved double at of the gods, and rather god then man. Where when he craved grace of Apollo to establish good Delphor. Laws in his Countrey, it was answered him: that Apollo granted his petition, and that he should ordain the best and perfectest manner of a Commonwealth, that ever had or should be in the world. This answer did comfort him very much, and to the began to break his purpose to certain of the chief of the Caty; and secretly to pray and exhort them to belp him, going first to those he knew to be his friends, and affect by fittle and little he wan others to him, who joined with him in his enterprise. So when he faw the time fit for the matter he caused thirty of the chiefest men of the City in a morning to come into the market-place well appointed and furnished, to suppress those that would attempt to hinder their purpose. Hermippus the Historiographer rehearseth twenty of the chiefest: but he that above all others did most affift him in his doings, and was the greatest aid unto the stablishing of his

LYCURGUS.

Laws, was called Arishmiades. The King Charilaus hearing of this affembly, did fear there had been some

Chalceacos Funo's brafen

Lacedemonians Plat.de leg.3.

Senators.

Retra of Lycurgus.

anscion fl.

conspiracy or insurrection against his person, and for his safety he fled into the temple of Juno, and Chalceecos, as much to fay, as Junos brafen Temple. Howbeit afterwards when he knew the troth. he waxed bold and came out of the Temple again, and he himself favoured the enterprise, being a Prince of a noble mind , howbeit very foft by nature, as witneffeth Archilam (that was then the other King of LACED&MON) by telling how Charilam answered one that praised him to his face, in saying he was a good man. And how should I not (quoth he) be good, when I cannot be evill to the evill? In this change of the ftate, many things were altered by Lycurgus, but this chiefest alteration was, his Senate of the Law of the erection of a Senate, which he made to have a regal power and equall authority with the Kings in matters of weight and importance, and was (as Plato faith) to be the healthfull counterpoile of the whole body of the Commonweal. The other State before was ever wavering, fometime inclining to tyranny, when the Kings were too mighty: and fometime to confusion, when the people would usurp authority. Lycarem therefore placed between the Kings and the people, a Councill of Senators, which was as a strong beam, that held both these extremes in an even balance, and gave sure footing and ground to either part to make strong the state of the Commonweal. For the 28 Senators (which made the whole body of the Senate) took fometime the Kings part, when it was needfull to pull down the fury of the people : and contrarily, they held fometimes with the people against the Kings, to bridle their tyrannicall government. Aristotle faith, he ordained the number of Senators to be but eight and twenty, because two of thirty that joyned with him as afore, did for fear forfake number of the him at his enterprise. Howbeit Spherm writeth, that from the beginning, he never purposed to have more then eight and twenty to be the Senate, And perhaps he had great regard to make it a perfect number, confidering it is compounded of the number of feven, multiplyed by four : and is the first perfect number next to fix being equall to all parts gathered together. But as for me, my opinion is, he chose this number rather then any other, because he meant the whole body of the Councill should be but thirty persons, adding to that number, the two Kings. Lycurgue took so great care to establish well this Councell, that he brought an Oracle for it , from Apollos Temple in DELPHOS. This Oracle is called unto this day Retra, as who would lay the Statute-Oracle : whereof the answer was : When thou haft built a Temple unto Inpiter the Syllanian , and to Minerva, the Syllanian, and divided the people into lineages, thou shalt establish a Senate of thirty Councellours, with the two Kings: and shalt assemble the people at times convenient, in the place between the bridge and the River CNACION. There the Senators thall propound all matters and break up after their affemblies: and it shall not be lawfull for the people to speak one word. In those days the people were ever affembled between two Rivers, for there was no Hall to affemble a Council at large, nor any other place The open prepared for them. For Lycargue thought no builded place meet for men to give good counfell in, or fields appoint to determine angles but wathen a bindernance builded place meet for men to give good counfell in, or neids appoint to determine caules, but rather a hinderance: because in such places, men be drawn so muse on vain things, and their minds be carried away with behelding the Images, Tables, and Pictures, commonly fer up for ornament in fuch open places. And if it, be in a Theater, then beholding the place where the plays and sports be made, they think more of them, then of any councill. Again, if it be in a great hall, then of the fair embowed or vawted roofs, or of the fretifed lealings curiously wrought, and fumpruously fet forth, and tend not ftill their bufinels they come for. When the people were affembled in councill, it was not lawfull for any of them to put forth matters to the councill to be determined, neither might any of them deliver his opinion what he thought of any thing : but the people had only authority to give their affent (if they thought good) to the things propounded by the Senators, or the two Kings, Howbeit afterwards, the two Kings Polydorm and Theopen w, because the people did many times cross and alter the determination of the cenare, by Theopen w, because the people did many times cross and alter the determination of the cenare, by Theopen would not assert to any Ordinance of the Senate, then thould it be two full for the Kings the people would not assert to any Ordinance of the Senate, then thould it be two full for the Kings and Senate to break up the councill, and to fruitrate all things done in the Ame, it the liftle advite of the Senate being encountred thus, and their meaning to the best, so pervented to the worke. These two Kings perswaded the people, that at the very first, this addition came with the Cracks of Apallo

> From Delphos Ile greife gracia is broughet, and it , will down mit. Of Pythia, into their countrey foil, forgit . . Jen'ib ben ene n . la The Kings (even they to whom of right there ought hording. to the bad de care in princily breakt at a far in principal A The Spartane wealth to guard from every spoils) to you offer a well Shall be the chief, grave canfes to decide I mod .. . and Wieh Senatort : whofe found advife is tride malan ban gab it bas to And next to them the people foull fulfill some , writing)

As much a feesees to please their princes with a line time. Lyeurgus now having thus tempered the form of this common weat, is feemed not printernating to those that came after him, that this small number of thirty persons that made the Senate, was yet too mighty, and of too great authority. Wherefore to bridle them in a little, they gave them (as Plato faith) a bit in their mouths, and that was the Ephores, which fignific as much as controllers : and were erected about a hundred and thirry years after the death, of Lycurgue, The first which was chosen of these, was Elatm, and it was in the time of King Theopomput, whose wife on a day in her anger faid : How through his negligence he would leave less no his successors to then he had

as the Poet Tyrtam maketh mention in the place, where be faith a reast of to tobio i.

LYCURGUS. received of his predecessors. To whom he answered again, Not less, but more, for that it shall continue

longer, and with a more furety. For, in lofing thus their too absolute power that wrought them

great envy and hatred among their Citizens, they did escape the danger and mischief that their

neighbours the Argives, and Messenians did feel: who would not give over the fo-

of their Lands a far better order than theirs. This notwithstanding they did not prosper long, but

through the pride of their Kings, and the disobedience of their people, they entred into civil wars one.

against another, shewing by their disorders and missortunes the special grace the gods did bear to

SPARTA, to give them such a reformer, as did so wisely temper the state of their Commonweal, as

the City all infolency, envy, covetouineis, and deliciouineis, and also all riches and poverty, which

he took for the greatest, and most continual plagues of a City, or Commonweal. For this purpole, be imagined there was none to ready and necessary a mean, as to persuade his Citizens to suffer all

the Lands, Possessions, and Inheritance of their Countrey, to run in Common together : and

that they should make a new division equally in partition amongst themselves, to live from thence-

forth as it were like brothers together, so that no one were richer than another, and none should

feek to go before each other, any other way then in vertue onely thinking there should be

no difference or unequality among Inhabitants of one City, but the reproaches of dishonesty,

and the prailes of vertue. Thus Lycurgus following his determination, did out of hand make.

Citizens of SPARTA, who be those who are properly called SPARTANS. Howbeit some will

further allowance. They say after this, as he returned home one day out of the fields, and came over the Lands where Wheat had been reaped not long before, and faw the number of sheaves

lying in every thock together, and no one thock bigger than another : he fell a laughing, and

told them that were with him, Methinks all LACONIA is as it were an Inheritance of many Bre-

thren, who had newly made partition together. He gave an attempt to have divided also mo-

veables, and to have made a common partition between them, to the end he would have utterly

of Oxen to carry it any where. Now Gold and Silver being thus banished out of the Country.

many fewd parts and faults mult needs ceafe thereby. For who would rob, fited, pick, take away, hide, procure, or hoard up any thing, that had no great occasion to defire, nor any pro-

fit to potters, nor would be any pleafure to the or employ? For, the Iron they occupied for their Coin, they caft. Vinegar upon it while it was red-hor out of the fire, to kill the ftrength and work-

ing of it to any other use: for thereby it was so eager and brittle, that it would bide no hammer,

occasion, the LACEDEMONIANS could buy no forreign wares nor merchandizes, neither came

there any Ship Into their haven to traffick with them, neither any fine curious Rhetorician did repair into their Countrey to teach them eloquence, and the cunning east of lying: nor yet came there to them any. We ward to tell them their Fortune, for any Pander to keep any Brothel house.

nor yet Goldsmith or Jeweller, to make or sell any toics or trifles of gold or silver to set forth Wo-

men: confidering all thele things are used to be made to get Money, and to hoard up that they had

not. After this fort, delicateness that wanted many things that entertained it , began by little and

neignounts the Authority which they had gotten once. This example maketh Lycurgus great wildom and Lycurgus wife forefight manifeftly known: who so will deeply consider the seditions and ill governments of the down. ARGIVES, and MESSENIANS (their near neighbours and kinfmen) aswell from the people, as from the Kings, who from the beginning had all things alike to the SPARTANS : and in dividing

we will shew hereaster. The second Law that Lycurgus made, and the boldest and hardest he ever took Lycurgus main hand, was the making of a new division of their Lands. For he saw so great a disorder and inequa-keth equal dility among the Inhabitants, as well of the Countrey, as of the City LACED. EMON, by reason some vision of lands (and the greatest number of them) were so poor, that they had not a handfull of ground, and other unto the Cititome being leaft in number were very rich, that had all : he thought with himself to banish out of

a Law of the divition of their Lands. For first he did divide all the Countrey of LACONIA, All the lands into thirty thouland equal parts, the which he did fet out for those that Inhabited about Spage through the TA: and of those Lands that joyned next to the City of SPARTA, that was the first metropo- Countrey of †A: and of those Lands that joynen next to the Cuty of SPARLS, that was the first intercopo-lican City of LACONIA, he made other nine thousand parts, which he divided to the natural Laconia, divifay, he made but fix thouland parts, and that King Polydorus afterwards did add two other three All the lands thousand parts. Others say also, that Lyeurgus of these nine thousand parts made but the half about sparts, onely, and Polydorus the rest. Every one of these parts was such, as might yield unto the owner into 9000 yearly, threescore and ten bushels of Barley for a Man, and twelve bushels for the Woman, and of What Barley Wine and other liquid fruits, much like in proportion, which quantity Lyeurgus judged to be every part did fufficient, to keep the body of a man in health, and to make him ftrong and lufty without any yield.

taken away all unequality. But finding the Citizens took it very impatiently, that openly that which they had hould be taken away, he went about to do it more fecretly, and in a continger wife to take away that coverounels. For first of all he did forbid all Coin of Gold and Silver Lyourem chanto be currant; and then he did fet out certain Coins of Iron, which he commanded onely to be gethall gold currant, whereof a great weight and quantity was but little worth. So as to lay up thereof the value of and filver intending in would have needed a yoke iron coin.

nor could be made beaten, or forged to any other fathion. By this means he banifhed allo, Lyangut made all superfluous and unprofitable Sciences, which he knew he should not need to do by any Procla- all sciences mation; because they would fall away (or the most part of them) even of themselves, when the and crasts of batters of the Money they mould task for their work, should undo them. For their Iron moins no value, were the contraction of the Money they mould task for their work, should undo them. For their Iron moins no value, were the contraction of the contraction of

The Institution of the Ephores.

monians.

little to vanish away, and lattly, to fall off from themselves: when the most rich men have no more occasion then the poorest, and having no mean to shew her felf openly in the world, was fain to remain thut at home idly, as not able to do her Mafter any service. Thereupon moveables and houshold stuff (which a man cannot be without, and must be daily occupied) as bedsteds, tables, chairs, and such like necessaries for a house, were excellently well made; and men did greatly praise the fathion of the LACONIAN Cup which they called Cothon, and especially for & Souldier in the wars, Cuton a fixing kind of as Critical was wont to fay. For it was made after fuch a fashion, that the colour of it did let the eye cupof the La- to discern the foul and unwholfom water, which men are driven oft times to drink in a Camp, and goeth many times against ones stomach to see it : and if by chance there was any filth or mud in the bottom, it would cleave and flick fast upon the ribs of the belly, and nothing came through the neck but clean water to his mouth that drank it. The reformer of their State was the cause of all this: because their Artificers tending now to superfluous works, were occupied about the making of their most necessary things. Further, now to drive away all superfluiry and deliciousness, and to root out utterly defire to get and gather: he made another third Law for eating and drinking, and against feaths and banquets. First he willed and commanded the Citizens, that they should eat together all of one meat, and chiefly of those he had permitted by his Ordinance. Then he did expresly forbid them to Lycurgus appointed order of excellent workmen, and the devices of lickerish Cooks, to cram themselves in corners, as they do to far up Beafts and Poultry, which doth not onely breed ill conditions in the mind, but doth mar the complexions of men, and the good state of their bodies, when they give themselves over to such fenfuality and gluttony. Whereof it followeth in the end, that men must needs sleep much, to help to digest the excess of meats they have taken, and then must they go to the hot-houses to bathe themselves, and spend long time about the ordinary attendance of their sickly bodies. This was a marvellous thing for him for to bring to pass, but much more, to make riches not to be stoln, and least of all to be covered, as Theophrastus said of him : which by this means of making them ear together with all fobriety at their ordinary diet, was brought to pass. For there was no more mean to the rich, then to the poor, to use to play, or shew riches, sith both of them were forced to be together in one place, and to eat all of one meat : fo as that which is commonly spoken, that Plate the god of riches is blind, was truly verified onely in the City of SPARTA, above all other places of the world. For there riches were laid on the ground like a coarse without a soul. that moveth no whit at all : confidering it was not lawfull for any man to ear at home fecretly in his house before he came to their open Halls, nor might not come thither for a countenance onely to his meals, being already full and well fraught. For every mans eye was upon those especially which did not eat and drink with a good fromath amongst them: and it was the use to reproach them as gluttons, and dainty mouthed men, which refused to eat as it were in common together. So as this was the Ordinance they fay, that grieved most the rich above all that Lycurgiu made, and whereat they were most mad and angry with him : in 10 minch, as on a day, they all setting upon him to alter it, he was compelled to run out of the market-place, and getting ground of them, he recovered the liberties of a Church, before any could overtake him, laying one young man called Alcander, who otherwise had no ill nature in him, but that he was somewhat quick of his hand, and cholerick withall. Who following Lycurges nearer than any other, did give him a Alcanderstruck blow overthwart the face with a staff, and strake out one of his eyes, as Lycurgus turned toward him. Yet for all this, Lyeurgus never bashed or made word at the matter, but did lift up his head to those that followed him, and shewed them his fate all a gore blood, and his eye but out clear; whereof they were so fore assamed, that there was not a man that durit of the open his mouth a gainft him, but to the contrary, they feemed to pity him, and did deliver wheather into his lands that had done the deed, to punish him as himself pleased. And so they all brought him to his house, Lycurgus past and shewed they were right heartily forry for his hurt. Lycurgus thanking them, returned them ence and gen- all back again, save that he made Alcander to go with him this his house where he never hurt him, nor gave him fowl word : but commanded him onely to wait upon him, and made his other ordinary fervants to withdraw their waiting. This young man who now begin to fpy his own faill, did most willingly attend upon him, and never spake word to the contrary. When he had ferved him a certain time, being very near continually about him, he began to feel and tafte of his natural liberality, and faw of what affection and intention Lycurgus was moved to do all he did : he perceived what was the feverity of his ordinary life, and what his conflancy was to endure labour without weariness. Alcander then began to love and honour Lycurgus from his heart, and told his Parents and Friends, how he was no fucht fevere man as he feemed, but was of fo kind and gentle a nature to all men as might be. See I pray you how Alcander was transformed by Lyeurgu, and his punishment also, which he should have received: for of a fierce, rash, and a lewed conditioned youth he was before, he became now a very grave and wife man. But for memory Minerus Opti- of this his misfortune, Lycargus built a Temple to Minerus, which he furnamed Optileride, because the DORIANS which dwell in those parts of PELOPONNESUS, do call the eye, Optiles. There are other Writers (as Dioseorides for one) which fay Lycung w had a blow with a staff, but he had not his eye ftricken our with it : and how contrariwife, he founded this Temple to Minervia, to give her thanks for healing of his eye. Hereof it came, that ever fince the SPARTANS have been Philinis, meals reftrained to carry staves in any Assembly of Councill. But to return to their common repasts,

why fo called, which the CRETANS call Indria, and the LACED MONIANS Phiditia, either because they

dered coverlets, or counterpoints of purple filk, neither yet, plate of gold nor of filver,

were places wherein they learned to live foberly and straightly, (for in the GREEK Tongue Thide is to fave and spare) or else because their amity and friendship grew there towards one another, as if they would have called them Philitia, Feafts of Love, by changing D. into L. It may be also they added the first Letter as superfluous, and meant to call the places Editia, because they did eat and drink there: i hey fate in their Halls by fifteen in a company, little more or less, and at the beginning of every moneth, every one brought a bushel of Meal, eight gallons of Wine, five pound of Cheese, and two pound and a half of Figs for a Man, besides some little portion of their Money to buy certain fresh Cates. And over and above all this, every man when he did sacrifice in his house was bound to fend the best and chiefest things of his Sacrifice to the Halls to be eaten. Likewise if any man went on hunting, and killed any Yenison, it was an order, he should send a piece of the slesh thither. Having these two lawfull causes, they might eat and drink by themselves, at home, either when they sacrificed any beaft to the gods, or when they came late home from hunting : otherwise they were bound of necessity to meet in their Halls at meals, if they would eat any thing. This order they kept very straightly a great time : in fo much as King Agis on a day, returning from the wars, where he had overthrown the ATHENIANS, and being delirous to sup at home privately with the Queen his Wife, he sent to the Halls for his portion. But the Polemarchi, that be certain Officers affifting the King in the wars, did deny him. The next day Agu left off for spite, to do the accustomed Sacrifice they were wont to celebrate in the end of every war: whereupon they fet a fine on his head, and condemned him to pay it. The young Children also went to these repasts, even as they should go to Schools to learn Gravity and Children were Temperance, where they heard wife and grave discourses touching the government of a Commonweal, brought to but not of Mafters that were as hirelings. There they learned prettily to play upon Words, and plea- these meals. fantly to foort one with another, without any broad speeches or uncomely jefts; and at other hands to bear the same again, without choler or anger. For this property have the LACEDEMONIANS The property above all other, to take and give a mock without any offence: nevertheless if any mans nature could of a Lacedamo not bear it. he needed but pray the party to forbear his jefting, and so he left it straight. And it was nian. ever an ordinary thing among them, that the eldeft of the company told the reft that were come into the Hall to meal, with shewing them of the door: Sirs, remember, there goeth not a word here out of this door. Even so he that would be received to meal there in their company, must first of necesfity be allowed and received in this fort, by all the reft. Every one of them took a little ball of bran or receiving any dow to wash their hands with, and without ever a word speaking, they threw it into a basin, which the man into their fervant that waited on them at the table did carry upon his head: he that was contented the other company at should be received in company, did cast in his ball as he did receive it; but if he misliked him, then he meals. pressed it flat between his fingers, and threw it in. This ball of bran thus pressed flat, was as much as a Bean bored through, and was to them a fign of condemnation. If any one ball were found of this fort, the fuiter was rejected : for they would not have any enter into their company that was not liked of all the reft. He that was thus rejected, they fay he was discarded; for the basin wherein the little balls were carried, was called Caddos. The best dish they served at these meals, was that they call their black-broth: fo that when they had that, the old men did eat no flesh, The blackbut left it all to the young men, and they by themselves did eat the broth. There was a King of broth. PONTUS, that being defirous to taffe of this black-broth, did buy of purpose a LACEDEMO. Citero calleth
NIAN Cook: but after he had once tasted thereof, he was very angry straight. The Cook then said unto
Diopsign the him: And it please your grace, ere one shall find this broth good, he must be washed first in the River Tyrant. Tust. 5. EUROTAS. After they had eat and drunk thus loberly together, every one repaired home without any light : for it was not lawfull for them to go thither, nor any where else with light, because they should accustion themselves boldly, to go up and down the dark, and all about in the night.

This was the order and manner of their meals. But here is specially to be noted, that Lyeurgus Lyeurgusvould would in no wife have any of his Laws put in writing. For it is exprelly fet down in his Laws not have his they call Retra, that none of his Laws should be written. For he thought that which should chiefly Laws written make a City happy and vertuous, ought throughly by education to be printed in mens hearts and otherwise then manners, as to have continuance for ever: which he took to be love and good-will, as a far ftronger knot to tie them with, then any other compulsary Law. Which when men by use and custom, through good education, do take in their childhood, it maketh every man to be a Law to himself. Furthermore, concerning buying and bargaining one with another, which are but trifles, and fometime are changed into one fort, and fometime in another, as occasion serveth: he thought it best not to constrain them to do it by writing, not to establish customs that might not be altered, but rather to leave them to the liberty and discretion of men which had been brought up in the fame, both to take away, and to add therein, as the case and time should require. But to conclude, he thought the chiefest point of a good Law-maker or reformer of the Commonweal was, to cause men to be well brought up and instructed. One of his Ordinances therefore was expresly, that not one of his Laws should be written. Another of his devices was, against superfluous charges and expences: which to avoid, he made a Law that all roofs of houses should be made onely with the Ax and all gates and doors with the Saw, and that without any other tool Retra for exof occupation. Wherein he had the like imagination as afterwards Epaminondas had, when he faid, feeshing of the table; Such a board never receiveth any treason. Even, so thought Lyeurgus, that Epaminondas such a built house would never receive that a built house would never receive curiofity or daintiness. For no man is so madly dispoted saying or simple writed, as to bring into so poor and mean houses, beddeads with Silver feet, imbroidant of the sound of

Retra for Wars

Antalcidas

Arift . Polit.

The faying of Woman.

Men that would not

ceremonies in Lacedamon.

nor fuch other like coffly furniture and finencis, as those things require to wait upon them because the beds must be answerable to the meaners of the house, the furnitures of the beds must be futelike to the fame, and all other houshold-stuff, diet, meat and drink agreeable to the rest. Hereof pro-King Leonychi ceeded that, which Leonychidas the first King of that Name, said once: who suppling on a time in the City of CORINTH, and feeling the roof of the Hall where he fate, sumptrooffly embowed and carved, he asked Rtraight if the Trees did grow carved so in that Countrey. The third Law was, he did forbid them to make war often with one enemy, left the enemy forced to take often arms in hand. might in the end grow experter and vallanter then they. For this cause King Agesilaus was greatly blamed who was a long time after: For by making often wars with the Countrey of BOEOTIA, he made the THEBANS in the end as expert and valiant Souldiers as the LACEDEMONIANS. Whereupon Amaleidas feeing him hurt one day, faid unto him: The THEBANS have nobly rewarded thee for their learning, fith thou hast made them expert Souldiers unwilling to learn the difcipline of war: These be the wars Lycargus self called Retra, and signifies as much as Oracles, that the god Apollo had discovered to him. Now the education of Children, he effected the chiefeft and greatest matter that a reformer of Laws should establish. Therefore beginning afar off, he first considered the state of Marriage, and the generation of Children. For Aristotle faith, that Lyeurgus did attempt to reform Women, and did foon give it over again : because he could do no good therein, by reason of the great liberry they had taken by the absence of their Husbands in the wars, compelled often so to be abroad, and that they did leave them Mistresses of their houses, and at their return did honour them so much, and make of them so beyond measure, with calling of them Ladies and Mistresses: Howbeit this is true, that he had an eye to the rule and order of their life, as well The discipline as he had of Mens; and so reason did require. First of all, he willed that the Maidens should harden their bodies with exercise of running, wreftling, throwing the Bar, and casting the Dart, to the end monghithe La- that the fruit wherewith they might be afterwards conceived, taking nourilhment of a ftrong and lufty body, should shoot out and spreadthe better; and that they by gathering strength thus by exercifes, should more easily away with the pains of Child bearing. And to take away from them The exercises their wothshift daintiness and finences, he brought up a custom, for young Maids and Boys to go as it were a proceffion, and to dance raked at foleran Pearls and Sarrifices, and to fing certain Songs of their own making, in the prefettee and fight of young men. To whom by the way they gave many times pretty mocks of purpole, as pleafantly hitting them home, for things wherein before they had forgotten their duties: and fometimes allo in their Song, for their vertues, wits or manners, they praised them which had deserved it. By this means they did set young mens hearts on fire, to ftrive to win most praise and honour. For who so was praised of them for avaliant man, or whose worthy acts were sung by them, he thereby was encouraged to do the better another time: and the pretty girds and quips they gave to others, were of no less force, then the sharpest words and admonisions that otherwise could be given them. This rook plate the rather, because it was done in the prefence of the Kings, the Senators, and all the reft of the Citizens which came thither to fee those sports. And though the Maids did shew themselves thus naked openly, yet was there no diffionefly feen or offered, but all this sport was full of plays and toys, without any youthfull part or wantonness: and rather carried a shew of demureness, and a defire to have their best-made bodies feen and spyed. Moreover, it somewhat lifted up their hearts, and made them mobler minded, by giving them to understand, that it was no less conseller for them, in their kind and exercises to trry the Bell, then it was for men in their games and exertiles to carry the prize, Hereof it came, that the Women of Laced & stow were to bold to fay, and to think of themselves that, which Gorgon the Wife of King Leomans one day answered, being intalk with a frange woman that faid to her, There be no Women in the world that command their Husbands, but you Wives of LACEDANON. Whereto the Queen straight replyed : So there be no Women but we, which bring forth men. Purtilet more, thefe plays, sports and dances, the Maids did naked before young Men, were provocations to draw and allure the young Men to marry : not as perswaded by Geometrical reasons, as faith Plato, but brought to it by liking and of very love. Those which would not marry he made inflamous by Law. For it was not lawfull for fuch to be prefent, where these open games and paltimes were shewed naked. Furthermore Marry. Lyan-gus reputed in-environ the Officers of the City compelled fach as would not marry, even in the hardeft time of the winter, to gus reputed in-environ the place of these sports, and to go up and down stark naked, and to sing a certain Song made for the purpose against them, which was; that justly they were punished, because that Law they disobeyed. Moreover, when such were old, they had not the honour and reverence done them; which old married men usually received. Therefore there was no man that misliked or reproved that, which was spoken to Dercilians: aften otherwise he was a noble Caprain. For, coming into a prefence, there was a young Man which would not vouchfafe to rife and do him reverence, nor to give him place for to fit down: And worthilly, quoch ite, because thou hast not gotten a Son, who may do so much for me in time to come. Those which were desirous to marry any, were driven to take them away by force whom they would marry, not little young wenches I titean, which were not of age to be married; but lufty and ftrong Maids, of age to bear Children. And when one of them was from away in this fort, fire that was privy thereto, and meant to make the marriage, came and shaved the hairs of her head that was married: then fire put her into mans apparel, and gave her all things fure-like to the fame, and faid her upon a mattress all alone, without light or Candle. After this was done, the Bridegroom being neither drunk nor finelier spparrelled then he was wont to be, but having lupped loberly at his Ordinary,

came home fecretly to the house where the Bride was : and there untied his Wives girdle, took her in his arms, layed her upon a bed, and talked together a while, and afterwards fair and foith ftole away to the place where he was wont to fleep with other young men. And fo from thenceforth, he continued always to do the like, being all the day time with his Companions, and fleeping most of the night, unless he sometime stole to see his Wife; being afraid, and ashamed ever to be feen by any of the house where she was. And hereunto his young Wife did help for her part, to fpy means and occasions how they might meet together, and not be seen. This manner endured a great while and untill fome of them had Children, before they boldly met together, and faw each other on the day time. This fecret meeting in this fort did ferve to good purpofes, not onely beother on the cast man of continency, and shamefastness, but also it kept their bodies in strength Wholetome cause it was some mean of continency, and shamefastness, but also it kept their bodies in strength Wholetome and better State to bring forth Children. It continued also in both parties, as still burning Love ried couples, and a new defire of the one to the other, not as it were luke-warm, nor weary, as their commonly be which have their Bellies full of Love, and as much as they luft; but they ever parted with an Appetite one from another, keeping still a longing defire to devide how to meet again. Now when he had established such a continency, and so kind a framed Honesty in Marriage, he took no less care to drive away all foolish jealousie therein, thinking it very good reason to Lycurgus rebeware there should be no violence, nor confusion in Marriage: and yet as reason would, they should gard to avoid fuffer those which were worthy to get Children as it were in common, laughing, at the mad lealcusse in the folly of them which revenge fuch things with War and Bloodshed, as though in that case men in Commonno wife should have no sellowship together. Therefore a manwas not to be blamed, being stepped in years, and having a young Wife, if feeing a fair young Man that liked him, and known with all to be of a gentle Nature, he brought him home to get his Wife with Child, and afterwards would avow it for his, as if himself had gotten it. It was Lawful also for an Honest man that Loved another mans Wife, for that he law her wife, shamefast, and bringing forth goodly Children, to intreat her Husband to fuffer him to lie with her, and that he might also plow in that lufty ground, and caft abroad the feed of well favoured Children: which by this means came to be Common in Blood and Parentage, with the most Honourable and Honestest persons. For first of all, Lycurgus did not like that Children should be private to any man, but that they should be Common to the Commonweal: by which reason he would also, that such as should become Citizens, should not be begotten of every man, but of the most Honestest man onely. So Lycurgus thought also there were many foolish vain toyes and fancies, in the Laws and Orders of other Nations, touching Marriage : feeing they caufed their Bitches and Mares to be limed and covered with the faireft Dogs and goodlieft stalions that might be gotten, praying or paying the Masters and owners of the same: and kept their Wives notwithstanding shut up safe under lock and key, for fear left other then themselves might get them with Child, although they were fickly, feeble brained, and extream old. As if it were not first of all, and chiefly a discommodity to the Fathers and Mothers, and likewise to those that bring them up, to have unperfect and feeble Children born, as it were begotten of dry and withered men; and then to the contrary, what pleasure and benefit is it to those that have fair and good Children born, as gotten of like feed and man? Thefethings were done then by Natural and civil reason, nevertheless they say Women were so far off from intreaty, as ever they were before: so as in old time, thereis they say women were rotation and the same of the safewer made by Geran No Adultery das (one of the first ancient Spantans) unto a stranger, may be alledged, that asked him, what is more in punishment they had for Adulterers. My friend, quoth he, there be none here. But if there were; Sparts. replyed the stranger again. Marry said he, then he must pay as great a Bull; as standing upon the top of the Mountain Taygetus, may drink in the River Eurotas. Ye marry: but how is it possible (quoth the stranger) to find such a Bull? Geradas laughing, answered him again : And how were it possible also to find an Adulterer in Sparta? And this is that which is found of Lycurgus Laws touching Marriages. Furthermore, after the Birth of every Boy, the Father was no more The Education Mafter of him; to cocker and bring him up after his will: but he himself carried him to, a certain place of Children called Lesche, where the eldest men of his kindred being set, did view the Child : and if they found with the Lace him fair, and well proportionated of all his Limbs and strong, they gave order he should be brought demoniate, up, and appointed him one of the nine thouland parts of Inheritance for his education. Contrartic Lestine. wife, if they found him deformed, mishapen, or Lean, or Pale, they fent him to be thrown in a deep pit of water, which they Commonly called Apothetes, and as a man would fay, the Common house of office: holding Opinion it was neither good for the Child, nor yet for the Commonweal, that it should live, considering from his Birth he was not well made, nor given to be strong, healthful, nor lusty of Body all his Life long. For this cause therefore; the Nurse after their Birth did not wash them with water (imply (as they do every where at that time) but with water mingled with wine : and thereby Young babes did they prove, whether the Complexion or temperature of their Bodies were good or ill. For they sup- wasked with pose, that Children which are given to have the falling-Sickness, or otherwise to be full of rhumes wine. and fickness, cannot abide washing with wine, but rather dry and pine away: as contrarily the other which are healthful, become thereby the stronger and the lustier. The Nurses also of Sparta use a The Spartan certain manner to bring up their Children, without fwadling, or binding them up in clothes with fwad-Nurfes, ling-bands, or having on their heads Cross-clothes: so as they made them nimble of their limbs, better shaped and goodlier of Body. Besides that, they acquainted their Children to all kind of meats, and brought them up without much tendance, so as they were neither fine nor licorish, nor fearful to be left alone in the dark : neither were they cryers, wrallers, or unhappy Children, which be all

The Thievery of the Luceda monians.

tokens of base and cowardly natures. So that there were strangers, that of purpose bought Nurses out of LACONIA, to bring up their Children: as they fay Amicla was one of them which nuried Alcibiades. But Pericles his Tutor, gave him afterwards a bondman called Zopprus, to be his Mafielt Alcibiades. fter and Governour: who had no better property in him, than other common flaves. This did not Lycurgus. For he did not put the education and government of the Children of Sparta into the hands of hired mafters or flaves bought with money: neither was it lawful for the Father himfelf to bring up his own Child after his own manner and liking, For fo foon as they came to feven years of age, he took and divided them by Companies, to make them to be brought up together, and to accustom them to play, to learn, and to study one with another. Then he chose our of every company one, whom he thought to have the best wir, and had most courage in him to fight, to whom he gave the charge and overfight of his own company. The reft had their eyes waiting always on him, they did obey his commandments willingly, they did abide patiently all corrections he gave them, they did fuch tasks and works as he appointed them: fo that all their study was most to learn to obey. Furthermore, the old gray-headed men were prefent many times to fee them play, and for the most part they gave them occasions to fall out, and to fight one with another, so that they might thereby the better know and differn the natural disposition of every one of them, and whether they gave any figns or tokens in time to come to become cowards or valiant men. Touching Learning, they had as much as served their turn : for the rest of their time they spent in learning how to obey, to away with pain, or endure labour, to overcome still in fight. According to their growth and years, they did change the exercises of their bodies: they did shave their heads, they went bare-legged, they were conftrained to play naked together the most part of their time. After they were past twelve years of age, they wore no longer coats: and they gave them yearly but one filly gown. This was the caufe they were always fo nafty and fluttifh, and they never used to bathe or noint themselves, saving onely at certain days in the year, when they were suffered to taste of this refreshing. They lay and slept together upon beds of straw, which they themselves did make of the tops of reeds or canesthat grew in the River of Eurotas: which they were forced to go gather and break themselves with their hands, without any tool or iron at all. In the winter, they did min-It is a kind of gle thiftle-down with thefe, which is called Lycophonas, because that stuff seemeth somewhat warm Mellenian
Tongue: read the luftieft and best disposed youths of the City, began to be ofter in their company; and then the helpfibits. of it felf. About this time, the favourers and likers of this pretty youth, which were commonly old men took the better regard unto them, and frequented more commonly the places of their daily exercises, and where their use was to fight together, helping them when they played, how one should mock another. This did their old men, not by way of pastime onely, but with such care and hearty love towards them, as if they had been altogether their-Fathers, Mafters, and Governours, while they were boyes: infomuch as there was never time nor place, where they had not always fome to admonish, reprove, or correct them, if they did a fault. Norwithstanding all this, therewas ever one of the honestest men of the City, who had expresly the charge and governance of these boys. He did divide them in Companies, and afterwards gave the overlight of them to fixth a one of the boys as was discreetest, the manliest, the most hardy, and of the best courage amongst Irenet Melire. them. They called the children that were paft infancy two years, Irene: and the greatest boyes ness.

Melirenes: as who would fay, ready to go out of boyery. This boy who was made Overseer of them, was commonly twenty years of age. He was their Captain when they fought, and did command them ashis fervants when they were in the houfe; and willed them which were ftrongest and the most grown, to carry wood when they should prepare dinner or supper; and those which were leaft and weakeft, to go gather herbs, which they must feel or lack them. So they went out to fixal, some in Gardens, some at the Markets, other in the Halls where the Feaths were kept, and men did eat together, into the which they conveyed themselves as closely and cunningly as they could devise: for if they were taken with the manner, they were scourged terribly, because they were so grofs and negligent, and not fine and cunning in their faculty. They ftole also all other kind of meat, whatsoever they could get or lay hands on. They pried and sought all occasions how to take and freal meat handfornly, both when men were alleep, or elfe that they were careleis, or did not give good heed unto them. But he that was taken with the manner, had his payment roundly, and was punished with fasting besides : for they had but a slender pittance, because necessity should Straight diet drive them to venture boldly and wir should find our all devices to steal finely. This was the chiefcancet growth eff cause, why they gave them fo finall a diet. The second cause was, that their bodies might grow up higher in height. For the vital spirits not being occupied to concoct and digest much meat, nor yet keep down, or fpread abroad by the quantity or over-burden thereof, do enlarge themselves into length, and shoot up for their lightness: and for this reason they thought the body did grow in heighth and length, having nothing to let or hinder the rifing of the fame. It feemeth that the felf-fame cause made them fairer also. For the bodies that are lean and slender, do better and more eafily yield to Nature, which bringeth a better proportion and form to every member : and contrariwile, it feemeth these gross, corpulent, and over-fed bodies do encounter Nature, and be not fo nimble and pliant to her, by reason of their heavy substance. As we see it by experience, the children which women bring a little before their time, and be somewhat cast before they should have been born, be smaller and fairer also, and more pure commonly than other that go their time: because the matter whereof the body is formed, being more supple and plyant, is the easilier weilded by Nature, which giveth them their shape and form. Touching the natural Cause of this Effect,

let us give place to other to dispute it that will, without any farther deciding of the same, But to return to the matter of the LACEDEMONIANS children: They did rob with fo great care, and fear to be discovered, that they tell of one, which having stoln a little Fox, did hide him under his cloak, and suffered him with his teeth and claws to tear out all his belly, and never cryed, for fear he should have been betrayed, untill he fell down dead in the place where he stood. This is not incredible, by that we do fee young boys abide at this day : for we have feen divers, which have bidden whipping even to death, upon the Altar of Diama, furnamed Orthia. Now this under-Mafter, who had the charge of every Company of these boys, used after supper (fitting yet at the Childrens ca-Table) to bid one of them fing a Song: to another he put forth a question, who was to be well ad- ercife after viled of his answer, as for example: Who is the honestest man in the City? or how thinkest thou by that such a one did? By this exercise they were enured from boyes state, to judge of things well or ill done, and to understand the life and Government of their Citizens. For which of them did not answer quickly and directly to these questions, Who is a good man, who is an honest Citizen, and who not: they thought it was a fign of a dull wit, and careless nature, not given to any vertue, for defire of honour and estimation. Furthermore this under-master was ever to wait for his answer, and to see it should be brief and well knit up in words: otherwise his punishment that anfwered crofly, or to little purpose, was, that his Master bit him by the thumb. This he did many times in the presence of the old men and Magistrates of the City, that they might see whether he punished them with reason or not, and according to their deserving. And though he did hurt him, they did not by and by reprove him, but when the children were gone away, then was he himself rebuked and punished, if he had corrected them too fore, or contrarily had favoured them too much, Moreover they did afcribe the good or ill opinion conceived of the children, unto every of their iavourers and lovers, which did affect and entertain them: in as much as they fay, a young boy upon a time fighting with another, and a cry scaping out of his mouth, which his faint cowardly heart did yield, his favourer and lover was straight condemned by the Officers of the City to a fine, Albeit this love was a thing even incorporated into them, that the most honest and vertuousest women loved the young Maids thus also: yet was there no jealousie nor suspicion that grew hereof, but rather The Laseleto the contrary, there grew a marvellous mutual love and kindness between them, which lived in monians manone self place. For either of them by all the means they could, did devise how to make the child ner of loving. they loved in common, the wifest, the gentlest, and the best conditioned above all other. They taught thele children to speak in such fort, that their speech had ever in it a pleasant grace, and in few words comprehended much matter. For Lycurgus ordained, a great masse and weight of iron money, should be but little worth, and of a small value, as we have told you before; and contrarily, that speech in few words, without any affectation, should hold much deep and grave matter, wherewith Short speech the children being acquainted, after long filence, should be brief and pithy in their answers. For as taught among the feed of incontinent men, which are too busie with every rag and colman hedge, can take no root to bring forth fruit: even so immoderate speech, full of words and busic tattle, bringeth forth as little sense. Hereof it cometh, that the answers of the LACONIANS were so short and witty. As they fay, King Agis answered on a day an ATHENIAN, who jeffing at the Swords the LACE-DEMONIANS did wear, faid they were so short, that these Tumblers and Juglers did swallow them down in the fight of all the World: and yet, faid Agis, we hurt our Enemies with them for all that, For mine own opinion, I like well of the LACONIANS manner of speaking: which is not to speak much, but when they speak to touch the matter effectualy, and to make the hearers understand them. I think also that Lycurgus fill, was short and quick in his talk. For so a man may conjecture his answers which are written: as that which he made to one who earnestly prayed him to establish a popular state in LACEDAMON, that the bases might have as great Authority as the Lycurgus wise highest. Begin (quoth be) to do it sirst in thing own house. And as that also which he answered answers. another who asked him, why he had appointed to small things, and so little of value to be offered Lycurgus love to the gods? Because (quoth he) we should never cease to honour them. And as that which he to God. spake another time, touching fights and frays, which was: that he did never forbid his Citizens hand is to conany of them, but those wherein they use to give their hand, as you would say, to yield. Men find sels himself also such like answers, in some of his Letters written to his Citizens, as when they asked him : How overcome: can we defend our felves against our Enemies? He answered: If ye be poor, and one do cover no more then another. And in another Letter that was fent, where he discourseth, whether it were requisite to inclose the City with Walls : he saith, Can that City be without Walls, which is environed with men, though it be uncompassed with stone ? Nevertheless it is hard to resolve, whether those Letters, and other such like that are shewed, be to be believed, or discredited to be his. But that long speech was much disliked, and reproved among the LACEDAMONIANS, it is manifestly to be feen by the words, which some amongst them have heretofore answered. As King Leonidas Short sentenfaid one day, to one that discoursed with him many good things, but out of season: Friend, thou ces of certain speakest many good words, but to little purpose. And Charilans, Nephew to Lycurgus, being al. Leonitas. ked why his Uncle made to few Laws : Because, said he, to men of few words, few Laws will ferve. Charitans, And Archidamidas faid thus to fome which reproved Hecataus the Orator, for that being bidden to Archidamidas. supper at one of their Feafts, he spake not a word all supper time : He who can speak well, know- Sharp sentenethalfo when to speak. And where I have told before, that in their feat and quick answers com-ces of the Lamonly there was some pretty grace, it may be well seen and known by these that follow Demera Demerators. the answered a busic fellow who troubled him too much with vain importunate questions, asking him

to the Muses, to put the Souldiers in mind (as it should feem) of the Discipline and wisdom of the

Agis. Theopompus.

Agefilaus.

Plistonax Pau-

ftill: who was the honestest man of LACEDEMON? Even he that is least like thy felf. And Agis faid to some which highly praised the ELIANS for their upright judgement, and just dealing in the games Olympical. What wonder make ye of it (quoth he) if in five years space the ELIANS one day do good justice? And Theopompus likewise to a stranger, who as desirous to shew his affection he bare the LACEDEMONIANS, told him how every body called him Philolacon (as to fay) a lover of LACEDEMON. It were more honesty for thee (faid he) to be named Philopolites, a lover of her Citizens. And Plistonax the son of Paufanias, when an Oratour of ATHENS faid the LACEDEMONIANS were unlearned and ignorant: Thou fayeft true, quoth he, for we onely of Archidamidas, all the GRECIANS have learned none of your ill conditions. And Archidamidas, to one that demanded of him, what number of fighting men there might be of the SPARTANS: Enough faid he, to drive away the wicked. We may conjecture also their manner of speaking, by their words in mirth. which they toake fometimes playing wife: for they did never use to speak vain words at random, but it had always fome fecret meaning in it, which required anothers good observation that would find it. As he which was defired to go hear the Nightingale counterfeited naturally : I have (faid he) heard In the life of the Nightingale it felf. And another which having read this Inscription upon a Tomb:

When as they had, well quenched tyrannie Throughout their land, by worthy warlike-power; Their hap was yet in wretched wife to die, By scaling Selynuntaes strongest tower.

They well deserved death, said he, that did but quench tyranny: they should have quite consumed it with fire. And one younger boy to another, promifing to give him fuch hardy Cocks of the game. as should die in the place where they fought. O give me not those (faid he) which will die, but those which with fighting will kill others. Another seeing men sitting in Couches and Litters as they went : God forbid (faid he) that I should ever sit in a chair, where I could not rise to my elders. Such were their answers and encounters. So that some had reason which said heretosore, to speak LACONIAN-like, was to be Philosopher-like: as you would fay, more to exercise the mind, than the body. Besides all this, they did study to sing well, and to make goodly Dities and Songs. Then they spake most properly and featly. There was in their Songs also a certain motion, I wot not monians Songs. what, which stirred up the hearers hearts, and did kindle defire in them to do notable feats. Their Tongue was plain, without affectation: their matter grave and moral, containing for the most part the praise of those which were slain in battle for the defence of their Countrey, as being happy men : and a shame to those that live, which for faint hearts refused so to die, to lead a miserable and unfortunate life. Or else they fang how they were the patterns for time to come, or the right glory of the World, and the true representation of vertuous men; as the Song would best become their ages which did fing. It shall not be impertinent for the better understanding hereof, to bring you here an example. For in their open Feafts, there were always three dances, according to the differamong the La- ence of the three ages. The dance of the old men, thus began first for to fing:

cedamonians.

we have been young and strong, yet valiant heretofore, Till crooked age did hold us back, and bade us do no more. The young men followed after, finging;

we yet are young, bold, firong, and ready to maintain,
That quarrel fill, againft all men that do on Earth remain.

The third was of children, that came after and faid:

And we do hope as well, to past you all at last, And that the world shall witness be, ere many years be past.

To conclude, who nearly will consider the works and makings of the LACON Poets (whereof some are yet extant) and will mark also the Notes and Tunes of the Pipe, after the found and measure whereof they marched in arrays going to charge the Enemy: he shall find that Terpander and Pindarus, had reason to join hardiness with Musick. For Terpander speaking of the LACEDEMONIANS,

Terpander of the Lacedamo- faith in a place :

This is that Land where deeds of chivalry Did flourish most, in many a Martial feat: Where Musick made her choice of harmony, And Instice kept her stately royal seat.

Pindarus of the Lacedamonians.

And Pindarus speaking of them, also faith: There: grave advice, is found in aged brains: There: gallant youths are lufty lads indeed, Which can both sing, and dance, in courtly trains: Yet daunt their foes with many a doughty deed.

By which restimonies it appeareth, the one and the other made, and described them to have loved Musick, and the Warstogether. For asanother LACON Poet saith:

It fitteth well, and is a feemly thing, For such as spend their time in feats of war: To have the skill, Sweet Sonnets for to fing, And touch the Harp without enjangling jar.

For this cause therefore in all their Wars, when they should give battle, the King did first sacrifice

Muses that they had been brought up in, to the end that when his Souldiers were in the most extream danger, the Muses should prefer themselves before the Souldiers eyes, to prick them forwards to do some noble acts of worthy memory. In their time of War, they did tolerate their young men a little of their hard and old actustomed life, and suffered them then to trim their hairs, to have brave a little of their naru and one accumonate into a second and interest of fee them gallant and lufty, The long.

And although from the beas to behold young neighing and fnorting horfes; defirous for to fight. And although from the beginning of their youth, they did use to wear long hair: yet were they never so carefull to comb hair of the and brush their heads, as when they should to the battle. For then they did noint themselves with Lucohians, fweet Oyles, and did shed their hair, remembring Lycurgus faying, who waspwont to tell them, that hairs to them which were fair, did make them more fair, and to them that were foul, they made them more ugly and dreadfull. The exercises also of their bodies, were more easie and gentle, and not so hard and straight in their Wars, as they were in Peace : and generally, their whole manner of life was not then fo straightly viewed, nor yet controlled. So as they onely were the men of How the Latthe World, to whom Wars were made a reft from labour, which men ordinarily do endure, to make barle, them the fitter for the Wars. Afterwards when their Army was fet in battleray, even in the face of The Leconians the Enemies, the King did Braight facrifice a Goat unto the gods, and forthwith commanded all his fong when Souldiers to put their Garlands of Flowers on their heads, and willed that the Pipes should found the they marched, Song of Caffor, at the noise and tune whereof, he himself began first to march forward. So that it Enft. Ilia. 15 was a marvellous pleasure, and likewise a dreadfull fight, to see the whole Battle march together in order, at the found of the Pipes, and never to break their pace, nor confound their ranks, nor to be difmayed or amazed themselves, but to go on quietly and joyfully at the found of their Pipes, to hazard themselves even to death. For it is likely, that such courages are not troubled with much fear, nor yet overcome with much fury: but rather they have an affured constancy and valiantness in good hope, as those that are backed with the affifting favour of the gods. The King marching in this order, had always some about him, which had before time won the prizes in games and justs. And they say there was one of these on a time, that was offered a great sum of money at the games Olympical, hot to present himself at them: but he resuled it, liking better with great pain to win the prize, then for much money to lofe his honour. Whereupon the one faid unto him LACONI-AN: and what haft thou gotten now, to carry away the prize with io much fiweat? The LACONI-AN answered him laughing: I shall fight in the battle, saith he, before the King. When they had once broken into their Enemies, they did still stereely and siercelier set upon them; and did never cease, untill their Enemies gave way and fled : and then they chased and followed them still, untill fuch time as their overthrow and flight had affured them of the victory. Then they quickly and qui- How far the etly returned to their Camp, judging it to be no manhood, neither part of a noble mind, or of to Lacedamonians worthy a Nation as the GRECIANS were, to kill and hew in pieces, men fo scattered and out of or- did pursue der, having forfaken all the hope of victory. This fell out not onely honourable, but also very pro- their Enemies. fitable for them. For they which were in battle against them, knowing they killed none but fuch as relisted stoutly, and how they did let others go which fled before them; they found it was more their benefit to fly, then to tarry and abide the ftrokes. Hipping the Sophifter faith, that Lyeury is him Lyeurgus a vefelf was a very good Captain, and a great Souldier, as he that had been in many foughten Fields - 77 good Cap-and Philostephanas afcribed to him the device to pur Horse-men in Troops and Companies, which rain. they called Oulames, whereof fifty men at Arms was a Troop, whole manner was to put themselves Oulames, in squadrons. But Demession the Phalesian writtesh otherwise, that Lyenegus was never at the Wats, and that he made all his Laws and Government in a full peace. But in my opinion, the intermission of Wars during the plays Olympical, which they say be devised, doth shew in appearance that he was a gentle-natured man, and one that loved quietness and peace. Some notwithstanding (amongst whom Hermippin was one) say, he was not with Iphiem at the first beginning, when he ordained the Plays Olympical, but that by chance he happened to come thither, passing by in his journey onely, and that he stayed there to see the Games : where he thought he heard the voice of a man behind him, faying, He marvelled much why he did not perswadehis Citizens also to be partners of this new device : and turning back to fee who it was that spake to him, he saw no body. Whereupon he took a conceit that it was a speech from the gods : and went therefore prefetitly to seek our

Iphitus, with whom he made all the Statutes and Orders of the Feaft, which afterwards were far

more famous, better ordered, and more stately than before. But to return again to the LACE-

DEMONIANS : their discipline and order of life continued fill, after they were full grown then,

For it was not lawfull for any man to live as he lifted, but they were within their City, as if they had

been a Camp, where every man knoweth what allowance he hash to live withall, and what busi-

ries he hash else to do in his Calling. To be short, they were all of this mind, that they were nor

born to ferve themselves, but to serve their Gountrey. Therefore if they were commanded nothing The Laconius elfe, they went continually to fee what the children did, and to teath them somewhat which might profit the Common-weal, or else they went to learn of those which were their elders. For one of ferre their the best and happiest things which Lycurgus ever brought into his City, was the great rest and leiling Country, which he made his Citizens to have, onely forbidding them that they should not profess any vile or The rest and base occupation t and they needed not also to be carefull to get great riches, in a place where Goods tenure of the Lacedamoniant were nothing profeste nor esteemed. For the livers, which were made bond men by the Wars, did till their Grounds, and yielded them a certain Revenue every year. And as touching this

nished at A-

Suits in Law filver that was banished.

The Lacedamonians lived in the Common-weal.

Padaretus faying.

chooling the: Senate in

What was done the Senator being

matter, they tell of a LACEDEMONIAN, who being on a day at ATHEMS where the Law was Idle livers pu- pleaded, did understand that a Citizen there was condemned for idleness, and how he went home to his house very forrowfull, accompanied with his friends which were forry for him, and greatly lamented his ill hap: the LACEDEMONIAN then prayed those which were about him, to shew him the man condemned for living nobly, and like a gentleman. I have alledged this, to flew how he thought it a vile and fervile thing to exercise any handy-craft, or to work any thing by hand to get Money. For Suits in Law, a man may be well affured they were banished with the gold and filver from LACED.EMON, confidering now there was no more avarice nor coverousness there, nor yet poverty nor lack, but equality with abundance, and quiet life with fobriety. All other times but when they had Wars, they followed dancing, Feafts, Plays, Banquets , hunting, or other exercifes of body, and meetings to pass the time away. For the young men until they came to thirty from they from the years of age, never went into the market to buy any Provision or things for the house, but did their Fathers or their Friends business: nay it was a shame for the oldest men, to haunt the Market too often. As to the contrary, it was honourable for them to be prefent at the Shew-place the most part of the day, where they diverily exercised their bodies, and likewise to be at the places of Affembly, there to fpend time with walking together, and discoursing honeftly one with another, without talking of any matter of gain, traffick, or money. For all their talk (for the most part) was about the praifing of fome honeft thing, or fporting-wife to reprove fome dishonesty, which always carried with it some gentle lesson or motion by the way. For Lyeurgus was not such a sour man, as they never faw him laugh: but as Sofibine writeth, it was he that first facrificed to the little god of laughter, which is at LACEDAMON, because he would mingle their Feasts and Assemblies with mirth, as a pleafant fauce to ease the trouble of their ftrict and hard life. To be brief, he dil accultom his Citizens fo, that they neither would nor could live alone, but were in manner as men incorporated one with another, and were always in company together, as the Bees be about their Mafter-bee: still in a continual love to ferve their Countrey, to win honour, and to advance the Common-weal. Which affection of theirs is plain and eafily feen to be imprinted in them by certain of their Answers, as in that which Padarerss faid on a time, being left out of the election of the number of the three hundred; Who departing home to his house merry and jocond as might be, faid : It did him good to fee there were three hundred found better in the City than himself. Piffratidas also being fent Ambassador with certain other to the Lieutenants of the King of Persia, the PERSIAN Lords asked him, if they came of their own defire, or whether they were feat from the whole State: if we obtain, faid he, it is from the State: if we be denied, then we come of our felves. And Argileonida the mother of Brasidas, asked somethat went to visit her after they were returned home to LACEDEMON from their journey to AMPHIPOLIS, if her fon died like a man, and a worthy SPARTAN; and they straight commended him highly, faying: There was not left in all LACEDEMON fuch a valiant man. She replyed unto them, Say not fo, my friends, I pray you: for Brasidas was indeed a valiant man, but the Countrey of LACONIA hath many more yet valianter then he was. Now touching their Senate, Lycurgus was the first that ere-Red it among them. The first that were thereof, were Lyourgus chief aiders and aflisters of that The manner of erection, as we have declared before : but afterwards he ordained, that when any of those first should happen to die, they should chuse in his place the most honest reported man in the City, so he were threefcore years old and above. This was the nobleft glory that could be among men, when a man bare the bell and praise, not that he was swiftest among the swift, nor strongest among the strong, but that he among the honest was honestest. He had the reward of his vertue, as for liberty to speak, foveraign authority to govern, and Princely power over the Common-weal, the honour, the life, and the goods of the whole Citizens: howbeit the election was made after this fort. The people first assembled in the Market-place, where there were some appointed and shut up thereabout in a house, from whence they could neither see, nor be seen of those that were assembled, but onely they might hear the noise which they made there. For the people by their cry and fliour, did declare whom they did chuse, and whom they did refuse of their Competitors, as they used to shew their liking by the like cry in other things. The Competitors were not brought in, and prefented all together, but one after another in order, as by lot did fall out. He on whom the lot fell, passed through the midft of the Affembly of the people, and faid never a word. The people straight that liked made a cry or shout aloud. The men appointed which were locked up, had Books or Tables in which they wrote and noted the greatness of the cry and shout the People made, as every Competitor passed by, not knowing nor feeing who he was. These hidden men did onely set down in their books, the first, the second, the third, and so many more, as by shours and cries they perceived did pass thus through the Affembly. They noted also in their faid books, which of those had the greatest cry and shour of people at their passing through: and him they came and declared to be Senator chofen. Then he wearing a Garland of Flowers on his head, went to all the Temples of the gods in the City to give thanks, having a great train of young men following, and prairing of his vertues. There went also with him a marvellous company of women finging Songe of his praile, and how bleffed he was that he had lived fo vertuoully. Then every one of his kin prepared a Banquet for him at home at their houses, and as he entred the house, they said unto him, The City benouverb thee with this Banquet. That done, he repaired afterwards to the ordinary place of their sating, where he did in all things as he was accultomed, faving he was ferved now at this Table with a double allowance, whereof he referved the one. After supper, all his kinswomen stood in the entry

of the Hall where they had eaten : To he called her whom he loved belt, and gave her his allowance he had faved, and faid to her, This was given me in token I was this day rewarded for my verue: and even so I give it thee for a like token of reward for thy vertue. Then was she brought home by all the Women there to her house, even in like for a stie was by the Men. Touching Burials, Lycur. The manner of gm made a write Order: For fulft of all, to cut off all superfluion of burying places, he commanded Lacedemonies. they should bury the dead within the City, and that their graves should be round about their Temples, that young perfors might have them always in their eyes, and not be afraid to fee a dead boy, as it to rouch a coarse, or to pair by their graves, it should desile a man. Then did he forbid them to bury any thing with the coarse, and willed they should only lap it up in a red cloth, with Olive leaves. It was not lawfull to grave the Name of any dead body upon his grave, but only of such a man as died in the wars, or of forme holy woman professed into their Temples. Furthermore, the The time of time appointed to mourn in , was very Mort : for it lasted not but eleven days ; and on the mourning, twelfth day, they do facrifice to Proferbina, and so leave off their mourning. To conclude, he left nothing idle, or unworking in his Citizens: for to all necessary things which men cannot lack, Lyeurgus Joyned ever a certain émilitation of nien; as to defire vertue, and to contemn vice: and furnished his City with many good precepts and examples, among which his Citizens being full born and bred up, and having the lame in every place before their, eyes where they went, they came born and orea up, and naving the same an every pattern and mould of vertue it felf. For this caufe did he None allowed not fuffer any to travel out of their Countrey, or to go abroad as he would : without special license, to travel into for fear left thole which travelled abroad for their pleasure, should bring home strange fashions and other Counmanners, and a corrupt difordered life, which by little and little might get way, and bring an al- treys without teration and change of the whole state. Furthermore, he kept out of SPARTA all strangers, ex. license. No cept those which had necessary business there, or were come thinkerfor some profit to the country: firangers suffecept times when has necessary outniess used, a water of the law is a final to the commercial most that he was a fraud they flould learn formething whereby to love vertue, or that they flould defire to follow his fashion and manner of government, as Thurgidds was, but rather fearing they should teach his Citizens found habity manners, or forme ill favoured vice. For it must need be, that strangers bring ever strange and new devices with them; which new devices bring with them also new opinions, and new opinions beget new affections and minds, that many times are repug-nant to the Law, and to the form of the Commonweal effablished before, as discords do many times in an harthony of mufick, that before agreed very well together. Therefore he judged it a thing most necessary, to keep his City free and fast from counterfeiting of any strangers manners or fashions, that were commonly as persons injected with some contagious sickness. Now in all we have spoken before, even to this place, there is no manner of token or shew of injustice, or lack of requiry, wherewith fonte feels to butted Lycing in his Laws: by laying they were well made, to make men warlike and vallishe, but not to be just and righteous. But concerning the Law they call Cryptis, its much to lay, as their ferrer: it, in were of Lycing in this Laws, and the Law they call Cryptis and the carried Plato have the like opinion that Lycing in the Commonweal. This was the Law: the Governours which had the charge and overlight of the young men, at certain values appointed times, did choose out those they thought to have the best discretion, and sent them abroad into the Comments, some one way, some another way, who carried with them daggers, and some provisiont of the difference of the commonweal. This can be a superior of the country, did had themfelves all the day close in their places, and there they lay and took their rest; a sterwards when night was come, they went to feek out the high wayes, and killed the fift of the LLOT as that they men. Somewhere seel with the broad day, they went months of the wars of PELOPON NESUS, where he faith, the Lacetamore is the control of the interest of the lLOT as were covered, by a publick Produmation of the special covered the little of the little of the lacetamore of the control of the many and the lacetamore of the control of the lacetamore of the l equity, wherewith fome feem to burden Lycurgus in his Laws: by faying they were well made, ind made then flack drunk. Then they brought them all mo their Common-Halls where they did us, to make their Children of heldld them, and to fee what healthness it was for a man to be drunk. Likewife they made them ling longs, and dance dances, unfit for honelt Men, and such as Profit. Likewise they made them has song and dance dances, unfit for honest Men, and such as were full of decision and insoletely, and did sorbid them expressly to sing any honest songs. So it is reported, that in the journey the Tate has not made to Laconia, any of the Liotes were asken presented thereat, and when they were commanded to sing the Verses of Terpander, of Diodorus lib. 2. The word of the Country of the Country of the Country of the Country of Laconomia, He that is free sinore free, and the that is street in the Country of the Country of the Country will the during severe the liberty and bondage so of the Countries. But in my pillion, the Date of North And began to sufficient out the countries and reselves, long time after the death of Theorem on the Country of the Countries of the Country, and countries are antiquate that happened at Spart, at thick time the Frotes rose against them with the Messenians, and did great mischief thow the Country, and put the City to the greatest distress and danger that ever it had. For I cannot

Ly[ander brought in

cannot be perswaded, that ever Lycurgus invented or instituted, so wicked and mischievous an act, as that kind of Ordinance was: becaule I imagine his nature was gentle and mercifull, by the clemency and justice we see used in all his other doings, and was witnessed besides by open Oracle from the gods, for a just and wife man. Furthermore, they fay of him, that when he faw the chiefest points of his Government had taken deep root, and that the form of his Commonweal went on, and was strong enough to maintain and keep it self on foot, like as Plato faith, that God rejoyced greatly after he had made the World, and faw the fame turn and move his first moving : even so Lyeurgus taking fingular pleafure and delight in his mind, to fee his notable Laws put in ure, and fo well established and liked of by experience, fought yet to make them immortal, as near as he could possible, by any forecast of man, that no after-time whatsoever, might change or put them down. To bring this to pais, he caused all the people to affemble, and told them he thought his civil policy and state of Commonweal was already sufficiently established, for vertuous and happy life: yet there was one matter behind of greater importance then all the rest, which he could not Lyangus won. Yet declare unto them, until he had first asked counsell of the Oracle of Apollo. And therefore in definitionnel the mean time they should keep and observe his Laws and Ordinances inviolably, without changing, in eliabilithing removing or flaying any matter therein, untill he were returned from the City of Delphos, and then they should do that other thing behind, if the god then so counfelled him. They all promited him to do it, and prayed him to make hafte to go on his journey. But before he departed, he made the Kings and Senators iwear first, and confequently all the people aiter, that they would keep his Laws and ordinances without changing or altering any thing, until he did return again. This done, he went to the City of Delphos, where io foon as he arrived, he facrificed in the Temple of Apollo, and asked him; If the Laws he had made were good to make a man live an happy life. of Pollo, and assed title; it the Laws were very good, and that his City keeping them, should be the most renowned of the World. Lycurgua caused this Oracle to be written, which he sent to SPARTA. After he facrificed to Apollo again: and then taking leave of his friends, and of his Son, he determined to die, because his Citizens should never be released of the Oath they had made between his hands. When he had this determination, he was come to the age, wherein a man hath ftrength enough to live longer; and yet was old enough alfo to die if he would. Wherefore finding himself enough to live tonger; and yet was old chough about the would. Wherefore moning number Ligargu death happy to have obtained his defire, he willingly pined himself to death, by abltinence and lack of mext. For he thought it meet, that the very death of great personages should bring benefit ever to the Commonweal, and that the end of their life should be no more idle and unprofitable, then to the Commonweau, and mad the stat of their median being more uncertaintendors, ment the rest of their life before: nay rather, that it was one of their ment meritorious acts, to have their death extolled for worthines. So he imagined, that his death would be the perfection and Crown of his selicity, after he had made and ordained so many good and notable Laws, for the honour and benefit of his Countrey; and should be as a seal of confirmation of his Law, and the nonour and penent or this City, confidering all his Citizens had fworn to keep them all invio-continual prefervitor of his City, confidering all his Citizens had fworn to keep them all invio-continual prefervitor of his City, confidering all his Citizens had fworn to keep them all invio-lably, until he were returned. He was not deceived of his hope, for his City was the chiefest of lably, until he were returned. He was not decerved of his hope, for his City was the chiefel of the World, in glory and honour of government by the space of sive hundred years. For so long the World, in glory and honour of government by the space of sive hundred years. For so long the World, in glory and honour of government by the space of the kings successfors, until King his City kept his Laws without any change or alteration by any of the Kings successfors, until King the Son of Archidentus began to reign. For the creation of the Ephores, did not break nor were by 1/sin-der means.

I ably, until he were returned. He was not decerved of his hope, for his City was the chiefel of the sing of the Kings successfors, until King the Son of t or me interity of the people, whereas indeed they and interigenenties authority of the kings and Money correspond to Senate. Now in the raign of king of gis, Gold and Silver began first to creep in again to the rought Laws.

City of Sparta, by means of Lyfander. With Money there came in straight coverousnets, and greediness to get and gather. And although Lyfander was not desirous to get it, nor would be Lyfander life. corrupted for any money: yet he brought riches and coverousnets into the Country, and filled the Lyfander. fame with all finerels, by bringing in great store of Gold and Silver from the wars, directly against the Laws and ordinances of Lycurgus. The which so long as they were in force and use, it appeared that the government of SPARTA seemed not to be a policy or Commonweal, but rappeared that the government of Spark I attended to the Poets feign, that Hercules rather a certain holy place and order of Religion. And even as the Poets feign, that Hercules went through the World with his Clob and Lyons skin, putilifying cruel robbers and unnatural into Sparta. Tyrants, to in like case, with a little scrole of Parchment, and a poor Cape, did the Spartans command and give Laws to all the reft of GREECE, even with their good liking and confent. And they chased the Tyrants away, which usurped tyrannical power over any of their Cities, and did decide all controversies, and offentimes pacified their feditions, without sending our one Souldier, but onely a simple poor Ambassador. At whose commandment, the people presently assembled like the Bees, which gather together about their King, fo food as they fey him: they did then fo greatly reverence the good government and inflice of the SPARIANS. Therefore I can but wonder much at those which say, the City of Lacabase Non could obey well, but not command: and for proof they alledge mode of King Therefore I can be Theopompus and for proof they alledge words of King Theopompus, who answered one which faid, that SPARTING was maintained, because the Kings could command well. Nay the rather (faid he) because the Kings could command well. Nay the rather (faid he) because the manding.

Citizens can obey well. For men commonly distant to obey those which are not wife in command-manding. manding.

Good government of the wife Prince: For he that directeth well, must need be well obeyed. For like as the ment breeden ment of a good rider, is to make his Horfe gende, and ready at commandment: even so the chiefest due obedience.

art of a good rider, is to make his Horfe gende, and ready at commandment: even so the chiefest due obedience.

Wherefore the LACEDEMONIANS

procured, that not onely other prople did willingly obey their, but also defired to be ruled and commanded by them. For they asked them, neither Ships nor Money, nor yet did fend them any number of men of War to Tompell them; but onely (they lent one Chizen of Spart a to govern them, to whom all the other people submitted themselves, and were holpen by him in their necessitions. ty, as fearing and reverencing him. In this wife the SICILIANS were holpen by Gylipping, the CHALCIDONIANS by Brasmas, and all the GRECIANS inhabiting ASIA, by Lysander, Cal-Iscratidus, and by Agefilaus, who were called the reformers and directors of Princes, Peoples and Kings, unto whom they were fent here and there; but ever they had their eye upon the City of SPARTA, as upon the most perfect pattern to order mans life by, and to govern a Commonweal after. To this effect tended the merry word spoken in jest by Stratonicus: who said he did order the ATHENIANS to tend their Sacrifices, and the ELIANS to tend their Games : and if they made any fault therein, the LACEDEMONIANS should be well whipped. That was merrily spoken, and in a jesting manner. But Antisthenes (the Philosopher and one of Socrates Scholars) Antisthenes, feeing the THEBANS grown very haughty and glorious, after that they had conquered the LA- Socrates Scho-CEDEMONIANS in the journey of LEUCTRES : Me thinketh , faith he, these THEBANS here lat's words. do like the School-boys, which brag and rejoyce, when they have a little beaten their Master. But this was not Lycurgus meaning, to have his City to command many. But he thought the felicity of a City, as of a private man, confifted chiefly in the exercise of vertue, and in the unity of the Inhabitans thereof. He framed his Common-wealth to this end, that his Citizens should be nobly minded, content with their own, and temperate in their doings, that thereby they might maintain and keep themselves long in safety. The self-same intention had Plate, Diogenes; and Zenon, in setting forth their Books, which they wrote of the Government of Common-wealths: and fo bad likewise many other great and learned men which have written of the same matter. Howbeit they onely left behind them words, and written Books : but Lycurgus contrariwise, left no written The foundation Books nor Pamphlets, but stablished and left behind him a royall form of Government, which on of a Comno man ever before had invented, nor never after could be followed. He hath made them plainly see a mon-weal, whole City live together, and govern it felf philosophically, according to the true rules and precepts of perfect wildom: which imagined that true wildom was a thing hanging in the air, and could not visibly be seen in the World. Whereby he hath worthily excelled in glory all those, which ever took upon them to write or stablish the Government of a Common-weal. And therefore faith Ariffoile, that after his death they did him less honour in LACEDEMONIA, then he had deferved : albeit they did him all the honour they possibly could devise. And yet they built a Temple for him , and made folemn Sacrifice to him every year , as unto a god. More , they fay , that when Divine honors the after of this body were brought to SPARTA, there fell straight lightning upon his Tomb where to Lycurgus afthey were put; which they had not often feen to happen to other men of name after their decease, ter his death. faxing onely thinto Poet Earth ded, who dying in MACEDONIA, was buried near the City of A-RETHUSA ... The which is some manifest argument ; for such as love the Poet , to lay against them that fomewhat depraye him, feeing this fign came to him after his death, which had happened before to a most well-belowed man of the gods. Some fay , Lycargue died in the City of CIRRHA. But Apollothumis faith, the died in ELEDN. Times and Aristoxens write, he ended his days in CRE-TA. And Ariffermu faith firther that those of the Isle of CRETA do shew his grave in the place which they call \$198.6 ANTA: 'Joby' the broad ! high-ways fide. He left one onely begotten for named Antional with him. "But his near Antional Lykinimen and familiat friends, did fetippa Company or Brotherhood in memory of him; which con-curgus fon. tinued a long time I and the days wherein they affeitbled, were called the Lyenegides. There is another. Arifhiratin (the son of Hispanchus) supho stanh, that he being dead in CRETA, his friends burned his body grand afterward combine his ashes into the Sea, according as he had prayed and requested them. For he seared, that is any pair of him should at any time have been brought to SPARTA , the Ithabitants would have faid be was returned again , and thereby would have thought themselves discharged of their oath, and might have lawfully altered the Laws which he had appoint. ed. And this is the discourse and end of Lyoung me life.

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THE LIFE OF NUMA POMPILIUS.



Ann. Mund.

Ant. Christ.

In what time Nume was. Cic. de Or. 2. Halic lib.4.



HE Historiographers differ marvellously of the time in which Numa Pompilism reigned King, albeit some will derive from him many noble houses descended in ROME. For one Cledism who wrote the Book instituled , The Table of Time , affirmeth, that the ancient Registers of the City of ROME were loft when it was taken and facked by the GAULES : and that those which are extant at this day be not true, but were only made by men defirous to gratific some, which have thruft in ancient Honses and families of the first ROMANS, that concern nothing them whom they meant to represent. On the other side, although the common Opinion be that Numa was a familiar Friend and Scholar of Pythagoria the Philolo-

pher, yet fome lay he was never learned, nor had any knowledge at all in the Greek Tongue. And yet maintaining that it is possible enough, that he was so well born, and had such perfection in all kind of vertue , that he never needed any Minfter , and though he had needed, they had rather Whether Pyattribute the honour of the instructing of this King unto some other sourcing person that was more
thegans had
excellent then Pythagoras. Others say, that Pythagoras the Philosopher was long sine; after the reignany convertation with Naof Numa, and well nigh five ages after him Howbeit others say, there was another Pythagoras born in SPARTA (who having won the prize in running at the games Olympicall, in the fixteenth Printegrat the Olympiad, and the third year of Nama's Reign) did come into IT ALY, where he kept much about Nama, and did affift and help him in the governing and ordering of his Realm. By means whereof, taught Nums there be many cultomes yet of the LACONIANS mingled with the ROMANS, which this fector at Rome.

Pythagorus was faid to have taught him. Neverthelets it is not confessed that Nums was born of the SABYNS , which they fay are defcended from the LACEDEMONIANS. So it falleth out hard to agree certainly of the time when Numa was, and chiefly for fuch as will follow the roll or table of those which from Olympiad's to Olympiad's have won the prizes of games Olympicall: confidering the roll or table that they have at this prefent, was very lately published by one Hippins an Elian, who delivereth no reason or argument of necessity why it should be taken for an undoubted troth, which he in that fort hath gathered. Yet we will not leave to put in writing those things worthy of memory which we could gather by any means of King Numa, beginning at that place which we thought to be meeteff. It was now fince ROME was built feven and thirty years (for fo long time reigned Romulu) when Romulus the fifth of the moneth of July (which they call the Nones of the goats) made a folemn facrifice without the City, near to a certain place commonly called the goat marsh. As all the whole Senate, with the most part of the people were present at this facrifice, suddenly there arose in the ayr a very great tempest, and a marvellous dark thick cloud, which fell on the earth with such boisterous winds, storms, lightnings and thunder, that the poor common people being afraid of fo fore a tempest, dispersed themselves suddenly, run-

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ning here and there for fuccour, and therewithall King Romulus vanished away in such fort, that he was never after seen alive nor dead. This brought the Senators and Noblemen whom they called Patricians, into great suspicion. And there ran a foul tale among the common people, how they had long time born very impatiently to be subjects to a King, because themselves would have had and taken upon them some Soveraign authority, and that for this cause they had killed King Romilius. Adding somewhat more unto it, how a little before he had used them more roughly, and commanded them more straightly then he was wont or accustomed. Nevertheless they found the means to In the life of quench all those brutes and murmurings: by doing divine honour and facrifice unto him, as one Romades he is not dead, but passed to a better life. To confirm this, one of the noblest men among them called named Procus-Proclus came in, and by Oath affirmed before all the people that he faw Romnlus afcending up into Diffention at Heaven, armed at all peeces, and that he heard a voice say, From thenceforth call him Quirinus. Rome about This being thus appealed there fprang up another trouble, to know whom they should choose in choosing of his place. For the strangers which were come then from other places to dwell in ROME, were their King. not yet throughly joyned to the naturall born ROMANES; Infomuch as the common people did not onely waver and stagger up and down in opinion, but the Senatours also (that were many, and of diverse Nations) did enter into a suspicion one of another. These things notwithstanding they all agreed in this, that of necessity they must choose a King; Howbeit in the rest they disfered much, not onely whom they should choose, but also of what Nation he should be. For those which were the first Founders and Builders of the City of Rome with Romelus, could in no wife abide nor fuffer that the SABYNS (to whom they had divided part of their Lands, and a moiety of their City) should attempt and presume to command them whom they did receive and affociate into their company and fellowship. The SABYNS alledged on the other fide for them, a good reason, and such as carried great probability. Which was that never fince the death of their King Tarins , they neither had in any thing disobeyed nor disquieted King Romalus, but had fuffered him to reign peaceably, and therefore Romalus being now deceased, reason would that the New King should be chosen of their Nation. And that albeit the ROMANS had received them into their City, they could not fay therefore that in time of this affociation, they were less to be reckoned of in any thing then themselves. Further they added, that in joyning with them the ROMANS had doubly encreased their might and power, and had made a body of a people which deserved the honour and Title of a City. These were the causes of their contention. But to prevent that of this contention there might grow no confusion in the City if it should remain without any head to command: The Senators which were a hundred and fifty in number, gave counsel that every one of them by turns, one after another, should carry the royall state of the King, and all the shews and ornaments of his Majesty, and should do Livy faith but the ordinary facrifices of the King, and dispatch all causes six hours in the day, and six hours a hundred. in the night, as the King before had used. Thus they thought it best to divide the rule, that one Dionysius 2000 might have as much power as the other, as well in respect of themselves as also for regard of the Plut in the life people. For they imagined that the changing and removing thus of this regall dignity, and passing agreeth with it from man to man, would clean take away envy among them, and make every of them to rule Dionylus. temperately, and uprightly fee, that in one and the felf fame day and night every of them should be a King and private person also. The ROMANS call this manner of Regiment in vacation Inter-Interregnum; regnum, as you would say, rule for the time. Now albeit their government was very modest and civill, yet they could not for all that keep themselves from falling into the suspicion and slander of the People; who gave it out straight, that this was a fine device of theirs, to change by this means the rule of the Realm into a few Noblemens hands, to the end that the whole authority and government of all publick causes should remain still in themselves, because it grieved them to be subject to a King. And in the end the two parts of the City came to this agreement, that the one part should choose one of the body of the other to be the King. This course they liked very well, as well for the pacification of present stir and differtion amongst themselves, as for procuring equality of affection, and feirring up a likeness of good-will in the King that thus indifferently should be chosen, whereby he should love the one part for that they had chosen him, and likewise the other part for that he was of their Nation. The SABYNS were the first which referred the Election to the ROMANS choice, and the ROMANS thought it better to choose one of the Nation of the SABYNS, then to have a ROMAN chosen by the SABYNS. After they had confulted they determined amongst themselves, and did choose Numa Pempilius one of the body of the SABY NS to be King, who was none of the number of them which came to dwell at ROME, how- Nums chofen beit he was a man to famous for his vertue, that the SABYNS to foon as they named him did King. receive him more willingly then they who had chosen him. After they had thus published their Election the first and chiefest persons of the one and the other side were chosen out to go unto him. Now Numi Pompilitie was born in one of the chiefest and best Cities which the SABY NS had, Numa born in called Cureic whereupon the ROMANS and their followers the SABYNS were called afterward the City of Quirites, and he was the Son of Pomponius a Nobleman, the youngest of four Brethren : being by Curcs. the secret working of the gods borrion the very day on the which Rome was founded by Romeiu, Guirites why which was the one and twentieth day of April. This man being naturally given and inclined unto The life and all vertue, did yet increase the same by study, and all kind of good discipline, and by the exercise manners of thereof, and of true patience and right Philosophy, he did marvellously adorn himself and his man-Numa before ners. For her did not onely clear his foul and mind of all passions and vices commonly used in his reign.

the world, but he conquered in himself all hears, violence and coverousness. And would nei-

THE LIFE OF NUMA POMPILIUS.



Ann. Mund.

Ant. Christ.

In what time Numa Was. Cic. de Or. 2. & Tufc.4.Liv. Halic lib.a.



HE Historiographers differ marvellously of the time in which Numa Pompilisa reigned King , albeit fome will derive from him many noble houses descended in ROME. For one Cledien who wrote the Book intituled , The Table of Time , affirmeth, that the ancient Registers of the City of ROME were loft when it was taken and facked by the GAULES : and that those which are extant at this day be not true, but were only made by men defirous to gratific some, which have thrust in ancient Houses and families of the first ROMANS, that concern nothing them whom they meant to represent. On the other fide, although the common Opinion be that Name was a familiar Friendand Scholar of Pythagories the Philolo-

pher , yet fome fay he was never learned , nor had any knowledge at all in the Greek Tongue. And yer maintaining that it is possible enough, that he was so well born, and had such perfection in all kind of vertue , that he never needed any Manter , and though he had needed, they had rather attribute the honour of the inftructing of this King unto some other foreign person that was more magnes had any converts excellent then Pythagores. Others Cay, that Pythagores the Philosopher was long time after the reign any converts. any converta-tion with Na- of Nama, and well nigh five ages after him Howbeit others fay, there was another Pythasoras born in SPARTA (who having won the prize in running at the games Olympicall, in the finteenth Printeeres the Olympical, and the third year of Nome's Reign) did come into ITALY, where he kept much about fector a spar-Nama, and did affift and help him in the governing and ordering of his Realm. By means whereof, there be many cultomes yet of the LACONIANS mingled with the ROMANS, which this fecond Pythagorae was faid to have taught him. Nevertheles it is not confessed that Nama was born of the Sabyns , which they fay are descended from the LACEDEMONIANS. So it falleth out hard to agree certainly of the time when Numa was, and chiefly for fuch as will follow the roll or table of those which from Olympiad's to Olympiad's have won the prizes of games Olympicall: confidering the roll or table that they have at this prefent, was very lately published by one Hippias an Elian, who delivereth no reason or argument of necessity why it should be taken for an undoubted troth, which he in that fort hath gathered. Yet we will not leave to put in writing those things worthy of memory which we could gather by any means of King Numa, beginning at that place which we thought to be meeteft. It was now fince ROME was built feven and thirty years (for fo long time reigned Romulus) when Romulus the fifth of the moneth of July (which they call the Nones of the goats) made a folemn facrifice without the City, near to a certain place commonly called the goat marth. As all the whole Senate, with the most part of the people were pretent at this facrifice, suddenly there arose in the ayr a very great tempest, and a marvellous dark thick cloud, which fell on the earth with fuch boifterous winds, ftorms, lightnings and thunder, that the poor common people being afraid of so fore a tempest, dispersed themselves suddenly, run-

taught Numa

az Rome.

ning here and there for succour, and therewithall King Romulus vanished away in such fort, that he was never after feen alive nor dead. This brought the Senators and Noblemen whom they called Patricians, into great suspicion. And there ran a foul tale among the common people, how they had long time born very impatiently to be subjects to a King, because themselves would have had and taken upon them some Soveraign authority, and that for this cause they had killed King Romilius Adding somewhat more unto it, how a little before he had used them more roughly, and commanded them more straightly then he was wont or accustomed. Nevertheless they found the means to In the life of quench all those brutes and murmurings: by doing divine honour and facrifice unto him, as one Romata he is not dead, but passed to a better life. To confirm this, one of the noblest men among them called named Practice. Proclus came in, and by Oath affirmed before all the people that he faw Romalus afcending up into Diffention at Heaven, armed at all peeces, and that he heard a voice say, From thenceforth call him Quirinus. Rome about This being thus appealed there fprang up another trouble, to know whom they should choose in choosing of his place. For the strangers which were come then from other places to dwell in ROME, were their King. not yet throughly joyned to the naturall born ROMANES; Infomuch as the common people did not onely waver and stagger up and down in opinion, but the Senatours also (that were many, and of diverse Nations) did enter into a suspicion one of another. These things notwithstanding they all agreed in this, that of necessity they must choose a King; Howbeit in the rest they disfered much, not onely whom they should choose, but also of what Nation he should be. For those which were the first Founders and Builders of the City of Rome with Romelus could in no wife abide nor fuffer that the SABYNS (to whom they had divided part of their Lands, and a moiety of their City) should attempt and presume to command them whom they did receive and affociate into their company and fellowship. The SABYNS alledged on the other fide for them, a good reason, and such as carried great probability. Which was that never fince the death of their King Tating, they neither had in any thing disobeved nor disquieted King Remulus, but had futtered him to reign peaceably, and therefore Remulus being now deceased, reason would that the New King should be chosen of their Nation. And that albeit the ROMANS had received them into their City, they could not fay therefore that in time of this affociation, they were less to be reckoned of in any thing then themselves. Further they added, that in joyning with them the ROMANS had doubly encreased their might and power, and had made a body of a people which deserved the honour and Title of a City. These were the causes of their contention. But to prevent that of this contention there might grow no confusion in the City if it should remain without any head to command: The Senators which were a hundred and fifty in number, gave counsel that every one of them by turns, one after another, should carry the royall state of the King, and all the shews and ornaments of his Majesty, and should do Livy faith but the ordinary facrifices of the King, and dispatch all causes fix hours in the day, and fix hours a hundred in the night, as the King before had used. Thus they thought it best to divide the rule, that one Disnifus 2007 might have as much power as the other, as well in respect of themselves as also for regard of the Plut in the life people. For they imagined that the changing and removing thus of this regall dignity, and passing agreeth with it from man to man, would clean take away envy among them, and make every of them to rule Dionilus. temperately, and uprightly see, that in one and the self same day and night every of them should be a King and private person also. The ROMANS call this manner of Regiment in vacation Inter-Interregnum. regnum, as you would say, rule for the time. Now albeit their government was very modest and civill, yet they could not for all that keep themselves from falling into the suspicion and slander of the People; who gave it out straight, that this was a fine device of theirs, to change by this means the rule of the Realm into a few Noblemens hands, to the end that the whole authority and government of all publick causes should remain still in themselves, because it grieved them to be subject to a King. 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Nums chofen beit he was a man to famous for his vertue, that the SABYNS to foon as they named him did King. receive him more willingly then they who had chosen him. After they had thus published their Election the first and chiefest persons of the one and the other side were chosen out to go unto him. Now Numb Pompilitie was born in one of the chiefest and best Cities which the SABYNS had ? Numa born in called Gurery whereupon the ROMANS and their followers the SABYNS were called afterward the City of Quirites, and he was the Son of Pomponius a Nobleman, the youngest of four Brethren: being by Cures. the secret working of the gods born on the very day on the which ROME was founded by Romalus, Quirites why which was the one and twentieth day of April. This man being naturally given and inclined unto The life and lowering the lower all vertue, did yet increase the same by study, and all kind of good discipline, and by the exercise names of thereof, and of true patience and right Philosophy, he did marvellously adorn himself and his man. Name before ners. For her did not onely clear his foul and mind of all passions and vices commonly used in his reign-

the world; but he conquered in himself all hears, violence and coverousness. And would nei-

ther feek nor usurp that which was another mans; a thing at that time honoured among the most barbarous people : but thought that to be the true and right victory in man , first to conquer and command himself by judgement and reason, and then to stibdue all covetousness and greedinels. Having therefore this Opinion he would in no wife have in his houle any superfluity of finenels. He became to every man that would employ him (as well stranger as his own Countreyman) a wife Counfellour and an upright Judge. He bestowed his leisure not to follow his own delight, or to gather goods together, but to ferve the gods, and to behold their celestiall nature and power, as much as mans reason and understanding could comprehend. Thereby he got so great a name and reputation, that Tatim (which was King of ROME with Romalm) having but one onely daughter called Tatia, made him his Son in Law. Howbeit this Marriage put him in no fuch joility, that he would dwell at ROME with his Father in Law, but rather kept at home at his own house in the Countrey of the SARYNS, there to ferve and cherish his old Father with his wife Tatia; who for her part also liked better to live quietly with her husband being a private man, then to go to ROME where the might have lived in much honour and glory, by means of the King her Father. She died as it is reported 13 years after she was married : After her death Numa leaving to dwell in the City, was better contented to live in the Countrey alone, and folitary, and gave himself to walk much in the fields and woods confectated to the gods, as one defirous of alone lite, far from the company of men. Whereupon was raifed (in my opinion) that which is spoken of him, and of the goddels Egeria: That it was not for any strangeness or melancholiness of nature, that Numa withdrew himfelf from the conversation and company of men, but because he had found another more honourable and holy fociety of the Nymph, and goddels Egeria, who had done him (as they fay) that honour, as to make him her husband : with whom as his beloved darling it is faid he enjoyed happy daies, and by daily frequenting of her company, he was inspired with the love and knowledge of all cele-Numa conver- stiall things. Surely these devices are much like unto certain old Fables of the Phrygians, which they having learned from the Father to the Son, do love to tell of one Agis, of the Bithmians, of one Herodotus; of the ARCADIANS, of one Endymion, and of many other fuch like men, who in their lives were taken for Saints and beloved of the gods. Notwithstanding it is likely that the gods loye neither birds, nor horse, but men, and have sometimes a liking to be familiar with persect good men, and do not distain fometimes the conversation of such as be holy, religious, and devour. But to believe the gods have carnall knowledge, and do delight in the outward beauty of creatures, that feemeth to carry a very hard belief. Yet the wife EGYPTIANS think it probable enough and likely that the Spirit of the gods hath given original of generation to women, and do beget fruit of their Gods familiar bodies; howbeit they hold that a man can have no corporall company with any divine nature. Wherein they do not consider, that every thing that joyneth together doth deliver again alike substance to that were with it was joyned. This not withflanding, it is meet we should believe the gods bear good will to men, and that of it doth spring their love, whereby men say, the gods love those whose manners they purifie and inspire with vertue. And they do not offend which feign that Plorbas, Hyacynthus and Admetus were sometimes the lovers of Apollo , and also Hypolitus the SICYONIAN : of whom they report, that ever when he passed over the arm of the Sea which lieth between the

Egeria.

the Prophetess to pronounce these Heroical Verses; I know full Well my dear Hypolitus Returnes by Sea, my mind divineth thus.

Cities of SICYONA and of CIRRHA, the god which knew he came, rejoyced, and caused Pythia

Who are beleeved of the gods.

It is faid also that Pan was in love with Pindarus and his Verles, and that the godshonoured the Poets He flodm and Archileem, after their death , by the Mules. They fay moreover that Achilem lay with Sophocles in his life time, and at this day they do yet shew many tokens thereof; and after his death another god (as it is reported) made him to be honourably buried. Now if they grant that fuch things may be true, how can we refuse to beleeve, that some gods have been similar with Zaleucus, Miros, Zoroaftes, Lycurgus, Numa, and fuch other like personages, which have governed Kingdoms and stablished Common-weals? And it is not unlike that the gods indeed did company with them, to inspire and teach them many notable things, and that they did draw near unto those Poets and plaiers of the harp that made and applied many dolefull and joyful Ditties, at the leaft for their sport and pleasure onely, if ever they came near them, Nevertheless if any man be of other opinion, the way is open and large, as Bacchylides faid, to think and fay as he luft. For my felf, I do find that which is written of Lycurgus. Numa, and other fuch persons, not to be without likelihood and probability; who, having to govern rude, churlish, and stiff-necked people, and purposing to bring in strange novelties, into the governments of their Countreys, did feign wifely to have conference with the gods, confidering this feigning fell to be profitable and beneficiall to those themselves, whom they made to beleeve the same. But to return to our History : Numa was forty years old when the Ambaffadors of Rome were fent to prefent the Kingdom unto him, and to entreat him to accept thereof, Proclus and Velefus were the Ambaffadors that were fent. One of the which the people looked should have been chosen for King, because those of Romalus side did favour much Proclus, and those of Tatim part favoured Velefus. Now they used no long speech unto him, because they thought he would have been glad of fuch a great good fortune. But contrarily it was indeed a very hard thing, and required great perswasions, and much entreaty, to move a man which had always lived quietly and at ease, to accept the regiment of a City, which as a man would say had been raised up and grown by wars and martiall deeds. Wherefore he answered them in the presence of his Father, and another of

his kinfmen called Marism in this fort: Change and alteration of mans life is ever dangerous; but The Oration for him that lacketh nothing necessary, nor hath cause to complain of his present state, it is a great of Numato for him that lacketh nothing necessary, nor name and to enter into another new and unknown, if the Ambashability to leave his old acquainted Trade of life, and to enter into another new and unknown, if the Ambashability to leave his old acquainted Trade of life, and to enter into another new and unknown, if there were no other but this onely respect, that he leaveth a certainty to venture upon uncertainty, to be king, However there is further matter in this, that the dangers and perils of this Kingdom which they offer me, are not altogether uncertain, if we will look back what happened unto Romalus, who was not unsuspected to have laid wait to have had Tatius his Fellow and Companion murthered. And now after Romules Death, the Senators felves are mistrusted to have killed him on the other fide by Treason . And yet they sav it, and sing it every where, that Romulus was the Son of a god. that at his Birth he was miraculously preserved, and afterwards he was as incredibly brought up: Whereas for my own part, I'do confess, I was begotten by a mortal man, and was fostered, brought up, and taught by men, as you know: And these sew qualities which they praise and commend in me, are conditions far unmeet for a man that is to reign. I ever loved a folitary life. quiet and study, and did exempt my self from worldly causes. All my life time I have sought and loved peace above all things, and never had to do with any wars. My convertation hath been to company with men which meet onely to ferve and honour the gods, or to laugh and be merry one with another, or else to spend their time in their private affairs, or otherwise sometime to attend their pastures and feeding of their cattell. Whereas Romalus (my ROMAN Lords) hath left you many wars begun, which peradventure you could be contented to spare; yet now to maintain the fame, your city had need of a martiall King, active, and strong of body. Your people moreover, through long custom, and the great increase they are grown unto by seats of Arms, defire nought else perhaps but wars; and it is plainly feen they feek still to grow, and command their Neighbours: So that if there were no other confideration in it, yet were it a meer mockerie for me to go teach a City at this present to serve the gods, to love Justice, to have wars, and to fly violence; when it rather hath need of a conquering Captain, then of a peaceable King. These and such other like Reasons and Perswasions Numa alledged, to discharge himself of the Kingdom which they offered him. Howbeit the Ambassadors of the Romans most humbly befought and prayed him with all inftance possible, that he would not be the cause of another new ftir and commotion among them, feeing both parts in the City have given their confent and liking to him alone, and none other to be their King. Moreover, when the Embaffadors had left him unon this Suit, his Father and Martins his kinfman', began also privately to perswade him, that he should not refuse so good and godly an offer : And albeit he was contented with his present state. and defired to be no richer then he was, nor coveted no Princely honour nor glory, because he fought onely most famous vertue; yet he must needs think that to rule well, was to do the gods good fervice, whose will it was to employ the justice they knew in him, and not to suffer it to be idle. Refuse not therefore (quoth they) this royal dignity , which to a grave and wise man is a goodly field, to bring forth many commendable works and fruits. There you may do noble fervice to the gods, to humble the hearts of these martiall people, and to bring them to be holy and religious. for they readily turn, and eafily conform themselves unto the nature of their Prince. They dearly loved Tatius although he was a stranger: they have consecrated a memory to Romulus with divine honours, which they make unto him at this day. And it may be that the people feeing themselves conquerours will be full enough of wars, and the ROMANS being now full of spoils and triumphs, will be glad to have a gentle Prince, and one that loved justice, that they may thenceforth live in peace under good and holy Laws. And yet if it be otherwise that their hearts be still full of heat and fury to fight; Is it not better to turn this their defire to make wars some other way, when a man hath the bridle in his own hands to do it, and to be a mean in the mean time to joyn the Countrey, and all the Nations of the SABY NS in perpetual love and amity, with fo mighty and flourishing a City? Befides all these perswasions and reasons there were many signs also (as they say) which promiled him good luck, together with the earnest affection and liking of his own Countrey Citizens: Who so soon as they understood the coming and commission of the Ambassadours of ROME, they importunately defired him to go thither, and to accept the offer of the Kingdom; that he might more straightly unite and incorporate them together with the ROMANS. Whereupon Numa ac-Numa begincepted the Kingdom. Then after he had done facrifice to the gods, he fet forwards on his journey neth his Kingtowards Rome, where the people and Senate went out to meet him with wonderfull defire to fee dom with the him. The women at his entry went bleffing of him and finging of his praifes. They did facrifice fervice of the for him in all the Temples of the gods. There was neither man nor woman but feemed to be as gods. joyfull and glad as if a new Realm and not a new King, had been come to the City of ROME. Thus was he brought with this open joy and rejoycing unto the Market-place, where one of the Senators, which at that time was regent, called Spuring Verting, made them pronounce his open Election, and so by one consent he was chosen King, with all the voices of the people. Then were brought unto him the tokens of honour and dignity of the King. But he himself commanded they should be staied a while, saying, he must be confirmed King by the gods: Then he took the Wisemen and Priests with whom he went up into the Capitoll, which at that time was yet called Mount Tarpeian; And there the chiefest of the Southsayers called Augures turned him towards the South, having his face covered with a veil, and flood behind him laying his right hand upon his head, and praying to the gods that it would pleafe them to declare their wills by confecrated by flying of birds, or some other token concerning this Election; and so the Soothsayer cast his eyes the Augures.

Proclus and Velejus Em-bailadors to the market-place, although then an infinite number of people were affembled there together, attend-

of Numa.

Numa induceth civil and quiet life. Plato de Rep.

ing with great devotion what the iffue of this divination would be, untill there appeared unto them on the right hand, good and lucky birds, which did confirm the election. Then Numa putting on his royall robes, came down from Mount Tarpeian into the market-place, where all the people received him with wonderfull (thouts of joy, as a man the most holy and best beloved of the gods, that they could have chosen. So having taken the Royal Seat of the Kingdom, his first Act was this, That he discharged the guard of the three hundred Souldiers which Romalia had always about The guard of his person, called Ceteres, laying, He would not mistrust them which trusted him, neither would he be king over people which should mistrust him. His second Act was, that he did add to the two Priefts of Inpirer and Mars, a third in the honour of Romulus who was called Flamen Querinalis. Numa. Flamen Quiri. For the ancient ROMANS also called their priests instituted in the old time, Flamines, by reason reamen Curre.

native inflitured of certain little narrow hats which they wear on their heads, as if they had called them Pilamines: for Pilos in Greek fignifieth a hat. And at that time (as they fay) there were many more Greek words mingled with the Latin, then there are at this day. For they called the mantles the Kings did wear Lans. And 3, ba faith, that it is the very fame which the GRECIANS call Chlans, and that the young boy which was a servant in the Temple of Japiter, was called Camillus, as some of the GRECIANS do yet call the god Mercury, because he is servant of the gods. Now Numa having done these things at his first entry into his Kingdom, still to win further favour and good will of the people, began immediately to frame his Citizens to a certain civility, being as iron wrought to foftnels, and brought them from their violent and warlike defires to temperate and civil manners : For out of doubt ROME was properly that which Plato afcribeth to a City full of trouble and pride. For first it was founded by the most couragious and warlike men of the world, which from all parts were gathered there together in a most desperate boldness, and afterwards it encreased and grew ftrong by arms and continual wars, like as piles driven into the ground, which the more they are rammed in , the further they enter, and flick the fafter. Wherefore Name judging it no small nor light enterprife, to pluck down the haughty stomacks of so fierce and violent a people, and to frame them unto a sober and quiet life, did feem to work it by means of the gods, with drawing them on thereto by little and little, and pacifying of their hot and fierce courages to fight, with Sacrifices, Fealts , Dancings , and common Proceffions , wherein he celebrated ever himself. In the which , together with their devotion, there was mingled now and then pastime and pleasure, and sometimes he laid the terrour and fear of the gods before their eyes, making them beleeve that he had feen Rrange Visions, or that he had heard Voices, by which the gods did threaten them with some great troubles and plagues, alwaies to pull down and humble their hearts unto the fear of the gods. This was the cause why they thought afterwards that he had learned his wisdom of Pythagoras the Philosopher; because the greatest part of the Philosophy of the one, and of the government of the other, confisted in such Ceremonies and divine Studies. They report also that Numa did put on the the state of Pythagoras holines, as following his intention and example. For Pythagoras (as they say) made an Tagle to tame and gentle, that the would stoop and come down to him by certain voices, as the flew in the air over his head; And that passing through the Assemtutions much bly of the games Olympical, he shewed her thigh of gold, and many other pretty feats and deeds they tell off , which feemed to be wonderfull , and for which Timen Philasian hath written these Verfes of him: Pythagoras which loved to dwell in dignity,

And hath an heart to glory bent, and past in policy. Much like a man which fought, by charming to enchaunt Did ufe this art, to Win mens minds, which unto him did haunt : His grave and pleasant tongue, in sugred speech did flow, Whereby he drew most minds of men, to bent of his own bow.

Even so the feigned fable of Numa, which he so cunningly disguised, was about the love of a goddels, or some Nymph of the Mountain: with whom he seemed to have certain secret meetings and talk, whereof we have spoken before. And it is said, he much frequented the Muses in the woods. For he would fay, he had the most part of his revelations of the Muses, and he taught the ROMANS to reverence one of them above all the rest, who was called Tacira, as ye would say, Lady Silence. It feemeth he invented this, after the example of Pythagoras, who did to specially command and recommend filence unto his Scholars. Again, if we confider what Numa ordained concerning Images. and the representation of the gods, it is altogether agreeable unto the doctrine of Pythagoru: who thought that God was neither sensible nor mortall, but invisible, incorruptible, and onely intelligible. And Numa did forbid the ROMANS also to beleeve, that God hath ever form or likeness of beaft or man. So that in those former times, there was in ROME no Image of God, either painted or graven; and it was from the beginning a hundred threefcore and ten years, that they had built Temples and Chappels unto the gods in ROME, and yet there was neither Picture nor Image of God within them. For they took it at the first for a facriledge, to present heavenly things by earthly forms, feeing we cannot possibly any way attain to the knowledge of God, but in mind and understanding. The very Sacrifices which Numa ordained, were altogether agreeable and like unto the manner of ferving of the Gods, which the Pathagorians used. For in their Sacrifices they fpile not the bloud, but they did theirs commonly with a little Meal, a little shedding of Wine and Milk,

and with fuch other light things. Such as affirm that those two men did much company and were familiar together, do lay further proofs and arguments for the fame. The furft is this: that the Proofs for the ROMANS did make Pythagorus a free-man of the City of ROME, as Epicharmus the Comicall Poet convertation an ancient Writer (and fometimes one of Pythagoras Scholars) faith in a Book he wrote and dedi- of Numu and cated unto Antenor. The other proof is : that Number having had four Children , called one of Politicaria. them Mamereus, after Pythagorus Sons Name; from whom, they fay, is descended the house of the Amilsans, which is the Noblest of the Patricians: For the King gave him the Name Amilim, because of his sweet tongue and pleasant voice. Furthermore, I my self have heard say many times in ROME, that the ROMANS having received an Oracle, which commanded them to fet up Images in their City, to the wifest and valiantest man that ever was among the GRECIANS, caused two Statues of Brass to be set up in their market-place, the one of Pythagora, the other of Alcibiades. Howbeit to strive about this matter any further, seeing there are so many doubts, me thinketh it were but vain. Moreover they attribute to Numa, the first erection of the Colledge Pontificall: and fay, he himself was the first Pontifex that ever was. But touching the Name of Pontifex, Numa, inflituficall: and fay, he himlelt was the mrit Pointstex that ever was. But touching the readile of rontifex, fome will fay they were fo called, because they chiefly were ordained and appointed for the service tech Bishops, fome will fay they were for called, because they chiefly were ordained and appointed for the service tech Bishops. of the Almighty: for this word Potens in the ROMAN tongue, betokeneth mighty. Other fo called think this Name was given to them by their founders, as to exempt perfons out of the world : who enjoyned them to do all their service and sacrifices to the gods they could possibly, and yet notwithstanding, if they had any other lawfull let or impediment thereof, they were not straight condemned for omitting the same. Howbeit the most part do bring out another derivation of this Name, wherein methinks there is little reason. As that they should be called Pontificer, because they had the charge and maintenance of the Bridge. For that which the GRECIANS call Gephyran, the LATINES call Poniem, that is, a Bridge. And to fay truly, the charges of repairing the Bridge, belongeth to the Bishops : as well as the keeping of the most holy and unchangeable Ceremonies, For the ROMANS thought it not onely a thing unlawfull, but took it for a most damnable and wicked act, to destroy or break the Bridge of wood, which was onely joyned together (asthey fay) with pins of wood, and without any Iron at all, by the Commandment of an old Oracle. But the thone Bridge was built long time after the Reign of Nama, and in the time of the Reign of his The wooden Nephew Marius. Now the first and chiefest of these Bishops, which they call the great Ponti- Bridge at Rone fex, hath the place, Authority, and Dignity of the High-prieft and Mafter of their pontifical The high Bi-Law: who should be carefull, not only about all publick facrifices and Ceremonies, but also about fuch as were private, and to see that no man privately should break the ancient Ceremonies, nor bring in any new thing into Religion, but rather every man should be taught by him, how, and after what fort he should serve and honour the gods. He also bath the keeping of the holy Virgins which they call Vestales. For they do give Numa the first foundation and confecrating of The institution them, and the inflitution also of keeping the immortal fire with honour and reverence, which these of the Vettal Virginshave the charge of. Either for that he thought it meet to commit the substance of fire Nuns. (being pure and clean) unto the custody of clean and uncorrupt Maids : or else because he thought The holy and the nature of fire (which is barren, and bringeth forth nothing) was fitteft and most proper unto Virgins. For in GREECE, where they kept continual fire likewife (as in the Temple of Apollo in DELPHOS, and at ATHENS) the Maidens do not keep the fame, but old Women which are past Marriage. And if this fire chance to fall , as they fay in ATHENS the holy Lamp was put out in the time of the Tyranny of Arifion: and in the City of DELPHOS it was put out, when the Temple of Apollo was burnt by the MEDES: and at ROME also, in the time of the wars that the ROMANS had against the King Mitbridates : and in the time of the civil wars, when Altar, fire, and all were burnt and confumed together: they fay that it must not be lighted again with other common fire, but must be made anew, with drawing clean and pure slame from the beams of the Sun, and that they do in this manner. They have a hollow veffell made of a piece of a triangle, How the holy having a corner right, and two fides alike: to that from all parts of his compats and circumference, fire is drawn having a corner right, and two nucesance; to that from an parts of the companisance cummerciace, it falleth into one point. Then they fer this veffel right against the beams of the Sun, fo that the from the pure it falleth into one point. bright Sun beams come to affemble and gather together in the center of this veffell, where they Sun. do pierce the air so strongly, that they set it on fire; and when they put to it any dry matter or fubfilance, the fire taketh it straight, because the beam of the Sun, by means of the Reverberation, putteth that dry matter into fire, and forceth it to flame. Some think that these Veftal Virgins keep no other thing but this fire, which never goeth out. Other fay, there are other See the lite of Holy things also, which no body may lawfully fee but they: whereof we have written more largely Camillus in the life of Camillus, at the leaft fo much as may be learned and told. The first Maidens which touching the were vowed and put into this order of Religion by Numa, were (as they say) Gegania and Verenia: Veital Runs. and after them, Canulcia and Tarpeia. Afterwards King Servine increased the number with two pointed the other, and that number of four continueth unto this day. Their rule and order fet down by King Pointea in Numa was this : that they should vow chastity for the space of thirty years. In the first ten years Numa. they learn what they have to do: the next ten years following, they do that which they have learned : and the last ten years, they teach young novices. After they have passed their thirty years, they may lawfully marry if they be disposed, and take them to another manner of life, and leave their Religion. But as it is reported, there have been very few of them which have taken this liberry, and fewer also which have joyed after they were professed, but rather have repented themselves, and lived ever after a very grievous and forrowfull Life. This did fo fray the other Veftals, that they

shipped Tacita one of the Mufes. Pythagor 15 taught his Scholars to keep filence. Pythagoras opinion of God. Numa forbad Images of God The Vestals prerogatives.

The punish-Vettal Nuns,

> gure of the Where the fire abideth.

The manner of buriall. Libitina honoured at Fune:als.

mourning.

Irenen:a quarrel pacified with reason without the Sword.

were better contented with their vowed chaftitie; and so remained Virgins, untill they were old or elfe died. He gave them also great priviledges and prerogatives : as , to make their Wili and Testament in their Fathers life time: to do all things without any Guardian or Overfeer, as Wemen which have three Children at a Birth. When they go abroad, they carry Maces before them to honour them. And if by chance they meet any offender in their way going to execution, they fave his life. howbeit the professed Vestall must affirm by Oath, that she met him unawares, and not of set purpofe. If any man prefume under their chair, whereupon they are carried through the City, be shall die for it. Also when they themselves do any fault, they are corrected by the great Bishop, who fometimes doth whip them naked (according to the nature and quality of their offence) in a who ionicumes done with the last hat deflowered her Virginity, is buried quick by one dark place and under a curren. But the that hath deflowered her Virginity, is buried quick by one of the gates of the City, which they call Colling gate: where within the City there is a Mount of earth of a good length, and with the LATINS is faid to be raifed. Under this forced Mount, they make a little hollow vault, and leave a hole open, whereby one may go down: and within it there is fer a little bed, a burning Lamp, and some victuals to sustain life withall. As a little Bread, a little Water, a little Milk, and a little Oyl, and that for Honours fake: to the end they would not be thought to ramish a body to Death, which had been confecrated by the most Foly and devour Ceremonies of the world. This done, they take the offender, and put her into a Litter, which they cover ftrongly, and close it up with thick leather, in such fort, that no body can so much as hear her voice, and so they carry her thus thut up through the market-place. Every one draweth back, when they fee this Litter aiar off, and do give it place to pass by; and then follow it mourningly with heavy looks, and speak never a word. They do nothing in the City more fearfull to behold, then this: neither is there any day wherein the people are more forrowfull, then on fuch a day. Then after the is come to the place of this vault, the Sergeants straight unlose these fast bound Coverings: and the chief Bishop after he hath made certain secret prayers unto the gods, and lift Coverings: and the third Diniopanter in him made very the condemned Veftall, murified up close, and so his hands up to Heaven, taketh out of the Litter the condemned Veftall, murified up close, and so puteth her upon the Ladder, which conveyeth her down into the vault. That done, he withpontent ner upon the Laurer, which him: and when the filly offendour is gone down, they straight pluckup the Ladder, and cast abundance of earth in at the open hole, so that they fill it up to the The Temple Pluck up the Laurer, and this is the punishment of the Vistals which defile their Virginity. fencet the fi- They think also it was Numa that built the round. Temple of the goddels Vefta, in which is kept the everlatting fire: meaning to represent not the form of the earth, which they say is Vifta, but the figure of the whole world, in the middeft whereof (according to the Pythagereans opinion) remainngure of the whole works, in the induction which they call Vifta, and name it the Unity. For eth the proper feat and obtding place of fire, which they call Vifta, and name it the Unity. For they are of Opinion, neither that the Earth is unmoveable, nor yet that it is fet in the middeft of the world, neither that the Heaven goeth about it: but fay to the contrary, that the Earth hangeth in the air about the fire, as about the center thereof. Neither will they grant, that the Earth is one of the first and chiefest parts of the world : as Plato held Opinion in that age, the Earth was in another place then the very middeft, and that the center of the world, as the most honourablest place, did appertain to some other of more worthy substance then the Earth. Furthermore, the Bishops office was to shew those that needed to be taught, all the rites, manners, and customs of buriall: whom Nama taught not to beleeve that there was any corruption or dishonesty in burials, but rather it was to worthip and honour the gods of the Earth, with usuall and Honourable Ceremonies, as those which after their Death receive the chiefest service of us they can. But above all other in burials, they did specially honour the goddess called Libitina, that is said, the chief Governour and perferver of the rites of the Dead : or be it Proferpina, or Venus, as the most Learned men among the ROMANS do judge, who not without cause do attribute the Cider of the beginning and end of mans Life, to one self God, and power Divine. Numa Ordained also, how long time every body (hould Mourn in black. And for a Child from three years to ten years of age, that died : he Ordained they should mourn no more moneths then it had lived years, and not to add a day more. For he commanded, that the longest time of Mourning shall be but ten moneths onely, and fo long time at the leaft he willed the Women should remain widows, after the decease of their Husbands: or else she that would Marry within that time, was bound by his Order to facrifice a whole Bullock. Numa also erected many other Orders of Priests: of two forts whereof I will only make mention. The one shall be the Order of the SALII, and the other of the FIGURE 1. FECIALES: for me thinks, both the one and the other doth manifestly shew the great holines, 61. Gell. 10. 10 FECIALES for me climas, both the one and the other word manners, men and fingular devotion which he had in him. The FECIALES are properly those, which the GREF feciales called CIANS call IRENOPHYLACES, as who would say, peace-keepers. And in my judgement, they freensbylace. Irenophyluces. had their right Name according to their Office, because they did pacific quarrels with reason by way of Order, and did not fuffer (as much as in them lay) that any matter should be tried by violence, until they were past all hope of any peace. For the Grecians call it properly Irenen, - when both parties agree, and decide their controversie with reason, and not with sword. Even so those which the ROMANS called the Feei, les, went many times in person to those that did the ROMANS injury, and fought to perfivade them with good reason, to keep promise with the ROMANS and to offer them no wrong. But if they would not yeeld to reason whom they fought to perfeade, then they called the gods to the winness thereof, and prayed them, that if they did not most earnestly incense the ROMANS, to pursue that most justly appertained unto their right, that all evils and mischiefs of the wars might fall upon themselves and on their Countrey.

This done, they did threaten open wars against fuch enemies. And if the FECIALES would not consent to open wars, and did happen to speak against them, it was not lawfull in that case, neither for private person, nor for the King himself to make any wars : But like a just Prince, he must have leave by their sufferance to make the wars. Then did he consider and consult, by what means he might best procure and prosecute the same. Concerning this matter, they judge that the ill hap which came to the ROMANS, when the City of ROME was taken and facked by the GAULES, chanced justly for breaking of this holy institution. For at that time the barbarous people belieged the City of the CLUSINIANS : and Gabine Ambustus was sent Ambassador unto them, to fee if he could make peace between them. The barbarous people gave him an ill answer: whereupon Fabius thinking his embassie had been ended, and being somewhat hot and rash in defence of the CLUSINIANS, gave defiance to the valiantest GAULE there, to fight with him man to man. Fortune favoured him in this challenge; for he flew the GAULE, and stripped him in the field. The GAULES feeing their man flain, fent immediately an Herald to ROME to accuse Fabius, how against all right and reason he began wars with them, without any open Proclamation made before. The FECIALES being then consulted with thereabout, did declare, he ought to be delivered into the hands of the GAULES, as one that had broken the Law of Arms, and had deferved it : but he made friends to the people which favoured him very much , and by their means escaped his delivery and punishment: Nevertheless, the Gaules within short time after, came before ROME with all their power; which they took, facked and burnt every whit, faving the Ca- Rome taken by pitoll, as we have written more amply in the life of Camillus. Now concerning the Priefts that the Gaules. were called Salif, they say he did institute them upon this occasion: In the eight year of his raign, Tife there came a pestilent disease through all Italy, and at the length it crept also into Rome: Whereat The Instituevery man being greatly afraid and discouraged, they say there fell from Heaven a Target of Cop- tion of the per, which lighted between the hands of Nums. They tell hereof a wonderfull rale, which the Salli. King himself affirmed he heard of the Nimph Egeria, and the Muser; to wit, that this Target was heaven, fent from Heaven, for the health and prefervation of the City : and therefore he should keep it carefully, and cause eleven other to be cast and made, all like unto the same in fashion and greatness to the end that if any would enterprise to steal it, be should not know which of them to take for the right Target. Moreover he said, he was commanded to consecrate the place to the Mases (in the which he did oftentimes company with them) and also the fields which were near thereabouts: and likewife to give the Fountain that fprang in that place, unto the Vestals professed, that every day they might draw water at that Well, to wash the Sanctuary of their Temple. The success hereof proved his words true, for the fickness ceased incontinently. So he affembled all the chief Craftsmenthen in ROME, to prove which of them would take upon him to make one like unto that. Every man despaired to perform it. Howbeit one called Veturiu Mamurius (the excellentest Workman that was in those days) did make them all so suit-like, that Nama himself did not know the first Target, when they were all laid together : So be ordained the Priefts Salii, to have the custody of Whereof they thele Targets, to fee them fafe kept. They were called Salii, not after the name of Salian born were called in SAMOTHRACIA, or in MANTINEA, as some have untruly alledged, who first invented the Salii. manner of dancing all armed : but they were so called, of their fashion and manner of dancing and leaping. For in the Moneth of March, they go skipping and leaping up and down the City with those Targets on their arms, apparelled in red Cassocks without sleeves, and girded about with broad leather sword girdles, studded with Copper, having Helmets of Copper on their heads, and striking upon their Targets with short Daggers, which they carry in their hands. Moreover, all their dancing confifteth in moving of their feet: for they handle them finely, making turnes above ground and beneath, with a fudden measure, and a marvellous force of agility. They call these Targets An- Anyliawhere cylia, because of their fashion, which is not altogether compass: for they are not all round as other of so called. common Targets be, but they are cut with circles wreathed about, both the ends bowing in many folds, and one to near another, that altogether they come to a certain wreathed form, which the GRECIANS call Ancylon. Or elfe they are to called, because Ancon fignifieth an elbow, upon which they carry them. All these derivations are written in the History of Juba, who in any case will have this word Ancylia to be drawn out of the Greek tongue. And it may be also they were so called , because the first came from above , which the GRECIANS call Anacathen : or else for healing the fick, which is called Acefis: or else for ceasing of the dryness, which in Greek is called Anchmon Lyfis: or for the ending of all diseases and evils, for which cause the ATHENIANS call Castor and Pollnx, Anaca: if they lust to give this word his derivation from the Greek tongue. Now the reward which Mamurius the Goldsmith had for making of these Targets was, that the Salii unto this day do make mention of him in their Song, which they fing going through the City, and dancing of their dance all armed , Howbeit Some think they say not Veturius Mamurius , but veterem memo- Regis the ziam, ancient memory. But Numa after he had ordained and inflitted these orders of Priests, built Kings palace. bis Palace near unto the Temple of Westa, which holdeth his Name Regia at this day, that is to say, the Kings Palace : In which he remained most part of his life , studying either to facrifice to the gods, or to teach the Priefts, what they should do, or how with them he should best contemplate all hea- The manner venly things. It is true that he had another houfe on the hill, which they call at this day, Quirinall, of the Romans the place whereof is yet to be feen. But in all thefe Sacrifices, Ceremonies and Procellions of the worlinging the place whereof is yet to be feen. But in all thefe Sacrifices and Procellions of the worlinging the place whereof is yet to be feen. But in all thefe Sacrifices and Procellions of the worlinging the place whereof is yet to be feen. But in all thefe Sacrifices are considered to the place whereof is yet to be feen. 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teuching praier.

the gods, nor make prayers to them in passing by, or doing any other thing; but they thought The Pythogo- meet, that men should of purpose go out of their houses, to serve and pray unto them. Even so King Numa thought it not meet, that his subjects should come to see and hear Divine Service negligently, 25 it were for a fashion, and onely to be rid of it, as heeding another thing: but he would have them fet afide all other business, and employ their thoughts and hearts onely upon the principall service of Religion and devotion towards the gods. So that during Service time, he would not have heard any noise, any knocking, bouncing, or any clapping, as they commonly hear in all Artificers shops of occupation, whereof at this day they see some figns and tokens remaining in their Sacrifices at ROME. For all the time the Augur beholdeth the flying of the Birds, or that he is doing any Sacrifice, the Vergers ery aloud; Hoc age, which meaneth, Tend this. And it is a warning to those that are present, to call their wits home, and to think on that which is in hand, Alfo there are many of his Orders like the Precepts of the Pythagoreans: For as they did warn men, In hmilitude of Numa not to fit upon a little bushell, not to cut fire with a Sword, not to look behind them when they time of Numi not to in upon a mile Coelettial gods in odd number, and to the gods of the Earth in an and Pythagores go abroad: to facrifice to the Coelettial gods in odd number. even number, of which Precepts they would not have the common people to have any knowledge or understanding. Even so there are many Institutions of Numa, the reasons whereof are hidden and kept feeret: as not to offer Wine to the gods of the Vine never cut, and not to facrifice unto and represented as not to one of the authority and to surn a turn about when they do reverence to the gods, and to fit down after they have worthipped them. And as touching the two first Ordinances, it feemeth that by them he did recommend elemency and humanity, as being a part of the devotion towards the gods. But as for the turning which he willerh them to make that worthip the gods, they fay it prefenteth the turning which the Element maketh by his moving. But methinketh is should rather come of this: for that the Temples being fet to the East, he that worshippeth entring into the Temple, sheweth his back to the West, and for this cause turneth towards that part, and afterwards returneth again towards God; doing the whole turn, and ending the confurmation of his Prayer, by this double adoration which he maketh before and behind. Unless peradventure that he meant secretly to fignific, and give them to understand by this turning and changing of their look, that which the ÆGYPTIANS figured by their wheels: in flowing thereby, that these worldly things were never constant and in one state : and therefore, that we should take it thankfully, and patiently bear it, in what fort soever it pleased God to change or alter our life: And where he commanded that they should fit after they had worshipped God: they faid it was a token of a good hope unto them that prayed that their prayers should be exalted, and that their goods should remain safe, and flick by them. Other fay, that this eafe and fitting, is a feparating them from doing: and therefore he would they should fit in the Temples of the gods, to shew they had done that which they had in hand before, to the end to take of the gods the beginning of another. And it may well be also that it was referred to the thing we spake of a little before: that Numa would accustom his people, not to ferve the gods, nor to speak to them at all, as they passed by, or did any other thing, or were in hafte: but would have them pray unto the gods when they had time and By whatmeans leifure, and all other business at that time set apart. By this good instruction and training them unto Religion, the City of ROME by little and little came to be fo tractable, and had the great power of King Numa in fuch admiration, that they took all to be as true as the Gospel that he spake, though it had no more likelihood of troth, then tales devised of pleasure. Furthermore, Numa made they thought nothing incredible, or unpossible to him, if he would have it. And for proof herethe Romans quiet and of, there goeth a tale of him, that he having bidden a great company of the Chizens of Rome Numer's speaks to come and sup with him, caused them to be served with plain gross meat, and in very poor inquisit of gentle. The wonders and homely veriels: And when they were fet, and began to fall to their meat, he cast our words fuddenly unto them, bow the goddess with whom he accompanied, was come to see him even at that inftant, and that fuddenly the Hall was richly furnished, and the Tables covered with all forts ing with Juof excellent fine and delicate meats. Howbeit this far passed all the vanity of lying, which is found written of him about his speaking with Jupiter. The hill Aventine was not at that time inhabited, nor inclosed within the walls of ROME, but was full of springs and shadowed groves, whither commonly repaired to folace themselves, the two gods, Pieus and Faunus, which otherwife might be thought two Satyrs, or of the race of the Titanians: faving it is faid, that they went through all ITALY, doing the like wonders and miracles in physick, charmes and art magick, which they report of those the GRECIANS call Idaes Dastyles. There they say that Numa took them both, having put into the spring both Wine and Honey, where they used to drink. When they faw that they were taken, they transformed themselves into divers forms, disguising and disfiguring their natural shape, into many terrible and fearfull sights to behold. Nevertheless in the end, perceiving they were so fast, as to escape there was no reckoning: they revealed unto him many things to come, and taught him the purifying against lightening and thun-

der, which they make yet at this day with Onions, Hair and Pilchers. Other fay, he was not

taught that by them, but that they fetched Jupiter out of Heaven with their conjuring and magick: whereat Jupiter being offended, answered in choler, that he should make it with heads:

But Numa added straight, of Onions: Jupiter replied, of Men. Then Numa asked him again,

to take a little away of the cruely of the commandment; what Hairs? Inpiter answered, quick

Hairs: And Numa put too Pilchers also. And it is reported that this was the goddels Egeria,

that taught Nama this subtility. This done, Jupiter returned appealed : by reason whereof the

 $\mathcal{N} \mathcal{V} M A$.

Picas. ·F Junus.

place was called Ilicium. For Ilcos in the Greek tongue fignifieth appealed and favourable: and this purifying was afterwards made in that fort. These tales not onely vain, but full of mockery also, do shew us yet plainly the zeal and devotion men had in those times towards the gods, unto which Numa through custom had won them. And as for Numa himself, they say that he so firm-Iv put all his hope and confidence in the help of the gods, that one day when he was told his enemies were in Arms against him , he did but laugh at it , and answered , And I do sacrifice. It is he (as some say) that first built the Temple to Faith and Terme, and which made the ROMANS un. Roma built lemples to derstand that the most holy and greatest Oath they could make, was to swear by their faith, which Faith and they keep yet at this day. But Terme which fignifieth bounds, is the god of confines or borders, un- Term. to whom they do facrifice both publickly and privately, upon the limits of inheritance, and now they facrifice unto him live Beafts. Howbeit in old time they did facrifice unto him without any bloud. through the wife Institution of Numa, who declared and preached unto them, that this god of bounds was fincere and upright, without bloud or murther, as he that is a witness of justice and keeper of peace. D. was he which in my opinion did first limit out the bounds of the Territory of ROME, Numa made peace. U. was he which in my opinion and first limit out the bounds of the letthousy of Rome, which R mulm would never do, for fear left in bounding out his own he should confess that which the bounds of the Territory the occupied of other mens. For bounding and measuring, to him that will keep it justly, is a bond of Rome. that bridleth power and desire, but to him that forceth not to keep it, it is a proof to shew his injustice. To fay truly, the Territory of ROME had no great bounds at the first beginning, and Romuliu had got by conquest the greatest part of it, and Numa did wholly divide it unto the needy Numa advan-Inhabitants to releeve them, and to bring them out of poverty (which carrieth men headlong into eeth tillage, mifchief, and discourageth them to labour) to the end that plowing up the faid Land, they should also plow up the weeds of their own barrenness, to become civil and gentle. For there is no exercife nor occupation in the world which fo suddenly bringeth a man to love and defire quietness. as doth husbandry and tillage, and yet to defend a mans own, there is in it courage and hardiness to fight. But greedy defire, violently to take from others, and unjustly to occupy that is none of theirs, is never in right husbandmen. And therefore Nama having brought in husbandry amongst his Subjects, as a medicine and mean to make them love quietness, was desirous to inure them to this trade of life, the rather to make them humble and gentle of condition, then to encrease them in riches. He divided all the Territory of ROME into certain parts which he called Pagot, as much to fay, as Villages: And in every one of them he ordained comptrollers and vifitors, which should survey all about, and he himself sometimes went abroad in person, conjecturing by their labour the manners and nature of every man. Such as he found diligent he advanced them unto honour, and gave them countenance and authority; Others which he faw flothfull and negligent, by rebuking and reproving of them, he made them amend. But amongst all his Ordinances which Nums divided he made, one above all the rest carried the praise, and that was, that he divided his people into fun- his people into dry occupations. For the City of ROME feemed yet to be made of two Nations , as we have faid fundry occubefore; and to speak more properly, it was made of two Tribes. So that it could not, or would not for any thing be made one, being altogether impossible to take away all factions, and to make there should be no quarrels nor contentions between both parts. Wherefore he considered that when one will mingle two bodies or fimples together, which for their hardness and contrary natures cannot well fuffer mixture : then he breaks and beats them together as small as may be. For so being brought into a smaller and lesser powder, they would incorporate and agree the better. Even so he thought it was best to divide the people also into many small parts; by means whereof they should be put into many parties, which would more eafily take away the first and the greatest part, when it should be divided and separated thus into fundry forts. And this division he made by arts and occupations; as Minstrels, Goldsmiths, Carpenters, Diers, Shoemakers, Tawers, Tanners, Bellfounders, and pot-makers, and fo forth through other crafts and occupations. So that he brought every one of these into one body, and company by it self, and ordained unto every particular myftery or craft, their Feafts, Affemblies, and Services, which they should make unto the gods, according to the dignity and worthiness of every occupation : And by this means he first took away Numa took all faction, that neither fide faid, nor thought any more, those are SABYNS, these are RO- away the sa-MANS, thele are of Tatim, thele are of Romalus. Infomuch as this division was an incorpora- ctions of Roting, and an uniting of the whole together. Among other his Ordinances, they did much commend mulus and his reforming of the Law, that gave liberty unto Fathers to fell their children. For he did except children already married, so they were married with their Fathers consent and good-will, judging it to be too cruell and over hard a thing, that a woman who thought she had married a Free-man, should find her felf to be the wife of a bondman. He began also to mend a little the Calendar, not so exactly as he should have done, nor yet altogether ignorantly. For during the Reign of Romules they used the moneths consusedly, without any order or reason, making some of them twenty daies and less, and others 3 y daies and more, without knowing the difference between the course of the Sun and the Moon : and onely they observed this rule that there was 360 daies The ordinance in the year. But Numa confidering the inequality stood upon eleven daies, for that the twelve Re- of the moneths volutions of the Moon are run in 354 daies, and the Revolution of the Sun in 365 daies, he doub- Inflitution led the 11 daies, whereof he made a moneth, which he placed from two years to two years after Macr.1. Set 23 the moneth of February , and the ROMANS called this Moneth put beween Mercidinum , which

had 22 daies. And this is the correction that Numa made, which fince hath had a far better a-

mendment. He did also change the order of the Moneths. For March which before was the first,

he made it now the third, and January the first, which under Romulus was the eleventh, and February the twelfth and laft. Yet many are of opinion, that Numa added these two January and February. For the ROMANS at the beginning had but ten moneths in the year, as some of the verify counted barbarous people make but three moneths for their year. And the ARCADIANS amongst the GRECIANS have but four moneths for their year. The ACARNANIANS have fix to the year, And the AGYPTIANS had first but one moneth to their year, and afterwards they made four moneths for their year. And this is the cause why they seem (albeit they inhabit a new countrey) to be nevertheless the ancientest people of the world; For that in their Chronicles they reckon up fuch infinite number of years as those which count the Moneths for the years. And to prove this true, that the ROMANS at the beginning had but ten moneths in the year, and not twelve, it is easie to be judged by the name of the last, which they call at this day December. And that the moneth of March was also the first, may be conjectured by this, for the fifth moneth after that is yet called Quintilis, the fixth Sextilis, and so the other in order following the numbers. For if Jayer cance Zumius, me nam oranis, and to the one of July which they call Zunnary and February had then been the first, of necessity the moneth of July which they call Zunnary and February had then been the first, of necessity the moneth of July which they call Zunnary and February had then been the first, of necessity the moneth of July which they tilu, must have been named September; considering also that it is very likely that the moneth which Remulse had dedicated unto Mars, was also by him ordained to be the first. The second was April, fo called of the name Aphrodite, that is to fay, Venue, unto whom they make open facrifice in this Moneth. And on the first day of the same, women do wash themselves, having a garland of myrtle upon their heads. Howbeit some other say, that it was not called after the name of Aphrodite, but it was onely called Aprilia, because then is the chiefest force and strength of the Spring, at which feafon the earth doth open, and the feeds of plants and hearbs begin to bud and fhew forth, which *Peradvenure of Maia the mother of Mercury, unto whom the * Moneth is confectated. The moneth of June is fo called also, because of the quality of that season, which is as the youth of the year. Although fome will fay that the Moneth of May was named of this word Maiores, which fignifieth as much as the elders; and the Moneth of June of Juniores, which fignifies the younger men. All the other following were named in old time by the numbers according to their order, Quintilia, Sextilia, Stnonowing were named in our mine of the name of the printing was after called Inline of the name of fay , of the Julius Casar, who sew Pompeius, and Sextilis was named Angustus of Ottavius Casar his Succetfor in the Empire, who was also furnamed Augustus. It is true also that Domitian would they name of Juno. Stiould call the two moneths following (which are September and October) the one Germanicus, and the other Domitiansus, But that held not long: For fo foon as Domitians was killed, the moneths recovered their ancient names again. The two last moneths onely have ever continued their names, without changing or altering. But of the two which Numa added, or at the leaft translated, the moneth of February doth fignifie as much as purging, or at leaft the derivation of the word found-* Some of the eth near it. In this moneth they do facrifice of plants, * and do celebrate the Feaft of the Luper-Some of the Scales, in which there are many things agreeable and like to the Sacrifices made for purification. Greeian Co. CALES, in which there are many things agreeable and like to the Sacrifices made for purification. Please of January, was called after the name of January. Wherefore methinks that Nama place of the state of the same of January. place estrois took away the moneth of March from the first place, and gave it unto January; because he would as much as to have peace preferred before war, and civil things before martiall. For this Janus (were he fay for the King or demi-god) in the former age was counted very civil and politick: For he changed the life of men which before his time was rude, cruell, and wild, and brought it to be honeft, gentle, and civil. For this cause they do paint his Image at this day with two faces, the one before and the other behind, for thus changing the lives of men. And there is in ROME a Temple dedicated unto him, which hath two doors, that be called the doors of war; for the cultom is to open them, when the ROMANS have any wars in any place, and to flut them when they be at peace. To Why Fanus is At what time Have them shut it was a rare thing to see, and happened very seldom, by reason of the greatness painted with of their Empire, which on all fides was environed with barbarous Nations, whom they were compelled to keep under with force of armes. Notwithstanding it was once shut up in the time of Asthe temple of guffur, after he had flain Antony; and once before also in the year when Marcin Attilius and Fanus is shut The Romaner Tisus Manlius were Confuls. But that continued not long, for it was opened again incontinently, had no wars in by reason of wars that came upon them soon after. Howbeit during the Reign of Nama, it was never one day opened, but remained thut continually by the space of three and source, years together. For all occasions of wars were then utterly dead and forgotten, because at Rome the peoall Numa's ple were not onely through the examples of Juftice, clemency, and the goodness of the King, brought to be quiet, and to love peace, but in the Cities thereabouts there began a marvellous change of manners, and alteration of life, as if some gentle air had breathed on them, by some gracious and healthfull wind blown from RDME to refresh them. And thereby bred in mens minds such a hearty defire to live in peace, to till the ground, to bring up their children, and to ferve the gods truly, that almost through all ITALY there was nothing but Feasts, Plays, Sacrifices and Banquets. The people did traffique and frequent together without fear or danger, and vifited one another, making great chear; as if out of the fpringing Fountain of Numa's wildom many pretty brooks and streams of good and honest life had run over all ITALY, and had watered it; and that the mildenels of his wildom had from hand to hand been difperfed through the whole world ; Infomuch

as the over-excellive speeches the Poets accustomably do use were not sufficient enough to express

the peaceable reign of that time.

There, Spiders weave, their cobnebs day and night In harnesses, which wont to serve for war: There canker' drust doth fret the steel full bright Of trenchant blades, well whet in many a jar. There, mighty Spears for lack of use are eaten. With rotter worms ; And in that countrey there, The braving tromp doth never feem to threaten Their quiet ears with blafts of bloudy fear. There, in that land no drowfie fleep is broken With hot alarms, which terrors do betoken.

For during all King Numa's Reign it was never heard that ever there were any wars, civil

diffention, or innovation of government attempted against him, nor yet any secret enmity or ma-

lice born him, neither any conspiracy once thought on to reign in his place. And whether it was for

fear of displeasing the gods (which visibly seemed to take him into their protection) or for the reverent regard they had unto his vertue, or for his prosperous and good success all the time he reigned, I cannot tell: howbeit he fought to keep men still pure and honest, from all wickedness. and laid most open before the eyes of the whole world, a clear example of that which Plato long time after did affirm; and fay, concerning true government; which was, That the onely mean of true Plato's faying quietness and remedy from all evil (which ever troubleth men) was, when by some divine ordinance concerning the from above there meeteth in one person the right Majesty of a King, and the mind of a wise Philo-Commonwal. fopher, to make vertue governels and ruler over vice. For indeed happy is a wife man, and more happy are they, which may hear the grave counsel and good lessons of such a mouth: and there (methinks) needeth no force, no compulsion, no threats, nor extremity to bridle the people. For men feeing the true image of vertue in their visible Prince, and in the example of his life, do willingly grow to be wife, and of themselves do fall into love, liking, and friendship together, and do use all temperance, just dealing, and good order one towards another, leading their life without offence. and with the commendation of other, which is the chief point of felicity, and the most happy good that can light unto men. And he by nature is best worthy to be a King, who through his wildom and vertue can graff in mens manners such a good disposition, and this Numa above all other seemed best to know and understand. Furthermore touching his wives and children, there are great contrarieties among the Historiographers. For some of them say, he never married other wife than Taria, and posterity, and that he never had any children but one onely daughter, and the was called *Pompilia*. Other *Pompilia Nu*write to the contrary, that he had four Sons, Pompo, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus, of every one ma's daughter. of the which (by fuccession from the Father to the Son) have descended the noblest races and most ancient houses of the ROMANS. As the house of the Pomponians, of Pompo: the house of the Pinarians of Pinus: the house of the Calpburnians of Calpus, and the house of the Mamercians of Mamercus. All which Families by reason of their progenitor, have kept the surname of Reges Kings. There are three other Writers which do reprove the two first: faying, that they did write to gratifie the families, making them falfly to descend of the noble race of King Numa. Moreover it is faid, he had his daughter Pompilia, not by Tatia, but by his other wife called Lucretia, whom he married after he was made King. Howbeit they all agree, that his daughter Pompilia was married unto one Pompilia mar-Martius, the Son of the same Martius, which perswaded him to accept the Kingdom of ROME. ried to Cains For he went with him to ROME to remain there, where they did him the honour to receive him Martius Coriointo the number of the Senators. After the death of Numa, Martins the Father stood against Tul- Martins the lis Hostilius for the succession of the Realm, and being overcome, he killed himself for sorrow. Sabra made But his Son Martin, who married Pompilia, continued still at Rome, where he begat Ancus Mar- Senator at tim, who was King of Rome, after Tullus Hostilius, and was but five years old when Numa died. Rome. Whose death was not sudden: For he died consuming by little and little, as well through age as also Ances Martin: Whole death was not sudden: For the died conjunting by fitter and fitter, as wen the object age as and the Son of through a lingring different waited on him to his end, as Pifo hath written; and Numa at his death Caius Martins was little more than fourfcore years old. But the pomp and honour done unto him at his Funerals, Coriolanus. made his life yet more happy and glorious. For all the people, his neighbours, friends, kinfmen, The death of and allies of the ROMANS came thither, bringing crowns with them, and other publick contri- Numa. butions to honour his Obsequies. The noble men selves of the City (which were called Patricians) carried on their shoulders the very bed on which the coarse lay, to be conveyed to his grave. The Priests attended also on his body, and so did all the rest of the people, women and children in like case, which followed him to his Tomb, all bewailing and lamenting his death, with tears, fighs, and mournings; not as a King dead for very age, but as they had mourned for the death of their dearest kinfman, and nearest friend that had died before he was old. They burnt not his body, because (as some say) he commanded the contrary by his Will and Testament : but they made two cossins

his life time he had taught the Priefts the fubstance of the whole contained in the same, he willed the holy Tables which he had written, should be buried with his body. For he thought it not Numi's Books. reasonable that so holy matters should be kept by dead letters and writings, but by mens manners Why the Pyand exercises. And he followed herein they say, the Pythagoreans, who would not put their nothing in works in writing, but did print the knowledge of them in their memories, whom they knew writing.

of stone, which they buried at the foot of the Hill called Faniculum. In the one they laid his body, and in the other the holy Books which he had written himself, much like unto those

which they that made the Laws among the GRECIANS did write in Tables. But because in

Good men

praifed after

Hostilius.

to be worthy men, and that without any writing at all. And if they had taught any manner of person the hidden rules and secrets of Geometry, which had not been worthy of them, then they faid the gods by manifest tokens would threaten to revenge such facriledge and impiety, with some great destruction and milery. Therefore seeing so many things agreeable, and altogether like between Numa and Pythagoras, I easily pardon those which quaintain their opinion, that Numa and Pythagor as were familiarly acquainted and convertant together. Valertus Antias the Historian writeth, there were twelve Books written concerning the office of Priefts, and twelve others containing the Philosophy of the GRECIANS. And that four hundred years after (in the same year when Pubor Prienthood.
Twelve Books lins Cornelius and Marcus Bebins were Confuls) there fell a great rage of waters and rain, which of Philosophy opened the earth, and discovered these coffins; and the lids and covers thereof being carried away, they found the one altogether void, having no manner of likelihood, or token of a body that had lain in it : and in the other they found these Books, which were delivered unto one named Petilius (at that time Prætor) who had the charge to read them over, and to make the report of them. But he having perufed them over, declared to the Senate, that he thought it not convenient the matters contained in them should be published unto the simple people, and for that cause they were carried into the Market-place, and there were openly burnt. Surely it is a common thing that happeneth unto all good and just men, that they are far more praifed and effeemed after their death than before, because that envy doth not long continue after their death, and oftentimes it dieth before them. But notwithstanding the missortunes which chanced afterwards unto the five Kings which reigned at Rome after Nama, have made his honour shine with much more noble glory than before. For the last of them was driven out of his Kingdom, and died in exile after he was very old; and of the other four, none of them died their natural death, but three of them were killed by treason. And Tulius Hofitius which reigned after Numa, deriding and contemning the most part of his good and holy Inftitutions, and chiefly his devotion to-wards the gods, as a thing which made men lowly and faint-hearted; did as foon as ever he came to be King, turn all his subjects hearts to the wars. But this mad humour of his, continued not long. For he was plagued with a strange and most grievous disease that followed him, which brought him to change his mind, and did far otherwife turn his contempt of Religion into an over-fearful superflitton, which did nothing yet refemble the true Religion and Devotion of Numa, and besides he infected others with his contagious errour, through the inconvenience which happened unto him at his death. For he was stricken and burnt with lightning.

The end of the Life of Numa Pompilius

THE

THE COMPARISON OF LYCURGUS with NUM A.



Hus having written the Lives of Lycurgus and Numa, the matter requireth, though it be somewhat hard to do, that we comparing the one with the other, should set out the difference between them. For in those things wherein they were like of condition, their deeds do shew it sufficiently. As in their temperance, their devotion to the gods, their wildon in governing, and their dif- The vertues creet handling of their people, by making them believe that the gods had re- of Nima and vealed the Laws unto them, which they established. And now to come unto Lycurgus were their qualities, which are diverfly and feverally commended in either of them: anse, but their qualities, which are diverfly and feverally commended in either of them: Their first quality is, that Numa accepted the Kingdom, and Lycurgus gave it up. The one received it.

and a private man, was by strangers elected and chosen their Lord and King. The other being in posfession a King, made himself again a private person. Sure it is a goodly thing to obtain a Realm by justice: but it is a goodlier thing to esteem justice above a Realm. Vertue brought the one to be in such reputation, that he was judged worthy to be chosen a King: and vertue bred fo noble a mind in the other, that he efteemed not to be a King. Their fecond quality is, that like as in an Inftrument of mufick, the one of them did tune and wrest up the slack strings which were in SPARTA: To the other slac- What things kened, and fet them lower, which were too high mounted in Rome. Wherein Lyourgus difficulty were hard to was the greater: For he did not perswade his Citizens, to pluck off their armour and curats, nor to lay Lycurgus. by their fwords: but onely to leave their gold and filver, to forfake their foft beds, their fine wrought tables, and other curious rich furniture, and not to leave off the travel of wars, to give themselves only unto feafts, facrifices and plays: but to the contrary, to give up banquetting and teafting, and continually to take pains in the wars, yielding their bodies to all kind of pains. By which means, the one for the love and reverence they did bear him, eafily perfwaded all that he would: and the other by putting himfelf in danger, and being hurt also, obtained not without great travel and adventure, the end of his intended purpose and defire. Numa his muse was so gentle, loving and courteous, that the manners of his Citizens, which before were furious and violent, were now to tractable and civil, that he taught them to love peace and justice. And to the contrary, if they will compel me to number amongst the Laws and Ordinances of Lycurgus, that which we have written touching the ILOTES, which was a barbarous cruel thing : It must of force confess that Numa was much wifer, more gentle and civil in his Laws, confidering that even unto those which indeed were born flaves, he gave some little taste of honour and fweetness of liberty, having ordained, that in the feasts of Saturn, they should fit down at meat at their Masters own table. Some hold opinion, that this custom was brought in by King Numa: who Slaves sat with willed that those, which through their labour in tillage brought in much fruit, should have some plea- their Mallers at fure thereof to make good chear with the fruits of the fame. Other imagine, that it is yet a token Macrob. Satur. and remembrance of the equality which was amongst men in the world in Saturns time, when there lib. 1. was neither mafter nor servant, but all men were alike equal, as brethren or kinsmen. To conclude, it feemeth either of them took a direct course, thought best to themselves, to frame their people unto temperance, and to be contented with their own. But for their other vertues, it appeareth that the one loved War best, and the other Justice: unless it were that men would say, that for the diverfity of the nature or cuftom of their people (which were almost contrary in manners) Divers causes they were both compelled to use also contrary and divers means from other. For it was not of bullingtons of a faint heart, that Numa took from his people the use of Arms, and desire to be in Wars: but of Numa and

not feeking for it: and the other having it in his hands did restore it again. The one being a stranger

it was to the end they should not do any wrong to others. Neither did Lycung in also study to Lycungus:

hurt them. And fo, to cut off the excels in the one, and to supply the defect of the other, they

were in manner equall one with another: For then was the time when he should have made head

against avarice, to have stopped the mischies and inconveniences which fell our afterwards, and

they were not little: For that onely was the fountain and root of the most part of the greatest

evils and mischiefs, which happened afterwards in ROME. And as touching the divition of

goods, neither ought Lycurgus to be blamed for doing it, nor Nums for that he did it not. For

this equality to the one was a ground and foundation of his Common-wealth, which he afterwards

instituted, and to the other it could not be. For this division being made not long before the time

of his predecessor, there was no great need to change the first, the which (as it is likely) remained

yet in full perfection. As touching Marriages, and their Children to be in common, both the one

and the other wifely fought to take away all occasion of jealousie, but yet they took not both

one courfe. For the ROMAN Husband having Children enough to his contentation, if another

that lacked children came unto him, to pray him to lend him his wife, he might grant her unto

again. But the LACONIAN keeping his wife in his house, and the marriage remaining whole and

unbroken, might let out his wife to any man that would require her to have children by her; nay

furthermore, many (as we have told you before) did themselves entreat men, by whom they

thought to have a trim brood of Children, and laid them with their Wives. What difference I pray

were both enforced to bring in a strange manner of government. Furthermore touching their several kind of government, and dividing of their people into States and Companies: That of Numa was marvellous mean and base, and framed to the liking of the meanest people, making a body of a City, and a people compounded together of all forts, as Goldfmiths, Minftrels, Foun-Description of ders, Shoe-makers, and of all forts of craits-men and occupations together. But that of Lycurgus was directly contrary, for his was more fevere and tyrannical, in governing of the Nobility, cafting all crafts and base occupations upon bondmen and strangers, and putting into the hands of his Citizens the Shield and Lance, suffering them to exercise no other Art or Science, but the Art and Discipline of Wars, as the true Ministers of Mars, which all their life time never knew other Science, but onely learned to obey their Captains, and to command their Enemies. For to have any occupation, to buy and fell, or to traffick, free-men were exprelly forbidden, beto have any occupation, to buy and real, or to traines, free-then were expreny formacine, because they should wholly and absolutely be free: And all Sciences to get money was lawfull for slaves, and the ILOTES: Being counted for as vile an occupation as to dress meat, and to be a fcullian of a kitchin. Numa put not this difference amongst his people, but onely took away covetous desireto be rich by Wars; but otherwise he did not forbid them to get goods by any other lawfull means, neither took any regard to bring all to equality, and to be alike wealthy, but fuffering every man to get what he could, taking no order to prevent poverty, which crept out unicting every man to get what he count, taking no order to prevent poverty, which terpt in and spread far in his City; which he should have looked unto at the beginning, at that time when there was not too great an unequality amongst them, and that his Citizens for substance

marriages.

Numa's order much scope and liberty, gave Poets occasion to speak, and to give them surnames not very honest. As the better.

Ibyeus called them Phanomeridas, to fay, thigh-showers : and Andromanes; to fay, man-wood. And Euripides faith also of them. Good nut-brown girles which left their Fathers house at large, And sought for young mens company, and took their ware in charge, And shewed their thighs all bare; the Taylour did them wrong,

On each fide open were their coats, the flits were all too long. And indeed to fay truly the fides of their petticoats were not fewed beneath, fo that as they went they shewed their thighs naked and bare. The which Sophocles doth easily declare by these vertes.

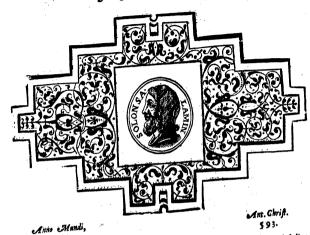
The fong which you shall fing shall be the sonnet said By Harmony lusty laß, that strong and sturdy maid: Which trust her petticoat, about her middle short, And set to show her naked hips in frank and friendly sort.

And therefore it is faid, the LACON Wives were bold, manly, and ftout against their Husbands, namely the first. For they were wholly Mistresses in their house and abroad, yea, they had law on their fide also, to utter their minds frankly concerning the chiefest matters. But Numa ever re-The Laconians ferved the honour and dignity unto the Women, which was left them by Romulus in his time, when their Husbands, after they had taken them away perforce, disposed themselves to use them as gently as possibly they could, nevertheless he added otherwise thereto great honesty, and took away all curiofity from them, and taught them fobriety, and did inure them to speak little. For he did utterly forbid them wine, and did prohibit them to speak, although it were for things necessary, unless it were in the presence of their Husbands. Insomuch as it is reported that a Woman chancing one

him, and it was in him to give her altogether, or to lend her for a time, and to take her afterwards you was between these two customs? saving that the custom of the Laconians shewed, that the Husbands were nothing angry, nor grieved with their Wives for those things which for forrow and jealousite doth rent the hearts of most married men in the World. And that of the ROMANS was a fimplicity fornewhat more shamefac'd, which to cover, it was shadowed yet with the cloak of Matrimony and contract of marriage: confessing that to use Wife and Children by halves together, was a thing most intolerable for him. Furthermore, the keeping of Maidens to be married by Numa's order, was much straighter and more honourable for woman-hood, and Lycurgus order having too

day to plead her cause in person openly before the Judges; the Senate hearing of it did send immedistely unto the Oracle of Apollo, To know what that did programticate to the City. And therefore The Roman Numa thought the memory of the naughty women would much commend the great humility, gentle. women very ness and obelience of the good. Tog like as our Gre C1A & Historiographers do note those which modell were the first that killed any of their Citizens or have lought with their brethren, or have killed their Fathers or Mothers, even to the Romans do note that Spurius Carvillius was the first that for- The first difook his wife, two hundred and thirty years after the foundation of ROME, which was never done by voice at Rome. any before. And that the wife of one Pinarius, called Thalaa, was the first which ever brawled or quarrelled with her Mother in Law called Gegania, in the time when Tarquin furnamed the proud reigned, fo well and honeftly were the orders of Numa deviled concerning marriage. Moreover the age and time of marrying of maids, which both the one and the other ordained, doth agree with the rest of their education. For Lycurgus would not that they should be married, till they were of good years and women grown, to the end that they knowing the company of man at such time as nature requireth, it should be a beginning of their pleasure and love, and not of grief and hate, when the should be compelled unto it before time agreeable by nature, and because their bodies also should be more ftrong and able to bear children, and to endure the mothers painfull throws and travel in child-bearing, confidering they are married to no other end but to bear children. But the ROMANS to the contrary do marry them at twelve years of age and under, faying, that by this means their bodies and manners be wholly theirs which do marry them, being affured that no body else could touch them. By this reason it is manifest, that the one is more natural to make them strong to bear children, and the other more moral, to give them the form and manner of conditions, which a man would have them to keep all their life time. Moreover touching orders for education of children, that they should How much cbe brought up, instructed and taught, under the self-same Masters and Governors, which should have discipline is an eve to make them drink, eat, play, and exercise themselves honestly and orderly together; Numa worth. made no more provision for the same then the least maker of Laws that ever was, and nothing in comparison of Lyungus. For Numa left the Parents at liberty, to use their discretion (according to their covetouinels or necessity) to cause their children to be brought up as they thought good, whether they would put them to be Labourers, Carpenters, Founders or Minftrels. As if they should not frame the manners of children, and fashion them from the cradle all to one end, but should be as it were like passengers into one Ship, which being there, some for one business, other for another purpose, but all to diversends, do never meddle one with another, but in a rough from or tempest when every man is afraid of his own life. For otherwise no man careth but for himself. And other makers of Laws also are to be born withall, if any thing hath scaped them through ignorance, or sometime through lack of fufficient power and authority. But a wife Philosopher having received a Realm of people newly gathered together, which did contrary him in nothing: whereto should he most ply his study and endeavour, but to cause children to be well brought up, and to make young men exercise themselves, to the end they should not differ in manners, nor that they should be troublesome, by their diverse manner of bringing up, but that they should all agree together, for that they had been trained from their childhood unto one felf trade, and fashioned under one felf pattern of vertue? That good education, How Lycurgus besides other commodities, did also serve to preserve Lycurgus Laws. For the sear of their Oath Laws were which he had made; had been of small effect, if he had not through institution and education (as it slablished. were) died in wool the manners of children, and had not made them from their nurses breafts in manner, fuck the juice and love of his Laws and civil Ordinances. And this was of fuch force, that for the space of five hundred years and more, Lycurgus chief Laws and Ordinances remained in full perfection, as a deep wodded die, which went to the bottom, and pierced into the tender wool. Contrariwise that which was Numa's chief end and purpose, to continue Rome in peace and amity, died by and by with him. For he was no fooner dead but they opened both the gates of the Temple of Famus, which he fo carefully had kept shut all his Reign, as if indeed he had kept in wars there, under lock and key, and they filled all IT ALY with murther and blood; And this his godly, holy, and just government which his Realm enjoyed all his time, did not last long after, because it had not the bond Who Numa's of education and the discipline of children which should maintain it. Why ? may a man say to me orders died. here, Hath not Rome excelled still, and prevailed more and more in chivalry? This question requireth a long answer, and specially unto such men as place felicity in riches, in possessions, and in the greatnels of Empire, rather then in the quiet fafety, peace, and concord of a Commonweal, and in clemency and justice, joyned with contention. Nevertheless, howsoever it was, that maketh for Lycurgus also, that the ROMANS after they had changed the state which they had of Numa, did so marvellously encrease and grow mighty; and that the LACEDEMONIANS to the contrary, so soon as they began to break Lycurgus Laws, being of great authority and sway, fell afterwards to be of small Why Nums is account. So that having lost the Soveraignty and commandment over GREECE, they stood in to be preserted great hazard also to be overthrown for ever. But in troth it was some divine thing in Numa, that before Lycurhe being a meer stranger the ROMANS did seek him to make him King, and that he could so change gue. all, and rulea whole city as he lifted (not yet joined together) without need of any force or violence, as it was in Lycurgus, to be affifted with the best of the City, in resisting the commons of LA-CED. E MON, but he could never otherwise have kept them in peace, and made them love together, but

by his onely wildom and justice.



Solons lineage.

IDY MOS the Grammarian, in a little Book that he wrote, and dedicated unto Asclepiades, touching the Tables of the Laws of Solon, alledgeth the words of one Philocles, in which he speaketh against the common opinion of those that have written, that Solons Father was called Emphorion. For all other Writers agree, that he was the fon of Execessides, a man but reasonably to live, although otherwise he was of the noblest and most ancient House of the Ciry of ATHENS. For of his Fathers fide, he was descended of King Codrus: and for his Mother Heraelides Pontieus Writeth, the was coufin-german unto Pyfiftrasus mother. For this cause even from the beginning there was great friendship between them, partly

for their kindred, and partly also for the courteste and beauty of Pysistratus, with whom it is reported Solon on a time was in love. Afterwards they fortuned to fall at jar one with the other, about matter of State and Government : yet this square bred no violent inconvenience between them, but they referved in their hearts still their ancient amity, which continued the memory of their love, as a great fire doth a burning flame. That Solon was no flayed man to withfland beauty, nor any great doer to prevail in love, it is manifest to all, as well by other Poetical Writings that he hath made, as by a Law of his own: wherein he did forbid Bondmen to perfurne themselves, or to be lovers of children. Who placed this Law among honest matters, and commendable: as allowing it to the better fort, and forbidding it to the baleft. They fay also that Pysistratus self was in love with Charmas, and that he did fee up the little Image of Love, which is in ACADEMIA, where they were wont to light the holy Candle. But Solon: Father (as Hermippus writeth) having spenthis Goods in liberality and deeds of courtefie, though he might eafily have been relieved at divers mens hands with Money, he was yet afhamed to take any, because he came of a House which was wont rather to give and relieve others, then to take themselves: so being yet a young man, he devised to trade Merchandize. Howbeit other say, that Solon travelled Countries, rather to fee the World, and to learn, then to traffick, or gain. For

Solon gave himfelf in

Great herds of Beasts, and flocks in many a fold, Both Horse and Mule, yea store of Corn, and all That may content each man above the mould: No richer is, for all those heaps and hoards, Then he which hath sufficiently to feed, And clothe his corps, with fuch as God affords. But if his joy, and chief delight do breed,

fure he was very destrous of knowledge, as appeareth manifestly: for that being now old, he com-I grow old, learning still.

Also he was not coverously bent, nor loved Riches too much: for he said in one place: youth to trade monly used to fay this Verse: Whoso hath Goods and Gold enough at call,

For

For to behold the fair and beavenly face Of some sweet wife, which is adorn'd with or one. Or elfe fome child, of beauty fair and bright, Then hash he cause (indeed) of deep delight.

And in another place also he faith:

Indeed I de defere, some Wealth to have at will: But not unless the same be got, by faithfull dealing still. For fure who fo defines by nichedness to theire:

Shall find that justice fram such goods, will justly him deprine. Howbeit, as an honest man is not to buse himself overmuch in straping together of superfluous and unnecessary goods ; so nothing letteth but that he may have a care to store himself with such things as

he shall have need of.

In those days no state was discommended, as faith Hesiodus, nor any Art or Science made any difference between men: but Merchandize they thought an honourable state, as that which delivered means to traffick into strange and far Countries, to get acquaintance with States, to procure dities of Merthe love of Princes, and chiefly to gather the experience of the World. So that there have been chandize. the love of trances, and then y to gather the experience of the control of the built Marsilia, A Merchane Merchanes, which heretologe have been founders of great Cities; as he which built Marsilia, A Merchane builded Marsilia of the Galles, dwelling by the River of Rhofine. And the builded Marsilia of the Thales Milefus the wife did traffick Merchandize, and that Hippocraes the Mathe-Thales, Hippocraes matick did even fo : and likewise that Plato travelling into Edypr., did bear the whole charges crates, Plato, of his journey, with the gains he made of the fale of oyl he carried thither. They remember also all Merchants, that Solon learned to be lavith in expence, to fare delicately, and to speak wantonly of pleasures in his Poems, somewhat more licentiously then became the gravity of a Philosopher: onely because he was brought up in the trade of Merchandize, wherein for that men are marvellous subject to great losses and dangers, they seek other whiles good chear to drive these cares away, and liberty to make much of themselves. Yet it appeareth by these Verses, that Solon accounted himself rather in the number of the poor, then of the rich.

Rich men (oft times) in lewdest lives do range. And often feen, that vertuous men be poor : Tet would the good their gasdness never change With lewd estate, although their wealth be more. For vertue stands always both firm and stable : When riches rove, and seldom are durable.

Poverty with vertue better than riches.

but not in na-

tural Philofo-

This Poetry at the beginning he used but for pleasure, and when he had leisure, writing no matter of importance in his Verses. Afterwards he did fet out many grave matters of Philosophy, and the How Solon used his Poetry. most part of such things as he had devised before, in the Government of a Commonweal, which he did not for History or memories sake, but onely of a pleasure to discourse : for he sheweth the reafons of that he did, and in some places he exhorteth, chideth, and reproveth the ATHENIANS. And some affirm also he went about to write his Laws and Ordinances in Verse, and do recite his Preface, which was this :

Vouchsafe O mighty Jove, of Heaven and Earth high King : To grant good fortune to my Laws and hefts in every thing. And that their glory grow, in such triumphant wife, As may remain in fame for aye, which lives and never dies.

He chiefly delighted in Moral Philotophy, which reated of Government and Commonweals: 25 Solon delighted the most part of the wife men did of those times. But for Natural Philosophy, he was very gross and ed in Moral, fimple, as appeareth by these Verses:

The clattering hail, and foftly falling from Do breed in air, and fall from clouds on hie. The dreadfull claps, which thunderbolts do throw, Do come from Heaven, and lightnings bright in skie. The featt felf by boysterous blasts doch roar, Which (were it not provoked fofull fore) Would be both calm and quiet for to paß, As any Element that ever was.

So in effect there was none but Thales alone of all the feven wife men of GREECE, who fearched further the comemplation of things in common use among men, than he. For setting him apart, all the others got the name of wildom, onely for their understanding in matters of State and Government. It is reported that they met on a day all seven together in the City of DELPHOS, and another time in the City of CORENTH, where Periander got them together at a Feaft that he made to the other fix. But that which most increased their glory, and made their fame most spoken of, was the fending back again of the three-footed stool when they all had refused it, and turned it over one to another with great humanity. For the tale is, how certain Fisher-men of the Isle of Co, calitheir Nets into the Sea, and certain strangers passing by, that came from the City of Mile-run, did buy their draught of Fish at adventure, before the Netwas drawn. And when they drew societ flool of it up, there came up in the Met a three-footed flool of massie Gold, which men lay, Hellen (as she gold drawn up did return from Taox) had thrown in that place, in memory of an ancient Oracle she called then in a drag-net.

Great friendship betwixt Solon and Pyfi-

A Statute for

Merchandize.

Solons judgement of riches.

The rare modelty of the

Anacharlis

unto her mind. Thereupon the strangers and Fisher-men first fell at strife about this three-footed fool, who should have it: but asterwards the two Cities took part of both sides, on their Citizens behalf. Infomuch as Wars had like to have followed between them, had not the Prophetefs Pythia given a like Oracle unto them both: That they should give this three-sooted stool unto the wifest man. Whereupon the men of Co, sent it first to Thales in the City of MILETUM; as being willing to grant that unto a private perion, for which they had made Wars with all the MILE-SIANS before. Thates faid, he thought Bias a wifer man than himself; and so it was fent unto him. He likewife fent it again unto another, as a wifer man. And that other, fent it also unto another. So that being thus posted from man to man, and through divers hands, in the end it was brought back again unto the City of MILETUM, and delivered into the hands of Thales the second time: and laft of all was carried unto Thebrs, and offered up unto the Temple of Apollo Ifmenian. Howbeit Theophrastus writeth, that first it was sent to the City of PRIENA, unto Bias: and then unto Thales, in the City of MILETUM, by Biss confent. And after that it had passed through all their hands, it was brought again unto Bias: and laftly it was fent to the City of DELPHOS. And thus much have the best and most ancient Writers written: faving that fome fay inflead of a three-footed flool, it was a cup that King Crassus fent unto the City of Anabarija and Del Phos. Other say, it was a piece of Plate which Batbye les left there. They made mention also DELPHOS. Other 1ay, 11 was a piece of state with and Solon, and of another between him and Thales, Solon meeting of another private meeting betweet Anacharsis and Solon, and of another between him and Thales, where they recite, that they had this talk. Anacharfis being arrived at ATHENS, went to knock at Solans gate, faying that he was a ftranger which came of purpose to fee him, and to defire his acquaintance and friendthip, Solon answered him, that it was better to seek friendship in his own Country. Anacharsis replyed again: Thou then that art at home, and in thine own Country, begin to thew me triendship. Then Solon wondering at his bold ready wit, entertained him very courteoully, and kept him a certain time in his house, and made him very good chear, at the selffame time wherein he was most busse in governing the Commonweal, and making Laws for the same time wherein he was more outer in governing the commonwest, and making Laws for the state thereof. Which when Anacharsis understood, he laughed at it: to fee that Solos imagined with written Laws, to bridle mens coverounces and injultice. For such Laws, faid he, do rightly refemble the Spiders Cobwebs: because they take hold of little Flies and Gnats which fall into them, but the rich and mighty will break and run through them at their will. Solon answered him, that men do juftly keep all covenants and bargains which one make with another, because it is to the hinfaying of Soderance of either party to break them: and even fo, he did fo temper his Laws, that he made his lons written Citizens know, it was more for their profit to obey law and justice, than to break it. Nevertheless afterwards, matters proved rather according to Anacharfis comparison, than agreeable to the hope that Solon had conceived. Anacharsis being by hap one day in a common Assembly of the People at ATHENS, faid that he marvelled much, why in the confultations and meetings of the GRECIANS, wife men propounded matters, and fools did decide them. It is faid moreover, that Solon was fomewith Thates at time in the City of MILETUM at Thates houle, where he faid that he could not but marvell at That Milleman about Les, that he would never marry to have children. Thales gave him never a word at that prefent: but marriage for within few days after he fuborned a ftranger, which faid that he came but newly home from Athere? This ftranger whom Thaler had schooled before, answered: None other there, saying that they carried a young man to burial, whom all the City followed: for that he was one of the greatest mens fons of the City, and the honestest man withall, who at that present was out of the Countrey, and had been a long time (as they faid) abroad. O poor unfortunate Father, then faid Solon: and what was his name? I have heard him named, faid the stranger, but I have forgotten him now; faving that they all faid, he was a worthy wiseman. So Solon still trembling more and more for fear, at every answer of this stranger: in the end he could hold no longer, being full of trouble, but told his name himfelf unto the stranger, and asked him again, if he were not the Son of Solon which was buried. The very fame, faid the stranger. Solon with that like a mad man ftraight began to beat his head, and to fay, and do, like men impatient in affliction, and overcome We should now with forrow. But Theles laughing to see this pageant, staid him, and said: Lo, Solon, this is it that keepeth me from marrying, and getting of children; which is of such a violence, that thou sees that keepeth me from marrying, and getting of children; which is of such a violence, that thou sees it hat now overcome thee, although otherwise thou are strong, and able to wrastle with any. However, the strong and thing he hash said unto thee he of sood chear man. For it is but a tale, and nothing so. beit for any thing he hath faid unto thee, be of good chear man, for it is but a tale, and nothing so Hermippu writeth, that Patacus (he which said he had Afops soul) recited this story thus. Not verthelels it lacketh judgement, and the courage of a man also, to be afraid to get things necessary, fearing the lofs of them : for by this reckoning he should neither efteen honour, goods, nor knowledge when he hath them, for fear to lofe them. For we fee that vertue it felf, which is the greateft and sweetest riches a man can have; decayeth oft times through sickness, or else by physick and potions. Furthermore Thales felf, although he was not married, was not therefore free from this fear, unless he would confess that he neither loved friends, kinsmen, nor Countrey: howbeit Tha-Cybiliur Thater les had an adopted Son, called Cybilius, which was his Sifters Son. For our foul having in it a 2dopted for.

The inflinit of and to remember having nothing of her cure unberstand, and to remember having nothing of her cure unberstand,

and to remember : having nothing of her own whereupon she night bestow that natural love, bor-

roweth of other. As where there is a house of inheritance without lawfull heirs, many times stran-

gers, and base born children, do creep into the kind affection of the owner, and when they have

once won, and possessed his love, they make him ever after to be kind and tender over them. So

lofe them.

that we shall see many times men of such a hard and rough nature, that they like not of them that move them to marry, and get lawfull children: and yet afterwards are ready to die for fear and forrow. when they fee their baftards (that they have gotten of their Slaves or Concubines) fall fick or die and do utter words far unmeet for men of noble courage. And some such there be, that for the death of a Dog, or their Horse, are so out of heart and take such thought, that they are ready to go into the ground, they look to pitifully. Other some are clean contrary, who though they have lost their children, forgone their friends, or fome Gentleman dear unto them, yet no forrowfull word hath come from them, neither have they done any unfeemly thing; but have paffed the rest of their life like wife, conftant and vertuous men. For it is not love but weakness, which breedeth these extream forrows, and exceeding fear, in men that are not exercised, nor acquainted to fight against fortune with reason. And this is the cause that plucketh from them the pleasure of that they love and defire, by reason of the continual trouble, fear and grief they feel, by thinking how in time they may be deprived of it. Now we must not arm our selves with poverty, against the grief of loss of Goods: neither with lack of affection, against the loss of our friends: neither with want of Marriage, against the death of Children: but we must be armed with reason against missortunes, Thus have we sufficiently enlarged this matter. The ATHENIANS having now sustained a long Proclamation and troublesome Waragainst the MEGARIANS, for the possession of the Isle of SALAMINA, were upon pain of in the end weary of it, and made proclamation, ftraightly commanding upon pain of death, that no death no maniman should prefume to prefer any more to the Council of the City, the title or question of the posses to move the fion of the Isle of Salamina. Solon could not bear this open shame, and seeing the most part of Title of salathe luftieft youths defirous fill of War, though their tongues were tied for fear of the Proclamation, mind.

he fained himself to be out of his wits, and caused it to be given out that Solon was become a fool; solon feined and fecretly he had made certain lamentable Verses, which he had conned without book, to fing abroad madness to rethe City. So one day he ran fuddenly out of his house with a Garland on his head, and got him to the cover Salamina Market-place, where the People straight swarmed like Bees about him: and getting him upon the ftone where all Proclamations are usually made, out he fingeth these Elegies he had made, which began after this fort:

I here present my self (an Herauld) in this case, Which come from Salamina Land, that noble worthy place. My mind in pelting profe, shall never be exprest, But sung in Verse Heroical, for so I think it best.

Solons Elegica of the Salaminians.

This Elegy is entituled SALAMINA, and containeth an hundred Verses, which are excellently well written. And these being openly sung by Solon at that time, his friends incontinently praised them beyond measure, and specially Pysistratus: and they went about perswading the People that were present, to credit that he spoke. Hereupon the matter was so handled amongst them, that by and by the Proclamation was revoked, and they began to follow the Wars with greater fury then before, appointing Solls to be General in the fame. But the common tale and report is, that he went Of the Temple by Sea with Pyfistrarus unto the Temple of Venus, surnamed Coliade: where he found all the women of Venus Ciat a solemn Feast and Sacrifice, which they made of custom to the goddels. He taking occasion (**Paulin. of Paulin. of thereby, fent from thence a trufty man of his own unto the MEGARIANS, which then had SA- the Athenians. LAMINA: whom he instructed to seign himself a revolted Traytor, and that he came of purpose to tell them, that if they would but go with him, they might take all the chief Ladies and Gentlewo- Solone Stratamen of ATHENS on a sudden. The MEGARIANS easily believed him, and shipped forthwith gems. certain Souldiers to go with him. But when Solon perceived the Ship under fail coming from SALA-MINA, he commanded the women to depart, and instead of them he put lusty beardless Springals in their Apparel, and gave them little short Daggers to convey under their Cloaks, commanding them to play and dance together upon the Sea fide, untill their Enemies were landed, and their Ship at Anchor; and so it came to pass. For the MEGARIANS being deceived by that they saw afar off, affoon as ever they came to the shore side, did land in heaps, one in anothers neck, even for greediness, to take these women: but not a man of them escaped, for they were slain every mothers son. This stratagem being finely handled, and to good effect, the ATHENIANS took Sea straight and coasted over to the Isle of SALAMINA: which they took upon the sudden, and wan it without much re- Solon wan 84fistance. Other say that it was not taken after this fort : but that Apollo Delphicus gave Solon first limina. fuch an Oracle:

Thou Shale first win by Volos and Sacrifice. The help of Lords and demy-gods full bright: Of whose dead bones, the dust engraved lyes, In western foil, A sopia that hight.

By order of this Oracle, he one night passed over to SALAMINA, and did Sacrifice to Periphemus, and to Cichris demy-gods of the Countrey. Which done, the ATHENIANS delivered him five hundredmen, who willingly offered themselves: and the City made an accord with them, that if they took the Isle of SALAMINA, they should bear greatest Authority in the Commonweal. Solon imbarked his Souldiers into divers Fisher-boats, and appointed a Galliot of thirty Oars to come after him, and he Anchored hard by the City of SALAMINA, under the point which looketh towards the Ille of NEGREPONT. The MEGARIANS which were within SALAMINA, having by chance heard some inkling of it, but yet knew nothing of certainty, ran presently in hurly burly to arm them, and manued out a thip to descrywhat it was. But they fondly coming within danger, were taken by Solon, who clapped the MEGARIANS under hatches fast bound, and in their rooms

put aboard in their Ship the choicest Souldiers he had of the ATHENIANS, commanding them to fet their course direct upon the City, and to keep themselves as close out of fight as could be. And he himself with all the reft of his Souldiers landed presently, and marched to encounter with the ME-GARIANS, which were come out into the Field. Now whilst they were fighting together, Solons men whom he had fent in the MEGARIANS Ship, entred the Haven and won the Town. This is certainly true, and teftified by that which is shewed yet at this day. For to keep a memorial hereof, a Ship of ATHENS arriveth quietly at the first, and by and by those that are in the Ship make a great shout, and a man armed leaping out of the Ship, runneth shouting towards the Rock called Sciradion, which is as they come from the firm Land : and hard by the same is the Temple of Mars, which Solon built there after he had overcome the MEGARIANS in battle, from whence he fent back again those Prisoners that he had taken (which were saved from the slaughter of the Battle) without any ranfom paying. Nevertheless, the MEGARIANS were sharply bent fill to recover Salamina again. Much hurt being done and fuffered on both fides: both parts in the end made the LACEDAMONIANS judges of the quarrel. But upon judgement given, common report is, that Honers Authority did Solon good fervice, because he did add these Verses to the num-Automian. Iliad ber of Ships, which are in the Iliads of Homer, which herehearled before the Judges, as if they had

Great strife

been indeed written by Homer: Ajax that Champion fout, did lead with him in charge, Twelve Ships from Salamina foil, which he had left at large, And even those self-same Ships, in battle did he cast, And place in order for to fight, with Enemies force at last. In that same very place, whereas it seemed then, The Captains which from Athens came, imbattl'd had their men. Howbeit the ATHENIAMS selves think, it was but a tale of pleasure: and say that Solon made it

appear to the Judges, that Phileus, and Euryfaces (both Ajax Sons) were made free Denizons of ATHENS. Whereupon they gave the Isle of SALAMINA unto the ATHENIANS, and one of them came to dwell in a place called Brauron, in the Countrey of ATTICA: and the other in a Town called MILETUM. And for due proof thereof, they fay there is yet a certain Canton or CHARTER of the Countrey of ATTICA, which is called the Canton of the Philaides, after the name The manner of of this Phileus, where Pyfiftratus was born. And it is faid moreover, that Solon (because he would ane manuer of burial with the throughly convince the MEGARIANS) did alledge that the SALAMINIANS buried not the dead Megarian and after the MEGARIANS manner, but after the ATHENIANS manner. For in MEGARA they the Athenians. bury the dead with their faces to the Eaft : and in ATHENS their faces are towards the West. Yet Hereas the Megarian denyeth it, faying, that the MEGARIANS did bury them also with their faces towards the West: alledging moreover, that at ATHENS every Coarse had his own Bier or Coffin by it felf, and that at MEGARA they did put three or four Coarfes rogether. They say also there were certain Oracles of Apollo Pythias, which did greatly help SAhn, by which the god called SALAMINA, JONIA. This strile was judged by five Arbitrators, all SPARTANS born: that is to fay, Critolaidas, Anompharetus, Hypfechidas, Anaxilas, and Cliomenes. Solon undoubtedly won great glory and honour by this Exploit, yet was he much more honoured and effection eth the cause eth, for the Oration he made in the defence of the Temple of Apollo, in the City of DELPHOS: declaring that it was not meet to be fuffered, that the CYRRHÆIANS, should at their pleasure abuse the Sanctuary of the Oracle, and that they should aid the DELPHIANS in honour and reverence of Apollo. Whereupon the Council of the Amphilityons, being moved with his words and perswasions, proclaimed Wars against the CYRRHEIANS, as divers other do witness, and especially Ariftotle, in the Story he wrote of those that won the Pythian Games, where he ascribeth unto Solon the honour of that determination. Nevertheless Hermippus saith, Solon was not made General of their Army, as Enanthes Samian hath written. For Afchines the Orator wrote no fuch thing of him: and in the Chronicles of the DELPHIANS they find, that one Alencon, and not Solon, was the General of the ATHENIANS. Now the City of ATHENS had along time been vexed and troubled through Cylons hainous offence, ever fince the year that Megacles (Governour of the City of ATHENS) did with fair words handle fo the Confederates of the Rebellion of Cylon, which had taken Sanctuary within the liberties of the Temple of Mineros: that he perfwaded them to be wife, and to prefent themselves before the Judges, holding by a thread, which they should tie about the Base of the Image of the goddess where she stood, because they should not lose their liberty. But when they were come to the place of the honourable goddesses so called, (which be the Images of the Furies) coming down to prefent themselves before the Judges, the thread brake of it felf. Then Megacles, and other Officers his Companions, laid hold on them prefently, faying, that it was a manufelt fign that the goddels Minerva refused to fave them. So those they took, and all they could lay hands on were immediately stoned to death without the City: the rest which took the Altars of refuge, were slain there also. And none were saved, but such as had made means to the Governours Wives of the City, to intreat for them: which from that time forth were ever hated of the people, and commonly called the abjects and excommunicates. Who being the Issues of the Rebels that rose with Cylon, chanced to rise again in credit, and grow-

ing to great Authority, they never left quarelling and fighting continually with the off-fpring of Me-

gacles. These factions were greatest and highest in Solons time : who being of Authority, and feeing

the People thus divided in two parts, he stepped in between them, with the chiefest men of A-

THENS, and did so perswade and intreat those whom they called the abjects and excommunicates,

that they were contented to be judged. So three hundred of the chiefest Citizens were chosen Judges to hear this matter. The accuser was Myron Phlyeion. This matter was heard and pleaded, and by fentence of the Judges, the excommunicates were condemned. Those that were alive, to perpetual exile : and the bones of them that were dead, to be digged up, and thrown out of the Confines of the Territory of ATHENS, But whilft the City of ATHENS was occupied with these uproars. the MEGARIANS wifely caught hold of the occasion delivered, and fet upon the ATHENIANS. took from them the Haven of NIS.A., and recovered again out of their hands the Isle of SA. LAMINA. Furthermore, all the City was possessed with a certain superstitious fear : for some faid, that Spirits were come again, and strange sights were seen. The Prognosticators also said, they perceived by their Sacrifices the City was defiled with some abominable and wicked things, which were of necessity to be purged and thrown out. Hereupon they sent into CRETA for Epimenides Phestian, whom they reckoned the seventh of the wife men, at the least such as will not allow Phasins taken Periander for one of the number. He was a holy and devout man, and very wife in celeftial things, for one of the by inspiration from above: by reason whereof, men of his time called him the new Curetes, that is seven Sages, to fay, Prophet: and he was thought the Son of a Nymph called Batte. When he was come to excluding per-ATHERS, and grown in friendship with Solon, he did help him much, and made his way for effablishing of his Laws. For he acquainted the ATHENIANS to make their Sacrifices much lighter, and of less cost: and brought the Citizens to be more moderate in their mourning, with cutting of certain severe and barbarous Ceremonies, which the most part of Women observed in their mourning : and he ordained certain Sacrifices which he would have done immediately after the Obsequies of the dead. But that which exceeded all the rest, was, that by using the Citizens unto holiness and devotion, daily Sacrifices, Prayers unto the gods, purging of themselves, and humble Offerings: he wan mens hearts by little and little, to yield them more conformable to Justice, and to be more enclined to concord and unity. It is reported also that Epimenides when he saw the Haven of Munychia, and had long confidered of it: told those about him, that men were very blind in forefeeing things to come. For if the ATHENIANS (faid he) knew what hurt this Haven would bring them, they would eat it (as they fay) with their teeth. It is faid also that Thales did prognosticare such a like thing, who after his death commanded they should bury his body in some vile place, of no reckoning, within the Territory of the MILESIANS, faying, that one day there should be the place of a City. Epimenides therefore being marvelloully efteemed of every man for these caufes, was greatly honoured of the ATHENIANS, and they offered him great Prefents of Money and other things, but he would take nothing, and onely prayed them to give him a bough of the and other mangs, out he would take nothing, and so he returned shortly home into CRETA. Now that Solon pacified this sedition of Cylon was utterly appealed in ATHENS, for that the Excommunicates were bathe sedition at nished the Countrey, the City sell again into their old troubles and diffentions about the Government Athens. of the Commonweal: and they were divided into fo divers parts and factions, as there were people of fundry places and Territories within the Countrey of ATTICA. For there were the people of the Mountains, and the people of the Valleys, and the people of the Sea Coast. Those of the Mountains took the common peoples part for their lives. Those of the Valley, would a few of the best Citizens should carry the sway. The Coast-men would that neither of them should prevail, because they would have had a mean Government, and mingled of them both. Furthermore, the Faction between the poor and rich, proceeding of their unequality, was at that time very great. By reason whereof the City was in great danger, and it seemed there was no way to pacifie or take up these controversies, unless some Tyrant happened to rife, that would take upon him to rule the up these concovernes, united a years in appearance to the rich, that either they ploughed their the milety of Lands, and yielded them the fixth part of their Crop: (for which cause they were called Hestemo-debt and usury) rii and Servants) or elfe they borrowed Money of them at usury, upon gage of their bodies to serve it out. And if they were not able to pay them, then were they by the Law delivered to their Creditors, who kept them as Bond-men and Slaves in their houses, or else they sent them into strange Countreys to be fold : and many even for very poverty were forced to fell their own Children (for there was no Law to forbid the contrary) or else to forfake their City and Countrey, for the extream croeky and hard dealing of these abonimable Usurers their Creditors. Insomuch that many of the lustieft and stourest of them, banded together in Companies, and incouraged one another, not to fuffer and bear any longer such extremity, but to choose them a stout and trusty Captain, that might fet them at liberty, and redeem those out of eaptivity, which were judged to be Bond-men and Servants, for lack of paying their debts at their days appointed: and to to make again a new division of all Lands and Tenements, and wholly to change and turn up the whole State and Government. Then the wifest men of the City, who saw Solon onely neither partner with the rich in their Solons equity oppression, neither partaker with the poor in their necessity, made suit to him, that it would please and uprighthim to take the matter in hand, and to appeale and pacific all these broils and sedition. Yet Phanias ness. Lesbian writeth, that he used a subtilty, whereby he deceived both the one and the other fide, consolon by subcerning the Commonweal

For he feered unrounded the proper of divide the Landerson's and the tilty fee oder cerning the Commonweal. For he secretly promifed the poor to divide the Lands again: and the horwist the rich allo, to confirm their Covenants and Bargains. Howfoever it fell out, it is very certain that poor and rich. Solan from the beginning made it a great matter, and was very ferupulous to deal between them : fearing the coveronness of the one, and arrogancy of the other. Howbeit in the end he was thofen Governour after Philombrotae, and was made reformer of the rigour of the Laws, and the temperer of the State and Commonweal, by confent and agreement of both parties. The rich accepthief Gover-

ted him, because he was no begger: the poor did also like him, because he was an honest man. They nour.

A pollo:

fay moreover, that one word and fentence which he spake, (which at that present was rise in every man mouth) that equality did breed no ftrife, did as well pleafe the rich and wealthy, as the poor and needy. For the one fort conceived of this word Equality, that he would measure all things according to the quality of the man: and the other took it for their purpole, that he would measure all things by the number, and by the poll onely. Thus the Captains of both Factions perfwaded and prayed him, boldly to take upon him that Soveraign Authority, fithence be had the whole City now at his commandment. The Neuters alfo of every part, when they faw it very hard to pacific thefethings with Law and Reason, were well content that the wifest, and honestest man, partine intercutings with heave and Academy, which has some fay also that there was such an Oracle of should alone have the Royal Power in his hands. Some fay also that there was such an Oracle of

Sit thou at helm, as Governour to steer, To guide our course, and rule the rowling Ship: For thou Shalt See, full many Athenians there,

But his familiar friends above all rebuked him, saying he was to be accounted no better than a beast, Solor related to be a tyrant. If for fear of the name of Tyrant, he would refule to take upon him a Kingdom: which is the most Timonday and just and honourable state, if one take it upon him that is an honest man. As in old time, Timonday nut and noncontaine many, it one take it upon min man is amount man. As it out may, a immonant made himself king of those of Negrespont, with their consent: and as Pittacin was then premade numeri rang of those of the Report, with their goodly reasons could not make him once fently of those of Metellin. Notwithstanding, all these goodly reasons could not make him once alter his opinion. And they say that he answered his friends, that Principality and Tyranny, was indeed a goodly place: howbeit there was no way for a man to get out, when he was once entred into Pittacus ty-

it. And in certain Verses that he wrote to Phocus, thus he said : I neither blush, nor yet repent my felf, That have preserv'd my native soil alwaies, And that therein (to hoard up trash and pelf) No Tyrants thought could once eclipse my praise. No might could move my mind to any wrong, Which might beblot the glory of my name : For so I thought, to live in honour long,

Hereby appeareth plainly, that even before he was chosen reformer of the State, to stablish new Laws, he was then of great countenance and Authority. But he himself writeth, that many faid of him

thus, after he had refuled the occasion of usurping of this Tyranny:

Sure Solon was a fool, and of a ballofull mind,
That would refuse the great good hap, which gods to him assign d. The prey was in his hands, yet dur ft he never draw The net therefore: but ftood abalit, and like a dastard daw. For had not that so been, he would (for one days raign, To be a King in Athens Town) himself (all quick) have slain.

Thus brought the common rumor to taber on his head. Now, notwithstanding he had refused the Kingdom, yet he waxed nothing the more remiss nor fost therefore in governing, neither would

the how for fear of the great, nor yet would frame his Laws to their liking that had chosen him their reformer. For where the milchief was tolerable, he did not straight pluck it up by the roots: neither did he fo change the State, as he might have done, left if he should have attempted Excellent tem- to turn upfide down the whole Government, he might afterwards have been never able to fettle and flablish the fame again. Therefore he onely altered that, which he thought by reason he would perfunde his Citizens unto, or else by force he ought to compell them to accept, mingling as he faid, four with sweet, and force with justice. And herewith agreeth his Answer that he made afterwards unto one that asked him, if he had made the best Laws he could for the ATHENIANS? Yea fure, faith he, fuch as they were to conceive. And this that followeth alfo, they have ever Things hateful fince observed in the Athenian Tongue: to make certain things pleasant, that be hatefull, finely range naterial time concerns the Athenna Aragon. On make certain timings picatain, that of natural made pleafant conveying them under colour of pleafing names. As calling Whores, Lemans: Taxes, Contribution with fivet tions: Garrifons, Guards: Prifons, Houles. And all this came up first by Solons invention, who called clearing of debts, Seifachibeian: in Englith, Discharge. For the first change and reformation he made in Government was this: he ordained that all manner of debts past should be clear, and so body should ask his debtor any thing for the time past. That no man should thenceforth lend Mo-Ultry forbid- ney out to ultry, upon Covenants for the body to be bound, if it were not repayed. Howbeit fone den pong 298 write (as Androison among other) that the poor were contented that the interest onely for usury should be moderated, without taking away the whole debt : and that Solon called this easie and gente discharge, SeiJachibeian, with crying up the value of Money. For he raised the pound of filver, being before but threefcore and thirteen Drachmes, full upon an hundred: fo they which were to pay of the body great fums of Money, payed by tale as much as they ought, but with lefs number of pieces than The value of the Debt could have been payed when it was borrowed. And so the Debtors gained much, and the noney cried Creditors loft nothing. Nevertheless the greater part of them which have written the same, say, up by Solon. that this crying up of Money, was a general discharge of all Debts, Conditions and Covenants upon that this crying as of House, which Solon wrote, do feem to agree. For he glothefame: whereto the very Poems themselves, which Solon wrote, do feem to agree.

with fweet words.

SOLO N.

rieth, and breaketh forth in his Verses, that he had taken away all bawkes and marks that separated mens Lands through the Countrey of ATTICA : and that now he had fet at liberty, that which before was in bondage. And that of the Citizens of ATHENS, which for lack of payment of their debts had been condemned for Slaves to their Creditors, he had brought many home again out of strange Countreys, where they had been so long, that they had forgotten to speak their naturall Tongue: and other which remained at home in captivity, he had now fet them all at good liberty.

But while he was in doing this, men fay a thing thwarted him, that troubled him marvelloufly. For having framed an Edict for clearing all debts, and lacking onely a little to grace it with words, and to be keet feeter give it some pretty Preface, that otherwise was ready to be proclaimed: he opened himself somewhat till they be to certain of his familiars whom he trufted (as Conon, Clinias, and Hipponicus) and told them how published. he would not meddle with Lands and Poffessions, but would onely clear and cut off all manner of debts. These men before the Proclamation came out, went presently to the Money-men, and bor- Ill consciences rowed great fums of Money of them, and laid it out ftraight upon Land. So when the Proclamation by craft precame out, they kept the Lands they had purchased, but restored not the Money they had borrowed. This foul part of theirs made Solon very ill spoken of , and wrongfully blamed ; as if he had not onely suffered it, but had been partaker of this wrong and injustice. Notwithstanding he cleared himself of this slanderous report, losing five Talents by his own Law. For it was well known that A good Lawfo much was due unto him, and he was the first that following his own Proclamation, did clearly re- maker beginleafe his debtors of the fame. Other fay he was owing fifteen Talents, and among the fame, Poly-neth to do juzelus the Rhodian is one that affirmeth it. Notwithstanding they ever after called Solons friends, Creocopides, cutters of debts. This Law neither liked the one nor the other fort. For it greatly offended the rich for cancelling their bonds: and it much more misliked the poor, because all Lands and Posfestions they gaped for, were not made again common, and every body alike rich and wealthy, as Lycurgus had made the LACEDEMONIANS. But Lycurgus was the eleventh descended of the right Line from Hercules, and had many years been King of LACEDEMON, where he had gotten great authority, and made himself many friends: all which things together, did greatly help him to execute that , which he wifely had imagined for the order of the Common-weal. Yet also, he used more perswasion then force, a good witness thereof the loss of his eye: preferring a Law before his private injury, which hath power to preferve a City long in union and concord, and to make Citizens to be neither poor nor rich. Solon could not attain to this, for he was born in a popular state, and a man but of mean wealth: Howbeit he did what he could possible, with the power he had, as one feeking to win no credit with his Citizens, but onely by his counsell. Now, that he got the ill will of the greater part of the City, by his Proclamation which he made, he himfelf doth

witness it, saying: Even those which earst, did bear me friendly face, And (pake full fair, wherever I them met: Gan new begin, to look full grim of grace, And were (like foes) in force against me set. As if I had done them fome (pight or fcorn, Or open wrong , which were not to be born.

Nevertheless he faith immediately after, that with the same Authority and Power he had, a man posibly

Could not controll the Peoples minds:

Nor still their brains, which wrought like winds. But shortly after, having a feeling of the benefit of this Ordinance, and every one forgetting his private quarrell: they altogether made a common Sacrifice, which they called the Sacrifice of Seifachtheia, or discharge, and chose Solon generall reformer of the Law, and of the whole state of the Com- Solons absolute mon-weal, without limiting his power, but referred all matters indifferently to his will: as the Office the Commonof State, common Assemblies, voices in Election, Judgements in Justice, and the Body of the Senate. weal, And they gave him also full power and authority, to sels and tax any of them, to appoint the number, what time the Sels should continue, and to keep, confirm, and disanull at his pleasure, any of the ancient Laws and Customes then in being. To begin withall, he first took away all Dracons Solon took abloody Laws, faving for murder, and man-flaughter, which were too fevere and cruell. For almost way all Dracons he did ordain but one kind of punishment for all kind of faults and offences, which was death. So Laws. that they which were condemned for idlenels, were judged to dye. And petty larceny, as robbing mens Orchards and Gardens of fruit, or Herbs, was as severely punished, as those who had commuted Sacriledge or murder. Demades therefore encountred it pleafantly, when he faid: that Dracon: Laws were not written with ink, but with bloud. And Draco himself being asked one day, why his punishments were so unequall, as death for all kinds of faults, he answered: Because he thought the least offence worthy so much punishment: and for the greatest, he found none more grievous. Then Solon being defirous to have the chief Offices of the City to remain in rich mens hands, as already they did, and yet to mingle the authority of Government in such fort, as the meaner people might bear a little fway, which they never could before: he made an estimate of the Goods of every private Citi- solon rateth ezen. And those which he found yearly worth 500 bushels of Corn, and other liquid fruits and upwards, very Citizen he called Pentacosiomedimnes: as to say, five hundred bushell men of revenue. And those that had 300 at a certain hushele a very bushels a year, and were able to keep a horse of service, he put in the second degree, and called them Pentacosome Knights. They that might dispend but two hundred bushels a year, were put in the third place, dimni.

Zeugite. Thetes.

and called Zeagites. All other under those, were called Thetes, as ye would say, Hirelings, or Crastifand tance Leagues. An other more thought to bear any Office in the City, neither were they men living of their labour: who he did not admit to bear any Office in the City, neither were they men name of the City, and in Judge-taken as free Citizens, faving they had voices in elections, and Affemblies of the City, and in Judgements, where the People wholly judged. This at the first feemed nothing, but afterwards they felt it was to great purpole, for hereby the most part of private quarrels and strife that grew among them, was to great purpoire, 101 neteroy me mont part of parties quarters and netter that grew among men, were in the end laid open before the People. For he fuffered those to appeal unto the People, which The darkness thought they had wrong judgement in their causes. Furthermore, because his Laws were written the Law in- fomewhat obscurely, and might be diversly taken and interpreted, this did give a great deal more authereive of the thority and power to the Judges. For, confidering all their controverfies could not be ended and thornty and power to the Jungs. For connucting an their controverines could not be ended and judged by express Law, they were driven of necessity always to run to the judges, and debated their matters before them. Infomuch as the judges by this means came to be formewhat above the Law: for they did even expound it as they would themselves. Solan self doth note, this equal division of the publick Authority, in a place of his Poesies, where he faith:

SOLO N.

Such power have I given, to common Peoples hand, As might become their mean estate, with equity to stand : And as I have not plucke, from them their dignity, So have I not too much increased their small authority. Unto the rich like wife. I have allowed no more, Then well might feem (in just conceit) sufficient for their store.

Yet confidering it was meet to provide for the poverty of the common fort of people, he fuffered any And fo I have for both provided in such wife , ret connecting it was meet to provide for the poverty of the continuous fort of people, he untered any man that would, to take upon him the defence of any poor mans case that had the wrong. For if a man were hurt, beaten, forced, or otherwise wronged, any other man that would might lawfully such the offendor, and profecute Law against him. And this was a wise Law ordained of him, to custom the offendor, and profecute Law against him. And this was a wise Law ordained of him, to custom his Citizens to be forry for anothers hurt, and fo to feel it, as if any part of his own body had been injured. And they say he made an answer on a time agreeable to this Law. For, being asked what

injured. And they say he made an answered. That City where such as receive no wrong, do as earneftly defend wrong offered to other, as the very wrong and injury had been done unto themselves. The Council of the Arcopagites.

Three Coun-Athens.

He erected also the Council of the Areoparites, of those Magistrates of the City, out of which they did yearly chuse their Governour: and he himself had been of that number, for that he had been Governour for a year. Wherefore perceiving now the People were grown to a fromack and haughtinels of mind because they were clear discharged of their debts, he set up for matters of State, another Council of an hundred, choice out of every Tribe, whereof four hundred of them were to confult and debate of all matters, before they were propounded to the People: that when the great Council of the People at large should be assembled, no matter should be put forth, unless it had been before well confidered of, and digefted, by the Council of the four hundred. Moreover, he ordained the higher Court should have the chief authority and power over all things, and chiefly to fee the Law executed and maintained : supposing that the Common-weal being setled, and stayed with these two Courts (as with two strong Anker-holds) it should be the less turmoiled and trouwanture two cours (as want two attong runct and part of Writers hold this opinion, bled, and the People also better pacified and quieted. The most part of Writers hold this opinion, that it was Solon which erected the Council of the Areopagites, as we have faid, and it is very likely to be true, for that Dracon in all his Laws and Ordinances made no manner of mention of the Areopagites, but always speaketh to the Ephetes (which were Judges of life and death) when he spake Other Laws of long faith thus in these years mark.

All Such as keeping and a such a such as the such los faith thus, in these very words: All such as have been banished or detected of naughty life, before Solon made his Laws, shall be reftored again to their Goods and good name, except those which were condemned by order of the Council of the Artopagites, or by the Ephtetes, or by the Kings in open Court, for murder, and death of any man, or for aspiring to usurp tyranny. These words to the contrary seem to prove and testifie, that the Council of the Areopagnies was, before Solon was cho-

fen reformer of the Laws. For how could offenders and wicked men be condemned, by order of the Council of the Arropagites before Solon, if Solon was the first that gave it authority to judge ? unless a man will say peradventure, that he would a little help the matter of his Lawswhich were obfeure and dark, and would supply that they lacked, with expounding of the same by them. Those which shall be found attained and convicted of any matter, that hath been heard before the Council of the Areopagies, the Ephres, or the Governours of the City, when this Law shall come forth, fhall fland condemned ftill; and all other shall be pardoned, restored and set at liberty. Howsoever A Law against been so the sound evice; for the like was never stabilished elsewhere. And it is that Law, that pronounceth him defamed, and unhoneft, who in a civill uproar among the Citizens, fitteth still a looker on, and a neuter, and taketh part with neither side. Whereby his mind was, as it should appear, that private men should not be onely carefull to put themselves and their causes in fafety, nor yet should be careless for other mens matters, or think it a vertue not to meddle with the milerks and misfortunes of their Country, but from the beginning of every fedition that they should joyn with those that take the justest cause in hand, and rather to hazard themselves with such, then to tarry looking (without putting themselves in danger) which of the two should have the victory. There is another Law also, which at the first fight methinketh is very unbonest and fond: That if

any man according to the Law hath matched with a rich Heir and Inheritor, and of himfelf is inpotent, and unable to do the Office of an Husband, the may lawfully lye with any whom the liketh. An Act for of her Husbands nearest Kinsmen. Howbeit some affirm, that it is a wise made Law for those which matching with knowing themselves unmeet to entertain Wedlock, will for covetousness of Lands, marry with Inheritors, and will think to force and reftrain Nature. For, feeing the Law fuffereth an Inheritor or Possectioner thus ill bestowed, at her pleasure to be bold with any of her Husbands Kin, men will either leave to purchase such Marriages, or if they be so careless that they will needs marry, it shall be to their extream shame and ignominy, and so shall they deservedly pay for their greedy covetousness. And the Law is made well also, because the Wife hath not scope to all her Husbands Kinsingen, but unto one choise man whom she liketh best of his House: to the end that the Children that shall be born, shall beat the least of her Husbands bloud and kindred. This also confirmeth the same, that fuch a new married Wife should be shut up with her Husband, and eat a Quince with him: and that he also which marrieth such an Inheritor, should of duty see her thrice a Moneth at the least. For although he get no Children of her, yet it is an honour the Husband doth to his Wife, arguing that he taketh her for an honest Woman, that he loveth her, and that he esteemeth of her. Besides, it taketh away many mislikings and displeasures which oftentimes happen in such cases, and keepeth love and good will waking, that it die not utterly between them. Furthermore, he took away all Joyn- Solon ferbidters and Dowries in other Marriages, and willed that the Wives should bring their Husbands but three deth Joynters Gowns onely, with fome other little Moveables of fmall value, and without any other thing as it and Dowries. were: utterly forbidding that they should buy their Husbands, or that they should make Merchandire of Marriages, as of other Trades to gain, but would that Man and Woman should marry together for Islue, for pleasure, and for love, but in no case for money. And for proof hereof, Dio-Dionysius say-The the Tyrant of Sicilie, one day answered his Mother (which would need be married to ing of Marriaa young man of Syracusa) in this fort : I have power (faith he) to break the Laws of Syracus RACUSA, by having the Kingdom; but to force the Law of Nature, or to make Marriage without the reasonable compass of age, that passeth my reach and Power. So it is not tolerable, and much less allowable also, that such disorder should be in well ordered Cities, that such uncomely and unfit Marriages should be made, between couples of unequall years: confidering there is no meet nor necessary end of such Matches, A wise Governour of a City, or a Judge and reformer of Laws and manners, might well fay to an old Man that should marry with a young Maid, as the Poet faith of PhiloEteres:

> Ab filly wretch , how trim a man art thou , At these young years, for to be married now?

And finding a young man in an old rich womans house, getting his living by riding of her errands, and waxing fat, as they fay the Partridge doth, by treading of the Hens: he may take him from thence, to bestow him on some young Maid that shall have need of an husband. And thus much for this matter. But they greatly commend another Law of Solons, which forbiddeth to speake ill of the dead. A Lawforbidter. But they greatly commend another Law of octons, which for the dead, no more than to ding to feek
For it is a good and godly thing to think, that they ought not to touch the dead, no more than to ding to feek touch holy things : and men should take great heed to offend those that are departed out of this dead, World: besides, it is a token of wisdom and civility, to beware of immortal enemies. He commanded also in the self-same Law, that no man should speak ill of the living, specially in Churches, during Divine Service, or in Councell-chamber of the City, nor in the Theaters whilest Games were a playing: upon pain of three silver Drachmes to be paid to him that was injured, and two to the Drachma; common Treasury. For he thought it too much shameless boldness, in no place to keep in ones choler; and moreover, that fuch lacked civility and good manners; and yet altogether to suppress and smother it, he knew it was not onely a hard matter, but to some natures impossible. And he that maketh Laws, must have regard to the common possibility of men, if he will punish little, with profitable example; and not much without some profit. So was he marvellously well thought of, for A Law for the Law that he made touching Wills and Testaments. For before, men might not lawfully make their Wills and Te-Heirs whom they would, but the Goods came to the Children or Kinred of the Testator. But he staments. leaving it at liberty; to dispose their Goods where they thought good, so they had no Children of their own : did therein prefer friendship before kindred, and good will and favour before necessity and constraint, and so made every one Lord and Master of his own Goods. Yet he did not simply and alike allow of all forts of gifts, however they were made, but those onely which were made by men of found memory, or by those whose wits failed them not by extream sickness, or through Drinks, medicines, Poyfonings, charms, or other fuch violence and extraordinary means, neither yet through the inticements and perswasions of women. As thinking very wifely, there was no difference at all between those that were evidently forced by constraint, and those that were compassed and wrought by Subornation at length to do a thing against their will, taking fraud in this case equall with violence, and pleasure with forrow, as passions with madness, which commonly have as much force the one as the other, to draw and drive men from reason. He made another Law also, in which he appointed the other, to draw and drive men from reason. He made another Law alto, in which neappointed women their times to go abroad into the fields, their mourning, their Featt and Sacrifices, plucking A Law for women their times to go abroad into the fields, their mourning, their featt and Sacrifices, plucking womens going from them all disorder and wilfull liberty, which they used before. For he did forbid that they should abroad. carry out of the City with them above three Gowns, and to take Victuals with them above the value of an half penny, neither Basket nor Pannier above a cubit high: and specially he did forbid them to go in the night, other then in their Coach, and that a Torch should be carried before them.

Crafts and Occupations advanced.

Drachmæ,

An Act for

He did forbid them also at the Buriall of the dead, to tear and spoil themselves with blows, to make lamentations in Verles, to weep at the Funerals of a stranger not being their kinsman, to facrifice an Oxe on the grave of the dead, to bury above three Gowns with the Coarfe, to go to other mens Graves, but at the very time of burying the Coarfe: all which, or the most part of them, are forbidden by our Laws this day. Moreover, those Laws appoint a penalty upon such women as of fend in the fame, to be difframed for, by certain Officers exprelly named, to comparoll and reform the abuses of women, as womanish persons and faint-hearted, which suffer themselves to be overcome with fuch patitons and fondnels in their mourning. And perceiving that the City of ATHENS beganto replenish daily more and more, by mens repairing thither from all parts, and by reason of the great affured fafety and liberty that they found there: and also considering how the greatest part of the Realm became in manner Heathy, and was very barren, and that men traffiquing the Seas, are not wont to bring any Merchandize to those which can give them nothing again in exchange: he began to practife that his Citizens should give themselves unto Crasts and Occupations, and made a Law, that the Son should not be bound to relieve his Father being old, unleis he had fet him in his youth to fome Occupation. It was a wife part of Lycurgus (who dwelt in a City where was no refort of strangers, and had so great a Territory, as could have surnished twice as many people, as Euripides faith, and moreover on all fides was environed with a great number of Slaves of the Lo-TES, whom it was needfull to keep fiill in labour and work continually) to have his Citizens always occupied in exercises of seates of Armes, without making them to learn any other Science, but discharged them of all other miserable Occupations and handy-Crafts. But Solon framing his Laws unto things, and not things unto Laws, when he faw the Countrey of ATTICA fo lean and barren, that it could hardly bring forth to furtain those that tilled the ground onely, and therefore much more impossible to keep to great a multitude of idle people as were in ATHENS: thought The Authori- it very requisite to fetup Occupations, and to give them countenance and estimation. Therefore the southern a very require to technology and to get the confidence and entire to enquire to othe Court he ordained, that the Council of the Areopagites, should have full Power and Authority to enquire to be compared to the council of the Areopagites. how every man lived in the City, and also to punish such as they found idle People, and did not lahow every man live in the car, and the same and fraight a Law which he ordained, (as Heraclides Pontiem writeth) that the Children born of common Harlots and Strumpets should not be bound to relieve their Fathers. For he that maketh no accompt of Matrimony, plainly sheweth that he took not a Wife to have Children, but onely to fatisfie his luft and pleasure: and fo fuch a one hath his into a venic to have of his Children, fince just reward, and is disappointed of the reverence that a Father ought to have of his Children, fince through his own fault the birth of his Child falleth out to his reproach. Yet to fay truly, in Solong Laws touching Women, there are many abfurdities, as they fall out ill favouredly. For he maketh it lawfull for any man to kill an Adulterer taking him with the Fact. But he that ravifhed or forcibly taketh away a free Woman, is onely condemned to pay an hundred Silver Drachmes, And he that was the Pandor to procure her, should onely pay twenty Drachmes; unless she had been a common Strumper or Curtizan: for such do justifie open access to all that will hire them. Furthermore, he doth forbid any person to sell his Daughters or Sifters, unless the Father or Brother had taken them abufing themselves before Marriage. Methinketh it is far from purpose and reafon, with feverity to punish a thing in one place, and over-lightly to pass it over in another: or to fet some light time on ones head for a great fault, and after to discharge him, as it were but a matto ret foline figure time virginistical to a great this, that money being very hard and feant at that time in ATHENS, those Fines were then very great and grievous to pay. For in setting out the charges of Offerings which should be made in Sacrifices, he appointed a Weather to be a convenient Offering, and be fetteth a bushell of Corn at a filver Drachme. More he ordained, that they which won any of the Games at ATHENS; should pay to the common Treasury an hundred Drachmes. And those that won any of the Games Olympicall, five hundred Drachmes. Also he appointed that he which brought an he wolf, should have five Drachmes, and him one Drachme for a reward of a she-Wolf. Whereof as Demetrius Valerian writeth, the one was the price of an Oxe, and the other of a Mutton. For, touching the rates he ordained in the fixteenth Table of his Laws meet for burnt Sacrifices, it is likely he did rate them at a much higher price, then ordinarily they were worth: and yet notwithstanding, the price which he setteth, is very little in comparison of that which they The Tribes of are worth at this day. Now it was a custome ever amongst the ATHENIANER kill their Wolves, the Athenians because all their Countrey lay for Pasture, and not for Tillage. Some there be that say, the Tribes of how they were the people of ATHENS have not been called after the names of the children of 10m, as the common opinion bath been: but that they were called after their divers Trades and manners of living, which they took themselves unto from the beginning. For , such as gave themselves unto the Wants may be alled Oplites: as who would fay, men of Armes. Those that wrought in their Occupations, were called Ergades: as much to fay, as men of Occupation. The other two which were Hubbandmen, and followed the Plough, were called Televates: as you would fay, labouring men. And those that kept Beasts and Cattell , were called Ægicores: as much to say, as Heardmen. Now, foralmuch as the whole Province of ATTICA was very dry, and had great lack of water, being not full of Rivers, running Streames, nor Lakes, nor yet flored with any great number of Springs, infomuch as they are driven there to use (through the most part of the Countrey.) Water drawn out of Wells made with mens hands: he made such an order, that where there was any Well within the space of an Hippicon, that every body within that Circuit, might come and draw Water onely at space of an emphasis, that every body waters that Well; for his use and necessity. Hippicon is the distance of four furlongs, which is half a mile:

and those that dwell further off, should go seek their water in other places where they would. But if they had digged ten yards deep in the ground, and could find no water in the bottom, in this case, they might lawfully go to their next neighbours Well, and take a pot full of Water containing fix gallons, twice a day: judging it great reason that necessity should be holpen, but not that idleness should be cherished. He appointed also the spaces that should be kept and observed by those An Act for that would fet or plant Trees in their Ground, as being a man very skilfull in these matters. For he planting and ordained, that whosoever would plant any kind of Trees in his Ground, he should set them five setting oftrees. foot afunder one from another: but for the Fig-tree and Olive-tree specially, that they should in any case be nine foot asunder, because these two Trees do spread out their branches far off, and they cannot stand near other Trees but they must needs hurt them very much. For besides that they draw away the fap that doth nourish the other Trees, they cast also a certain moisture and steam upon them, that is very hurtfull and incommodious. More he ordained, that who foever would dig a pit or hole in his ground, should dig it as far off from his neighbours pit, as the pit he digged was in depth to the bottom. And he that would let up a Hive of Bees in his Ground, he should let them at the least three hundred foot from other Hives set about him before. And of the fruits of the Earth, he was contented they should transport and fell onely Oyl out of the Realm to strangers, but no other Fruit or Grain. He ordained that the Governour of the City should yearly proclaim open curses against those that should do to the contrary, or elle he himself making default therein, should be fined at an hundred Drachmes. This Ordinance is in the first Table of Solons Drachman Laws, and therefore we may not altogether discredit those which say, they did forbid in the old time, that men should carry Figs out of the Countrey of ATTICA, and that from thence it came that these pick-thanks, which bewray and accuse them that transported Figs, were called Sycophantes. He made another Law also against the hurt that Beasts might do unto men. Wherein he ordained, That if a Dog did bite any man, he that ought him should deliver to him that was bitten, his Dog tied to a log of Timber of four cubits long: and this was a very good device, to make men fafe from Dogs. But he was very straight in one Law he made, that no stranger might be made Denizon and Free-man of the City of ATHENS, unless he were a banished man for ever out of his Countrey, or elfe that he should come and dwell there with all his Family, to exercise some Crast or Science. Notwithstanding, they say he made not this Law so much to put strangers from their freedom there, as to draw them thither, affuring them by this Ordinance, they might come and be free of the City: and he thought moreover, that both the one and the other would be more faithfull to the Common-weal of ATHENS. The one of them, for that against their wills they were driven to forfake their Countrey: and the other fort, for that advisedly and willingly they were contented to forfake it. This also was another of Selons Laws, which he ordained for those that should feast certain days at the Town-house of the City, at other mens cost. For he would not allow that one Fealls for man should come often to Feasts there. And if any man were invited thither to the Feasts, and did Townsmen in refule to come, he did fet a fine on his head, as reproving the miferable niggardliness of the one, Hall of Athens and the prelumptuous arrogancy of the other, to contemn and despile common order. After he had made his Laws, he did stablish them to continue for the space of an hundred years, and they were written in Tables of Wood called Axones, which were made more long then broad, in the Axones. which they were graven ; whereof there remain some Monuments yet in our time, which are to be feen in the Town-Hall of the City of ATHENS. Aristotle faith, that these Tables were called Cyrbes. And Cratinus also the Comicall Poet faith in one place, of Solon and Dracon : that Cyrbes was a Veffell or Pan wherein they did fry millet or hirfe. Howbeit others fay, that Cyrbes properly Cyrbes. were the Tables, which contained the Ordinances of the Sacrifices: and Axones were the other Tables, that concerned the Common-weal. So, all the Councels and Magistrates together did swear. that they would keep Solons Laws themselves, and also cause them to be observed of others throughly and particularly. Then every one of the Thefmothetes (which were certain Officers attendant on the Thefmothetes. Councell, and had speciall charge to see the Laws observed) did solemnly swear in the open Market place, near the stone where the Proclamations are proclaimed: and every of them both promised and vowed openly to keep the same Laws, and that if any of them did in any one point break the said Ordinances, then they were content that fuch offendor should pay to the Temple of Apollo, at the City of DELPHOS, an Image of fine gold, that should weigh as much as himself. Moreover, Solon seeing the diforder of the Moneths, and the moving of the Moon, which followed not the course of the Sun, and used not to rife and fall when the Sun doth, but oft times in one day it doth both touch and pass the Sun: he was the first that called the change of the Moon, Ene car nea, as much to say, as old and new Moon. Allowing that which appeared before the conjunction, to be of the Moneth past: and that which shewed it self after the conjunction, to be of the Moneth following. And he was the first also (in my opinion) that understood Homer rightly, when he said : Then beginneth the Moneth when it endeth. The day following the change, he called Neomenia, as much to fay, as the new Moneth, or the new Moon. After the twentieth day of the Moneth which they called Icada, he reckoned not the rest of the Moneth, as increasing, but as in the wane: and gathered it by seeing the light of the Moon decreafing, untill the thirtieth day. Now after his Laws were come abroad, and proclaimed, there came fome daily unto him, which either praifed them, or milliked them, and prayed him either to take away, or to add some thing unto them. Many again came and asked him, how he underftood fome fentences of his Laws: and requested him to declare his meaning, and that it should be taken. Wherefore confidering that it were to no purpose to resuse to do it, and again that it

Glarius.

would get him much envy and ill will to yield thereunto: he determined (happen what would) to wind himself out of these briers, and to fly the groanings, complaints, and quarrels of his Citizens. For he faith himfelf:

Full hard it is , all minds content to have , And (pecially in matters hard and grave.

So, to convey himself a while out of the way, he took upon him to be Master of a Ship in a certain voyage, and asked license for ten years of the ATHENIANS to go beyond Sea, hoping by that time the ATHENIANS would be very well acquainted with his Laws. So went he to the Seas, and the first place of his arrivall was in Ægypt, where he remained a while, as he himself faith.

Even there where Nilms , with his crooked cranks ,

By Canobe , falls into the Sea banks He went to his book there, and did confer a certain time with P (enophis Heliopolitan, and Sonelis Saitan, two of the wifest Priests at that time that were in EGYPT: whom when he heard rehearse the Story of the Isles ATLANTIDES as Plato writeth, he proved to put the same into Verse, and did fend it abroad through GREECE. At his departure out of EGYPT, he went into CYPRUS. where he had great courtefie and friendship of one of the Princes of that Countrey, called Philocyprus, who was Lord of a pretty little City which Demophon (Thefens fon) caused to be built upon the River of Clarie, and was of a goodly strong situation, but in a very lean and barren Countrey, Whereupon Solon told him, it would do better a great deal to remove it out of that place, into a very fair and pleafant Valley that lay underneath it, and there to make it larger and statelier then it was; which was done according to his perswasion. And Solon felf being present at it, was made Overseer of the Buildings, which he did help to devife and order in good fort, as well in respect of pleasure, as for force and defence : infomuch as many people came from other places to dwell there. And herein many other Lords of the Countrey did follow the example of this Philocyprus, who to honour Solon. called this City SOLES, which before was called EPIA. Solon in his Elegies maketh mention of this foundation, directing his words unto Philocyprus, as followeth:

So grant the gods, that thon, and thine off-fpring, May clime to great and paffing Princely state: Long time to live, im Soles flourishing. And that they grant , my Ship and me good gate , When I from honce by feas shall take my may: That with her harp, dame Venus do vouchfafe To waft me fill, untill fhe may convey My felf again, into my Countrey fafe. Since I have been, the only mean and man, Which here to build, this City first began.

And as for the meeting and talk betwixt him and King Crafus, I know there are that by diffance of time will prove it but a fable, and devised of pleasure : but for my part I will not reject, nor condemn to famous an Hiftory, received and approved by to many grave testimonies. Moreover it is very agreeable to Solons manners and nature, and also not unlike to his wisdom and magnanimity; although in all points it agreeth not with certain tales (which they call Chronicles) where they have bufily noted the order and course of times, which even to this day, many have curiously sought to correct, and could yet never discuss it, nor accord all contrarieties and manifest repugnances in the Solon faw king fame. Solon at the defire and request of Crafu, went to fee him in the City of SARDIS. When So-Crafus in the City of Sardis. Ion was come thither, he feemed to be in the felf-fame taking that a man was once reported to be: who being born and bred upon the main Land, and had never feen the Sea neither far nor near. did imagine every River that he faw had been the Sea. So Solon paffing alongst Crasus Palace, and meeting by the way many of the Lords of his Court richly apparelled, and carrying great trains of Serving-men, and Souldiers about them : thought ever that one of them had been the King, untill he was brought unto Crasu self. Who was passing richly arrayed, what for precious Stones and Jewels, and for rich coloured Silks, layed on with curious Goldsmiths work, and all to shew himfelf to Solon in most stately, sumptuous, and magnificent manner. Who perceiving by Solons repair to his presence, that he shewed no manner of sign, nor countenance of wondering, to see so great a state before him, neither had given out any word near or likely to that which Crasus looked for in his own imagination, but rather had delivered speeches for men of judgement and underflanding to know, how inwardly he much did millike Crass foolish vanity and base mind; then Crafus commanded all his Treasuries to be opened, where his gold and Silver lay: next, that they should shew him his rich and sumptuous Wardrobes, although they needed not : for to see Cresus felf, it was enough to difcern his nature and condition. After he had feen all over and over, becrafus quelli- ing brought again unto the prefence of the King: Crafus asked him, if ever he had feen any man more happy them himself was? Solon answered him, I have : and that was one Tellus a Citizen of ATHENS, who was a marvellous honeft man, and had left his children behind him in good eftimasolon effeemed tion, and well to live: and laftly, was most happy at his death, by dying honourably in the field, Tellas a happy in defence of his Countrey. Crasus hearing this answer, began to judge him a man of little wit, or of gross understanding, because he did not think, that to have store of Gold and Silver, was the onely joy and felicity of the World, and that he would prefer the life and death of a mean and private man as more happy, then all the riches and power of fo mighty a King. Notwithstanding

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all this, Crafus yet asked him again : What other man befide Tellow he had feen happier then himfelf? S. lon answered him, that he had feen Cleebis and Bisson, which were both brethren, and lo- Cleebis and Bived one another fingularly well , and their mother in fuch fore: that upon a folerm Peftival day, too happy men. when the should go to the Temple of Jano in her Coach drawn with Oxen: because they tarried too long ere they could be brought, they both willingly youked themselves by the necks, and drew their Mothers Coach instead of the Oxen, which marvellously rejoyced her, and she was thought most happy of all other, to have born two such Sons. Afterwards when they had done Sacrifice to the goddefs, and made good chear at the Feath of this Sacrifice, they went to bed : but they rose not again the next morning, for they were found dead without suffering hurt or forrow, alter they had received so much glory and honour. Grasu then could no longer bridle in his patience, but breaking out in choler, faid .unco him : Why, doft thou reckon me then in no degree of happy men? Solen would neither flatter him, nor further increase his hear, but answered him thus : O Solone more-King of Lydians, the gods have given us Grecians all things in a mean, and amongst other detaths mean. things chiefly, a base and popular Wisdom, not Princely nor noble; which considering how mans life is subject to infinite changes, doth forbid us to truft or glory in these worldly Riches. For time bringeth daily mistortunes anto man, which he never thought of, nor looked for. But when the no before he gods have continued a mans good fortune to his end, then we think that man happy and bleffed, end, and never before. Otherwife, if we should judge a man happy that liveth, considering he is ever in danger of change during life: we should be much like to him, who judgeth him the victory before hand, that is still a fighting, and may be overcome, having no firrety yet to carry it away. After Sal n had spoken these words, he departed from the Kings presence, and returned back again, leaving King Crafus offended, but nothing the wifer, nor amended. Now Afor that wrote the Fables, being at that time in the City of SARDIS, and fent for thither by the King, who entertained him very honourably: was very forty to fee that the King had given Solon no better entertainment: fo by way of advise he faid unto him: O Sekn, either we must not come to Princes at all, or Affin faying else we must feek to please and content them. But Solon turning it to the contrary, answered him: 10 Solon.

Fisher we must not come to Princes, or else we must needs tell them truly and counful them for Either we must not come to Princes, or else we must needs tell them truly, and counsell them for to Asso. the best. So Crasus made light account of Solon at that time. But after he had lost the Battell against Cyrus, and that his City was taken, himself become Prifoner, and was bound fast to a Gibber, over a great flack of Wood, to be burnt in the fight of all the Persians, and of Cyrus his Enemy: he then cryed out as lowed as he could, thrice together: O Solon! Cyrne being abathed, sent to ask him, whether this Solon he onely cryed upon in his extream misery, was a god or man. Crafus kept it not fecret from him, but faid: he was one of the wife men of GREECE, King Crafus whom I feat for to come unto me on a certain time, not to learn any thing of him which I stood words of solon in need of , but onely that he might witness my felicity , which then I did enjoy: the loss whereof hanging upon is now more hurtfull, then the enjoying of the fame was good and profitable. But now (alas) too a glibber to be late I know it, that the Riches I possessed then, were but words and opinion, all which are turned Riches are but now to my birter forrow, and to prefent and remedilels calamity. Which the wife GRECIAN words and opiconfidering then , and forefeeing afar off by my doings at that time , the inftant milecy I fuffer nion. now; gave me warning I should mark the end of my life, and that I should not too far presume of my self, as puffed up then with vain glory of opinion of happiness, the ground thereof being fo flippery, and of fo little furery. These words being reported unto Cyme, who was wifer then Crefus, and feeing School faying confirmed by fo notable an example : he did not onely deliver Crefur from present peril of death, but ever after honoured him fo long as he lived. Thus had Solon glory, for lawing the honour of one of these Kings, and the life of the other, by his grave and wife counfell. But during the time of his ablence, great feditions rofe at ATHENS amongst the Inhabitans, who had gotten them feverall heads amongst them: as those of the Valley had made Lyene-them in Solons gus their head. The Coast-men, Megaeles, the Son of Alemeon. And those of the Mountains, absence. Tyfiftratus: with whom all Artificers and Crafts-men living of their handy-labour were joyned, which were the stoutest against the rich. So that notwitstanding the City kept Solons Laws and Ordinances, yet was there not that man but gaped for a change, and defired to fee things in another flate : either parties hoping their condition would mend by change, and that every of them should be better then their Adverfaries. The whole Common-weal broyling thus with troubles, Solon ar- Solonteumeth rived at ATHENS, where every man did honour and reverence him: howbeit he was no more able to Athens. to speak aloud in open Assembly to the People, nor to deal in matters as he had done before, because his age would not suffer him: and therefore he spake with every one of the heads of the severall Factions apart, trying if he could agree and reconcile them together again. Whereunto $T\gamma f \beta r_{a}$ tu feemed to be more willing then any of the rest, for he was courteous, and marvelloully fair spoken, and shewed himself besides, very good and pitifull to the poor, and temperate also to his Enemies: further, if any good quality were lacking in him, he did to finely counterfeit it, that men imagined it was more in him, then in those that naturally had it in them indeed. As to be a quiet man , Polificatus no medler, contented with his own, afpiring no higher, and hating those which would attempt to wicked craft change the prefent state of the Common weal, and would practife any innovation. By this Art and subtility and fine manner of his, he deceived the poor common people. Howbeit Selen found him straight, and faw the mark he shot at: but yet hated him not at that time, and sought still to win him, and bring him to reason, saying oft times, both to himself and to others: That whoso could plack our of his head the Worm of Ambition, by which he afpired to be the chiefest, and could heal him of

his greedy defire to rule: there could not be a man of more vertue, or a better Citizen then he ms greetly defire to rule: there command to a man of more vertice, or a control than the Tragedies, which was a thing that much 100 ps amaker would prove. About this line organ 1 or ps to let out this 1 cagents, which was a thing that much of Tragedies. delighted the People for the rareness thereof, being not many Poets yet in number, to firme one against another for victory, as afterwards there were. Solon being naturally defirous to hear and learn, and by reason of his age seeking to pass his time away in Sports, in Musick, and making good rearn, and oy rearon or its age recaing to pais its time away in sports, in matrice, and making good Chear more then ever he did; went one day to fee Thelpis, who plaid a part himfelf, as the old Curar more men ever ne qui a went one day to tee 1 neight, who piatu a part nument, as the old faithion of the Poets was, and after the Play was ended, he called him to him, and asked him: if he rainion of the roets was, and after the risy was chart, he canculated them, and asked that it was not substrated were not assaud to lye to openly in the face of the World. The face and were not assaud to lye to openly in the face of the World. The face of the World. were not alhamed to lye to openly in the race or the world.

The fifth in fort. Then Sclow beating the materiall to do or fay any fact things, confidering all was but in foort. Then Sclow beating the materiall to do or fay any fact things, confidering all was but in foort quoth he) we shall ground with his staff he hand: but if we commend lying in foort quoth he) we shall ground with his staff he good earnest, in all our bargains and dealings. Shortly after Pyfistratus had in a streamards in good earnest, in all our bargains and dealings. Shortly after Pyfistratus had the stream of t ving wounded himfelf, and bloudied all his body over, cauled his men to carry him in his Coach into the Market-place, where he put the People in an uproar, and told them that they were his Enemies the mainterplate, where he par the reopte in an uppose, and to the them about the governing that thus traiteroully had handled and arrayed him, for that he frood with them about the governing of the Commonweal: infomuch as many of them were marvelloufly offended, and mutined by and by, crying out, it was shamefully done. Then Solon drawing near, said unto him: O thou and by, crying out, it was maintainly wone, and such an arrang that, and allow the son of Hippocrates, thou does illiavouredly counterfeit the perion of Homers Visiges; for thou haft whipped thy felf to deceive thy Citizens, as he did tear and feratch himself, to deceive his Enarc wamped my left to deterve my chizens, as he did tear and it atth minen, to deceive his Enemics. Notwithstanding this, the common People were still in uproar, being ready to take Arms
for Pysspram: and there was a general Counsell assembled, in the which one Ariston spake, that not a spiration. and there was a general counter anemone, in the which one stripon trace, that they should grant fifty men, to carry Halbards and Mases before Pysistratus for guard of his person, they should grant fifty men, to carry Halbards and Mases before Pysistratus for guard of his person.

But Salon going up into the Pulpir for Orations, froutly inveyed against it: and perswaded the People with many realons, like unto these he wrote afterwards in Verse: Each one of you (O men) in private alls Can play the fox , for flie and subtill craft :

But when you come, yfore (in all your facts) Then are you blind, dull witted and bedaft : For pleasant speech and painted flattery, Beguile you fill, the which you never fpy

But in the end, feeing the poor people did tumult ftill, taking Pyfiffratus part, and that the rich fled here and there, he went his way also, saying he had shewed himself wifer then some, and hardier then other. Meaning, wifer then those which saw not Pysistratus reach and fetch: and hardier then they which knew very well he did afpire to be King, and nevertheless durk not resist him. The people went on with the motion of drifton, and authorized the same, touching the grant of Halbarders: limiting no number, but suffered him to have about him, and to affemble as many as he would, untill fuch time as he had gotten possession of the Castle. Then the City was marvellously assaid and amazed: and prefently Megaelts, and all those which were of the House of the Alemonides did flie. Solon, who for years was now at his last cast, and had no man to stick unto him; went norwithstanding into the Market-place, and spake to the Citizens whom he found there, and rebuked their beaftlines, and faint cowardly hearts, and encouraged them, not to lose their liberty. He spake at that time notably, and worthy memory, which ever after was remembred. Before, faid he. you might more easily have flaid this present tyranny: but now that it is already sashioned, you shall win more glory, utterly to suppress it. But for all his goodly reasons, he found no man that would hearken unto him, they were all amazed. Wherefore he hied him home again, and took his weapons out of his houle, and laid them before his gate in the midt of the firet, faying: For my part, I have done what I can possible, to help and defend the Laws and Liberties of my County part, I have done what I can possible, to help and defend the Laws and Liberties of my County part, I have done what I can possible, to help and defend the Laws and Liberties of my County part, I have done what I can possible, to help and defend the Laws and Liberties of my County part, I have done what I can possible to help and defend the Laws and Liberties of my County part, I have done what I can possible to help and defend the Laws and Liberties of my County part and the laws are the laws and laid them before his gate in the midt of the first part and the laws are t trey. So from that time he betook himself unto his eale, and never after dealt any more in matters of State, or Common-weal. His friends did counfell him to flye: but all they could not perfusade him to it. For he kept his house, and gave himself to make Verses: in which he fore reproved the

and constancy. ATHENIANS faults, faying : If presently your burden heavy be:

A good Law

fervice.

Tet murmure not against the gods therefore. The fault is yours , as you your self may see, Which granted have of mighty Mars the lore To such as nowaby your direction

His friends hereupon did warn him, to beware of fuch speeches, and to take heed what he said, left if it came unto the Tyrants ears, he might put him to death for it. And further, they asked him wherein he truffed, that he spake so boldly. He answered them, in my age. Howbeit Psithur after he had obtained his purpose, sending for him upon his word and faith, did honour and programs him so well these Salar in the and honour and sending the salar and the sa entertain him fo well, that Solow in the end became one of his Councell, and approved many things on, and to purge himself thereof. But his accuser let fall the matter, and followed it no further. Pyfiftratue himfelt also did make new laws : as this, That he that had been maimed , and made lamed any member in the Wars, should be maintained all his life long at the common charges of the Cay. for reward of

which he did. For Psfistratus himself did straightly keep, and caused his friends to keep Solons Laws. Infomuch as when he was called by process into the Gourt of the Arropagites for a murder, even at that time when he was a Tyrant; he prefented himfelf very modefely to answer his accusaiSOLON.

The felf-fame was before decreed by Theolippus (as Heraclides writeth) by Solons perswasion : who did prefer it to the Council. Pyfiftratus afterwards took hold of the motion, and from thenceforth made it a generall Law, Theophrafin faith alfo, it was Pyfifratm, and not Solon, that made the Law for idleness: which was the onely cause that the Countrey of ATTICA became more fruitfull, being better manured: and the City of ATHENS waxed more quiet. But Solon having begun to write the Story of the Illes ATLANTIDES in Verse (which he had learned of the wife men of the City of Sais in Egypt, and was very necessary for the Athenians) grew weary, and gave it over in mid way: not for any matters or business that troubled him, as Plato faid, but onely for his age, and because he feared the tediousness of the work. For otherwise he had leisure enough, as appeared by these Verses, where he saith:

I grow old, and yet I learn still. And in another place where he faith:

Now Venus yeelds me (weet delights . And Bacchus lends me comfort fill: The Mufes the refresh my foriouts . And much relieve my weary will. Thefe be the points of perfett eafe, Which all mens minds oft simes do pleafe.

Plato afterwards for beautifying of the Story and Fables of the Isles Atlantides, was defirous to dilate them out at length, as if he would by way of speech have broken up a field or lay-Land of his own, or that this gift had descended to him of right from Solom. He began to raise up a stately front unto the same, and enclosed it with high walls, and large squared Courts at the entry thereof: fuch was it, as never any other Work, Fable, or Poeticall invention had ever so notable, or the like. But because he began a little too late, he ended his Life before his Work, leaving the Ceaders more forrowfull for that was left unwritten, then they took pleafure in that they found written. For even as in the City of ATHENS, the Temple of Jupiter Olympian onely remained unperfect: fo the wildome of Plato (amongst many goodly matters of his that have come abroad) left none of them unperfect, but the onely Tale of the Isles ATLANTIDES. Solon lived long time after Pylistratus had usurped the tyranny, as Heraclides Ponticus writeth. Howbeit Phanias Ephesian writeth, that he lived not above two years after. For Pyfiftratus usurped tyrannicall power in the year that Comias was chief Governour in ATHENS. And Phanias writeth, that Solon dyed in the year that Hegestratus was Governour, which was the next year after that. And where some say, the ashes of his body were after his death strawed abroad through the Isle of SALAMINA: that seemeth to be but a Fable, and altogether untrue. Nevertheless it hath been written by notable Authors, and amongst others, by Aristotle the Philosopher.

The end of SOLONS Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF PUBLIUS VALERIUS PUBLICOLA.



Ann. Mund.

Ant. Christ. 506.

Ow we have declared what Solon was, we have thought good to compare him with Publicola, to whom the ROMAN People for an honour gave that Surname : for he was called before Publim Valerim, descended from that ancient Valirim, who was one of the chiefest workers and means to bring the ROMANS and the SABYNS that were mortall enemies, to joyn together as one people. For it was he that most moved the two Kings to agree, and joyn together. Publicula being descended of him, whilest the Kings did rule yet at ROME, was in very great estimation, as well for his eloquence, as for his riches: using the one rightly and freely for the relief of the poor. So that it was manifed, if the Realm came to be converted into a public flare be would be one of the distribution.

The House of

P. Valerius.

Tarquinius Confuls.

Tarquinins Su-lick flate, he would be one of the chiefest men of the same. It chanced that King Tarquine surface med the proud, being come to the Crown by no good lawfull mean, but contrarily, by indirect and wicked ways, and behaving himfelf not like a King, but like a cruell Tyrant, the People much hated and deterted him, by reason of the death of Lucretia (which killed her self for that she was forcibly ravished by him) and so the whole City rose and rebelled against him. Lucius Brutus taking upon him to be the Head and Captain of this infurrection and rebellion, did joyn first with this Valerius: Valerius, Bru- who did greatly favour and affift his enterprife, and did help him to drive out King Tarquine with all the companion his house and family. Now whilest they were thinking that the People would choose some one alone to be chief Ruler over them, inftead of a King : Valerius kept himfelf quiet, as yeelding willingly unto Bratus the first place, who was meeter for it, having been the chief Authour and Worker of their recovered liberty. But when they faw the name of Monarchy (as much to fay, as Soveraignity alone) was displeasant to the People, and that they would like better to have the rule divided unto two, and how for this cause they would rather choose two Consuls: Valerius then began to hope he should be the second person with Brutus. Howbeit this hope failed him. For against Brutus will, Tarquisius Collatinus (the husband of Lucretia) was chosen Consull with him: not because he was a man of greater vertue, or of better estimation then Valerius. But the Noblemen of the City searing the practiles of those of the Kings bloud, which fought by all the fair and flattering means they could to return again into the City: did determine to make fuch a one Confull, whom occafion forced to be their hard and heavy Enemy, perswading themselves that Terquinius Collatinus would for no respect yeeld unto them. Valerim took this matter grievously, that they had a miltruft in him, as if he would not do any thing he could, for the benefit of his Countrey for that he had never any private injury offered him by the Tyrants. Where ore he repaired no more unto the Senate to plead for private men , and wholly gave up to meddle in matters of State:

infomuch as he gave many occasion to think of his absence, and it troubled some men much, who feared left upon this his milliking and withdrawing, he would fall to the Kings fide, and so bring all the City in an uproar, confidering it flood then but in very tickle terms. But when Brutus, who flood in jealoufie of fome, would by Oath be affured of the Senate, and had appointed them a day folemnly to take their Oaths upon the Sacrifices: Valerius then with a good cheerfull countenance came into the Market-place, and was the first that took his oath he would leave nothing undone that might prejudice the Tarquines, but with all his able power lie would fight against them, and defend the liberty of the City. This Oath of his marvelloully rejoyced the Senare, and gave great affurance also to the Confuls, but specially, because his deeds did shortly after perform his words. For there came Ambassadors to Rome, which brought letters from King Tarquine, full of sweet and lowly bassate of fpeeches, to win the favour of the People, with commission to use all the mildest means they could, King Tarquine to dulce and foften the hardned hearts of the multitude : who declared how the King had left all pride for recovering and cruelty, and meant to ask nought but reasonable things. The Confuls thought best to give his Realm. them open audience, and to fuffer them to speak to the People. But Valerius was against it, declaring it might perill the State much, and deliver occasion of new stir unto a multitude of poor People, which were more afraid of Wars, then of Tyranny. After that, there came other Ambassadors Another Amalfo, which faid that Tarquine would from thenceforth for ever give over and renounce his Title to baffiate from the Kingdom, and to make any more Wars; but befought them onely, that they would at the least Tarquine, dedeliver him and his friends their Money and Goods, that they might have wherewithall to keep them manding his in their banishment. Many came on apace, and were very ready to yeeld to this request, and speci-Goods. ally Collarinus, one of the Confuls did favour their motion. But Brutus, that was a fast and refolute man, and very fierce in his heat, ran immediately into the Market-place, crying out that his fellow Confull was a Traytor, and contented to grant the Tyrants matter and means to make War upon the City, where indeed they deserved not so much as to be relieved in their exile. Hereupon the recople assembled together, and the first that spake in this affembly, was a private man called Gaim Minnim, who speaking unto Bratun, and to the whole Assembly, faid unto them: O Noble Good counsel Confull and Senate, handle fo the matter, that the Tyrants Goods be rather in your cuftody to make of Minutius. War with them, then in theirs to bring War upon your felves. Notwithstanding the ROMANS were of opinion, that having gotten the liberty, for which they fought with the Tyrants, they should not disappoint the offered peace, with keeping back their Goods, but rather they should throw their not dilappoint the outered peace, with account of the peace of Tarquines intent, to feek his Goods Goods out after them. Howbeit this was the leaft part of Tarquines intent, to feek his Goods Tarquines Amagain : but under pretence of that demand, he fecretly corrupted the People, and practifed Trea-baffadors prafon , which his Ambaffadors followed, pretending onely to get the Kings Goods and his favourers to- fife treafon. gether, faying, that they had already fold fome part, and some part they kept, and sent them daily. The Aquilli So as by delaying the time in this fort with fuch pretences, they had corrupted two of the beft and and Vitellii So as by ucraying the time in this south, the Family of the Aquilians, whereof there were three Sena- with Brutus ancienteft houses of the City: to wit, the Family of the Aquilians, whereof there were three Sena- fons, Traytors tors: and the Family of the Vitellian:, whereof there were two Senators: all which by their Mo- to their Counthers, were Confull Collatinus Nephews. The Vitellians also were allied unto Brutus, for he had trey. married their own Sifter, and had many Children by her. Of the which the Vitellians had drawn to their string, two of the eldest of them, because they familiarly frequenced together, being Cousin germains, whom they had entited to be of their conspiracy, allying them with the House of the Tarquines, which was of great power, and through the which they might perfuade themselves to rife to great honour and preferment by means of the King, rather then to truft to their Fathers wilfull hardiness: for they called his severity to the wicked, hardness: for that he would never pardon any. Furthermore, Brutus had feigned himself mad, and a fool of long time for safety of his life, because the Tyrant should not put him to death : so that the name of Brutus onely remained. After these two young men had given their consent to be of the Consederacy, and had spoken with the Aquilians: they all thought good to be bound one to another, with a great an horrible Oath, drinking the bloud of a man, and shaking stands in his bowels, whom they would sacrifice. This matter The Confederagreed upon between them, they met together to put their Sacrifice in execution, in the House of racy confirmed the Agridant. They had fithy pickt out a dark place in the House to do this Sacrifice in, and where al-with drinking most no body came; yet it happed by chance, that one of the Servants of the House called Vindicious, of mans blood. had hidden himself there, unknowing to the Traytors, and of no fet purpose, to spie and see what they eth all their did, or that he had any manner of inkling thereof before: but falling by chance upon the matter, even Treason. as the Traytors came into that place with a countenance to do some secret thing of importance, fearing to be feen, he kept himfelf close, and lay behind a coffer that was there, so that he faw all that was done, and what they faid and determined. The conclusion of their Council in the end was this, that they The conclusiwould kill both the Confuls: and they wrote Letters to Tarquinius advertifing the fame, which they on of their gave unto his Amballadors, being lodged in the house of the Aquiliant, and were present at this conflution. With this determination they departed from thence, and Vindiciss came out also as secretly is he could, being marvelloufly troubled in mind, and at amaze how to deal in this matter. For he hought it dangerous (as it was indeed) to go and accuse the two Sons unto the Father (which was Bru-(ns) of so wicked and detestable Treason, and the Nephews unto their Uncle, which was Collatinus. On the other fide also, he thought this was a secret, not to be imparted to any private person, and not offible for him to conceal it, that was bound in duty to reveal it. So he resolved at the last to go to alerins to bewray this Treason, of a speciall affection to this man, by reason of his gentle and cour-

tous using of men, giving easie access and audience unto any that came to speak with him, and

specially

Vindicius bewrayeth the Treason unto Valerius.

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specially for that he disdained not to hear poor mens causes. Vindicius being gone to speak with him, and having told him the whole Conspiracy before his brother Marem Valerim, and his wife, he was abasthed and fearfull withall: whereupon he stayed him less the should slip away, and locked him in a chamber, charging his wife to watch the door, that no body went in nor out unto him. And willed his brother allo, that he should go and befet the Kings Palace round about, to intercept these Letters if it were possible, and to see that none of their Servants sled. Valerius self being followed (according to his manner) with a great train of his friends and people that waited on him, went traight unto the house of the Aquilians, who by chance were from home at that time: and entring in at the gate, without let or trouble of any man, he found the Letters in the chamber, were King Tarquines Ambalfadors lay: Whilft he was thus occupied, the Aquilians having intelligence thereof, ran home immediately, and found Valerius coming out at their Gate. So they would have taken those Letters from him by force and strong hand: but Valerius and his company did resist them, and moreover hudded them with their Gowns over their heads, and by force brought them (do what they could) into the Market-place. The like was done also in the Kings Palace, where Marcus Valeriss found other Letters also wrapt up in certain fardels for their more safe carriage, and brought away with him by force into the Market-place, all the Kings fervants he found there. There the Confuls having caused silence to be made, Valering sent home to his house for this Bond-man Vindui-10 be brought before the Confuls: then the Traytors were openly accused, and their Letters read, and they had not the face to answer one word. All that were prefent, being amazed, hung down their heads, and beheld the ground, and not a man durst once open his mouth to speak, excepting a few, who to gratific Bratus, began to say that they should banish them: and Collatinus also gave them fome hope, because he fell to weeping, and Valerius in like manner, for that he held his peace. But Britin calling his Sons by their names: Come on (faid he) Titin and thou Valerin, why do you Thus and Va- not answer to that you are accused of ? and having spoken thrice unto them to answer, when he saw terius, Braust they stood mure, and faid nothing the turned him to the Serieants, and faid unto them: They are now in your hands, do juftice. So foon as he had spoken these words, the Serieants layed hold immediately upon the two young men, and tearing their clothes off their backs, bound their hands behind them, and then whipped them with rods: which was such a pitifull fight to all the people, that they could not find in their hearts to behold it, but turned themselves another way, because they would not fee it. But contrariwife, they fay that their own Father had never his eye off them, neither did change his auftere and fierce countenance, with any pity or naturall affection towards them, but stedfastly did behold the punishment of his own Children, untill they were layed flat on the ground, and both their heads stricken off with an Ax before him. When they were execu-Brutus feeth Brutas praifed ted, Brutas role from the Bench, and left the execution of the reft unto his fellow Confull. This was such an act, as men cannot sufficiently praise, nor reprove enough. For either it was his excellent vertue, that made his mind fo quiet, or else the greatness of his misery that took away thefeeling of his forrow : whereof neither the one nor the other was any finall matter, but patfing the common nature of man, that hath in it both Divinences, and sometime beaftly brutishfor the death nels. But it is better the judgement of men should commend his fame, then that the affection of of his fons. men by their judgements should diminish his vertue. For the ROMANS hold opinion, it was not for great an act done of Romnius first to build ROME, 28 it was for Brutus to recover ROME, and the best liberty thereof, and to renew the ancient Government of the same. When Bruttus was gone, all the People in the Market-place remained as they had been in a maze, full of fear and Collisions for wonder, and a great while without speaking to see what was done. The Agnilians straight grew nels perillous, bold, for that they faw the other Confull Collatinus proceed gently, and mildly against them: and to made petition they might have time given them to answer to the Articles they were accused of, and that they might have their Slave and Bond-man Vindicius delivered into their hands, because there was no reason, he should remain with their accusers. The Confull seemeth willing to yeeld thereto, and was ready to break up the Affembly thereupon. But Valerius faid, he would not deliver Vindicius (who was among the Affembly that attended upon his person:) and stayed the People besides for departing away, left they should negligently let those escape that had so wickedly Valerius bold. fought to betray their Countrey: until he himself had layed hands upon them, calling upon Brutus to affift him, with open exclamation against Collatinus, that he did not behave himself like a just and true man, feeing his fellow Brutu was forced for juffice fake to fee his own Sons put to death: and he in contrary manner, to please a few Women, sought to let go manifest Traytors, and open Enemies to their Countrey. The Confull being offended herewith, commanded they should bring away the Bond-man Vindicim. So the Sergeants making way through the prease, laid hands upon him to bring him away with them, and began to ftrike at them which offered to refift them. But Valerius friends stept out before them, and put them by. The People should ftraight, and cried out for Brutus: who with this noise returned again into the Market-place, and after silence made him , he spake in this wise : For mine own children, I alone have been their sufficient Judge, to fee them have the Law according to their defervings: the reft I have left freely to the judgement of the People. Wherefore (faid he) if any man be disposed to speak, let him stand up,

and perswade the People as he thinketh best. Then there needed no more words, but onely to hearken what the People cried: who with one voice and confent condemned them, and cried execution,

and accordingly they had their heads ftricken off. Now was Confull Collatinus long before had in fone

fuspition, as allied to the Kings, and diffiked for his furname, because he was called Tarquining:

Colletinus of injuttice.

Collatinus refigneth his Confulfhip, and departeth Rome.

P V B L I CO L A. who perceiving himself in this case much hated and miltrusted of the people, voluntarily yielded up his Confulfhip, and departed the City. The people then affembled themselves, to place a fuc-Valerius choceffor in his room, they chose Valerins in his stead, without the contradiction of any, for his faith- fen Conful in ful travel and diligence bestowed in this great matter. Then Valerius judging that Vindicius the bond. his place. man had well deferved also some recompence, caused him not onely to be manumissed by the wholese strate of the people but made him a free man of the City besides, and he was the first boundary full boundary. grant of the people, but made him a free man of the City, besides: and he was the first bondman manumilled. manumiffed, that was made Citizen of Rome, with permission also to give his voice in all elections of Offices, in any company or tribe he would be enrolled in. Long time after that, and very lately, Appius to curry favour with the common people, made it lawfull for bondmen manumified, to give their voices also in elections, as other Citizens did: and unto this day the perfect manumishing and freeing of bondmen, is called Vinditta, after the name of this Vindicius, that was then made a freeman. These things thus passed over, the goods of the Kings were given to the spoil of the people, Vinlistato caland their Pallaces were razed and overthrown. Now amongst other Lands, the goodlieft part of the led, by reason field of Mars was belonging unto King Tarquine: the fame they confectated forthwith, unto the Vinlicius and a Mars, and not long before they cut down the wheat thereof the flexuse being was in floated. Tarquine field god Mars, and not long before they cut down the wheat thereof, the sheaves being yet in shocks confectated to in the field, they thought they might not grind the wheat, nor make any commodity of the profit Mars. thereof: wherefore they threw both Corn and sheaves into the River, and Trees also which they had hewn down and rooted up, to the end that the field being dedicated to the god Mars, should be left bare, without bearing any fruit at all. These sheaves thus thrown into the River, were carried down by the stream not far from thence, unto a foord and shallow place of the water, where they first did stay, and did let the other which came after, that it could go no further: there these heaps gathered together, and lay so close one to another, that they began to fink and settle fast in the water. Afterwards the stream of the River brought down continually such mud and gravell, that it ever encreased in the heap of corn more and more, in such fort, that the force of the water could no more remove it from thence, but rather foftly preffing and driving it together, did firm and harden it, and made it grow fo to Land. Thus this heap rifing still in greatness and firmness, by reason that all that came down the River stayed there, it grew in the end and by time to spread fo far, that at this day it is called the holy Island in Rome: in which are many goodly Temples Whereof the of divers gods, and fundry walks about it, and they call it in Latin, Inter duos pontes: in our holy Island of divers goos, and timitry wains about it, aim time the came in Rome trongue, between the two Bridges. Yet forme write, that this thing fell not out at that time when came in Rome trongue, between the two Bridges. Yet forme write, that this thing fell not out at that time when came in Rome trongue, between the two Bridges. tongue, between the transport of the field of the Tarquines was confectated unto Mars: but that it happened afterwards, when one tween both tween both of the Vestall Nuns, called Tarquinia, gave a field of hers unto the people, which was hard adjoyning unto Tarquines Field. For which liberality and bounty of hers, they did grant her in recompence many Priviledges, and did her great honour besides. As amongst others, it was Ordained, that her word and witness should stand good, and be allowed in matters judicial: which Priviledge, never Woman besides her self did enjoy. By special grace of the people also, it was granted her, that she might Marry if she thought it good; but yet she would not accept the benefit of that offer. Thus you hear the report how this thing happened. Tarquinius then being past hope of ever en-Thus you hear the report how this thing happened. Tarquinius then being patt nope of ever entring into his Kingdom again, went yet unto the Thuscans for fuccour, which were very think on eth with a glad of him: and so they levied a great Army together, hoping to have put him in his Kingdom great power of again. The Confuls also hearing thereof, went out with their Army against him. Both the Armies the Thusant presented themselves in battle ray, one against another, in the Holy places consecrated to the gods: to wage battle whereof the one was called the wood Arfia, and the other the Meadow Afivvia. And as both Armies with the Robegan to give charge upon each other, Arnus the eldest Son of King Tarquine, and the Conful Arsa structure encountered together not by charge law fought for of the Brutus encountered together, not by chance, but fought for of fet purpose to execute the deadly feud, and malice they did bear each other. The one as against a Tyrant and enemy of the liberty of Armus and his Countrey: the other, as against him that had been chiefauthour and worker of their exile and Brutus en-Expulsion. So they fet Spurs to their Horses, so soon as they had spied each other, which more commerced and sury then reason, and sought so desperately together, that they both sell stark dead to the ground, the most way no less before the basels being so and the and thought way no less before the basels being so and thought way no less before the basels being so and thought way no less before the basels being so and thought way no less before the basels being so and thought way to be so the basels being so and thought way to be so the basels being so and thought way to be so the basels being so and thought way to be so the basels being so and thought way to be so the basels being so and thought way to be so the basels being so and thought way to be so the basels being so and thought way to be so the basels being The first onset of the battle being so cruel, the end thereof was no less bloody: untill both the Armies having received and done like damage to each other, were parted by a marvellous great tempest that fell upon them. Now was Valerius marvellously perplexed, for that he knew not which of them wan the Field that day: feeing his fouldiers as forrowfull for the great loss of their men lying dead before them, as they were glad of the flaughter and Victory of their enemies. For, to view the multitude of the flain bodies of either fide, the number was so equal in fight, that it was very hard to judge, of which fide fell out the greatest slaughter : so that both the one and the other viewing by the eye the remain of their Camp, were perswaded in their Opinion, that they had rather loft than won, conjecturing a far off the fall of their Enemies. The night being come, such things fell out as may be looked for after to terrible a battle. For when both Camps were all layed to reft, they fay the wood wherein they lay encamped quaked and trembled: and they heard a voice fay, that onely one man more was flain on the Thuscans fide, than on the ROMANS part. Out of doubt this was some voice from Heaven: for the ROMANS The Victory of thereupon gave a shrill shout, as those whose hearts received a new quickning spirit or courage. The of the Romant THUSCANS on the contrary part were fo afraid, that the most part of them stole out of the against the Camp, and scattered here and there: and there remained behind about the number of five thou. Thuscans. fand men, whom the ROMANS took prisoners every one, and had the spoil of their Camp. The carkaffes were viewed afterwards, and they found that there were flain in that battle, eleven

Valerius the first Conful that ever triumphed upon a Chariot.

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Anaxiraenes

on Mount Ve-

Magiftrates.

The Temple called Vicus

thouland and three hundred of the THUSCANS: and of the ROMANS, fo many faving one. This battle was fought (as they fay) the last day of February, and the Conful Valerina triumphed, being the first of the Confuts that ever entred into Rome triumphing upon a Chariot drawn with four Horses, which fight the people found honourable and goodly to behold, and were not offended withall (as some seem to report) nor yet did erwy him for that he began it. For if it had been fo, that cuftom had not been followed with fo good acceptation, nor had continued fo many years as it did afterwards. They much commended also the honour he did to his fellow Confull Brains, in fetting out his Funerals and Obsequies, at the which he made a Funeral Oration in his praise. They ginning of Fu did fo like and please the ROMANS, that they have ever fince continued that custom at the buneral Orations neral Orations and Noble man, or great Perfonage, that he is openly praifed at his burial, by the wortheft man that liveth among them. They report this Funeral Oration is far more ancient than the first that was made in GREECE in the like case: unless they will confirm that which the Orator Anaximenes hath written, that the manner of praifing the dead at their Funerals, was first of all in-Stituted by Solon. But they did most envy Valerius, and bear him grudge, because Brutus (whom was the first the people did acknowledge for Father of their liberty) would never be alone in Office, but had that minuted profess for the procured twice, that they should appoint Valerius fellow Conful with him. This man in contrariwife (faid the people) taking upon him alone the rule and foveraignty, sheweth plainly he will not be Brutus fucceffour in his Confulfhip, but Tarquinius felf in the Kingdom. For to great purpose was it to praise Brutus in words, and to follow Tarquinius in deeds: having born before him only all the Maces, the Axes and the Rods, when he cometh abroad out of his own house, which is far greater, and more stately, than the Kings Pallace which he himself overthrew. And to say truly, Valerius stately Valerius dwelt in a house a little too sumptuously built and seated, upon the hanging of the Hill called house flanding Mount Velia: and because it stood high, it overlooked all the Market-place so that any man might eafily fee from thence what was done there. Furthermore, it was very ill to come to it : but when he came out of his house, it was a marvellous Pomp and State to see him come down from so high Valering good a place, and with a train after him, that carried the Majefty of a Kings Court. But herein Valering leit a Noble example, fhewing how much it importeth a Noble man and Magistrate, ruling weighty causes, to have his ears open to hear, and willingly to receive free speech instead of flatteries, and plain troth in place of lies. For, being informed by some of his Friends, how the People milliked and complained of it, he flood not in his own conceit, neither was angry with them : but forthwith fet a world of Workmen upon it, early in the morning before break of day, and commanded them to pluck down his house, and to raze it to the ground. Informach as the next day following, when the Wateriur over threw histlatethrew histlatetop house.

ROMANS were gathered together in the Market-place, and saw this great studden ruine, they much
commended the noble act and mind of Waterium, in doing that he did: but so were they angry, and sorry both, to fee to fair and stately a built house (which was an Ornament to the City) overthrown upon a fudden. Much like in comparison to a man, whom through spite and envy they had unjustly put to death: and to fee their chief Magistrate also like a stranger and a vagabond, compelled to feek his lodging in another mans house. For his friends received him into their houses, until such time as the people had given him a place, where they did build him a new house, far more orderly, and nothing to stately and curious as the first was, and it was in the same place, where the Temple called Vicus Publicus standeth at this day. Now because he would not onely reform his person, but the Office of his Confulfhip, and also would frame himfelf to the good acceptation and liking of the people: where before he feemed unto them to be fearful; he put away the carrying of the Axes from the Rods, which the Sergeants used to bear before the Conful. Moreover when he came into the Market-place, where the people were affembled, he caused the Rods to be born downwards, as in token of reverence of the Soveraign Majefty of the People, which all the Magistrates observe yet at this day. Now in all this humble thew and lowliness of his, he did not so much imbase his dignity and greatness, which the common people thought him to have at the first : as he did thereby cut off envy from him, winning again as much true authority, as in femblance he would feem to have loft. For this made the people willinger to obey, and readier to submit themselves unto him: insomuch as upon this occasion be was furnamed Publicola, as much to fay, as the people pleafer. Which furname he kept ever after, was furnamed and we from henceforth also writing the reft of his Life, will use no other name : for he was contented to fuffer any man that would, to offer himself to ask the Consulfhip in Brutus place. But he yet not knowing what kind of man they would joyn fellow Conful with him, and fearing left through envy or ignorance, the party might thwart his purpole and meaning: employed his fole power and authority whilest he ruled alone, upon high and puble attempts. For first of all he supplied up the number of the Senators that were greatly decayed, because King Tarquine had put some of them to death not long before, and other also had been lately slain in the Wars, in whose places he had chosen new Senators, to the number of a hundred threefcore and four. After that, he made new Decrees and Laws, which greatly did advance the authority of the people. The first Law gave liberty to all offenders, condemned by judgement of the Confuls, to appeal unto the people. The second, that no man upon pain of death should take upon him the exercise of any Office, unless he had come to it by the gift of the people. The third was, and all in favour of the poor, that the poor Citizens of Rome Hould pay no more cultom, nor any impost whatfoever. This made every man the more willing to give himself to some crast or occupation, when he saw his travel should not be taxed, nor taken from him. As for the Law that he made against those that disobeyed the Confuls, it was found to be to favourable to the commonalty, as they thought it was rather made for the poor, than for the

rich and great men. For the offenders and breakers of that Law, were condemned to pay for a penalty, the value of five Oxen and two Muttons. . The price of a Mutton was then ten Oboles, and of an Ox an hundred Oboles. For in those days the ROMANS had no store of covned money: otherwise, they lacked no Sheep, nor other beafts. Hereof it came that to this day they call their riches or substance Peculium, because Pecus signifieth Sheep and Muttons. And in the old time the Whereof Peflamp upon their Money was an Ox, a Mutton, or a Hog: and some of them called their Children cultum was cal-Bubulci, which fignifieth Cowheards: others Caprarii, to fay Goatheards: and other Porcii, as led. you would fay, Swineheards. Now though in all his other Laws, he was very favourable and temperate toward the people : yet in that moderation, fometimes he did fet grievous pains and punishments. For he made it lawfull to kill any man without any accufation, that did aspire to the Kingdom, and he did fet the murderer free of all punishment, so he brought forth manifest proof, that the party flain, had practifed to make himself King. As being impossible a man should pretend to great a matter, and no man should find it : and contrariwise being possible, albeit he were spied, that otherwife he might attempt it, by making himfelf fo ftrong, that he needed not pass for the Law. In this case he gave every man liberty by such an act or mean, to prevent him if he could of discretion, who by strength otherwise sought to aspire to raign. They greatly commended him also for the Law that he made touching the Treasure: For being very necessary that every private Citizen should according to his ability, be contributor to the charges and maintainance of the Wars: he himself would neither take fuch collection into his charge, nor fuffer any wan of his to meddle with the fame, nor yet that it should be laid in any private mans house, but he did ordain that Saturns Temple should be the treasury thereof. This order they keep to this very day. Furthermore, he granted the people to choose two young men Quastores of the same, as you would say the Treasurers, to take the charge of this Money; and the two fift which were chosen, were Publius Veiuvim, and Marfire fift Quafire with charge of this Money; and the two fift which were chosen, were Publius Veiuvim, and Marfire fift Quafire fift ing in this account Orphans nor Widdows, which were exempted from all payments. After he had Minutiur: established all these things, he caused Lucretius (the Father of Lucretia) to be chosen fellow Con- Lucretius and ful with him, unto whom, for that he was his ancient, he gave the upper hand, and commanded Pablicola Conthey should carry before him the Rods, which were the figns of the chief Magistrate: and ever fuls. fince they have given this honour unto age. But Lucretim dying not long after his election, they Publicola and chose again in his place Marcus Horatius, who held out the Consulfhip with Publicola the rest of the Confulsi the year. Now about that time King Tarquine remained in the Countrey of Thus CANE, where he prepared a fecond Army against the ROMANS, and there fell out a marvellous strange thing thereupon. For when he raigned King of Rome, he had almost made an end of the building of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolin, and was determined (whether by any Oracle received, or upon any fantafie, it is not known) to fet up a Couch of earth baked by a Potter, in the highest place of the Temple, and he put it out to be done by certain Thus CANE Workmen of the City of VEIES: but whilst they were in hand with the work, he was driven out of his Realm. When the Workmen had formed this couch, and that they had put it into the furnace to bake it, it fell out contrary to the nature of the earth, and the common order of their work put into the furnace. For the earth did not shut and close together in the fire, nor dried up all the moisture thereof: but rather to the contrary it did swell to such a bigness, and grew so hard and strong withall, that they were driven to break up the head and walls of the furnace to get it out. The Soothfayers did expound this, that it was a celeftial token from above, and promifed great prosperity and increase of power unto those that should enjoy this Couch. Whereupon the VEIANS resolved not to deliver it unto the ROMANS that demanded it, but answered that it did belong unto King Tarquine, and not unto those that had banished him. Not many days after there was a solemn feast of Games for running of Horses in the City of VEIES, where they did also many other notable acts, worthy fight according to their cuftom. But after the Game was played, he that had won the Bell, being Crowned in token of victory, as they did use at that time, brought his Coach and Horses fair and softly out of the shewplace: and fuddenly the Horse being afraid upon no present cause or occasion seen, whether it was by chance, or by some secret working from above, ran as they had been mad with their Coach to the City of ROME. The Coach-driver did what he could possible at the first to stay them, by holding in the reins, by clapping them on the backs, and speaking gently to them: but in the end, perceiving he could do no good, and that they would have their fwing, he gave place to their fury, and they never lin running, till they brought him near to the Capitol, where they overthrew him and his Coach, not far from the gate called at this present Ratumena. The VEIANS wondring much at this matter, and being afraid withall, were contented the Workmen should deliver their Couch made of earth unto the ROMANS. Now concerning Jupiter Capitolinus Temple, King Tarquine the first (which was the Son of Demaratus) vowed in the Wars that he made against the SABYNS, that he would build it. And Tarquine the proud, being the Son of him that made this vow, did build it: howbeit he did not consecrate it, because he was driven out of his Kingdom before he had finished it. When this Temple was built and throughly finished, and set forth with all his ornaments: Publicola was marvelloully defirous to have the honour of the dedication thereof. But the Noble men

and Senators envying his glory, being very angry that he could not content himself with all

those honours that he had received in Peace for the good Laws he had made, and in Wars for

the victories he had obtained and well deserved, but further that he would seek the honour of

this dedication, which nothing did pertain unto him: They then did egg Horains, and perswaded him to make fuit for the fame. Occasion fell out at that time, that Publicola must have the leading of the ROMANS army into the field; In the mean time, while Publicola was ablent, it was procured that the people gave their voices to Horatim, to confecrate the Temple, knowing they could not fo well have brought it to pass he being present. Others say, the Confuls drew lots between them, and that it lighted upon Publicola to lead the Army against his will, and upon Horatius confectate this Temple, which may be conjectured by the thing that fortuned in the dedication thereof. For all the people being affembled together in the Capitol with great filence, on the fifteenth day of the month of September, which is about the new Moon of the moneth, which the GRECIANS call Metagitnion; Horarius having done all the Ceremonies needfull in fuch a cafe, and holding then the doors of the Temple, as the use was even to utter the foleran words of dedication, Marcus Valerius the brother of Publicola, having stood a long time there at the Temple-door to take an opportunity to speak, began to fay aloud in this wife: My Lord Conful, your Son is dead of a fickness in the Camp. This gan to may around in this write; may both coming, your our is attached, it is made all the Affembly forry to hear it, but it nothing amazed Horains, who spake onely thus much; Cast his body then where you will for me, the thought is taken. So he continued on to end his confecration. This was but a device and nothing true of Marcus Valerius, onely to make Horatius leave off his confecration. Horatius in this shewed himself a marvellous resolute man, were it that he straight found his device, or that he believed it to be true: for the foddennels of the matter nothing altered him, The very like matter fell out in confecrating of the fecond Temple. For this first which Tarquine had built, and Horarias confecrated, was confumed by fire in the Civil Wars; and the fecond was built up again by Sylla, who made no dedication of it. For Catulus let up the Superfeription of the dedi-How of Fapir cation, because Sylla died before he could dedicate it. The fecond Temple was burnt again not long How ort 3491 carron, recause 25144 time the troubles and tumults which were at ROME under Vitellius the Emperour. The third in like manner was re-edified and built again by Vespassan, from the ground to the top. But this good hap burnt and built he had above other, to fee his work perfected and finished before his death, and not overthrown as it was immediately after his death. Wherein he did far pass the happiness of Sylla, who died before he could dedicate that he had built; and the other deceafed before he faw his work overthrown. For all the Capitol was burnt to the ground incontinently after his death. It is reported, the onely foundation How much was one of the first Temple cost Tarquinius forty thouland Pandos of filver. And to guild onely the Tem-How muchwas one of the life rempire cont. I arguments out a mountain a manual of life that the richeft Citizen of Rome from the had, will come nothing near tumo, for it cost above twelve thousand Talents. The pillars of this too. Temple are cut out of a quarry of marble, called pentlike marble, and they were squared parpine, as thick as long; Thele I faw at Athens. But afterwards they were cut again, and polified in Rome, by which dome they got not fo much grace as they loft proportion; For they were made too flender, and left racked of their first beauty. Now he that would wonder at the stately building of the Capitol, if he came afterwards unto the Pallace of Domitian, and did but fee force gallery, porch, hall, or hothouse, or his concubines chambers, he would say (in my opinion) as the Poet Epicharmus said of a prodigal man :

It is a fault and folly both in thee, To lash out gifts and prodigall rewards For fond delights, without all rule that be, Regarding not what happens afterwards.

building humour.

So might they fastly say of Domitian: Thou art not liberal nor devout unto the gods; but it is a vice Demitian mad thou hast to love to build, and defirest (as they say of old Midas) that all about thee were turned to gold and precious stones. And thus much for this matter. Tarquine after that great foughten battle wherein he loft his Son (that was flain by Brutus in fighting together hand in hand) went to the City of CLUSIUM, unto King Claras Porfena, the mightieft Prince that reigned at that time in all ITALY, and was both noble and a courteous Prince. Porfens promifed him aid; and first of all he fent to Rome to fummon the Citizens to receive their King again: But the ROMANS refusing the fummons, he feat forthwith an Herauld to proclaim open Wars against them, and to tell them where and when he would meet them; and then marched thitherwards immediately with a great Army. Publicola now being ablent was chosen Conful the second time, and Titus Lucretius with him. When he was returned Publicals and home again to ROME, because he would exceed King Parfens in greamers of mind, he began to build Time Lucreture a City called Sig Liuria, even when the King with all his Army was not far from Rome, and having walled it about to his mervellous charge, he fent thither feven hundred Citizens to dwell there, to flew that he made little account of this War. Howbeit Porfena at his coming did give there, to have a find a first of the state of the such a lusty assault to the mount Janiculum, that they drave our the Souldiers which kept the same; who flying towards Rome were purfued to hard with the Enemies, that with them they had entred the Town, had not Publicola made a fally out to refift them; Who began a hot skirmith hard by the River of Tyber, and there fought to have stayed the Enemies to follow any further; Which being the greater number did overlay the ROMANS, and did hurt Publicola very fore in this skirmish, so as he was carried away into the City in his Souldiers Arms. And even so was the other Conful Lucretius hurt in like case; which so discouraged and frayed the ROMANS, that they all took them to their legs and fled towards the City. The enemies purfued them at their heels, as far as the wooden Bridge; So that the City was in marvellous hazard of taking upon the fudden. But Horatiu Cocles, and Herminius, and Lucretius, two other of the chiefest noble young men of the City, stood with them to the defence of the Bridge, and made head against the Horst in Gules Enemy. This Horatists was furnamed Cocles (as much to fay as one eye) because he had lost one why so ca led of them in the Wars. Howbeit other Writers say, it was because of his flat nose, which was so sunk into his head, that they saw nothing to part his eyes, but that the eye-brows did meet together; by reason whereof the people thinking to surname him Cyclops, by corruption of the tongue they called him (as they lay) Cocles. But how loever it was, this Horarise Cocles had the courage to flew his face against the! Enemy, and to keep the Bridge, untill such time as they had cut and broken it up behind him. When he faw they had done that, armed as he was and hurt in the hip with a pike of the Thus CANES, he leaped into the River of Tyber, and faved himself by swimming unto the other fide. Publicola wondering at this manly act of his, perswaded the ROMANS straight, Good service every one according to his ability, to give him so much as he spent in a day; and afterwards also rewarded. he caused the common Treasury to give him as much land as he could compass about with his plough in a day. Furthermore he made his Image of brass to be set up in the Temple of Vulcane, comforting by this honour his wounded hip, whereof he was lame ever after. Now whileft King Porsena was hotly bent very straightly to besiege Rome, there began a famine among the ROMANS; and to encrease the danger, there came a new Army out of Thuscane which OVER-ran, burnt, and made waste all the Territory of ROME. Whereupon Publicola being chofen Conful then the third time, thought he should need to do no more to result Porfena bravely, Conful, but to be quiet onely, and to look well to the fafe keeping of the City. Howbeit fpying his opportunity, he fecretly ftole out of Rome with a power, and did fet upon the Thus CANES that destroyed the Countrey about, and overthrew and flew of them five thousand men. As for the history of Murius many do diversly report it ; but I will write it in fuch fort as I think shall best agree with the truth. This Mutius was a worthy man in all respects, but specially for the Wars. He wan the troop, among to kill King Perfena, difguiled himself in Thuscanes apparell, vola and speaking Thuscane very perfectly, went into his Camp, and came to the Kings Chair, in the which he gave Audience; and not knowing him perfectly, he durst not ask which was he, left he should be discovered, but drew his Sword at adventure, and slew him whom he took to be King. Upon that they laid hold on him, and examined him: And a pan full of fire being brought for the King that intended to do Sacrifice unto the gods, Mutius held out his right hand over the fire, and boldly looking the King full in his face, whileft the flesh of his hand did fry off, he never changed hew nor countenance; The King wondring to fee fo strange a fight, called to them to withdraw the fire, and he himself diddeliver him his Sword again; Mussus took it of him How Mustus with his left hand, whereupon they say afterwards, he had given him the surname of Scavola, as came by the much to fay as left-handed, and told him in taking of it, Thou couldeft not Porfena with fear have name of Seaovercomed me, but now through courtefie thou haft won me. Therefore for good will I will reveal that unto thee, which no force nor extremity could have made me utter. There are three hundred ROMANS dispersed through thy Camp, all which are prepared with like minds to follow that I have begun, onely gaping for opportunity to put it in practife. The lot fell on me to be the first to break the Ice of the Enterprize, and yet I am not forry my hand failed to kill so worthy a man, that deserveth rather to be a friend than an enemy unto the ROMANS. Porfens hearing this. did believe it, and everafter he gave the more willing ear to those that treated with him of peace; not so much (in my opinion) for that he feared the three hundred lying in wait to kill him, as for the admiration of the ROMANS noble mind and great courage. All other Writers call this man, Mutius Scavola : Howbeit Athenodorus furnamed Sandon, in a Book he wrote unto Oftavia, Augustus fifter, saith that he was also called Opsigonus. But Publicola taking King Porsena not Publicola mato be so dangerous an enemy to Rome, as he should be a profitable friend and ally to the same, keth Porsens let him understand that he was contented to make him Judge of the Controversie between them and Judge betweet Tarquine, whom he did many times provoke to come and have his cause heard before King Porfena, where he would justifie to his face that he was the naughtiest and most wicked man of the world, and that he was justly driven out of his Countrey. Tarquine sharply answered, that he would make no man his judge, and Porfens left of all other, for that having promifed him to put him again in his Kingdom, he was now gone from his word, and had changed his mind. Porfena was very angry with this answer, judging this a manifest token that his cause was ill. Wherefore Perfena being follicited again by his own Son Aruns, who loved the ROMANS, did eafily grant them peace, upon condition that they should re-deliver back again to him the Lands they had gotten before within the Countrey of Thuscane, with the prisoners also which they Peace granted had taken in this War, and in lieu thereof he offered to deliver to them again the ROMANS, Porfens. that had fled from them unto him. To confirm this peace the ROMANS delivered him Hoflages, ten of the Noblest mens Sons of the City, and to many of their Daughters; among which was Valeria, Publicola's own Daughter. Peace being thus concluded, Porfena brake his Army, and withdrew his ftrength, trufting to the peace concluded. The ROMANS Daughters delivered for Hostages, came down to the Rivers side to wash them, in a quiet place where the ftream ran but gently, without any force or swiftness at all. When they were there, and saw

they had no Guard about them, nor any came that way, nor yet any boats going up nor down

the stream; they had a defire to swim over the River, which ran with a swift stream, and

was marvellous deep. Some fay, that one Clalia swam the River upon her horse back, and

that the did embolden and encourage the other to from hard by her horfe-fide, and recovering the other bank, and being paft all danger, they wein and prefented themselves before The boldness sing one other panis, and being part an uanger, they were any presented memories octore of classical Publicols the Conful. Who neither commended them, nor liked the part they had played, but ot class and other Raman was marvellous forry, fearing left men would judge him lefs carefull to keep his faith, than Virgins. was King Perfens and that he might furpect the boldness of these Maderis was but a crafty was any corjent, and use he might import the bounders of their readers was out a trans-fleight devifed of the ROMANS; Therefore he took them all again, and fear them immedarely unto King Perfens. Whereof Tarquine having intelligence, he laid shrambush for their that had the conduction of them. Who to foon as they were paff the River, did thew themselves and brake upon the ROMANS; they being far fewer in humber than the other, did yet very froutly defend themselves. Now whilst they were in extractly fight together, Valeria Public very nouncy acteur memory and three of her Fathers Servants, escaped through the midft of them, and faved themselves. The residue of the Virgins remained in the midst among their swords, in great danger of their lives. Aruns King Porfenas Son advertised hereof, run thither incominently to the refere ; but when he came the enemies fled; and the ROMANS held on their journey to re-deliver their hestages. Porfense seeing them again, asked which of them it was that began first to pass the River, and had encouraged the other to follow her. One pointed him unto her, and told him her name was Cletia. He-looked upon her very earneftly, and with a pleafant countenance, and commanded they should bring him one of his best Horses in the Stable, and the richest furniture he had for the same, and to he gave it unto her. Those which hold opinion that none but Clelia passed the River on horseback, do alledge this to which note opinion that none-out cleans paned the invert our normans, no assenge this to prove their Opinion true. Others do deny it, faying, that this True can it King did onely honour her noble courage. How foever it was, they fee her triange on Horseback in the Holy: Street, as they go to the Pallace; And Some say, It is the Statue of Valeria; other of Cledia; After Porfens had made peace with the ROMANS, in breaking up his Camp, he shewed his The liberality and torgena has made peace while the accommanded his soldier things is and specially in that he commanded his Soldier things is and specially in that he commanded his Soldier things is and specially in the commanded his Soldier things is and specially in the commanded his Soldier things is an accommanded his Soldier things is a specially in the commanded his Soldier things is a specially in the commanded his Soldier things is a special to the commanded his Soldier things is a special to the commanded his soldier things is a special to the commanded his soldier things is a special to the commanded his soldier things is a special to the commanded his soldier things is a special to the commanded his soldier things is a special to the commanded his soldier things is a special to the commanded his soldier things is a special to the commanded his soldier things is a special to the commanded his soldier things is a special to the commanded his soldier things is a special to the commanded his soldier things is a special to the commanded his soldier things is a special to the commanded his special to of King Porfe- noble mind unto them in many other things and pectally in that he coupling his Camp full of art to the Ro- ers they should carry nothing but their amount and weapon onely, leaving his Camp full of cas mey mound carry norming on some states current and or some states current came; that at this day Corn, Victuals, and other kind of goods. From whence this current came; that at this day Corn, Victuals, and other kind of goods, From whence this custom came, that at this day when they make open fale of any thing belonging to the Commonweal, the Sergeant or Common-Cryer cryeth, that they are king Porfens's Goods, and taken of thankfulnels and perpendicular of his bounty and liberality towards them. Further, Porfens's limage fandeth administration of the common of joyning to the Pallace where the Senate is used to be kept, which is made of great antick work. JOYAND TO THE PARTIES WHERE THE OBJECT OF ACTIVITY WHICH IS MADE OF GREAT ARICK WORK.
Afterwards the Saryns invading the ROMAN Territory with a great force; Marcin Valerius Publicola's Brother, was then cholen Conful, with one Polithamius Tuberrus. Howbeit Marcus Vale terrus ruomeota y Diviner, was men unoran control, with one roponamius superius. Provocit vius Polibumi- all matters of weight and importance passed by Publicola's countel and authority, who was present at any thing that was done; and by whose means Marcus his Brothet wan two great Battles, in the laft whereof he flew thirteen thouland of his enemies, not lofing one of his own men. For which his Victories, befides the honour of Triumph he had, the people also at their rise the bromen. For which me victories, occurs his honour of fruming ne man, the people and at their therefore Public own charges built him an house in the street of Mount Palarine, and granted him moreover that his door should open outwards into the street, where all other mens doors did open inwards into their houte: fignifying by grant of this honour and priviledge, that he should warus mito their from the Commonweal. It is reported that the GRECIANS doors of their houses in old time, did all open outwards after that fathion: And they do conjecture it by eth over the the Comedies that are played; where those that would go out of their houses, did first knock Sabyns. at their doors, and make a noise within the house, left in opening their door upon a sudden, they might overthrow or hurt him that tarried at the Street-door, or passed by the way, who hearing the noise had warning straight to avoid the danger. The next year after that, Publicola was chosen Conful the fourth time, because they stood in great doubt that the Sabyns and LATINS would join together to make Wars upon them: Befides all this, there was a certain superstitious fear ran through the City, of some ill hap toward it, because most part of the women with child were delivered of imperfect Children, lacking some one limb or other, and all of them came before their time. Wherefore Publicola looking in fome of Sybilla's Books, made private facrifice unto Pluto, and did fet up again fome Peafts and folemn Games that were left off, and had been commanded before time to be kept by the Oracle of Apollo. These means having a little rejoiced the City with good hope, because they thought that the anger of the gods had been appealed: Publicola then began to provide for the dangers that they were threatned withall by men, for that news was brought him that their enemies were up in all places, and made great preparation to invade them. Now there was at that time amongst the SABYNS a great rich man called Appins Glasgis, very strong and active of body, and otherwife a man of great reputation and eloquence, above all the reft of his countrey-men; But notwithstanding he was much envied, and could not avoid it; being a thing common to great men. He went about to ftay those intended Wars against the ROMANS. Whereupon many which before took occasion to murmur against him, did now much more encrease the same; with saying he sought to maintain the power of the ROMANS, that as

encrease the same; want saying in rough to the contervards by their aid he might make himself Tyrant and King of the Countrey. The contervards by their aid he might make himself Tyrant and King of the Countrey.

mon people gave easie ear unto such speeches, and Appins perceiving well enough how the

fouldiers hared him deadly, he feared they would complain and accuse him. Wherefore being

well backed and flood to by his Kinfmen, Friends, and Followers, he practifed to make a fir

cols triumph-

BUBLICOLA.

emong the SARYNS, which was the cause of staying the Wars against the ROMANS. Publicola also for his part was very diligent, not onely to understand the original cause of this fedition, but to feed on further and encrease the tame, having gotten men meet for that purpole, which carried Appins, such a mediage from him. That Publicols knew very well be was a just man a and one that would not be revenged of his Conzens to the general burt of his Country validough the injuries he received at their hands delivered him just occasion to doing Nevertheless if he had any define to provide for his fafety and to repair to ROME, leaving them which causeless wished him so much evil, they would both openly and privately receive him with that due honour which his vertue deserved, and the worthiness of the ROMAN people required. Clausus having long and many times confidered this matter with himself, refolved, that it was the best way he could take, making vertue of necessity; and therefore being determined to do it, he did procure his Friends to do as he did, and they got other also to them, so that he brought away with him out of the Countrey of the SABYNS, five thousand Families with their Wives and Children (of the quietest and most peaceable people among the SABY NS) to dwell at ROME. Applias Chastas Publicola being advertised thereof before they came, did receive them at their coming to Rome goeth to dwell with great joy, and all manner of good courteous entertainment. For at their first coming he made them at Rome. all and their Families free Citizens, and affigned unto every person of them two Jugera of Land (which contained one acre, one rood, eleven pole, and fixty nine parts of a pole) by the River of Tyber : And unto Appins felf he gave five and twenty Jugera (to wit, fixteen acres and a half, four pole and feventy fix parts of a pole) and received him into the number of the Senators. And thus came he first unto the government of the Commonweal in ROME, where he did so wisely behave himself. that in the end he came to be the chiefest man of dignity and authority in Rome so long as he lived. After his death he left behind him the Family of the Claudians, descending from him; which The family of for honour and worthiness gave no place to the noblest Family in Rome. But now the sedition a- the Claudians. mongft the SABYNS being pacified, by the departure of those that were gone to ROME: The seditions Governours would not suffer those that remained to live in peace, but still cryed out, It were too much shame for them that Clausus being a fugitive, and become an enemy, should honour their enemies abroad, that being present durft not shew so much at home, and that the ROMANS should escape unrevenged, who had done them fuch apparent wrongs. So they raifed great force and power, and went and cocumped with their army near the City of FIDE NES, and laid an ambush hard by ROME in certain hidden and hollow places, where they put two thousand choice footmen, very well armed, and did appoint the next morning to fend certain light horimen to run and prey to Rome-gates; commanding them, that when the ROMANS came out of the City to charge them, they should feem leifurely to retire, untill they had drawn them within danger of their ambush. Publicola receiving full intelligence of all their intention; by a Traitor that fled from them unto him, made due preparation to encounter with their privy ambuilt, and so divided his Army into two parts; For he gave his Son in Law Postbumius Balbus three thousand footmen, whom he fent away by night, commanding them the fame night to take the hills, in the bottom whereof the SABYNS were laid in ambush. Lucretia fellow-Conful with Publicola, having the lightest and lustiest men of the City, was appointed to make head against the vantcurrers of the SABY NS that minded to approach the gates. And Publicola with the rest of the Army marched a great compass about to inclose his enemies behind. The next morning betimes, by chance it was a thick mift, and at that prefent time, Posthumius coming down from the hills, with great shouts charged them that lay in ambush, Lucretius on the other side set upon the light horsemen of the SABYNS, and Publicala fell upon their Camp. Sothar of all fides the SABYNS enterprize had very ill success; For they had the worst in every place, and the Romans killed them Hying, without any turning again to make reliftance. . Thus the place which gave them hope of beft falety, turned most to their deadly overthrow. For every one of their companies supposing the other had been whole and unbroken, when a charge was given upon them, did straight break, and never a company of them turned head toward their enemy; For they that were in the Camp, ran towards them that were in ambush; and those which were in ambush on the contrary side, ran towards them that were in Camp. So that in flying the one met with the other, and found those towards whom they were flying to have been fafe, to ftand in as much need of help as themselves. That which faved some that were not flain, was the City of FIDENES, which was near the Camp, and specially faved those which fled thither. But fuch as came thort of the City and could not in time recover it, were all flain The Sabyas in the Field, or taken prisoners. As for the glory of this honourable Victory, albeit the ROMANS flain. were wont to ascribe all such great notable matters to the special providence and grace of the gods, yet at that time norwithstanding they did judge that this happy success sell out by the wife foresight and valiantness of the Captain. For every man that had served in this journey, had no other talk in his mouth, but that Publicola had delivered their enemies into their hands, lame and blind, and as a man might fay, bound hand and feet to kill them at their pleasure. The people were marvelloully enriched by this Victory, as well for the spoil as for the ransom of the prisoners that they had gotten. Now Publico-La after he had triumphed, and left the government of the City to those which were chosen Consuls for Publicola. the Year following, died incontinently, having lived as honourably and vertuoully all the days of his life as any man living might do. The people then took order for his Funerals, that the charges thereof should be defrayed by the City, as if they had never done him any honour in his life, and that they had been still debtors unto him for the noble service he had done unto the State and Commonweal whilst he His Funerals. lived. Therefore towards his Funeral charges, every Citizen gave a piece of money called a Quatrine.

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The Women also for their part to honour his Funerals, agreed among themselves to mourn a whole year in black for him, which was a great and honourable memorial. He was buried also by express year in orack for min, which was a great and nonsonable incurors; the was ourself and by express order of the people, within the City, in the firest called Velia, and they granted priviledge allounto all his posterity, to be buried in the left same place. Howbeit they do no more bury any of his there; But when any die, they bring the Coarfe unto this place, and one holding a torch burning in his hand, doth put it under the place, and take it ftraight away again, to shew that they have liberty to bury him nous put a single use plate, and take it stranges away again, to like that they willingly refuse his honour; and this done, they carry the Coarse away again, there, but that they willingly refuse his honour;

The end of the Life of Publicola.

THE COMPARISON OF SOLO N with PUBLICOLA.



OW prefently to compare these two personages together, it seemeth they both had one vertue in them; which is not found in any other of their lives which we have written of before. And the same is, that the one hath been a witness, and the other a follower of him, to whom he was like. So as the fentence that Solon spake to King Crassus touching Tellus selicity and happiness, might have been better applied unto Publicola then to Tellus: whom he judged to be very happy because he died honourably, he had lived vertuously, and had lest behind him goodly children. And yet Solon speaketh nothing of his excellency or vertue in any of his Poems: Neither did he ever bear any honourable office

in all his time, nor yet left any Children that carried any great fame or renown after his death. Whereas Publicale to long as he lived, was always the chief man among the ROMANS, of credit and authoria y, and afterwards fince his death certain of the nobleft Families and most ancient Houses of Rome, in these our days, as the Publicoles, the Messales, and the Valerians, for fix hundred years continuance, do refer the glory of the Nobility and ancientry of their Houses unto him. Furthermore, Tellus was flain by his enemies, fighting valiantly like aworthy honest man: But Publiools died after he had flain his enemies; which is far more greater good hap then to be flain. For after he as General had honourably ferved his Countrey in the Wars, and had left them Conquerors, the first his far more greater good hap then to be flain. having in his life time received all honors and triumphs due unto his service he attained to that happy end of life, which Solon accounted and effermed most happy and blessed. Also in wishing manner he would his end should be lamented to his praise, in a place where he consuteth Minnermus about the continuance of mans life, by faying,

SOLON and POBLICOLA.

Let not my death without lamenting pas, But rather let my friends be wail the fame : Whose grievous tears, and cries of out alas, Aday of resound the Eccho of my name.

If that be good hap, then most happy maketh he Publicola : for at his death, not onely his friend and kinefolks, but she whole City also, and many thousand persons besides, did bitterly bewail the loss of him. For all the Women of Rome did mouth for him in black, and did most pitifully lament his Death, as every one of them had loft either Fathen, Brother, or Husband.

Tyne it is, that I court goods to have :

Solon faith this, because vengeance followed ill gotten goods. And Publicola took great head, not onely to get his goods most justly, but had regard that those which he had, he spent most honestly in helping the needy, So that it Solon was justly reputed the wifest man, we must needs conjess also that netping the necay. So that it speam was jurity reputed the which that man, we muit needs contest alto that Publically was the happielt. For what the one defired for the greatest and most perfect good a man can have in the World, the other hath won it, kept it, and uted it all his life time, until the hour of his death. And, thus hath Solom honoured Publicala, and Publicala hath done the like unto Solon; thewing himlelf a perfect example and looking-glass, wherein men may see how to govern a popular state, when he made his Consulthip void of all pride and stately show, and became himself affable, courteous, and beloved of every body. So took he profit by many of his Laws; as when he ordained that the people onely should have authority to chuse and create all common Officers and Magistrates. and that they might appeal from any judge to the People: as Solon when he fuffered them to appeal unto the Judge of the people. Indeed Publical did not create any new Senate, as Solon did, but he did augment the first number, with as many persons almost as there were before. He did at o Publicola but he did augment the first manners, with a many persons and other collections of money. erected the office of Quality of the office of Quality o Because the chiefest Magistrate, if he were an honest man should not for so light an occasion be taken stores. from the care of better and more weighty affairs; and if he were wickedly given, and ill disposed, that he should have no such mean or occasion to work his wicked will, by having the treasure of the City in his hands, and to command what he lift. Moreover in hating the Tyrants, Publicola therein was far more sharp and terrible. For Solon in his Laws punished him that went about to make himself a Tyrant, yet after he was convicted thereof by Law; but Publicola ordained that they should kill him, before the Law did pass upon him, that fought to be King. And where Solon justly and truly vaunteth himfelf, that being offered to be King and Lord of ATHENS, and that with the whole consent of the Citizens, yethe did notwithstanding refuse it: This vaunt and glory is as due unto Publicola; who finding the dignity of a Conful tyrannical, he brought it to be more lowly and favourable for the people, not taking upon him all the authority he might lawfully have done. And it feemeth that Solon knew before him what was the true and direct way to govern a Commonweal upright. For he faith in

Both great and small of power, the better will obey, If we too little or too much upon them do not lay.

The discharging of debts was proper to Solon, which was a full confirmation of liberty: For little prevaileth Law to make equality among Citizens when debts do hinder the poor people to enjoy the benefit thereof. And where it feemeth that they have most liberty, as in that they may be chosen Judges and Officers, to speak their Opinion in the Council, and give their voices also; There indeed are they most bound and subject, because they do but obey the rich in all they do command. But yet in this act there is a thing more wonderfull, and worthy to be noted, That commonly discharging of debts was wont to breed great tumults and feditions in Commonweals. And Solon having used it in a very good time (as the Phylician venturing a dangerous medicine) did appeale the fedition already begun, and did utterly quench through his glory, and the common opinion they had of his wisdom and verue, all the infamy and accusation that might have grown of that act. As for their first entry into the government, Solons beginning was far more noble: For he went before, and followed not another; and himself alone without any others help, did put in execution the best, and most part of all his notable and goodly Laws. Yet was Publicola's end and death much more glorious and happy; For Solon before he died, faw all his Commonwealth overthrown; But Publicola's Commonweal continued whole as he left it, untill the broil of civil wars began again among them. Solon after he had made his Laws, and written them in wooden Tables, leaving them without defence of any man, went his way immediately out of the City of ATHENS. Publicola abiding continually in Rome governing the state, did throughly stablish and confirm the Lawshe made. Furthermore, Solon having wifely foreseen Pyfistratus practises, aspiring to make himself King, he could never let him for all that, but was himself overcome and oppressed with the Tyrranny he saw stablished in his own sight, and in despight of him, where Publicola overthrew and did put down a mighty Kingdom, that had continued of long time, and was throughly stablished; his vertue and defire being equall with Solons, and having had besides fortune favourable, and sufficient power to execute his vertuous and well-disposed mind. But as for Wars and Martial Deeds, there is no Comparison to be made between them. For Daimachus Plateian

SOLON and PVBLICOLA. 94

Plataian, doth not attribute the Wars of the MEGARIANS unto Solon, as we have written it: where Publicola being General of an Army, and fighting himself in person, bath won many great battles. And as for matters of peace and civil government, Solon never durft prefent himself openly to perfunde the enterprize of SALAMINA, but under a counterfeit madnels, and as a fool to make sport: where Publicola taking his adventure from the beginning, shewed himself without diffimulation an where Thoseola taking its adventure from the organizing, mowed miniet, without unminimation and open Enemy to Tarquine, and afterwards he revealed all the whole confpiracy. And when he had been open guerry to 1 arquines, and ancervates in Execution at the whole compilary. Find when he had been the onely Caufe and Authour of punishing the Traitors, he did not onely drive out of Rome the Tythe onery Came and Authorn or pushing the Alamona, the are not onery different and Alone the Lycanis felves in person, but took from them also all hope of return again. Who having always thus norants telves in perion, but took from them also at nope of return again. Who having always thus nobly and valiantly behaved himfelf, without fhrinking back, or flying from ought that required force a manly courage, or open refiftance; did yet flew himfelf diferent, where wildom was required, reason and periwasion needfull. As when he cunningly wan King *Porfena*, who was a dreadfull Energy unto him, and invincible by force; whom he handled in such good fort, that he made him his my unto him. Deaddonning force might flead in this and four when Calan yearned the Idea Co. my unto mm, and mymetor by role; which and fay, that Solon recovered the 1ste of SALAMINA Friend. Peradventure fome might stand in this, and fay, that Solon recovered the 1ste of SALAMINA unto the ATHENIANS, which they would have loft. Publicola to the contrary reflored the Lands unto Porfena again, which the ROMANS had conquered before, within the Countrey of Thus CANE. unto rorjem again, which there things were done, are always to be confidered of. For a wife Governor of But the times in which there things were A politick precept.

A politick prelong a Realm, and politick man, doth govern diverfly according to the occasions offered, taking every thing
a Realm, and politick man, doth govern diverfly according to the occasions offered, taking every thing
a Realm, and politick man, doth govern diverfly according to the occasions offered, taking every thing
the property of the property which they had ulurped, faved by that means all that was affiredly his own. And whereas the Rowhich they mad unurped, haven by that means an mat, was anoremy mis own. Analymereasure results and not shought he should do very much for them to save their City onely, he got them moreover all the goods that were in their Enemies Camp which did besiege them. And in making his Enemy judge the group that were in their contents of his quarrell, he wan the victory; winning that moreover which he would gladly have given to have of his quarrent, he want the victory; wanning that movernome, and have femence pals on his fide. For the King their Enemy did not onely make peace with them, but did also leave them all his furniture, provision, and munition for the wars: even for the vertue, manhood, and justice, which the great wildom of the Conful perswaded Porfena to believe to be in all the other ROMANS.

THE LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES.



Anno Mundi. 3461.

Ant. Christ. 487.

MISTOCLES Parentage did little advance his glory, for his Father Neocles was of small reputation in ATHENS, being of the hundred of Phrear, and tribe of Leoneis; and of his mother an alien or stranger, as these Verses do witness: Abresonen 1 am, yborn in Thracia, And yet this high good hap I have, that into Grecia I have brought forth a Sen, Themistocles by name,

The glory of the Greekish bloods, and man of greatest fame.

Howbeit Phanias writeth, that his Mother was not a THRACIAN, but born in the Country of CARIA; and they do not call her Abrotonon but Enterpé. And Neanthes faith furthermore, that the was of HALICARNASSUS, the chiefest City of all the Realm of CARIA. For which cause when the strangers did assemble at Cynosargos (a place of exercise without the gate dedicated to Hereuser, which was not a right god, but noted an alien, in that his mother was a mortal place of exer-womans) Themispoeles perswaded divers youths of the most honourable houses, to go down with him, cife dedicated and to anoint themselves at Cynosargos, cunningly thereby taking away the difference between the right to H. render, and allied fore. But setting apart all these circumfances, he was no doubt allied unto the house of the Lycomedians; For Themssfordes caused the Chappel of this Family, which is in the Village of PHLYES, being once burnt by the barbarous people, to be built up again at his own charges; and as Simonides faith, he did fet it forth and enrich it with pictures. Moreover every man doth confels it, that even from his childhood they did perceive he was given to be very hot-headed, stirring, wife, and of good spirit, Themistocles and enterprizing of himfelf to do great things, and born to rule weighty causes. For at such days and hours as he was taken from his Book, and had leave to play, he never played, nor would never be idle, as other Children were; But they always found him conning fome Oration without Book, or making is alone by himself; and the ground of his matter was ever commonly, either to defend or accuse some of his Companions. Whereupon his School-master observing him, oft faid unto him : Sure some great matter hangeth over thy head my Boy, for it cannot be chosen but that one day thou fhalt do fome notable good thing, or fome extream mischief. Therefore when they went about to teach him anything, onely to check his nature, or to fashion him with good manners and civility, or to fludy any matter for pleasure or honest pastime, he would slowly and carelessy learn of them. But if they delivered him any matter of wit, and things of weight concerning state, they saw he would beat at it marvelloufly, and would understand more than any could of his age and carriage, trufting altogether to his natural mother wit. This was the cause that being mocked afterwards

THE

fus brother.

96

Mnesiphilus Phrearian.

What wifdom was in old time.

of Sophilters came up Themistocles youth.

Themissocles ambition.

The Athenians bent their perfusition.

by some that had studied humanity and other liberal Sciences, he was driven for revenge and his own defence, to answer with great and ftour words, faying, that indeed he had no skill to tune a Harp, nor a Viol, nor to play on a Pfatterion; but if they did put a City into his hands that was of small name, weak, and little, he knew ways enough how to make it noble, strong, and great. Neverthelels Stefimbrotus writeth, how he went to Anaxagoras School, and that under Meliffus was Anange he fludied natural Philosophy. But herein he was greatly deceived, for that he took no great heed unto the time. For Meliffus was Captain of the Samians againft Pericles, at what time he did lay fiege unto the City of Samos. Now this is true, Pericles was much younger than Themisfocles, and Anaxagoras dwelt with Pericles in his own house. Therefore we have better reason and occasion to believe those that write, Themisfacles did determine to follow Anescephilus Phreavian. For he was no proteffed Orator nor natural Philosopher, as they termed him in that time; but made pro-fession of that which then they called wisdom; which was no other thing but a certain knowledge to handle great cautes, and an endeavour to have a good wit and judgment in matters of flate and government : Which profession beginning in Solon, did continue, and was taken up from man to man, as a fect of Philosophy. But those that came fithence, have mingled it with art of speech, and by little and little have translated the exercise of deeds unto bare and curious words: whereupon they were called Sophisters, as who would fay, counterfeit wife men. Notwithstanding when The-How the name miffocles began to meddle with the government of the Commonweal, he followed much Mnefiphilus. In the first part of his youth his behaviour and doings were very light and unconstant, as one carried away with a rash head, and without any order or discretion: By reason whereof his manners and conditions feemed marvelloufly to change, and oft times fell into very ill-favoured events, as himlest did afterwards confess, by faying, that a ragged Colt oft times proves a good horse, specially if he be well ridden and broken as he should be. Other tales which some will seem to add to this, are in my opinion but Fables. As, that his Father did difinherit him, and that his Mother for very care and forrow the took to fee the lewd life of her Son, did kill her felf. For there are that write to the contrary, that his Father being defirous to take him from dealing in government, did go and flow him all along the Sea flore, the (hipwracks and ribs of old galleys caft here and there, whereof no reckoning was made, and faid to him, thus the People use their Governours when they can ferve no longer. Howfoever it was, it is most true that Themistocles earnestly gave himself to stare, and was suddenly taken with defire of glory. For even at his first entry, because he would fer soot before the proudeft, he ftood at pike against the greatest and mightiest persons that bare the sway and government, and specially against Aristides, Lysimachus Son, who ever encountred him, and grudge betwirt was still his adversary opposite. Yet it seemeth the evil will he conceived toward him, came of a very light cause. For they both loved Stefilans that was born in the City of TEOS, as Ariston the Philosopher writeth. And after this jealousie was kindled between them, they always took contrary part one against another, not onely in their private likings, but also in the government of the Commonweal. Yet I am periwaded, that the difference of their manners and conditions did much Arifilder a just encrease the grudge and discord betwire them. For Arifides (being by nature a very good man, a just dealer, and honest of life, and one that in all his doings would never flatter the people, nor ferve his own glory, but rather to the contrary would do, fay, and counfell always for the most benefit and commodity of the Commonweal) was oft times enforced to refift Themisforles, and disappoint his ambition, being ever bussly moving the people to take some new matter in hand:
for they report of him, that he was enflamed with desire of glory, and to enterprize great matters, that being but a very young man at the battle of MARATHON, where there was no talk but of the worthines of Captain Militiades that had won the battle : He was found many times folitary alone devising with himself. Besides, they say he could take no rest in the night, neither would go to Plays in the day time, nor would keep company with those whom he was accustomed to be familiar withall before. Furthermore, he would tell them that wondred to see so great alteration in his manners, and asked him what he alled, that Militades victory would not let him sleep, because other thought this overthrow at MARATHON, would have made an end of all Wars. Howbeit Themisfocles was of a contrary opinion, and that it was but a beginning of greater troubles: Therefore he daily studied how to prevent them, and how to see to the faiety of GREECE; and before occasion offered, he did exercise his City in seas of war, foreseeing what should follow after. Wherefore where the Citizens of ATHENS before did use to divide among themselves the revenue of perfeaded his their mines of filver, which were in a part of ATTICA called Laurion, he alone was the first that Country men durft speak to the people, and perswade them, that from thenceforth they should cease that distribution among themselves, and employ the money of the same in making of galleys, to make Wars a gainst the ÆGYNETES. For their Wars of all GREECE were most cruel, because they were Lords of the Sea, and had to great a number of Ships. This perswasion drew the Citizens more easily to Themissiocles mind than the threatning them with King Darius, or the Persians would have done; who were far from them, and not feared that they would come near unto them. So this opportunity taken of the hatred and jealousite between the ATHENIANS and the ÆGYNETES, made the people to agree, of the faid money to make an 100 galleys, with which they fought against King Xernet, and did overcome him by Sea. Now after this good beginning and fuccess, he wan the Citizens by degrees to bend their force to Sea, declaring unto them, how by land they were feant able to make head against their equals, whereas by their power at Sea they should not onely defend themselves from the barbarous people, but moreover be able to command all GREECE. Hereupon he made them

good mariners, and passing Sea-men, as Plato saith, where before they were stout and valiant souldiers by land. This gave his enemies occasion to cast it in his teeth afterwards, that he had taken away from the ATHENIANS the pike and the target, and had brought them to the bank and the ower. and so he got the upper hand of Miltiades, who inveighed against him in that, as Stefinibrotus writeth. Now after he had thus his will, by bringing this Sea-service to pass, whether thereby he did overthrow the justice of the commonweal or not, I leave that to the Philosophers to dispute. But that the prefervation of all GREECE stood at that time upon the Sea, and that the galleys onely were the cause of setting up ATHENS again, Xerxes himself is a sufficient witness, besides other proofs that might be brought thereof. For his army by Land being yet whole, and unfet on, when he faw his Army by Sea broken, dispersed, and sunk, he fled straight upon it, confessing as it were that he was now too weak to deal any more with the GRECIANS, and left Mardonius his Lieutenant in Grecce, of purpole in my opinion, rather to let that the GRECIANS should not follow him, then for any hope he had to overcome them. Some write of Themisfooles, that he was a very good husband for Themislacia his own profit, and carefull to look to his things; for he did spend liberally, and loved oft to make a good hus-Sacrifices, and honourably to receive and entertain strangers; wherefore he had good reason to be band to look carefull to get, to defray his charges. Other to the contrary blame him much, that he was too near and to his profit. miserable; For some say he would sell presents of meat that were given him. He did ask one Philides on a time which had a breed of mares, a colt of gift; who denying him flatly he was fo angry, that he threatned him ere it were long he would make his house the horse of wood, with the which TROIA was taken. Meaning covertly to let him understand that he would shortly fet strife and quarrel betwixt Themislicales him, and his nearest kinsmen and familiar friends. It is true that he was the most ambitious man of extreamly amthe world; For when he was but a young man, and scantly known, he earnestly entreated one Epicles bitious. born at HERMIONNA, an excellent player of the Citern, and counted at that time the cunningest man in all ATHENS at that instrument, that he would come and teach his art at his house, and all was no more but that many people being defirous to hear him play, should ask for his house, and come thither to him. And one year when he went unto the Feaft and affembly of the plays Olympicall. he would needs keep open house for all comers, have his tents richly furnished, and a great train of fervants and all other furniture, onely to contend with Cimon. This marvelloufly spited the GRECI-ANS, who thought Themistocles expences fit for Cimons countenance and ability, because he was a young gentleman, and of a noble house; but for him that was but a new come man, and would bear a greater port then either became his calling or ability they thought it not onely unallowable in him. but meer prelumption and vainglory. Another time he defrayed the whole charges of a tragedy which was plaied openly; and being fet out therein to have won the prife, and the ATHENIANS being marvellous defirous of the honour in fuch plays, he caused this Victory of his to be painted in a Table which he did dedicate and fet up in a Temple, with this Inscription, Themistocles Phrearian defrayed the charges; Phrynicus made it; Adimantus was chief Ruler. Yet notwithstanding he was well taken of the common people, partly because he would speak to every citizen by his name, no man telling him their names, and partly also because he shewed himself an upright judge in private mens causes. As one day he answered the Poet Simonides, born in CHIO, who did request an unreasonable matter at his hands, at that time when he was governour of the City. Thou couldst be no good A wife faving Poet, Simonides, if thou didft fing against the rules of musick; Neither my self a good governour of of Themistical a City, if I should do any thing against the Law. And mocking the same Simonides another time, he told him he was but a fool to speak ill of the Corinthians, considering they were Lords of so great and strong a City; and that he was not wife to make himself to be drawn, being so deformed and ill- Themisfoeles favoured. But being grown in credit, and having won the favour of the people, he was such an ene- made Aristimy to Ariftides, that in the end he made him to be expulsed and banished ATHENS for five years, des to be ba-When news were brought that the King of Persia was onwards on his journey, and coming nished. down to make wars upon the GRECIANS : the ATHENIANS consulted whom they should make their Generall. And it is reported that all their common Counfellors which were wont to speak in matters, fearing the danger, drew back, fave an Orator called Epicydes, Euphemides Son, very eloquent in speech, but somewhat womanish, faint-hearted, and greedy of money, who offered himself Episyder and to sue for this charge and had form have a characteristic National Section 1. to fue for this charge, and had some hope to obtain it. Wherefore Themistocles fearing all would not to be General. be well if it fell to this man to be Generall of the Army, he bought out Epicydes ambition with ready money, and so made him let fall his suit. It fell out Themistocles was greatly commended, about that was done to the Interpreter, that came with the King of Persia's Embassadours, and demanded the Empire of the Grecians both by Sea and Land, that they should acknowledge obedience to the King. For he caused him to be taken and put to death by a common consent, for using the Greek Tongue in the fervice and commandment of the barbarous people. It was a notable thing also, that at his motion Athmius born at ZELBA, was noted of infamy, both he, his children, and all his poster famed for bririty after him, because he brought gold from the King of Persia, to corrupt and win the Gre-bing. cians. But the greatest and worthiest act he did in those parts, was this: that he pacified all civill wars among the Grecians, perswading the Cities to leave off their quarrels untill the wars were done, in the which they fay Chileus Arcadian did help him more then any other man. He being now chosen General of the ATHENIANS, went about presently to imbark his Citizens in- Themisfacles to Galleys, declearing to them they should leave their City, and go meet with the barbarous King by General of the Sea, fo far from the coast of Greece as they could, but the people did not think that good. Where-Athenians and other coast of Greece as they could, but the people did not think that good. fore he led great numbers of Souldiers by Land into the Countrey of TEMPES with the LACEDE- gainft Xerxen

MONIANS, to keep the passage and entry into THESSALY, against the barbarous people, which Countrey flood yet found to GREECE, and not revolted to the MEDES. Afterwards the GRECIANS coming from thence without any act done, and the THESSALIANS also being won somewhat on the Kings fide, for that all the whole Countrey unto Boso TIA was at the devotion and good-will or the barbarous people, the ATHENIANS began then to find how Themsfiecles opinion to fight by Sea was very good. Whereupon they fent him with their Navy to the City of ARTEMISIUM, to keep the straight. There the other GRECIANS would have had the LACEDEMONIANS and their Admiral Eurybiades to have had the authority and commandment of the reft. But the ATHE NIANS Would not fet fail under any other Admiral then their own, because theirs were the greatest number of Ships in the Army, and above all the other Grecians. Themsspecies foreseeing the danger that was likely to fall out amongst themselves, did willingly yeeld the whole authority unto Eurybiades, and got the Athenians to agree unto it: affuring them, that if they behaved themfelves valiantly in these wars, the other GRECIANS of their own accord would alterward submit themselves unto their obedience. Hereby it appeareth, that he onely of all other was at that time the original caule of the faving of GREECE, and did most advance the honour and glory of the Athenians, by making them to overcome their enemies by force, and their friends and allies, with liberality. In the mean time, Eurybiades feeing the barbarous fleet riding at anchor all along the Isle octanty. In the mean time, Encropance recing the bathalous necessaring at anchor an along the fire of Appendix, with such a great number of Ships in the vaward, he began to be afraid. And understanding moreover, there were other two hundred sail that went to coast about the 1ste of Sci-ATHE, and so to come in .: he presently would have retired further into GREECE, and would have drawn nearer unto Peloponnessus, to the end their Army by Sea might be near their Army by Land, as thinking it impossible to fight with King Xerxes power by Sea. Whereupon the Inhabitants of the Ille of EURORA, searing left the Gressans would leave them to the spoil of the enemy, they cauled Themistocles fecretly to be spoken withall, and fent him a good sum of money by one called Pelagon. Themisfacles took the money, as Herodorus writeth, and gave it to Eurybiades. But there was one Architeles amongst the Athenians , Captain of the galley called the holy galley, that was much against Themistocles intended purpose; who having no money to pay his mariners, did what he could that they might depart with speed from thence. Themisfooles stirred up then his Souldiers more against him then before, infomuch as they went aboard his galley, and took his supper from him. Architeles being marvellous angry and oftended withall, Themisfrocks fent him both bread and meat in a pannier, and in the bottom thereof he had put a talent of filver, bidding him for that night to sup with that, and the next morning he should provide for his marriners, or else he would complain and accuse him to the Citizens that he had taken money of the enemies. Thus it is written by Phanias Lesbian. Moreover the first fights in the straight of Eubora, between the Grecians and the barbarous people, were nothing to purpose to end the wars between them: For it was but a rafte given unto them which ferved the Grecians turn very much, by making them to fee by experience, and the manner of the fight, that it was not the great multitude of Ships, nor the pomp and fumptuous fetting out of the same, nor the proud barbarous shouts and songs of victory, that could frand them to purpose against noble hearts and valiant-minded Souldiers, that durst grapple with them, and come to hand-ftrokes with their enemies, and that they should make no reckoning of all that bravery and brags, but should stick to it like men, and lay it on the jacks of them. The which (as it feemeth) the Poet Pindarss understood very well, when he faid touching the bat-The flout Athenians have now foundation layed tel of ARTEMISIUM:

The coast of Artemisium.

This plane liberty of Greece, by these assaults assayed.

To out of doubt the beginning of victory, is to be hardy. This place ARTEMISIUM is a part of the file of EUBOSA, looking towards the North, above the City of ESTIEA, lying directly over against the Countrey, which sometimes was under the obedience of the PHILOCTETES, and over against the Countrey, which sometimes was under the obedience of the PHILOCTETES, and fpecially of the City of OLIZON. There is a little Temple of Diana, firnamed Orientall, round fpecially of the City of OLIZON. There is a little Temple of the one, which when a man rubs with about the which there are trees, and a compass of pillars of white stone, which when a man rubs with shand, they she will be with the control of the colour and savour of fastron. And in one of those pillars there is an infeription of lamentable verses to this effect:

When bolde f blouds of Athens by their might,
Had overcome the numbers infinise
Of Asia: they then in memory
Of all their deeds and valiant wittory,
Began to build this noble Monument,
And to Diane the same they did present,
For that they had the Medes likewise subdued,
And with their bloud, their bardy hands embrued.

There is a place feen also upon that coast at this day, a good way into the land, in the midst whereof are great sands sull of black dust like afters: and they think that they burnt in that place all dead bodies and old shipwracks. News being brought what had been done in the Countrey of Thermopyles, how that King Leonidas was dead, and how that Xerxes had won that entry into Greece by land; the Grecians then brought their whole Army by Sea won that entry into Greece, the Athenians being in the retreaval in this retrear, as men whose hears were lift up with the glory of their former valiant deeds. Now Themispooles passing by those places

places where he knew the enemies must of necessity fall upon the Lee shore for harbour; he did engrave certain words spoken unto the IONIANS, in great letters in stone, which he found there by chance, or purposely brought thither for that purpose, where there was very good harbour for Ships, and fit places also to lie in. These were the words, that the IONIANS should take the GRECIANS parts being their founders and anceftors, and fuch as fought for their liberty; or at the leaft they should trouble the army of the barbarous people, and do them all the mischief they could, when the GRECIANS should come to fight with them. By these words he hoped either to bring the IONIANS to take their part, or at the least he should make the barbarous people jealous and mistruffull of them. Xerxes being already entred into the uppermost part of the Province of DORICA, into the Countrey PHOCIDA, burning and destroying the Towns and Cities of the PHOCIANS, the other GRECIANS lay still and fuffered the invafion, notwithstanding the ATHENIANS did request them to meet with the barbarous army in BOEOTIA, to fave the Countrey of ATTICA, as before they had done, when they went by fea to ART EMISIUM: But they would not hearken to it in no wife; and all was because they were defirous they should draw to the straight of PELOPONNESUS, and there they should affemble the whole strength and power of GREECE within the bar of the same, and make a strong substantiall wall from the one Sea to the other. The ATHENIANS were very angry at this device, and were half discouraged and out of heart to see themselves thus forsaken and cast off by the rest of the GRECIANS. For it was out by all speech that they alone should fight against so many thousands of enemies, and therefore their onely remedy was, to leave their City, and to get them to the Sea, The people were very unwilling to liften hereunto, making their reckoning it was needless to be carefull to overcome, or to fave themselves, having once forfaken the temples of their gods. and the graves of their Parents. Wherefore Themsstocles seeing that neither reason nor mans perswafion could bring the people to like his opinion; He began to frame a device (as men do use fometimes in tragedies) and to threaten the ATHENIANS with figns from heaven, with oracles and answers from the gods. And the occasion of Minerva's dragon served his turn for a celestial fign and token, which by good fortune did not appear in those days in the Temple as it was wont to do; and the Priefts found the Sacrifices which were daily offered to him, whole and untouched by any. Wherefore being informed by Themistocles what they should do, they spread a brute abroad amongst the people, that the goddels Minerva, the protectour and defender of the City, had forfaken it, pointing them the way unto the Sea. And again he wan them by a Prophewhich commanded them to fave themselves in walls of wood, saying, that the walls of wood Wooden walls did fignifie nothing else but Ships. And for this cause he said, Apollo in the Oracle called SALA fignifies Ships.

MINA divine, not miserable nor unfortunate, because it should give the name of a most happy Vi-Gry which the Grecians thould get there. And so at the last they following his counsell, he made this Decree, that they should leave the City of Athens to the custody of the goddes Pallas, that was Lady and Governour of the Countrey, and that all those which were of age to carry any weapon should get them to the galleys; and for the rest that every man should see his wife, children and bondmen placed in some sure place as well as he could. After this decree was past and autorstake Athens thorized by the people, the most part of them did convey their aged Fathers and Mothers, their by Themittocles wives and little children, into the City of TROEZEN, where the TROEZENIANS received them perswasion, & very lovingly and gently. For they gave order that they should be entertained of the common go to the sea. charge, allowing them a peece, two oboloes of their money a day, and suffered the young children to gather fruit wherefoever they found it, and furthermore did hire Schoolmafters at the charge of the Commonwealth, to bring them up at School. He that was the penner of this decree was one called Nicagoras. The ATHENIANS at that time had no common money, but the Senate of the Areopagites (as Aristotle saith) furnished every Souldier with eight drachma's, which was the onely mean that the galleys were armed. Yet Clidemus writeth, that this was a craft devised of Themi-Stocles. The ATHENIAN'S being come down unto the haven of PIREA, he made as though Pallas target (on the which Medufaes head was graven) had been loft, and was not found with the Image of the goddess; and feigning to feek for it, he ransacked every corner of the galleys, and found a great deal of filver which private persons had hidden amongst their fardels. This money was brought out unto the people, and by this means the Souldiers that were shipped had wherewithall to provide them of necessary things. When time came that they were to depart the haven, and that all the City of ATHENS had taken Sea, one way it was a pity to behold them : another way it made all forts to wonder, that confidered the boldness and courage of those men, which before fent away their Fathers and Mothers from them, and were nothing moved at their tears, cries, shrikes, and embracings of their wives, their children, and departures, but stoutly and refolutely held on their course to SALAMINA. Notwithstanding there were many old Citizens left still of necessity in ATHENS, because they could not be removed for very extreme age, which stirred many with compassion toward them. There was besides a certain pity that made mens hearts to yern, when they saw the poor dogs, beasts, and cattel run up and down bleating, lowing, and howling out aloud after their Mafters, in token of forrow, when they did imbark. Amongst these there goeth a strange tale of Xantippus dog, who was Perioles Xantippus Father; which for forrow his Mafter had left him behind him, did cast himself after into the Dog. Sea, and swimming still by the galleys side wherein his master was, he held onto the Isle of Sa-LAMINA, where so soon as the poor curr landed, his breath failed him, and he died presently.

THEMISTOCLES.

Themificeles

THEMISTOCLES.

decree.

Notable an-(wers of Themittocles.

> The Sleeve is a fiish fashioned like a

> > Themistocks the which he wan the battel at Salamins.

> > > Themistocles and Ariftides confent together to give

They fay, at this day the place called the dogs grave is the very place where he was buried.

Their were strange acts of Themistocles, that beholding the ATHENIANS forry for the absence of Ariffides, and fearing left of fpight he taking part with the barbarous Nation, night have been the ruine and defiruction of the state of Grance, being banished five years also before the wars Arifiller by Themifocles procurement; that he did fet forth a Decree, that all those which had been banishreturneth from by toems produce mem, makine again, to do, to fay, and to give counfel to the Chizens in the chizens which they though ber for the prefervation of Granca. And allo where Envision there they should be the chizens the chizens the chizens the chizens the chizens are the chizens and the chizens the chizens the chizens are the chizens and the chizens are the chizens are the chizens and the chizens are des being General of the GRECIANS whole Army by Sea, for the worthmels of the City of Span-Ta, but otherwife a rank coward at time of need, would in any cafe depart from thence, and re-TA, OUR OURTWINE A JAIN COWNES IN THE ON THOSE A PROPERTY OF THE PALOPOWNES IANS WAS by land affembled; That Themissocles withfrood him and did hinder it all he could. At that time by tand antennied; That I nemifocles wanted on otable answers, which specially are noted and gathered toalso it was that Themistocles made so notable answers, which specially are noted and gathered together. For when Eurybiades said one day unto him, Themispocles, those that ar plays and games do rife before the company, are whiftled at : It is true, faid Thempfockes, but those also that tarry laft, do never win any game. Another time Eurybiades having a Staff in his hand, lift it up, as though he would have fricken him; Strike and thou wilt; faid he; fo thou wilt hear me. Enrybiades wondring to fee him fo patient, suffered him then to say what he would. Then Thems flocles began to uring to rec min to panent, america min that to any work he would, that to be my justiff to gain to bring him to reason, but one that stood by, said unto him, Themispoles for a man that hath neither City nor house, it is an ill part to will others that have to for lake all. Themispoles turning to the City nor house, it is an ill part to will other that have to for lake all. Themispoles turning to him, replied, We have willingly forfaken our houses and walls, said he, cowardly beast that thou art, because we would not become slaves for fear to lose things that have neither foul nor life: And yet our City I tell thee is the greatest of all GREECE; for it is a Freet of 200 galleys ready to fight, which are come hither to fave you if you lift. But if you will needs go your ways and forngut, which are come must to have your you into hour you will need be your ways and for-fake us the fectond time, you find hear tell ere it be long, that the ATRACIANS have another free City, and have poffelfed again as much good land, as that they have already loft. These words made Eurybiades presently think and fear that the ATHENIANS would not go, and that they would forfake them. And as another Eretrian was about to utter his reason against Themisfockes opinion, he could not but answer him: Alas, and must you my Masters talk of wars too, that are like to a Sleeve? Indeed you have a Sword but you lack a heart. Some write, that whileft Themiffecles was ralking thus from his galley, they fpied an Owl flying on the right hand of the Ships withoutes was taking titus from the galaxy, they speck at the hereign aff the other GRawhich came to light on one of the mafts of the galleys; and that hereign aff the other GRawhich came to light on one of the mafts of the galleys. But when the fleet of their enemies Ships shewed on the coasts of ATTICA, hard by the haven Phaleriem, and covered all the Rivers thereabouts, as far as any body could fee, and that King Krikes himfelf was come in person with all his army by land, to camp by the Sea-fide; So that his whole power both by Land and tea might be feen in fight; then the GRECIANS had forgotten all Themisfocles goodly persuasions, and began to incline again to the Peloponnasians, confidering how they might recover the gulf of Peloponisus, and they did grow very angry, when any man went about to talk of any other matter. To be short, it was concluded that they should fail away the next night following or the should be sho ing, and the Mafters of the Ships had order given them to make all things ready for them to depart. Themistocles perceiving their determination, he was marvellous angry in his mind, that the Gra-CIANS would thus disperse themselves afunder, repairing every man to his own City, and leaving the advantage which the nature of the place and the straight of the arm of the Sea, where they lay in harbour together, did offer them; and so he bethought himself how this was to be holpen. Suddenly the practice of one Sicinus came into his mind, who being a Parsian born, and taken priloner before in the war, loved Themisforles very well, and was School-master to his Children. This Sicinus he fecretly fent unto the King of Parsia, to advertise him that Themisfocles (General of the ATHENIANS) was very defirous to become his Majeffies fervant, and that he did let him understand betimes that the GRECIANS were determined to fly; and therefore that he wished him not to let them escape, but to set upon them whilest they were troubled and afraid, and far from their Army by land, to the end that upon a fuddain he might overthrow their whole power by Sea. Xerxes supposing this intelligence came from a man that withed him well, received the melfenger with great joy, and thereupon gave prefent order to his Captains by Sea, that they should imbarke their men into the other Ships at better leifure, and that prefently they should put out with all politible speed, two hundred Sail to follow the GRECIANS in the tail, to shut up the foreland of the fraight, and to compals the Isles all about, that not one of his enemies this might escape, and so it fell out. Then Aristides (Lycimacus Son) being the first that perceived it, went to Themisfocles tent, though he was his enemy, and through his onely means had been benished before, as ye have heard; and calling him our, told him how they were environed: Themiflocks who knew well enough the goodness of this man, being very glad he came at that time to feek him out, declared unto him the policy he had used by the message of Sicinus, praying him to put to his help to flay the GRECIANS, and to procure with him, confidering his word had more authority among them, that they would fight within the straight of SALAMIA. Arifides commending his great wisdom, went to deal with the Captains of the other galleys, and to procute the straight of SALAMIA. Arifides commending his great wisdom, went to deal with the Captains of the other galleys, and to procute the straight of the str them to fight. For all this, they would not credit that he faid, untill such time as there arrived a galley of TENEDIENA, wherreof one Panetius was captain, who being stolen out of the host of the barbarous army, brought certain news that the straight out of doubt was shut up. So that befides the necessity which did urge them, the spite which the GRECIANS conceived thereof did provoke them to hazard the battel. The next morning by break of day King Xerxes placed himself on a marvellous steep high hill, from whence he might discern his whole Fleet, and the ordering of his Army by Sea, about the Temple of Hercules, as Phanodemus writeth, Which is the narrow way or channell between the Isle of SALAMINA, and the coast of ATTICA; or as Acestodorus saith, upon the confines of the territories of MEGARA, above the point which they commonly call the Hornes. There Xerxes fet up a Throne of gold, and had about him many Secretaries to write all that was done in the battel. But as Themistocles was facrificing unto the gods in his galley that was Admirall, they brought to him three young Prisoners, fair of complexion, richly arayed with gold and Jewels, whom they faid were the children of Sandace the Kings Sifter. and of Prince Autaritus. So foon as Euphrantides the Soothfayer had feen them, and at their arrivall observed, there arose a great bright flame out of the Sacrifice, and at the very self same inftant that one on his right hand had fneezed; He took Themistocles by the hand, and willed him to facrifice all those three prisoners unto the god Bacchus, surnamed Omestes, as much to say as the cruell Bacchus: For in doing it, the GRECIANS should not onely be faved, but they should have the victory over their enemies. Themistocles wondred much, to hear fo strange and terrible a commandment of the Soothfayer. Nevertheless the common fort following their custom, which is, to promile fafety sooner in the greatest dangers and most desperate cases, by strange and unreasonable. rather then by reasonable and ordinary means; they began to call upon the god with one voice. and bringing the three prisoners near unto the Altar, they compelled him to perform the sacrifice in that fort as the Soothsayer had appointed. Phanias Lesbian an excellent Philosopher, and well feen in Stories and Antiquities, reporteth this matter thus: As for the number of the Ships of the barbarous Navy, Afchilus the Poet in a Tragedy which he intituled the PERSIANS, knowing certainly the troth, faith thus:

King Xerxes had a thousand Ships I know. Among ft the which two hundred were (I trow) And feven, which all the rest did over-fail With swifter course. This is withouten fail.

Xerxes King of Perlia had a thousand Ships.

The ATHENIANS had nine score, in every one of the which there were eighteen Souldiers, whereof four of them were archers, and all the rest armed men. Themistocles also did with no less skill and wisdom choose his time and place to fight, forbearing to charge his enemies untill the hour was come, that of ordinary custom the Sea-wind arose, and brought in a rough Tide within the Channell, which did not hurt the GRECIAN galleys, being made low and fnug, but greatly offended the PERSIAN galleys, being high cargued, heavy, and not yare of steredge, and made them lie sidelong to the GRECIANS, who siercely set upon them, having alwaies an eye to Themistocles direction that best foresaw their advantage. At the same time Artamenes, Xerxes Ad- Artamenes mirall, a man of great valour and worthieft of the Kings brethren, bestowed arrows and darts as Xerxer Adit were from the walls of a Castle, charging the galley of Aminias Decelian and Sosicles Pedian, which mirall. were joyned and grapled with him, and fiercely entring the fame, was by them valiantly received upon their Pikes, and thrust over board into the Sea.; Whose body floting amongst other shipwracks, Artemisia knowing, caused to be carried to King Xerxes. Now whilest this battel stood in these terms. they fay that there appeared a great flame in the Element toward the City of ELEUSIN, and that a loud voice was heard through all the plain of THRACIA unto the Sea, as if there had been a number of men together that had fung out aloud the holy Song of Jacobus. And it feemed by little and little, that there arose a cloud in the air from those which sang, that left the land, and came and lighted on the galleys in the Sea. Others affirmed, that they faw armed men, which did reach out their hands from the Isle of ÆGINA, towards the GRECIAN Galleys: and they thought they were the ÆACIDES, for whose help they all prayed before the battel was begun. The first man of the ATHENIANS that took any of the enemies Ships, was Lycomedes, a Captain of a galley; who having taken very rich furniture and flags, did afterwards confecrate them to Apollo laurel; as ye would fay, victorious. The other GRECIANS in the front being equall in number with the barbarous Ships, by reason of the straightness of the arm of the Sea wherein they fought, and so straightned as they could not fight but by one and one, whereby the Barbarians disorderly laid one another The Grecians aboord, that they did hinder themselves with their over multitude; and in the end were fore pressed victory of the upon by the GRECIANS, that they were constrained to fly by night, after they had fought and Persians Navy maintained battel untill it was very dark. So that the GRECIANS wan that glorious and famous victo- by Sea. ry, of the which may truly be affirmed that, as Simonides faith,

Was never yet nor Greek nor barbarous crew, That could by Sea so many men subdue : Nor that obtain'd fo famous victory , In any fight against their enemy.

Thus was the victory won through the valiantnels and courage of those that fought that battle, but especially through Themssfooles great policy and wildom. After this battle Xerxers being mad for his loss, thought to fill up the arm of the Sea, and to pass his Army by land, upon a Bridge, into the Isle of SALAMINA. Themistocles because he would feel Aristides opinion, told him as they were talking together, that he thought best to go and occupy the straight of Hall-Is spont with the army by Sea, to break the Bridge of Ships which Xerxes had caused to be

THEMISTOCLES.

Counfel unto Themistocles, for the breaking of Xerxes Bridge. Themistocles ftratagem.

made: to the end, faid he, that we may take Asia into Euro PE. Arifides liked not this opinion for we have ((aid he) fought all this while against this barbarous King, who thought but to play with us: but if we shut him within GREECE, and bring him to fight of necessity to save his life: such an enemy that commanded fo great an Army, will no more stand still, as a looker on, and sit at his eafe under his golden pavillion, to fee the partime of the battell, but will prove every way, and be himself in every place at all affaies to fave himself from such a straight and danger. Thus with politick care and forefight, he may eafily amend his former fault committed by negligence, and do well enough, when he shall see his life and Kingdom both depend upon it. Therefore Themissocles, Well emough, when he man he me me and hange at all, which he hath cauled to be made; but I would think best not to break down his Bridge at all, which he hath cauled to be made; but rather if we could, to build another to it, to drive him out of Europe as foon as we could. The mifforles then replied: Seeing you think this were best to be done, we must all lay our heads together, to devise how he may be forced to come our as foon as we could. They breaking off with this resolution, Themistocles sent immediately one of the Kings Eunuches, called Arfaces that was one of the Grooms of his Chamber, whom he found our amongst the Prifoners, and by him he fent this Meffage unto the King: That the GRECIANS having won the battell of him by fea, had decreed in their Counfel, how they would go to the straight of HELLESPONT, to break the Bridge of the Ships he had caused to be made there. Whereof he thought good to advertise him for the good will he did bear him, and to the end he might bethink him betimes, to get him away to the fea within his own Dominion, and so pass back again into Asia as soon as he could, whilest he gave or der to his allies and confederates, to flay following him at the poop. The barbarous King underftanding this news, was fo afraid that he hoifed away with all possible speed. The further torefight and great wisdom of Themistocles and Aristides, in marine causes, did manifestly appear afterwards in the battel the GRECIANS fought before the City of PLATEA, against Mardonisu King Watus in the Dated the Charles and power of the Kinghis Soveraigns there, did yet put the Xerxes Lieutenant: who having but a small power of the Kinghis Soveraigns there, did yet put the GRECIAN'S to great differes, and in hazard to have lost all. Of all the Towns and Cities that fought in this battel, Herodotus writeth, that the City of ÆGINA wan the fame for valiantness above the reft: and of private men, among the GRECIANS, Themisforles was judged the worthiest man; although it was fore against their wills, because they envied much his glory. For after the battel done, all the Captains being gotten into the straight of PELOPONNESUS, and having fworn upon the Altar of their facrifices, that they would give their voices after their confciences, to those they thought had best deserved it : every one gave himself the first place for worthines, and the fecond unto Themisfocles. The LACEDEMONIANS carried him into SPARTA, where they judged the honour and dignity of valiantness to their Admirall Eurybiades : but the wisdom and policy they artributed unto Themistocles. In token thereof they gave him an Olive branch, and the goodlieft Coach that was in their City: and moreover they fent three hundred of their lufty youths to accompany him, and conduct him out of their Countrey. And they say, that at the next Feasis and affemblies of the plays Olympicall which were made after this victory, when Themistocles was once come into the flew-place where these Games were played, the people looked no more on them that fought, but all cast their eyes on him, shewing him to the strangers which knew him not, with their fingers, and by clapping of their hands did witners how much they effected him. Whereathe himlelf took for great delight, that he confessed to his familiar friends, he then did reap the fruit and handle for the finder an and benefit of his fundry and painfull fervices he had taken in hand, for the prefervation of GREECE: Themisfacter fo ambitious was he of nature, and coverous of honour, as we may easily perceive by certain of his ambition noted deeds and notable sayings they have noted of him. For being chosen Admirall of ATHENS, he deeds and notable sayings they have noted of him. never dispatched any causes private or publick, howsoever they fell our, until the very day of his departure and taking ship: and all because that men seeing him dispatch much business at once, and to fpeak with fo many persons together, they should efteen him to be the notabler man, and of the greater authority. Another time he walked upon the fands by the fea fide, beholding the dead bodies of the barbarous people, which the fea had caft up upon the shore : and feeing some of them that had on thill their chains of gold and bracelers, he passed by on his way, but shewed them yet to a familiar friend of his that followed him, and faid unto him : Take thou those, for thou art not Themisfoctes. And unto one Antiphates, who in his youth had been a goodly young boy, and at that time did fcornfully behave himself unto him, making no reckoning of him: and now that he saw him in great authority came to see him, be said: O my young son and friend; we are both even at one time that the same himself unto him, be said: O my young son and friend; we are both even at one time that the same of himself unto here. (but too late) grown wife. He faid the ATHENIANS did not effect of him nor honour him in time of peace: but when any florms of wars were towards, and they flood in any danger, they ran to him then, as men ran to the shadow of a Plane tree, upon any suddain rain : and afterwards when fair weather cometh again, they cut away the branches and boughs thereof. There was a man born in the Isle of SERIPHA, who being fallen out with him, did cast him in the teeth, that is was not for his worthiness, but for the noble City wherein he was born, that he had won fuch glory: Thou sayest true said he; but neither should I have won any great honour, if I had been a SPRIPHIAN, nor thou also if thou hadst been an ATHENIAN. Another time one of the Cap-

Themistocles honoured 2hove all the Grecians.

Themistocles

tains of the City, having done good fervice unto the Commonweal, made boast before Themisfincles, A pretty Tale and compared his service equal with his. Themistocles to answer him, told him a pretty tale, That a pretty 131e and compared ins service equal with the Holy-day, repining against her, that he laboured for his of Themistudes the Working-day brauled on a time with the Holy-day, repining against her, that he laboured for his living continually, and how the did nothing but fill her belly, and foend that they had gotten. Thou haft reason said the Holy-day: but if I had not been before thee, thou hast not been here now

And fo, if I had not been then; where had you my Mafters been now? His own Son was a little too fawcy with his Mother, and with him alfo, bearing himfelf over-boldly of her good will, by means of her cockering of him. Whereupon being merrily disposed, he would say that his Son Themissocles could do more then any man in all GREECE. For, faith he, the ATHENIANS command the GRE- faying of his CIANS, I command the ATHENIANS, my Wife commandeth me, and my Son commandeth Son. her. Moreover because he would be fingular by himself above all other men : having a piece of Land he would fell, he willed the Cryer to proclaim open fale of it in the market-place, and withall he should add unto the sale, that his Land lay by a good neighbour. Another time, two men being fuiters to his Daughter, he preferred the honester before the richer, faying : he had rather have to his Son in law a man that lacked goods, then goods to lack a man. These were Themistocles pleafant conceits and answers. But after he had done all these things we have spoken of before, he took in hand to build again the City and walls of ATHENS, and did corrupt the Officers of LACED.E- Themisfacles MONIA with money, to the end they should not hinder his purpose, as Theopompus writeth: Or as built again the all other say, when he had deceived them by this subtilty, he went unto SPARTA, as Ambassadour, walls of the fent thither of purpose upon the complaints of the LACEDÆMONIANS, for that the ATHENI-City of Athens ANS did inclose their City again with walls, who were accused unto the Counsel of Sparta, by an Orator called Poliarchus, who was fent thither from ÆGINETES, of purpose to prosecute this matter against the ATHENIANS. Themistocles stoutly denied it to them, and prayed them for better understanding of the troth, they would fend some of their men thither to see it. This was a fetch onely to win by this delay, the ATHENIANS fo much more time to raife up their walls, and that the ATHENIANS should keep as Hostages for surery of his person, those they should fend to A- A subtill seach THENS to bring back the report thereof; and so it fell out. For the LACEDEMONIANS being of Themistocles. informed of the troth as it was, did him no hurt, but diffembling the milliking they had to be thus The haven of abused by him, fent him away safe and sound. Afterwards he made them also mend and fortifie the Piras fortified. haven of PIREA, having confidered the fituation of the place, and all to encline the City to the fea. Wherein he did directly contrary to all the counfel of the ancient Kings of ATHENS: who feeking (as they fay) to withdraw their people from the fea, and to accustom them to live upon the land by planting, fowing, and plowing their grounds, did devile and give out abroad, the Fable they tell of the goddels Pallas : And that is this : How she contending with Neptune about the patronage of the Countrey of ATHENS, brought forth and shewed to the Judges the Olive-tree, by means whereof the prevailed and obtained the preheminence. Even to Themistocles did not joyn the haven of PIREA unto the City of ATHENS, as the Comicall Poet Aristophanes faith: but rather joyned the City unto the haven PIREA, and the land unto the fea. By this means he made the people ftrong against the Nobility, and brought the commonalty to wax bolder then they were before, by reason the rule and authority fell into the hands of Saylers, Mariners, Pilots, Ship-masters, and fuch kind of feafaring men: fo as the Pulpit where all the Orations were made, flood in the market-place of PNIX, and did look towards the fea. But the thirty Tyrants that came in afterwards, did remove it, and turn it towards the land : holding opinion, to be ftrong by fea, was it that did maintain the authority of the popular state : and that contrariwise they which live by the labour and toil of the earth, do more willingly like the government of Nobility. Themistocles called to mind another matter also of greater importance, to make the City of ATHENS of greater power by sea. For after the retire of Xerxes, and that all the Fleet and Navy of the GRECIANS wintred in the haven of PEGASES: he faid one day in an open affembly of the people, that he had thought of a thing which would be very profitable and beneficial for them, but it was not to be told openly. The people willed him then to impart it to Ariftides; and if he thought it good, they would execute it speedily. Themistocles then told Aristides: the thing he had considered of was to burn the Arcenall where the GRECIANS Navy lay, and to let on fire all their Ships. Ariftides hearing his purpole, returned to the people, and told them; how nothing could be more profitable, but withall more unjust, then that which Themistocles had devised. The ATHENIANS then willed Aristides it should be let alone The equity of altogether. Furthermore when the LACEDAMONIANS had exhibited their Petition to the Coun- the Athenians. sel of the Amphittions (that is, the generall Counsel of all the states of GREECE, assembled) how the Towns and Cities of GREECE which had not been parties with the GRECIANS in the League against the barbarous people, should be put off wholly from this Counsel, Themestocles doubting that if the ARGIVES, the THESSALIANS and the THEBANS also should by this means be exempted, that the LACEDEMONIANS would be then the greater number in voices, and by this means might do what they would in this Counsel: he spake so considerately for the Cities which they would have thus discharged, that he made the Petitioners in the affembly utterly to change their opinion. Declaring, how there were but one and thirty Cities comprised onely in the League, and yet that some of them were very weak and small: and how it were no reason, that rejecting all the rest of GREECE, the greatest authority of this Counsel should fall into the hands of two or three of the chiefest Cities alone. For this cause chiefly the LACEDEMONIAN'S did ever bear him extreme harred, and did ftir up Ciman all they could, to be always adversary opposite unto him, and as it were to beard him in all marters of state, and the government of ATHENS. They procured him belides the ill will and displeasure of all the friends and confederates of the ATHENIANS, for that he went fayling still to and fro along the Isles, exacting Money of the inhabitants of the same. And this is to be known by the matter propounded by him to the ANDRIANS (of whom he would have had Money) and by the answer they made him, as Herodorus writeth. Which was, how he had

Themistocles gods, Love and Force.

brought them two mighty gods: Love and Force. And they answered him again, that they also had two great goddeffes, which kept them from giving of him any money : Powerty and Impossibility. And to make this good alfo, Timocreon the Rhedian Poet galled him to the quick, when he sharply taunted him, for calling many home again for money that were banished: and how for the covegoldeffes.

Taunted him, tor calling many nonic again to money and Friend. The verfes wherein this mattoufness of Money he had betrayed, and forfaken his hoft and Friend. The verfes wherein this mattourness of Money he had betrayed, and forfaken his hoft and Friend. Impossibility. ter is mentioned, are to this effect:

Who lift commend worthy Paufanias, Zanthippus or good Leotychides, Tet fhall I feem but light thereof to pafs, Compar'd with valiant Aristides. For yet was nay the like in Athens town, Nor never shall come none of like renown. Themistocles by right and due desert, Is hated of Latona, for his lies, And for he bare a traiterous wicked heart Who like a wretch, and niggard did devise, For small reward his bost Timocreon. To hold out of his Countrey falison. He took for bribe (unjustly yet therewhile) Of ready coin three talents fair and bright, Revoking such as pleas'd him, from exile, And banishing full many a worthy wight. Or putting them to death, without cause told, He gate thereby great heaps of coyn and Gold. But in the end (o right reward for fuch) This bribing wretch, was forced for to hold A sipling booth, most like a clown or snuch, At holy feasts and pastimes manifold, Which were among ft the people in those days, Istmician folke , did use the like always. And there he ferv'd his quests with cold meat still, Whilft they that tafted of his cookery, Gan wish that they (to ease their weary will) Had never lived, to fee the treachery Of false Themistocles, and that he might No longer live, which wrought them such dispight.

After this, he did more openly blase him to the world, when he was banished and condemned, in a fong that had beginning thus:

O Muse, let these my verses be disperst Throughout all Greece, since they deserve no less: And fince the truth which is in them rehearst, Deserveth fame, whom no man should suppress.

They fay the cause why this Timocreon was banished, was, the friendship which he had with the Barbarous people, and for giving them intelligence. Whereof Themissocles was one that judicially condemned bim. Wherefore when Themistocles himself was accused afterwards of the fame fault, Timocreen then made these verses following against him:

Timocreon was not without his pheere, Which did confer with Medes privily, Since others mo, the felf same blame might bear, Mo foxes lurke in dens , as well as 1.

Besides these verses, Themissocles own Citizens for ill will they bare him, began now with great contenument and applause, to hearken to those that gave out evil speeches and slanders of him. Therefore while he fought ways to redress all this, he was driven to use such means, which more increased their hatred towards him. For in his orations to the people, he did off remember them of the good fervices he had done them : and perceiving how they were offended withall, he was driven to fay: Why, are ye weary to often to receive good by one man? Many of them were very angry with him alfo, when he furnamed Diana (in the dedication of her Temple he made unto her) Aristobule, as much to fay, as the good counseller: meaning thereby, how he had given grave and wife counfel, both unto his City, and to all the reft of the GRECIANS. He built this Tentplealso near his house, in a place called Melica, where the hang-men did cast the dead bodies of those that were executed, and throw the Rags and halters ends of those that were hanged, or otherwise put to death by Law. There was also in our days in the Temple of Diana Aristobule, a little Image of Themissectes, which shewed plainly, that he was not onely wife, and of a noble mind, but also of a great majefty and countenance in the face. In the end the ATHENIANS banished

him ATHENS for five years, because they would pluck down his over great courage and authority, as they did use to serve those, whose greatness they thought to be more, then common Themistodes equality that ought to be among Citizens would bear. For this manner of banishment for a time, banished for called Oftracissimon, was no punishment for any fault committed, but a mitigation and taking away five years. of the envy of the people, which delighted to pluck down their ftomacks that too much feemed to exceed in greatness: and by this means they took away the poylon of his malice, with diminishing his glory and honour. So Themistocles being banished from ATHENS, went to dwell in ARGOS In this mean feafon, Paufanias treachery fell out, which gave his enemies occasion to lie heavy on his back. But he which became his accuser, and was partner of the treason, was one called Leabotes, (Alemeons Son) born in a Village called AGRAULA. Besides this, the SPARTANS also did fit on his skirts, and charged him forely. For Paufanias never before revealed to Themistocles the treason he had purposed, although he was his very familiar friend. But after he saw Themstocles was banished, and did take his exile very unpatiently: then Pausaniae was bold to open his treason unto him, to procure him to take his part, and shewed him the Letters the King of PERSIA had written to him, and all to thir him up against the GRECIANS, as against ungratefull and unnaturall people. Howbeit Themistocles shook him off, and told him plainly he would be no parmer of his treason. Notwithstanding, he never revealed it to any living creature, nor discovered the practise he Paulanius intended : hoping either he would have given it over, or that shortly it would appear by some revealeth his other mean, confidering he fo fondly afpired to things of danger, and without purpose or posti- treason unto bility. After Paufanias was condemned, and had suffered pains of death for the same : they found amongst his papers, certain writings and Letters, which made Thems stocles to be very fore suspected. Whereupon the LACEDEMONIANS on the one fide cryed out of him, and his enemies and ill willers at ATHENS accused him on the other side. To the which he made answer by Letters from the beginning, and wrote unto the people; that it was not likely that he (who fought all the ways to rule, and was not born to ferve, neither had any mind thereto) would ever have thought in his head, to fell his own liberty, and the GRECIANS also unto the Barbarous people their Themistacles enemies. Notwithstanding this purgation of his, the people by the procurement of his enemies, sent suspected of to apprehend him, and to bring him before the States of all GREECE, to be judged by that counsel, treason. Whereof Themssfocles having intelligence in time, he did convey himself into the isle of CORPHU, Themssfocles because the City there was greatly beholding to him, for a certain pleasure he had done them in fled into the times past. For the being at fuit and strife with the CORINTHIANS he took up the matter be- Isle Corphu. tween them, and gave judgement on their fide, and condemned the CORINTHIANS to pay them twenty Talents damages : and did fet down an Order, that they should occupy the Isle of LEUCADE incommon together, as ground that had been inhabited with the people, aswell of the one City, as of the other. From thence he fled to Epirus, whither being followed by the ATHENIANS and the LACEDEMONIANS, he was compelled to venter himself upon a doubtfull and very dangerous hope. For he went to yeeld himself into the hands of Admetus, King of the MOLOSSIANS. Who having heretofore made certain requests unto the ATHENIANS, and being shamefully denied them by means of Themistocles (who then was at his chiefest height and authority) the King was marvelloufly offended with him : and it was a cleer case indeed , that if he could then have laid hands on him, he would have been revenged of him throughly. Howbeit feeling the prefent mifery of his exile, he thought he might less fear the Kings old quarrell and difpleasure, then the fresh hate and envy of his Countrey men. Whereupon he went unto King Admet us, trufting to his mercy, and became an humble futer to him in a strange extraordinary fort. For he took the Kings little young Son in his Arms, and went and kneeled down before the Altar in his Chappel: which humble manner of fuing the MOLOSSIANS take to be most effectuall, and fuch as they dare not deny nor refuse. Some tay that Queen Philia her self, the Kings Wife did inform him of this their Countrey cuftom and manner, and brought her little. Son also near the The manner Altar. Other write also, that it was Admet us himself that taught and shewed him this enforcing of supplication manner of Petition, onely for a cloke to excuse himself to those that should come to demand The- among the missionles of him: that by duty of Religion he was so straightly bound and restrained, that he might Molossians. not deliver him out of his Protection. In this mean time Epicrates Acharnian found the means fecretly to convey Themestocles Wise and Children out of ATHENS, and did send them privily unto him : whereupon he was afterwards accused and put to death, upon Cimons accusation and motion, as Stefimbrotus writeth. Who not remembring those matters I know not how, or making as though Themistocles had not remembred himself to say, that Themistocles sailed into SICILE, where he fought to Marry Hierons Daughter, the Tyrant of SYRACUSA: promiting him if he would let him have her, he would affure him to conquer all GREECE for him and to bring them under his obedience. But Hieron refusing this offer, Themistocles went from thence into A s I A: but that is not likely. For Theophrastus writeth in his book intituled of Kingdoms, that Hieron having fent certain running Horses, to the seast of the games Olympical, and having set up a marvellous rich and fumptuous Tent there: Themistocles made an Oration to the GRECIAN s, declaring unto them how they should tear the Tyrants Tent in peeces, and not to suffer his Horses to run with

other swift and light Horses, and to carry away the prite in those holy games. Thucydides again

declareth how he went unto the other sea, and imbarked in the City of PyDNE, being not known

of never a man in the ship, untill such time as the wind began to carry them into the Isle of NAx-

OS, which the ATHENIANS by chance did beliege at that time, where being afraid to be fet on

* Threefcore

thoufand

Crowns.

hundred

Crowns,

* Eighteen

THEMISTOCLES.

Land, he was forced to bewray himself to the Master of the ship, and the Masters mate, and wrought them, what with fair words and what with threats (by faying he would accuse them to the ATHENIANS, that they did not ignorantly receive him in, but hired for money) so as he compelled them to fail no further, and to carry him into Asia. As for his goods, his friends faved the most part of them, and fent them into Asia to him. But for those that came to light, and were confiscate unto the State , Theopompus writeth, they did amount to the value of one hundred * Talents; and Theophrastus faith, but to fourfcore Talents onely: whereas all his goods was not worth three * Talents, when he began to govern the State of the Commonweal. When he came unto the City of Cuma, he perceived that all the coasts by the fea were layed for him to apprehend him , and that he had many spials upon him : among the which , these were two special noted men , Ergotels, and one Pythodorus, the reward being very great, for men that fought their gain any way they could. For the King of Persia had proclaimed by found of Trumpet, two hundred Talents to him that brought him Themistocles. Whereupon he fled unto a little town of EOLIA, called EGES, where no living body knew him, but his host onely, called Nicogenes: who was the richeft man of all the EQUIANS, and knew all the Noble men of authority that were about the King of Persia. Themistocles continued hidden certain days in his house : in which time, on a night after the feaft of a facrifice, one Olbim, schoolmaster to Nicogenes (hildren, by some secret working of the gods, suddenly fell besides himself, and began to sing these verses out aloud:

Do thou beleeve what so the night thee tells, And give thy voice thy counsell and concests Unto the night, in darksomeness that dwells, Thereon also thy victory awaits.

Themptodes

How Themiflocles was conveyed to

che King of

The Perfians honour their King as the Image of the

The next night following, Themisfocles being fast alleep in his bed, dreamed that a Snake wound ir felf round about his Belly, and glided upwards to his neck, untill it touched his face, and fuddenly then it became an Eagle, and imbraced him with his wings: and fo at length did lift him up in the air, and carried him a marvellous way off, untill he thought he faw a golden rod (fuch as Heralds use to carry in their hand) whereupon the Eagle did fer him, and so was delivered of all this fear and trouble he thought himself in. The troth was, Nicogenes had this device in his head, how he might bring him fate to the King of Persia's court. The Barbarous Nations for the most part (and specially the Persians) are of a very strange nature, and marvellous jealous over their Women, and that not onely of their Wives, but also of their bondwomen, and concubines : which they keep fo straightly locked up, that no man ever feeth them abroad at any time, jealous of their but are alwaies like House-dows. And when they have any occasion to go into the Countrey, they are carried in close coaches covered all about, that no man can look into them. Themistocles was conveyed into one of these coaches drest after this manner, and had warned his men to answer those they met by the way, that asked whom they carried : that it was a young GRECIAN gentlewoman of the Countrey of IONIA, which they carried to the Court for a Noble man there. Thurydides, and Charon Lampfacenian lay, he went thither after the death of Xerxes, and spake with his fon there. But Ephorms, Dino, Clisarchus, Heraclides, and many other write, that he spake with himself. Yet notwithstanding it appeareth that Thueydides words do best agree with the Chronicles and Tables, recording the fuccession of times, although they be of no great certainty. Themsficeles being come now to the swords point (as it were) and to the extremity of his danger, did first present him unto one Artabanus, Colonell of a thousand sootmen, and said unto him: Sir, Perfis's court. I am a Grecian born, and defire to speak with the King: 1 have matters of importance to open to his Majesty, and such as I know he will thankfully receive. Artabanua answered him in this manner: My friend fir stranger, the Laws and customs of men are diverse, and some take one thing for honest, other some another thing : but it is most honesty for all men, to keep and observe the Laws and manners of their own Countrey, For you GRECIANS have the name to love Liberty, and equality above all things: and for us, amongst all the goodly Laws and cuftoms we have, we efteem this above the rest: to reverence and honour our King, as the Image of the God of nature, who keepeth all things in their perfect life and state. Wherefore, if thou wilt fathion thy felf after our manner to honour the King, thou mayest both fee him, and speak with him : but if thou have another mind with thee, then must thou of necessity use some third person for thy mean. For this is the manner of our Countrey: the King never giveth audience to any man, that hath not first honoured him. Themistocles hearing what he faid, answered him again : My Lord Artabanus, the great good will I bear unto the King, and the defire I have to god of nature. advance his Glory and Power, is the onely cause of my present repair unto his Court: therefore I mean not onely to obey your Laws (fince it hath so pleased the gods to raise up the Noble Empire of Parsia unto this greatness) bur will cause many other people also to honour the King, more then there do at this present. Therefore let there be no stay, but that my felf in person may deliver to the King that I have to fay unto him. Well, faid Artabanus, Whom then shall we fay thou art? For by thy speech it seemeth, thou art a man of no mean state and condition. Themistocles answered him : As for that Arrabanus , none shall know before the King himself. Thus doth Phanias report it. But Eratosthenes, in his Book he wrote of riches, addeth further: how Themistocles had access unto this Artabanus, being recommended to the King by a Woman

of ERETRIA, whom the King kept. Themistocles being brought to his presence, after he had presented his humble duty and reverence to him, stood on his seet, and said never a word, untill the King commanded the interpreter to ask him what he was? and he answered : May it please your Majesty, O Noble King, I am Themistocles the ATHENIAN, a banished man out of my Countrey by the GRECIANS, who humbly repaireth to your Highnels, knowing I have done great hurt to the PERSIANS, but I perswade my self I have done them far more good then harm. For I it was that kept the GRECIANS back they did not follow you, when the state of GREECE was delivered from thraldom, and my native Countrey from danger, and that I knew I stood in good state to pleasure you. Now for me, I find all mens good wills agreeable Themistocles to my prefent milery and calamity: for I come determined, most humbly to thank your Highness King of Persia.

for any grace and favour you shall shew me, and also to crave humble pardon if your Majesty be yet oftended with me. And therefore licence me (most noble King) to befeech you, that taking mine enemies the GRECIANS for witness of the pleasures I have done the PERSIAN nation, you will of your princely grace use my hard fortune as a good occasion to shew your honourable vertue, rather then to fatisfie the passion of your heat and choler. For in faving my life, your Majesty saveth an humble futter that put himself to your mercy : and in putting me to death, you shall rid away an enemy of the GRECIANS. Having spoken thus these words, he faid further: That the gods by diverte figns and tokens had procured him to come to submit himself unto him, and told the King what vision he had seen in his dream in Nicogenes house: and declared also the Oracle of Jupiter Dodonian, who had commanded him that he should go unto him that was called as a god, and how he thought it was the person of his Majesty, because that god and he in troth were called both great Kings. The King having thus heard him speak, gave him then no present answer again, notwithstanding he marvelloully wondred at his great wisdom and boldness. But afterwards amongst his familiars the King said, he thought himself very happy to meet with the good fortune of Themistacles coming to him : and so besought his great god Arimanius, that he would always send his enemies such minds, as to banish the greatest and wifest men amongst them. It is reported also he did facrifice unto the gods, to give them thanks therefore, and disposed himself presently to be merry. Infomuch as dreaming in the night, in the midft of his dream he cryed out three times together for joy : I have Themistocles the ATHENIAN. The next morning the King having sent for the chiefest Lords of his Court, he made Themistocles also to be brought before him : who looked for no goodness at all, specially when he saw the souldiers warding at the Court gates, give him ill countenance and language both, when they beheld him, and underflood his name. Moreover, Resame, one of the captains, as Themispacles passed by him going to the King, (who was set in his chair of fare, and every man keeping silence) fostly sighing, said unto him : O thou Greekish serpent, subtle and malicious, the Kings good fortune hath brought thee hither. Nevertheless when he came to the King, and had once again made him a very humble and low reverence : the King faluted him, and spake very courteously to him, saying : I am now your debter of two hundred Talents, for presenting your self. It is good reason I should deliver you the money promised him that should have brought you: but I give you a further warrant, be bold I charge you, and speak your mind freely, fay what you think of the state of GREECE. Themistocles then answered him : That mens An excellent words did properly resemble the stories and imagery in a piece of arras ; for both in the one and in the comparison of other, the goodly Images of either of them are seen, when they are unfolded and laid open. Con-Themistacles. trariwise they appear not, but are lost, when they are shut up, and close solded: whereupon he faid to the King: he must needs require some further time of answer. The King liked his comparifon passing well, and willed him to appoint his own time. Themistocles asked a year: in which time having pretily learned the Perfian tongue, he afterwards spake to the King himself without any interpreter. So, such as were no Courtiers, thought he onely talked with the King of matters of GREECE. But because the change and alteration of the court fell out great at that time, the noble men imagined he had been so bold to commune with the King of them also. Thereupon they greatly envied him, and afterwards murmured much against him, For indeed the King did honour Themisto- Themistocles cles above all other strangers whatsoever they were. On a time the King had him out a hunting honoured of with him, hemade him see his Mother, with whom he grew familiar : and by the Kings own com- the King of mandment he was to hear the disputations of the wife men of Persia touching secret Philosophy, which they call Magick. Demaratus the LACEDEMONIAN being at that time in the court of fond demand PERSIA, the King willing him to ask what gift he would, he belought the King to grant him this of the King. favour : to licence him to go up and down the City of SARDIS with his royall Hat on his head as the Kings of PERSIA do. Mithropaustes, the Kings cousin, taking him by the hand, faid unto him: Demaratus the Kings has thou demandest, and if it were on thy head, it would cover but little wit: Nay, though Jupiter did give thee his lightning in thy hand, yet that would not make thee Jupiter.

But the King gave him to tharp a repulse for his unreasonable request, and was so angry with him

for it, that it was thought he would never have forgiven him: howbeit Themistocles was so earnest a

fuiter for him, that he brought him into favour again. And the report goeth, that the Kings fuccesfours which have been fince that time, under whom the PERSIANS have had more dealings with the

GRECIANS, then in former days: when they would retain any great state or personage of

GREECE into their fervice, they wrote unto him, and promifed him they would make him greater

about them, then ever was Themistocles about Xerxes. That which is written of him, doth also

confirm it. For he being ftept up to great countenance and authority, and followed with great

Themistocles had the revenue of three Cities allowed him for his

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Themistocles der by a warn-

trains of futters after him by reason of his greatness: seeing himself one day very honourably served at his table, and with all forts of dainty meats, he turned him to his Children and said unto them: My Sons, we should have been undone, if we had not been undone. The most writers do agree, that he had given him the revenue of three Cities for his allowance of Bread, Wine, and Victuals: to wit, MAGNESIA, LAMPSACUS, and MYUNTA, But Neamthes Cyxicrnian; and Phanias do add two other Cities more, PERGOTA and PALESCEPSIA: the one to defray his charges of Apparrell, and the other for his lodging. Afterwards Themissocles going into the Low countries towards the lea, to take order against the practiles of the GRECIANS, there was a PERSIAN Lord called Epixies (Governour of the high Phrygia) that had laid a train to kill him (having of long time hired certain murderers of PISIDIA to do it) fo foon as he should come into a Town of his government, called the Lyons head. But as he slept on a day in his house in the afternoon, the Mother of the gods appeared unto him , and faid : Themisfocles , go not to the Lyons head, for fear thou meet with the Lyon: and for this warning, I do ask thy Daughter Mnessprolema for my serwant. Themisforles waking suddenly out of his dream, made his prayer unto the goddels, and turning out of the highway, fetched another compass about. Afterwards having passed that Town, he took his lodging being benighted: but one of the beafts which carried his Tent, fell by the way unfortunately in a River, and all his Arras and Tapethry hangings being throughly wet, his fervants were driven to lay them out a drying by Moon light. The Psilaians that lay in wair, and could not diferenby Moon light that they were Hangings layed out to dry, thought it had been the very Tent Themisfocles self did lie in : whereupon they went unto it with their Swords drawn in their hands, hoping to have taken him sleeping. But when they were come thither, and began to lift up a piece of the Hangings, some of the people of Themistocles (which kept watch) perceiving them, ran upon them and took them. So Themispactes having escaped this danger, wondered greatly at the favour of the goddels which had appeared unto him. In recompence whereof, when he was in the City of MAGNESIA, he built a Temple unto Dindymena, and made his Daughter Mnesiprolema Prioress of the same. As he passed by the City of SARDIS for his recreation, he went to visit the Temples and Offerings that had been given there : So he faw an Image of a Maid in Copper, in the Temples aim Chicago that had been supported by the Mother of the gods, being two yards high, which they called the Hydrophora, a much to fay as the Watercarrier. And it was a flatue, which himself had heretofore dedicated and caused to be made with the Fines of those that had paid forfeitures, for stealing or turning away the watercourse at ATHENS, at such time as he was Master-surveyer of the Water-works and Conduits there. Wherefore whether Themi neles was forry to fee this goodly Image a prisoner in the hands of the barbarous people, or that he would shew unto the ATHENIANS the greatness of his credit and authority through all the Kings dominions; he spake to the Governour of Lydia, and presed him for his fake that he would fend this Image again to ATHENS 1 But this barbarous Governour was very angry with his requeft, and told him he would advertise the King thereof. Then Themisfools: began to be afraid, and was driven to feek to the Governours Women and Concubines, whom he got for money to intreat him, and so made fair weather again with the Governour. But from thenceforth, he took better guard of him in all his doings, greatly fearing the envy of the barbarous people. For he progressed nor up and down Asia, as Theopompus writeth, but lay a long time in the City of MAGNESIA, quietly enjoying the Kings gracious gifts bestowed on him : where he was honoured and reverenced for one of the greatest persons of Persia, whilest the King was elsewhere occupied in the affairs of the Provinces of Asia, and had no leifure to think upon those of GREACE. But when news was brought him, that ÆGYPT was rebelled, by means of the favour and affiftance of the ATHENIANS, and that the GRECIANS Gallies did four the feas even unto the Isle of Cyprus, and unto the Coasts of CILICIA, and that Cimon had all the sea in fubjection: that made him then to bend all his thoughts how to refift the GRECIANS, that their greatness might not turn to his harm. Then Commissions went, out to leavy men, to affemble Caprains, and to dispatch Posts unto Themistocles at MAGNESIA, with the Kings Letters, straightly charging him to have an eye to the GRECIANS doings, and moreover that he should faithfully keep his promise he had made to him. But he to thew that he neither maliced his (itizens, nor was moved with the defire of greatness and authority he might have grown unto in those wars, or else for that he thought the Kings expectation would prove to a greater matter then he could end or wade through, confidering GREECE was full at that time of famous Captains, and that Cimon amongst the reft had marvellous good fortune, and that it should be a reproach to him to stain the glory of to many Noble acts, to many Triumphs, and to great Victories as Cimon had done and won, he took a wife refolution with himfelf, to make fuch an end of his life, as the fame thereof deferved; for of Themijiseder he made a folemn Sacrifice unto the gods, and feafted at the fame all his friends. And after he had taken his leave of them all, he drank Bulls bloud, as most men think (or as other say) poyton, which dispatcheth a man in 24 hours, and to ended his days in the City of MAGNESIA, after he had lived threefcore and five years, and the most part of them always in Office and great charge. It is written, that the King of PERSIA understanding the cause and manner of his death, did more esteem him asterwards, then he did before, and that ever afterwards he continued to use his friends and familiars in very good fort. For he left Children behind him, which he had of Archippa (Lyfanders Daughter) of the Town of ALOPECIA: Archeptolis, Polyeuitus, and Cleophantus, of whom Plate the Philosopher maketh mention, faying that he was a good man at arms, but otherwife that there was no goodness in him. His other Sons that were elder, as Neocles, died being bitten with a Horse : and as for Discles another Son,

Themiltocles love to his Countrey.

Themistocles children.

MONGST many great matters which are spoken of this Furius Camillus, this seemeth most strange and wonderfull above the rest: that he having born the chiefest Offices of charge in his Countrey, and having done many notable and worthy deeds in the same as one that was chosen five times Diffator, and had Why Camillas triumphed four times, and had won himself the Name and Title of the second never came to founder of Rome, and yet never came to be Conful. But the onely cause thereof be Conful. was, that the Commonweal of Rome flood then in such state and fort: The peo- The authority

ple were then at differition with the Senate : they would chuse no more Confuls, of a few odious overnours whom they called Tribumi militares ... these did all things military to the common of the confuls in the confusion of the common of the confusion of the c but other kind of Governours whom they called Tribuni militares: these did all things with like Power and authority as the Confuls, yet were they nothing so odious unto the people, by reason of

his Grandfather Lyfander did adopt him for his Son. He had many Daughters, of the which Musippolema (which he had by a second Wife) was married unto her half brother Archeptolis, for they were not both of one wenter; another called Italia, was married unto one Pambides of CH10: Sybaris, unto Nicodemes an Arme NIAN: and Nichomacha, unto Pharficles, Themistocles Nephew, unto whom her Brethren did marry her within the City of MAGNESIA, after the death of their Father. This Pharficles did bring up Asia, which was the youngest of all his Daughters. Furthermore his fumptuous Tomb standerh yer in the Market-place of MAGNESIA. But that Andocides writeth of Themificeles his bones, in a book he made to his friends, is not to be credited: which was, that the ATHENIANS Tomb and having found the aftes of his bones, did caft them up into the air, as a device to ftir up the Noble men Reliques. against the people. And Phylarchus in his History (much like unto the feigned subtilities of a Tragedy) against the people. And a system is a supervision of the supervision of the supervision of the supervision of the supervision. However, and the supervision of the su the Cosmographer also in a book he hath written of Tombs and Monuments, faith, by conjecture, rather then of any certain knowledge: that along the haven of PIREA, coming towards the head of Alcimus, there is a foreland in form of an elbow, within the which when they have doubled the point, the fea is always calm, and there they find a great and long foundation or bafe, upon the which there is as it were the form of an Altar, and that is (faith he) Themisfocles Tomb. And he supposeth that Plato the Comical Poet doth witness it in these verses :

Thy grave is fet and plac't commodiously, Where paffengers and Merchants that come by May visit thee, and where it may regard All such as seek that port to be their ward. Sometimes also, it may rejoyce to see, The bloudy fights, upon the sea that be.

And furthermore, those of MAGNESIA did institute certain honours unto the iffue of Themistocles, Honour done And in reference, those of any and in my time, another Themistocles also of ATHENS did enjoy to Ibmistocles which continue yet unto this day. And in my time, another Themistocles also of ATHENS did enjoy after his death, the same honours, with whom I was familiarly conversant in the house of Ammonius the Philosopher.

The end of THEMISTOCLES Life.

THE LIFE OF FURIUS CAMILLUS.



Ant . Chrift .

news currant in the Camp, which lay at fiege of the City of VEIES : in fo much as the very

bruit of it flew over the walls of the City, unto them that were befieged. And as it happeneth very

oft in long fieges, that those which lie in camp do oftentimes talk with them that are befieged:

there was a ROMAN who fell acquainted, and commonly used to talk familiarly with one of the

City, who could tell of many old and strange things done and happened, and was very skilfull

he had heard him, was as merry as a Pye at thematter, and that he gibed at their fiege; he told

him further, that this wonderfull chance was not onely happened unto the ROMANS at that

time, but that they had been acquainted with many other far more strange then this, which he

would very willingly open unto him, to fee if there were any remedy, that though the affairs of

the Commonweal had but hard fuccess, yet he would procure that his own private matters

might prosper well with him. The VEIAN answered them, he would hear them with a good will.

and give good ear unto him, hoping to have heard fome great fecret. So the ROMAN training him on still from one matter to another, holding on his way, untill he saw he was a good di-

stance off from the gates of the City, he suddenly caught hold on him, and by strong hand car-

ried him away with him, and with help of other Souldiers which came running out of the camp

unto him, he brought him to the Captains. The VEIAN feeing himself thus forcibly used, and knowing also that fatall destiny cannot be avoided, began to declare unto the ROMANS, the

ancient Oracles and Prophefies touching the fortune of their City : by which it was reported un-

to them, that the City of VEIES should never be taken, untill the enemy had caused the water

of the Lake Albanus (which should break out) to be brought back again, and to turn it

fome other way from thence, that it should not fall into the sea. This was carried unto the Senate

at ROME, to be confulted of in the Councell: and there it was determined they should fend to the

Oracle of Apollo at the City of DELPHOS, and ask him what they should do therein. So thither

omitted fome ancient Ceremonies in the Holy days of the LATINES. And another willed them,

that they should by all possible means they could, keep the water of the Lake ALBANUS that

it fell not into the sea, and should (if it were possible) bring it back again into his old place; if

not, that yet they should cut as many trenches and ditches as might be, that it might be drunk up

in the middest of the fields. When these Oracles were understood, the Priests prepared all things

for Divine service, and the people went about the water of the Lake to turn it again. After these

things were done, the Senate in the tenth year of the wars against the Vetans, put off all those

it pleased them to grant a happy end of these Wars, in honour of them he would celebrate great

cause a Chambermaid to enter into her Temple, and there they box her about the ears. Then they put

her out of the Temple, and do imbrace their Brothers Children rather then their own. They make

many other Ceremonies, and they are much like unto those that are done unto Bacchus Nurses, and

to the misfortunes that chanced unto Ino, by reason of her Husbands Concubine. After all these

vows and prayers made, he entred with his Army into the FALISSIANS territories, whom he over-

threw in a great battel : together with the CAPENATES also, which came to aid them. From thence

he went to the fiege of the City of VEIES, where perceiving to take it by affault, was not to be done

without great danger: he began to undermine it (finding the earth all about very minable) and withall so deep, that the enemies could perceive nothing. Now when his mining fell out according to his

good hope, he gave an affault to the walls in all places alike about the City at one instant, to bring

out all the inhabitants of the City to man the walls. Whilft they were all thus upon the walls to make

facrifice unto the gods, and that his Soothsayer having considered the intrails of the beaft offer-

ed up in facrifice, cried out aloud, that the gods gave the victory unto him, which should happen

to come upon them in this Sacrifice. The ROMANS which were within the mine hearing this,

brake the earth incontinently, and leaped out, crying, and making noyse with their weapons:

wherewith the enemies were fo aftonied, that they fled upon it, and fo the ROMANS took

the intrails and carried them unto Camillus. And these be even much like the Poets Tales and Fa-

bles. Howbeit Camillus having by this means taken the City, and feeing from the top of the Ca-

ftle the infinite goods and riches within the City, which the Souldiers spoiled and made havock of,

CAMILLUS. the number that was of them. For it was fome hope to them that will bear the rule of the fmall number of Nobility that the government of the flate being put into fix, and not into two Officers hands, their or rooming that the government of the nate of the being at that time in his best credit and authority, rule would be the easier and tolerabler. Now Camillus being at that time in his best credit and authority,

and in the prime and glory of his doings, did not defire to be made Conful without the good will of the people, although whilst he was in authority there were many times Confuls created. But being called people, authorized within the was in authorized their water many times of the fort, that when he was alone, he and chosen to all other Offices and dignities, he behaved himself in such fort, that when he was alone, he made his authority common to other : and when he had companions and affociates, the glory of all redounded to himself alone. The cause whereof, was his modefly on the one side, for he commanded ever without envy: and his great wildom and fufficiency on the other fide, for the which all otherswillingly gave him place, and yeelded to him. The house of Furians being at that time of no great fame, he was the first that began to set himself forwards. For in a great battel which was fought against the Aques

and Volfees, he being but a private man at Arms under the Dietator Posthumius Tubertus, was the first that riding out of the Army, advanced himself and gave the charge. And being run into the thigh at that time with a staff broken upon his thigh, he plucked the truncheon our and retired not for all that : but giving charge again upon the floutest of the enemies , he fought it out fo valiantly to the encouraging of other, that he was the chief cause they turned their backs. Whereupon, to require his fervice done at that time (befides other honours they did him) they made him Cenfor : an Office at

that time of great preheminence and dignity. Inhis Office of Cenforship, hedid two notable acts, The one very honeft; when he brought Men that were not married; to marry the Women whom the one very monet; which were in number many. To this he got them partly by persuathe wars had left Widows, which were in number many. Camillus acts

the wars had tell willows, which were in manuel many of periodic fines upon their heads that rejuled. The other very nefton, and partly by threatnings, to fet round fines upon their heads that rejuled. The other very neceffary; in that he brought the Orphans to be contributories unto Taxes and Subfidies, which before payed nothing. The cause thereof was, the continual wars, about the which the Commonweal fulfained great charges, but specially about the sege of the City of the VEIES (which some call VENETIANS) that was a very fore burthen to them at that time. For it was the capital City of all THUSCAN, the which for store of Armour, and number of Souldiers, was nothing inferiour to

Witer befreged. the City of ROME. For the VEIAN'S being grown to stomack and courage in time, by reason of their wealth and prosperity, and for the fundry great battels they had fought against the ROMANS, that contended with them for glory and empire: and now it fell to out, that they finding themselves weakened by many great overthrows, which they had received of the ROMANS, they did let fall

their former Peacocks bravery and ambition, to bid them battel any more in the field. Howbeir the inhabitants of the City of Veies having raifed the walls, and made very great high rampiers, began to fortifie themselves, and made good provision for Armour and munition, besides store of Corn, Shot and other necessary things: they valiantly, and without fear of any thing, defended the siege of the ROMAN'S, that continued a long time, and was no less hard and painfull unto them that did beliege, then it was unto those that were belieged. For where the ROMANS were wont

beforetime to keep their houses in the winter season, and the field onely in the summer time : that was the first time they were compelled by the Captains and Tribuni militares, to build forts, and to intreach their Campwith a wall, even in their enemies countrey, and to winter abroad as they were wont to lie in the Camp in fummer. Now this fiege had continued feven years together. The Captains were burthened that they did not their duties, nor flood manfully to their charge: whereyears together upon in the end they were discharged, and other Captains placed in their rooms to follow the

fiege. Amongst thole, Camillus was one, whom then the second time they created Tribunus mili-Camillar twice fark. Who notwithstanding did nothing then in that fiege, because it was his hap by Lot, to make wars upon the PHALERIANS and the CAPENATES. These people whilest the ROMANS were occupied otherwhere, had invaded their Countrey and done them great harm, during the

time of their war with the Thuscans, But Camillas having overthrown a great number of them in the field, had the rest in chace; and drave them to take their City, and did shut them up within their own walls. The chance that happened at the Lake of ALBANUS, about the time the

THUSCAN wars were greateft, did marvelloully amaze the ROMANS, being no less wonderfull, then the most strange and uncredible thing that could be told by man. For they could not find ing of the full, then the most strange and uncredible thing that could be toold by said in the latter end of Lake Albanus, out the cause of it by common reason, nor any naturall ground: confidering it was in the latter end of Lake Albanus, out the cause of it by common reason, nor any naturall ground: Autumn, and Summer was ended, and that there had not been much rain, nor notable South-winds.

And although there are many Lakes, many Brooks and Rivers, many Springs and other waters in ITA-Ly : yet Tome of them dried up altogether, other ran bur faintly by reason of the drought, and all the Rivers then were (as they are wont to be commonly in Summer) very low, and there was feant any water. But the Lake Alba Nus contrariwife, that cometh from no other place, neither runneth say whither out of it felf, being environed all about with hills and mountains, and where the earth is good: began to swell, and rife to every mans fight without any cause at all (but secret and histeen unto the

gods alone) and went alwaies increasing along those hills sides, until such time as it came to be even with the height of the highest mountain, gathering upwards still without any waves or tempest of weather at all. This at the first, made poor Shepherds and Heardmen, keeping their Cartel there abouts, marvelloufly afraid: but at the length when the earth and the weight of one of the hills (which kept in the Lake as a wall, from running over into the field) began to break by reason of the weight

and great quantity of water, that ran straight with a marvellous extream force and violence over all the arable Lands and grounds planted with Trees, and so took his course into the Sea : the ROMANS then not alone, but the whole inhabitants of ITALY were wonderfully afraid, and judged that it was fonce fign and prognostication of some wonderfull thing to come. And these was no other

ly (without wrong and cause offered us) begun this War, but justly, and by compulsion, to be revenged of a City our enemy, which hath done us great injuries. But if to countervail this our

City, who could ten of many our and arrange uning above any other in the City, in the art of Divination or foothfaying. The ROMAN then told The craft of a him one day the violent breaking out of the Lake Albanus, and perceiving that the other after Roman.

were fent great and notable men, Coffus Licinius, Valerius Politus and Fabius Ambustus: who ha- An Oracle ving ended their journey by fea, and received answer of that they demanded, returned home again, brought from and amongst other Oracles they brought one that faid thus : That through negligence they had Delphos.

which did bear Office, and created Camillus Dillator, who named for Generall of the Horsemen Camillus cho-Cornelius Scipio. And before he went in hand with any thing he made a vow unto the gods, that if fen Dictator.

plays, and build a Temple unto the goddels which the ROMANS call Maura : which feemeth to Maura be her whom we call Leucothea, confidering the Ceremonies done in these Sacrifices. For they Leucothesi

defence, Camillus Souldiers entred fecretly through the mines within the Caftle, hard by the The City of Temple of Juno : which was the chief Church of all the City, and whereunto the Citizens had Veter taken by most devotion. They say that even at that present time the Generall of the Thuscans did mining,

he wept for very pity. And when those that were about him told him he was a happy man : he lift up his hands unto Heaven, and made this prayer. Omighty god Jupiter, and you O gods, Camillus praywhich fee and judge mens good and ill works : you know right well, that we have not willing was taken.

Camiffus wifdom and modelty.

chofen Tri-, bune of the Souldiers.

The wonder-

great good prosperity and victory, some bitter adversity and overthrow be predestined unto us : I befeech you then (most merciful gods) in sparing our City of Rome, and this her Army, you will (with as little hurr as may be) let it all fall and light upon my person alone. And as he had spoken thefewords, and was turning on his sight hand (according to the manner of the ROMANS after they have prayed unto the gods) he fell down flat before them all. The standers by taking this fall for an ill token, were somewhat troubled with the matter ; but after he got up on his seet again, he told them that the thing he requested of the gods was happened unto him. And that was, a little hurr, in exchange of a great good fortune. So the whole City being spoiled and rifled, he was also desirous to carry June's Image to ROME, to accomplish the vow he had made. And having fent for workmen for this purpose, he did facrifice first unto the goddes, befeething her to accept well of the ROMAN'S good will, and that the would willingly vouchtate to come and dwell with the other gods, who had the protection of the City of ROME. Some fay, that the Image answered, she was contented. But Livius writeth, that Camillus made this prayer as he touched the Image, and that the affiltants answered the was contented, and would go with a good will. Yet they which do affirm, it was the Image felf that spake, do favour this miracle, grounding their proof upon the opinion of the fortune of ROME; the which, from so base and mean beginning had impossibly attained unto so high glory and power

ment of mira-

Camillus Stately triumph of

The chiefest cause of the peoples malice

as it had, without the fingular favour of the gods : and that hath manifeltly appeared unto the world, by fundry great proofs and examples. They bring forth also such other like wonders: As, that Images have heretofore let fall drops of sweat from them : that they have been heard to figh : that they have turnders of Images ed, and that they have made certain figns with their eyes, as we find written in many ancient stories, And we could our felves also rell such like wonders, which we have heard men of our time affirm, which are not uncredible, nor lightly to be condemned. But for fuch matters, it is as dangerous to give too much credit to them, as also to discredit them too much, by reason of the weakness of mans nature, which hath no certain bounds, nor can rule it felf, but runneth sometimes after vanity and superstition, and otherwhile alfo despiteth and contemmeth holy and divine matters : and therefore the mean is the vertue, and not to go too far in this, as in all other things befides, it is the best. Now Gamillus, whether his late enterprise performed, in winning a City that stood out with Rome, and held siege with them ten years together, had put him into an overweening conceit of himself: or that the words of the people, which did bles and praife him, had made him look high, and prefume upon himself, more then became the modefty of a civil Magistrate and Governour of the Commonweal, and one that was subjects. to the Law : he showed a stately triumph, fer forth with all rich surniture, and specially for that himfeld was carried through Rome upon his triumphant Chariot drawn with four fair white courters. This , never Captain nor General before him durft undertake to do , neither any ever after him attempted it : for they, think it as a facred carriage, and onely meet for the King and Pather of the gods. This bred him much eavy amongst the Citizens, which had not been acquainted with so great featelines; There was another occasion also that made them mislike him much : which was, because he flood against the Law pur forth that they should divide the City of ROME. For the Tribunes of the people did fet our an Edict, that the senate and people of Roms should be divided into two parts : and that those on whom the Lot should fall, should abide still in ROME, and the other should go dwell in the new won City of VEIES. These were the reasons to perswade this: that both she one and the other fort should be richer then they were before, and should more easily keep their Lands and Goods from the invalion of their enemies, by means of these two great Cities. The people which were multipled now into great numbers, and had served dutifully and dangerously, thought it the best way in the world re Eberefore they, still cried out, and thronged with great tumult, about their Pulpir for Orations, praying that this Law might be put unto the voices of the people. But the whole Senate, and wheth Crizens among them, judging this motion of the Tribunes would be the destruction, and not the division of the City of ROME, could in no wife abide it should go any further. Whereupon they went and prayed Camillus help: who fearing to bring it to the point, whether the Law should pass or no, did always seek new occasions and lets, still to delay and put off the matter, and stay the confirmation of this Law. For these caules, he was based of the common people. But the originall and apparent cause of the peoples ill will towards him, was for taking from them the terms. part of their spoils: and it was not altogether without some reason, and to say truly the people did him much wrong to bear him such malice for that. For before he went to the City of VBIBS, he made a folemn vow to offer the tenth part unto the gods, of the spoils of the City, if the wan the same. But when it was taken and facked, whether it was that he was loath to trouble the Citizens, or having a world of butinels in his head, that he easily forgot his vow, he suffered the Souldiers to divide the fooil amongst them, and to take the benefit to themselves. Shortly after he was discharged of his charge, he did enform the Senate of his vow. Furthermore, the Soothfayers made report at that very time, how they knew by certain figns and tokens of their Sacrifices, that the gods were offended for fomewhat, and how they must of necessity be pacified again. Whereupon the Senate presently made an Order, where it was unpossible every man should bring in again the self fame things he had gotten, to make a new division of every mans share : that every one therefore upon his Oath should prefent the renth part of his gains he had gotten by that boory. There was great trouble about it. They were driven to the great extremity to the poor Souldiers (which had travelled fore, and taken great pains in the wars) to make them reftore back such a collop out of their gain, and the rather, because many of them had already spone it every peny; and

for this trouble, they all cried out with open mouth against Camillus. But he (not knowing otherwife how to excule himself) was forced to bring forth as cold and as unreasonable an excuse as he could make, which was for looth, that he had forgotten his Vow he had made: The people notwithflanding were eager still against him, saying, how he had vowed then to offer the tenth part of the enemies goods to the gods, and that now he would perform it with the tenths of the Citizens goods. Nevertheless every man having brought that he should for his part, it was thought A cup of gold good they should cause a massie cup of gold to be made to send to the Temple of Apollo at DEL- sent to Delphos PHO S. And small store of gold being in the City of Rome, as the Officers of the City were Rome gave searching up and down to get it, the women of Rome of their own voluntary wills without motion, their jew, lie agreed among themselves, that they would depart with all the jewels they had towards the ma- towards the king up of this Offering, which came to the weight of eight talents. In recompence whereof making of it. to honour them withall, the Senate ordained that they should be praised openly with Funeral Ora- What time tions at their buriall, as they did use at honourable and noble mens obsequies. For before that Law fees began at it was not the manner to praise Women openly at their Funerals . Now there were appointed three Funerals in of the noblest men of the City to go to carry this Offering, and they sent them out in a galley well Rome. manned, flored also with good Mariners, and trimly set forth in all triumphing manner; howbeit both in from and calm weather, they were in danger of their lives. For after that they had fcaped drowning very narrowly by tempest, when the wind was down again, they fell into another danger which they escaped also beyond all hope. For hard by the Isles of Eozus, the galleys of the LIPARIANS fellupon them, as if they had been rovers. But when the LIPARIANS faw they made no resistance, and entreated them, holding up their hands, they gave no surther charge upon them, but onely sastened their galley unto theirs. So when they had haled them to the shore, they declared they were Pyrats, and offered to make port-fale of the men and goods, as if they had been a lawfull prize, and had fold them indeed, had not the wifdome and authority of Timefishess letted them, who was Governour at that time of the City, and had great ado to perswade them to let them go. And he did not so leave them, but sent out certain of his own Ships to accompany them in their journey, who did help them to go and perform their offering. For which courtefie of his, the ROMANS afterward did him great honour at ROME, according to his well-deferving. The Tribunes of the people began now to fet on foot against the Law for the dividing of the Inhabitants of ROME unto the City of VEIES. But the wars of the FALISCES fell our happily at that Comittee the time, whereby the Noble men did chuse such Officers as they would. So they chose Camillus, Tri- sen Tribune bunus militaris of the Souldiers, and five others to affift him, the fervice in that cafe requiring a Ge- of the foulneral that carried both authority and reputation among them, as an old experienced Souldier in the wars. When the people had confirmed the Election, Camillus immediately entred the territories Camillus beligof the FALISCES with the ROMANS Army, where he laid fiege unto the City of the FALE- gent the Fa-RIANS, being very well fortified, victualled and stored, with all other munition of war: Know-lerians, ing therefore that it was no small attempt to win this City, and that it would not be done in a short time, he politickly fought (whatfoever came of it) to keep his Countreymen occupied about fome thing, and to stay them for going home, left by repairing to Rome they should have many occasions to rebell, and raise some civill diffention. For the ROMANS did wifely use this remedy to disperfe abroad like good Physicians the humours which troubled the quiet state of their commonweal at home. But the FALERIANS trufting in the fituation of their City, which was very strong in all parts, made fo little account of the Siege, that those which kept not watch upon the walls, walked up and down in their Gowns in the City, without any weapon about them, and their Children went to School, the School-Mafter also would commonly lead them abroad out of the City a walking, to play and pass the time by the Town-walls. For the whole City had one common School-Mafter. Mafter, as the GRECIANS allohave, which do bring up their Children from little ones in company together, because one may be familiarly acquainted with another. This School-master spying his time to do the Falerians a shrewd turn, did accustomably take all his Scholars out of the City with him, to play not far from the walls at the beginning, and afterwards brought them into the City again after they had played their fill. Now after he had led them abroad thus once or twice, he trained them out every day a little further, to make them to be bold, perfiwading them there was no danger. But at the length, one day having gotten all the Citizens children with him, he led them within the watch of the ROMAN'S Camp, and there delivered all his Scholars into their hands, and prayed them they would bring him unto their General. So they did. And when he came before Camillus, he began to tell him that he was School-Mafter unto all these (hildren, ne- camillus worvertheless that he did more effecem to have his grace and favour, then regard his office he had by thy act to the this Name and Title. Camillus hearing what he faid, and beholding his treacherous part, he faid to School-maler those that were about him: War of it self furely is an evil thing, for in wars many injuries and betraying the mischies are done: Nevertheles among good men there is a Law and discipline, which doth faren. forbid them to feek Victory by wicked and traiterous means, and that a noble and worthy Gene- A noble faying ral should make war, and procure Victory by trusting to his own valiantness, and not by ano- of Camillan, thers vileness and villany. Therefore he commanded his Sergeants to tear the clothes off the back and wife preof this vile School-mafter, and to bind his hands behind him; and that they should give the Children rade and mising the hand to bind his hands behind him; and that they should give the Chilvaliantness to dren rods and whips in their hands, to whip the Traytor back again into the (ity, that had betrayed be preferred them, and grieved their Parents. Now when the FALERIANS heard news that the School-mafter before villany. had thus betrayed them, all the City fell a weeping (as every man may think for fo great a lofs)

by their Ambailadours do yeeld them-felves and goods unto Camillus took a fum of money of the F4lerians, and made peace with all the re it of the Falifics.

> accused Camillus.

The equity of law though they dearly loved Camillus, but willingly offered to pay his fine. Camillus praied before his departure out of Rome. Camillas exileth himfelf from Rome.

> Tokens of the wars of the Gaules.

The original the Gaules.

and men and women ran together one in anothers neck, to the Town-walls, and gates of the City, like people out of their wits, they were fo troubled. When they came thither, they faw their children bringing their School-mafter back again stark naked and bound, whipping of him, and calling Camillus their father, their god, and their Saviour; So that not onely the fathers and mothers of the children, but all other the Citizens also in generall, did conceive in themselves a wonderfull The Falifeians admiration and great love, of the wifdom, goodness, and justice of Camillus. So that even prefently they called a Councel, and there it was concluded they should fend Embassadours forthwith unto ROME, where audience being given unto them by the Senate, the Embassadours said, Because the ROMANES preferred justice above victory, they taught them to be better contented to jubmit themselves unto them, then to be their own men at liberty; consessing their vertue did more overcome them then any force or power could do. The Senate dispatched Letters unto Camillus, giving him commission to do and determine as he thought good. So he having taken a certain lum or money of the FALERIANS, did furthermore make peace and league with all the reft of the FAfadours of the Fairfeinn unto LISCES, and thereupon returned back again to ROME: But the Souldiers grudged marvelloully Fatificans unto 213 223, and increasing a control of the City. When there was no remedy, but the Romanes. at it: For they flood in hope to have had the facking of the City. When there was no remedy, but they must needs return home empty-handed, they began to accuse Camillus to the rest of the Citizens, as foon as they came to NOME, faying, he loved not the common people, and how for fpite tizens, as foon as they came to NOME, faying, he loved not the common people, and how for fpite tizens, as foon as they came to NOME, faying, he loved not the common people, and how for fpite tizens, as foon as they came to NOME, faying, he loved not the common people, and how for fpite tizens, as foon as they came to NOME, faying, he loved not the common people, and how for fpite tizens, as foon as they came to NOME, faying, he loved not the common people, and how for fpite tizens, as foon as they came to NOME, faying, he loved not the common people, and how for fpite tizens, as foon as they came to NOME, faying, he loved not the common people, and how for fpite tizens, as foon as they came to NOME, faying, he loved not the common people and how for fpite tizens, as foon as they came to NOME, for the five tizens are the food of the people began to revive the Law for the dividing of the Inhabitants of ROME, and were ready to pass it by the voices of the people. Camillus not fearing the ill will of the commons, did boldly speak, and do in open presence all he could against it; So that plainly he was the chiefest cause that the people against their wills (entreat what they could) were driven to let it alone : But withall they were fo spightfull against him, that notwithstanding his forrow and misfortune for the death of his Son (dying of a fickness) was great, they would not of malice once take pity or compassion of him. The loss whereof (albeit he was of a very good and courteous nature) was fo grievous, and made him to unquiet, that being accused before the people, he ftirred not once out of his house, but was locked up Lucius Apaleius with the women, which lamented for his Son departed. He that did accuse him was one Lucius Apulcius, burthening him that he had stolen and taken away part of the spoil of the Thus canes; and faid, they had feen certain brafen gates at his house, which had been brought out of Thus CANS. Now the people were fo maliciously bent against him, that every man might fee if they could once take him in a trip, upon any advantage whatforver, they would doubitefs have condemned him. Wherefore calling together his triends and Souldiers that had ferved under him in the wars, or that had taken charge with him , which were many in number : He earneftly befought them that they would not futer him thus vilely to be condemned through false and unjust accurations laid against him, nor to be fo fcorned and defamed by his enemies. His friends having laid their heads together, and confulted thereupon, made him answer, how for his judgement they could not remedy it, but not pervert the if he were condensed, they would all joyn together with a very good will to help to pay his fine. But he being of mind not to bear such an open shame and ignominy, determined in choler to leave the City, and to exile himself from it. And after he had taken his leave of his Wife and Children, bidding them farewell: He went out of his house to the gates of the City, and said never a word; When he came thither he stayed suddenly, and returning back again, he lift up his hands towards the Capitoll, and made his prayers unto the gods, that if it were of very spite and malice, and not of just deferving, that the common people compelled him thus shamefully to for take the City, that the ROMANES might quickly repent them, and in the face of the world might with for him, and have need of him. After being made these prayers against the Crizens (as Achilles did against the GRECIANS) he went his way, and was condenned for his contempt in the Sum of fifteen thousand Affer of the ROMANE coyn, which make of Greekish money, a thousand five history of films. The sum of the ROMANE coyn, which make of the ROMANE coyn, which make of the ROMANE coyn, a thousand five history of films. hundred Drachmas of filver; for an As was a little peece of money, whereof ten of them made a ROMANE peny. Howbeit there was not a Romane of any understanding but believed certainly that fome great punishment would follow them incontinently, and that the wrong and injury they had done him would be quickly required with fome most sharp and terrible revenge, not onely unpleasant to think upon, but further most notable to be spoken of through the world. There sellout fo suddenly upon it such mischief toward the City of Roms, and the present time also brought forth such occasion of danger and destruction thereof, to their shame and infamy; shat it was uncertain whether it happened by chance, or elfe it was the handy-work of fome god that would not fuffer vertue recompensed with ingratitude, to pass unrevenged. Their first token that threatned form great mitchief to light upon them, was the death of Julius, one of the Cenfors; for the ROMANES do greatly reverence the office of a Cenfor, and efteem it as a facred place. The fecond token that happened a little before Camillus exile, was, that one Marcus Cadisius, a man but of mean quality, and none of the Senate (but otherwise a fair-conditioned honest man, and of good conscience) told the Tribuni militares of a thing that was to be well considered of. For he said that the night before as he was going on his way in the New street, he heard one call him aloud, and returning back to fee what it was, he faw no living Creature, but onely heard a voice bigger then a mans, which faid unto him, Marcus Ceditius, go thy way to morrow morning to the Tribuni militares, and bid them look quickly for the GAULS. The Tribunes were merry at the matter, and made but a jeft at his warning, and straight after followed the condemnation of Camillus. Now as touching the GAULS, they came (as they fay) of the CELT &, whose Countrey not being able to

maintain the multitude of them, they were driven to go feek other Countreys to inhabit in and there were amongst them many thousands of young men of service and good Souldiers, but yet more women and little children by a great number. Of these people some of them went towards the North Sea, passing the mountains RIPHEI, and did dwell in the extream parts of Europe. Other of them remained between the mountains PIRINEI, and the greatest mountains of the Alps , near unto the SENONES, and the CELTORII. There they continued a long time, untill they fortuned in the end to tafte of the Wine which was first brought out of Italy unto them. Which drink they found so good, and were so delighted with it, that suddenly they armed themselves, and taking their Wives and Children with them, they went directly towards the Alps, to go feek out the Countrey that brought forth such fruit, judging all other Countreys in respect of that to be but wild and barren. It is faid, that the first man which brought wine unto them, and that did procure them to pass into ITALY was a Nobleman of Thus CAN called Arron, and otherwise of no came the proceill disposed nature; howbeit he was subject to this misfortune following. He was Tutor unto an rer of the Orphan child, the richeft that was at that time in all the Countrey of Thus CAN, and of complex. Gaules coming ion was wonderfull fair : he was called Lucumo. This orphan was brought up in Arrons house of a into Italy. child, and though he was grown to mans effate, yet he would not go from him, faining he was well and to his liking. But indeed the cause was that he loved his Mistress (Arrons Wife) whom secretly he had enjoyed a long time, and she him, that made him like his continuance there. Howbeit in the end love having to possessed them both, that neither party could withdraw from other, much less conceal it : The young man stole her away from him, and kept her still by force : Arron put them in fuit , but he prevailed not; for Lucuno overweighed him with Friends, money, gifts, and charges. Lack of fuffice But he took it so grievously that he left his Countrey; and having heard talk of the GAULS, he the cause of went unto them, and was their guide to bring them into ITALY. So they conquered at their first the dellruction went unto them, and was then guide to oring them and ITALI.

coming all that Countrey which the Thuscans held in old time, beginning at the foot of the of Thuscane by mountains, and stretched out in length from one Sea unto the other, which environeth IT ALY, as the Gaules. the names themselves do witness. For they call yet that Sea which looketh unto the North, the The power of Adriatick Sea; By reason of a City built sometime by the Thus CANS, which was called Adria. The the Thuscanes other which lieth directly over against the South, is called the Thus CANE Sea. All that Countrey in old time. is well planted with Trees, and hath goodly pleasant pastures for beasts and cattel to feed in, and is notably watered with goodly running Rivers. There was also at that time eighteen fair great Cities in that Countrey, all of them very strong and well-seated, as well for to enrich the inhabitants thereof by traffique, as to make them to live delicately for pleasure. All these Cities the GAULS had won, and had expulsed the Thus CANS, but this was done long time before. Now the GAULS being further entred into Thuscan, did befrege the City of Clusium. Thereupon the Clusians Clusium a City feeking aid of the ROMANS, befought them they would fend Letters and Embassadors unto these of Thuscase be barbarous people in their favour. They fent unto them three of the best and most honourable per-seed by the fons of the City, all three of the house of the Fabians. The GABLS received them very courte- Gaules. oully, because of the name of ROME; and leaving to affault the City they gave them audience. The Brennus King ROMANE Ambassadors did ask them what injury the Clusians had done unto them that they of the Gaules. came to make wars with them. Brennus King of the GAULS hearing this Question, smiled, and answered him thus, The Clusians do us wrong in this, they being but few people together, and not able to occupy much land, do notwithstanding possess much, and will let us have no part with them, that are strangers, and out of our Countrey, and stand in need of seat and habitation. The like wrong was offered unto you ROMANES in old time by those of ALBA, by the FIDENATES. and the ARDEATES; and not long fince by the VEIANS, and the CAPENATES, and partly by the FALISCES and the VOLSCES; against whom we have taken and do take arms at all times: And as oft as they will let you have no part of their goods, ye imprison their persons, rob and fpoil their goods, and destroy their Cities; and in doing this ye do them no wrong at all, but follow the oldest Law that is in the world, which ever leaveth unto the stronger that which the weaker cannot keep and enjoy: beginning with the gods, and ending with bearts, the which have this property in nature, that the bigger and stronger have ever the vantage of the weaker and leffer, Therefore leave your pity to fee the Clusians besieged, lest you teach us Gauls to take compassion also of those you have oppressed. By this answer the ROMANES knew very well there was no way to make peace with King Brennus. Wherefore they entred into the Cuty of Clusium, and encouraged the Inhabitants to fally out with them upon these barbarous people; either because they had a defire to prove the valiantness of the GAULS, or else to shew their own courage and manhood. So the Citizens went out, and skirmished with them hard by the walls, in the which one of the Fabians called Quintus Fabius Ambustus, being excellently well horsed, and putting spurs Fabius Ambuto him, did fet upon a goodly big personage of the Gauls, that had advanced himself far be- stus a Rowane fore all the troop of his companions. He was not known at the first encounter, as well for the breaketh the

fudden meeting and skirmishing together, as for that his gliftering armour dimmed the eyes of the of all Nations, enemies. But after he had flain the GAULE, and came to ftrip him, Brennus then knew him, and

protefted against him, calling the gods to witness how he had broken the law of arms, that coming as an Ambassadour he had taken upon him the form of an Enemy. Hereupon Brennus forthwith Brennus reproleft skirmishing, and raising the siege from CLUSIUM marched with his Army unto ROME gates, veth Fabius for And to the end the ROMANES might know that the GAULES were not well pleafed for the in- breaking the jury they had received; to have an honest colour to begin wars with the ROMANES, he fent an Law of Arms.

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Herald before to ROME, to demand livery of the man that had offended him, that he might punish him

accordingly. In the mean time he himself came marching after, by fmall journeys, to receive their

Numa Pompilius erected the Colledge of the Faci-

The Romanes Army were 40000 foot-Too many rulers of an arin peril.

Alliz fl.

answer. The Senate hereupon affembled, and many of the Senatours blamed the rafinels of the Fabians : but most of all the Priests called Faciales. For they followed it very earneftly, as a matter that concerned Religion and the honour of the gods; declaring how the Senate in discharge of all the refidue of the City of the offence committed, should lay the whole weight and burthen of it upon him alone, that onely had done the fact. Numa Pompilius the justest and most peaceable of all the Kings of Rome that had been, was he that first erected the Colledge of these Faciales, and did ordain that they should be the Keepers of peace, and the Judges to hear and allow all the causes for the which they should justly begin any wars. Nevertheless the Senare in the end turned over the ordering of the matter unto the whole will and judgement of the people, before whom thefe Priests Faciales did also accuse Fabius Ambustus. The people made so little account of their propounded Religion, and honour of the gods in that case, that instead of delivering of this Fabius unto the enemy, they did chuse him for one of the Tribunes of the Souldiers with his Brothers. The GAULS understanding this were fo furious and angry thereat, that they would no longer linger march towards their journeys, but march with all speed unto Rome. The people that dwelt by the High-wates where they should pass by, were marvellously afraid to see the multitude of them, and their brave and univerfall furniture; and beginning to doubt the fury of their rage, they imagined first of all that they would destroy all the champion countrey before them, and afterwards would take all the ftrong Cities. They contrariwise did take nothing at all out of the fields, neither did any hurt or displeasure unto any body; but passing by their Cities, cried out they went to ROME, and would have no wars but with the ROMANES, and how otherwife they defired to be friends with all the world. These barbarous people marching on in this wife towards ROME, the Tribunes of the Souldiers brought their Army to the field to encounter them. They were no less in number then the GAULS, for they were 40000 Footmen; howbeit most part of them were raw Souldiers, that had never served in the warsbefore. They were very careless of the gods, and dissolute in matters of Religion: for they passed neither for good signs in their Sacrifices, neither to ask counsel of their Soothsayers, which the ROMANES were religiously wont to do before they gave any battel: To make the matter worfe, the number of the Captains having power and authority alike, did as much (or more then the reft.) diforder and confound their doings. For oft times before in far leffer matters and dangers then there, they did use to chuse special Officers that had sole and soveraign der, and put-teth the Army authority, which they called Distances; knowing very well of how great importance it is in dangerous times to have but one head and General, to command all, and to have supreme authority of justice in his hands, and not to be bound to deliver account of his doings to any. The injury allo which they had too ingratefully done to Camillius, brought great milchief and inconvenience then upon them. For the Captains after him durst no more command the people roughly, but ever after did flatter them much. When their Army was now brought into the Field, they encamped themselves by a little River called Alia, about the eleventh stone from Rome, and not far from the place where the same River falleth into Tyber. Thither came the barbarous Army to them, who overthrew them in battel by their discord and lack of government : For the left point or wing Allie where the Gaule was of their battel was broken off at the first by the Gaules, who charged them so surroundly that the Gauls wan they drave them headlong into the River. The right wing then retiring out of the plain, before the field of the they had any charge given, and having gotten certain hills hard by them, they had little hurt, and most of them saving themselves did recover Rome again. The rest that escaped after the enemies were weary of killing, fled by night unto the City of VEIES, thinking ROME had been loft, and all the City put to the Sword. This overthrow was on the longest day in Summer, the Moon being at the full; and the day before fortuned the great flaughter of the Fabians, of the which were flain dred of a name by the Thuscanes in one day 300 all of a Name. The very day it felf was afterwards called Alfain in one liade, of the name of the little River, by the which the fecond overthrow was given. But for the day. difference of daies , that some of them are naturally unfortunate , or that Heraclism the Philosopher had reason to reprove the Poet Hesiadus, for making some days good, and some days ill, as though he understood they were not all of one nature : we have written and declared our opinion thereof in other places. Yet because the matter delivereth present occasion to speak of the same, peradventure it will not be amils to alledge a few examples of it onely. It fortuned the BOEOTIANS on a time to win two honourable Victories, on the first day of the Moneth they call Hippodromu (and which the ATHENIANS called Hecatombeon) that is now the Moneth of June, by either of the which they did ftill reftore the GRECIANS to their liberty. One was the battel of Leuc-TRES, the other was the battel of GERASTE, which was twenty years before, when they overcame Dattamins, and the THESSALIANS in battel. The PERSIANS contrarily were overcome in battel by the GRECIANS the fixth day of August at the journey of MARATHON. The third day at the battel of PLATEES. And on the felf fame day near unto MYCALA. On the five and twentieth day at the fight of ARBELES, the ATHENIANS wan the battel by Sea near unto the Ille of Naxos, under the charge and government of Chabrins, about the full of the Moon, in the Moneth of August. And on the twentieth of the same Moneth, they wan the battel of SALAMI-NA , as we have written more amply in our History of difference of daies. The Moneth of April also brought to the barbarous people many notable losses. For Alexander the Great overcame the General of the King of Persia, at the field of GRANICA in the faid Moneth. The CARTHA-

CARTHAGINIANS also were vanquished in Cicile by Timoleon, on the seven and twentieth day thereof. On which day also it is thought the (ity of TROY was taken; as Ephorus, Califfrenes, Danaftes, and Phylarchus, have written in their Histories. Now contrariwise the moneth of July which the BOEOTIANS called Panemus, hath not been gracious to the GRECIANS. For on the seventh day of the same they were overthrown by Antipaten at the battel of CRANON, which was their unter defiruction. They had before also lost a battel the fame moneth, near unto the City of Cheronea, by King Philip. On the fame day also, and in the very felf moneth and year, those which came into ITALY with King Archidamus were Asin every one of them, by the barbarous people of the Countrey. The CARTHAGINIANS also fear the 27 day of the same moneth, as the day which had beforetime brought them into many great and forrowfull calamities. Contrarily also I know very well how about the Feast of Mysteries the City of THEBES was destroyed by Alexander, and that the ATHENIANS were compelled to receive a garifon of fouldiers into their City, about the 20 day of August, at which time they made the holy proceilion of the mysteries of lacchus. And on the felf fame day the ROMANS loft their Army, and their General Capio, who was flain by the CIMBRES. And how afterwards under the leading of Lucullus, they overcame King Tigranes, and the ARMENIANS. And that Attalus and Pompey also died both one the felf fame day they were born. To conclude, infinite examples of men might be brought, unto whom after like revolutions of time there happened notable chances of good or ill. But to return again unto our History. The day of this overthrow is one of those which the ROMANS take for one of the unfortunatest daies that ever came unto them. And by reason of that day they reckon two other The Roman daies of every Moneth very unfortunate, engendred through fear and superstition, which spreadeth Superstition in far (as commonly it doth) upon such similter missortunes. But for this matter we have written observing of more largely and exquifitely in the Book we made, of the Ceremonies and cuftoms of the Ro-daies. MANS. Now after this battel loft, if the GAULS had hotly purfued the chafe of their flying enemies, nothing could have faved ROME from being taken, and the Inhabitants thereof from being put unto the Sword; for the ROMANS that fled from the battel brought such a fear upon those that received them, and filled the whole City of ROME with fuch grief and trembling, that they wist not what to do. The barbarous people again beleeving little their victory was so great as it was, fell to make good cheer for to great a joy received, and divided among them the spoil of their enemies goods they found in the Camp. So gave they time and leifure by this means, to the multitude of people that fled out of ROME, to feek them fome place of fafety, and to fuch as remained still they left good hope to fave themselves, and to make some provision for defence. Thereupon they all fortified themselves within Mount Capitoll, and storing it with all kind of victuall, armour, and munition, they wholly did forfake the rest of the City. But the first work they took in band was this .; They did bring into their faid fort , part of their facred reliques : and the professed Vestals brought thither also their holy fire and all other their holy monuments. Some Writers say, that The holy fire. they had nothing else in keeping, but the sempternal fire, and were so consecrated by King Nama, who did first institute, that the fire should be worshipped, as the beginning of all things. For that it is the most motive and quickest substance that is of all naturall things; notwithstanding that generati- The force of on also is a moving, or at the least not done without motion. For we see that all other substance fire. which lacketh heat, remaineth idle and without action, and ftirreth not, no more then doth a dead thing, which craveth the force and heat of the fire; as the foul it felf recovering heat, beginneth fomewhat to move, and disposeth it self to do and suffer something. Wherefore Numa being (as they say) a man of great learning and understanding, who for his wisdom was reported to talk many times with the Mules, did confecrate the same as a most facred thing, and commanded that they never should suffer that fire to go out, but to keep it, as they would preserve the lively Image of the exernal God, the onely King and maker of the world. Others fay, that the fire burned continually there before the holy and facred things, fignifying a kind and manner of purification; which opinion the GRECIANS hold also, howbeir behind the same fire there were certain hidden things, which in no case any might see but those holy Veltall Nuns, Many also hold an opinion. that the Paladium of TROY (as much to fay as Pallas image) is hidden also there, which was brought by Lucas into ITALY. Other do report also that Dardanus at that time when he first began to build the City of TROY, brought thither the holy Images of the gods of SAMOTHRACIA, and he did offer them up there; and how Aneas after the City was taken did fteal them away,

and kept them untill he came to dwell in ITALY. Some other also that take upon them to know

more therein then the common fort do, hold opinion, that there are two pipes not very great,

whereof the one is empty and flandeth open, the other is full and fast locked up, howbeit they

are not to be feen but by these holy Nuns. Other think also, that these imaginers invented

that they spake of their own heads, because the Vestall Nuns did cast all that they could put in at

that time und two pipes, which they buried after in the ground, within the Temple of Quirinus: and therefore that very place carrieth the furname at this day of pipes. Howbeit they carried about

them the most precious things they had, and fled along the River, where one Lucius Albinus

(one of the common people) flying allo, and having brought away his Wife and little children, and other houtholdstuffs he had in a Cart, by chance he lighted upon the Vestall Nuns in the way.

But to loon as he perceived these holy Nurs (carrying the bleffed Reliques and Jewels in their

arms dedicated unto the fervice of the gods) all alone, and that they were weary with going a

foor; He caused his Wife and his Children to come out of the Cart, and took down all his goods

Fabius chief

the Gauls.

alfo, and willed them to get them up, and fly into some City or Town of GEECE. Thus methought I could not well pass over with filence, Albinus reverence and devotion he shewed unto the gods in fo dangerous a time and pinch of extremity. Furthermore the Priefts of other gods, and the most to using crous a time and purell of Cartonian, and the most forestime, or had past the honour honourablest old men of the City of ROME (that had been Confuls beforetime, or had past the honour of triumph) had not the heart to forfake ROME; but putting on all their most holy robes and vestments, did vow, and as it were willingly facrificed themselves unto the fortune that should befall them for the fafety of their Countrey. And using certain words and Prayers which their high Bishop Fabiwe had raught them, they went even thus apparrelled into the great market-place, and did fit them down there in chairs of Ivory, expeding the goodwill and pleafure of the gods what should become Rome taken by of them. But within three dairs after Brennus came to Rome with his Army, who finding the gates of the City all open, and the Walls without watch, he doubted fome devife in it, and feared fome prison vy ambush had been laid, as one hardly beleeving to have found the ROMANS of so base a mind as to forfake their City: After being informed of the truth, he entred into Rome by the gate Colliha, and took the same little more then 360 years after it was first builded; if it be true at the least that there hath remained any certain Chronicles of those times unto this present day, considering the trouble and confusion of that time bath made many things more certain then that doubtfull unto But so it was, that the rumour ran to GREECE incontinently how Rome was taken, but yet withall somewhat doubtfully and uncertainly. For Heraclides Ponticus (who was about that time) saith in a certain Book he wrote of the Soul, that there was news come from the West part, that an Army which came from the HYPERBORIANS had taken a City of GREECE called ROME, fituated in that Countrey near the great Sea. But I wonder not that Heraclides (who hath written fo many other fables and lies) did amplifie the true news of the taking of Rome, with adding too of his owndevice, of the HYPERBORIANS, and by the great Sea. It is a most true tale, that Aristotle the timony of the Philosopher had certain knowledge it was taken by the GALLS; howbeir he faith also, it was recovered again afterwards by one called Lucius; where indeed it was by Marcu Camillus, and not by Lucius. But all this in manner is spoken by conjecture. Moreover Brennus being entred ROME did appoint part of his souldiers to beliege those which were gotten into Mount Capitoll. And he with the relidue of his Army marched on towards the Market-place, where when he faw the ancient Senators fit fo gravely in their chairs, and spake never a word, nor offered once to rise, though they faw their enemies come armed against them, neither changed countenance nor colour at all, but lean-The Majesty and their flaves they had in their hands, feeming to be nothing afraid nor abashed, but looked so the upon another, he marvellously wondred at it. This their so strange manner at the first did so of the old Scnators fet in damp the Gauls, that for a space they stood still, and were in doubt to come near to touch them, the marketfearing left they had been forme gods, untill such time as one of them went boldly unto Marcus Pappfearing left they had been forme gods, untill such time as one of them went boldly unto Marcus Pappfearing, and laid his hand fair and softly upon his long beard: But Pappring, gave him such a rap on the place of Rome. pate with his Staff, that he made the bloud run about his ears. This barbarous beaft was in fuch a rage with the blow, that he drew out his Sword and flew him. The other Souldiers also killed all the rest wall the blow, that it can be continued many daies spoiling and sacking all things they found in the houses, and in the end did set them all one fire, and destroyed them every one, for despight of those that kept the Fort of the Capitoll, and would not yeeld upon their Summons, but valiantly repulfed them when they fealed the walls. For this cause they razed the whole City, and put all to the The City of Sword that came in their hands, young and old, man, woman, and child. Now this flege continuing long, and the ROMANS holding them out very flourly, victuals began to grow feant in the Camp of the Gauls, infomuch as they were driven of force to feek it abroad without the City. Hereupon they divided themselves, whereof some remained still with the King at the Siege of the Capitoll, the Gauls. and the reft went a forraging and spoiling all the Champion Countrey and Villages thereabours, scattered as it were by Bands and Companies, fome here, fomethere, fearing nothing, nor passing upon watch or ward, they lived in fuch fecurity of their victory. Howbeit the greatest company amongst them went by fortune towards the City of ARDEA where Camillus dwelt, living like a private man, medling with no matters of state from the time of his exile untill that present time. But then he began not to bethink himself as a man that was in safety, and might have escaped the hands of his ene-The City of mies, but rather fought to devife and find out all the means he could to fubdue them if occasion Ardea. were so offered. Whereupon considering that the Inhabitants of ARDEA were enough in Camillarwords number to fet upon them, although faint-hearted and cowardly, by reason of the sloth and unto the dridennegligence of their Governours and Captains, who had no manner of experience in the wars : he began to cast out these words among the young men: That they should not think the ROMANS mistortune fell upon them, through the valiantness of the Gauls; nor that their calamity (who had refused good counsel) had happened unto them by any work or act of the GAULS, having done nothing for their part to make them carry away the victory; but that they should think it was no other thing, but Fortune alone that would needs shew her power. Therefore that it were now a notable and honourable enterprise (although somewhat dangerous) to drive these stran-

gers and barbarous people out of their Countrey; confidering that the onely end of their victory

was, but to deftroy and confume and fire all that fell into their hands. Wherefore if they would but

onely take a good lufty heart and courage unto them, he would with opportunity and space, assure

them the victory without any danger. The young men were pleased with these words of life and

comfort. Whereupon Camillus went to break the matter also unto the Magistrates and Counsel-

lors, and having drawn them by perswasion unto this emerprise, he armed all that were of age to

carry armour, and would not fuffer a man to go out of the City for fear left the enemies (which were not far off) should have intelligence of the same. Now after the Gauts had run over all the Champion Countrey, and were loaden with all forts of spoils, they did encamp themselves negligently in open fields, and never charged watch nor ward; but having their full carriage of wine laid them down to fleep, and made no noise at all in their Camp. Camillus being advertised thereof by his feverall footis, caused the Ande An s with as little noise as might be, forthwith to go out into the fields, and having marched fornewhat roundly the diffance between the City and the Camp of the Gaues, they came thither much about midnight. Then he made his Souldiers make great shours and cries, and the Trumpers to be sounded on every side, to put a fear in their enemies, who yet with all the loud noise they made could hardly be made wake, they were so deadly drunk. Yet there were some notwithstanding that for fear to be taken tardy did builtle up at this fudden noise, and coming to themselves sell to their weapons to refist Camillus, which were flain by and by. The rest and the greatest number of them lay here and there scattered in Camillus flew the midft of the field without any weapons dead affeep, flark drunk with wine, and were put to the Gauls the Sword and never ftrake ftroak. Those that fled but of the Camp that night (which were but hard by Ardea few in number) were overthrown also the next day by the Horsemen that followed and killed them as they took them stragling here and there in the Fields. The bruit of this Victory was blown abroad incontinently through all the Towns and Villages thereabouts, which caused many young men to come and joyn themselves to Camillus: but specially the ROMANS desired the tame, that had saved themselves in the City of VEIES, after the Battel lost at ALLIA, who made their mones among themselves there, saying, O gods, what a Captain hath Fortune taken from the City of ROME? What honour hath the City of ARDEA by the valiantness and worthy deeds of Camillus; and in the mean feason his natural City that brought him forth is now lost and utterly deftroyed? We, for lack of a Captain to lead to are flut up here within others walls, and do nothing but fuffer ITALY in the mean space to go to ruine and unter destruction before our eyes. Why then do we not fend to the ARDEANS for our Captain? or why do we not arm our selves to go unto him? For he is now no more a banified man, nor we poor Citizens; fince our City is poffeffed with the forseign power of our hatefull enemies. So they all agreed to this counsel, and sent unto Camillus to befeech him to be their Captain and lead them. But he made answer, he would in no case consent unto it, unless they that were belieged in the Capitol had lawfully first confirmed it by their voices. For those (faid he) so long as they remain within the City, do represent the state and body thereof. Therefore if they commanded him to take this charge upon him, he would most willingly obey them; if otherwise they milited of it, that then he would not meddle against their good wills and commandment. They having received this answer, there was not a ROMAN against them but greatly honoured and extolled the wildom and justice of Camillus. But now they knew not how to make them privy unto it that were belieged in the Capitol; for they faw no possibility to convey a meffenger to them; confidering the enemies were Lords of the City, and laid fiege to it. Howbe- Pontius Comiit there was one Pontin Cominium among the young men (a man of a mean house, but yet desirous nine got up in-of honour and glory) that offered himself very willingly to venture to get in if he could. So he took to the Capitol no Lerrors to carry to them that were belieged, for fear left they might be intercepted, and fo they should discover Camillus intention; but parting on an ill favoured gown upon him, he conveyed certain pieces of cork under it, and travelling at noon-daies kept on his way without fear untill he came to Rown, bringing dark night with him. And because he could not pals by the Bridge, for that the barbarous people kept watch upon it, he wrapped fuch clothes as he had about his neck (which were not many nor heavy) and took the River, and fwimming with these corks he had brought, at the length he gor over to the other fide where the City flood. Then taking up those lanes alwaies where he thought the enemies were not, feeing fire, and hearing noife in other places, he went into the gate Carmental, where he found more filence then in other places, on the which fide also the hill of the (apitol was more steep and uptight, by reason of the great rocks that were hard to climb up upon. But he digged and crept up to long amongst them, that he got up with great pain unto the wall of the fortress, on the which fide also the enemy kept no watch, and faluting the Watch of the Capitol, he told them what he was. So they plucked him up unto them, and brought him to the Magistrates that ruled them, who caused the Senate to affemble presently, to whom he told the news of Camillan Victory, which they had not heard of before; and therewith also he did declare unto them the determination of the Roman Souldiers that were abroad, which was to make Camillus their Caprain and General, and did perfwade them also to grant him the charge, for that he was the onely man abroad whom the Citizens gave their confents to obey. When they heard this, all that were within the Capitol, confulred thereupon amongst themselves, and so did chuse Camillus Distator, and returned the Mellenger Poneiss Commission back again the felf fame way he came unto them. His fortune in re- Camillas choturning back was like unto his coming thither, for the enemies never faw him. And so he brought re- sen Diffator port to them that were abroad, of the Senates decree and confent, whereof they were all marvellous the fecond glad. Thus came Camillus to take this charge of general upon him, and found there were twenty thoufand good fighting men abroad, and well armed. Then got he further aid also of their allies and confederates, and prepared daily to go and fet upon the enemies. So was Camillus chosen now Diffusor the second time, and went into the City of VETES where he spake with the ROMAN Souldiers that were there, and levied a great number of the allies belides, to go fight with the enumber as floor as the could. But whileft Camilline was thus a preparing, certain of the barbarous

Camillus perthe Gauls.

The Gauls

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CAMILLUS.

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Wherefore we were utterly shamed, having already begun well, if we should fail also to end well, and to leave this place as invincible. For if it were easie for one man alone, by digging to climb up to the height thereof, much lets is it hard for many to get up one after another, fo that one do help another. Therefore Sirs I affure you, those that do take pains to get up, shall be honourably rewarded, according to their just defert. When the King had spoken these words unto the GAULS, they fell to it luftily every man to get up, and about midnight they began many of them to dig, and make steps up to the rock one after another, as foftly as could possibly, with catching hold the best they could, by the hanging of the rock, which they found very fleep, but nevertheless easier to climb then they took it at the beginning. So that the formost of them being come to the top of the rock, were now ready to take the wall, and to fet upon the Watch that flept; For there was neither man nor dog that heard them. It chanced then there were holy geefe kept in the Temple of Juno, which at other times were wont to be fed till their crops were full: But Victuals being very straight and scant at that time even to find the men, the poor geele were to hard handled and to little regarded, that they were in manner flarved for lack of meat. This Fowl indeed naturally is very quick of hearing, and so is the also very fearfull by nature, and being in manner famished with their hard allowance they were so much the more waking and easier to be assaud. Upon this occasion therefore they heard the coming of the GAULS, and also began to run up and down and cry for fear; with which noise they did wake those that were within the Castle. The GAULS being bewrated by these soolish geese, lest their stealing upon The holy geele them, and came in with all the open noise and terrour they could. The ROMANS hearing this Alarm, every man took fuch weapon as came first to his hand, and they ran suddenly to refeue that place from whence they understood the noise, amongst those the foremost man of all was Marcus faved the Ca-Marcus Maniliss a man that had been Conful, who had a lufty body, and as front an heart. His hap being as repulfed the to meet with two of the GAULS together, as one of them was lifting up his Ax to knock him on the head, he prevented him, and firake off his hand with his Sword, and clapt his Target on the others face to fiercely, that he threw him backward down the Rock; And coming afterwards unto the wall the Capitol. with others that ran thither with him, he repulsed the rest of the GAULS that were gotten up, who were not many in number, neither did any great act. Thus the ROMANS having escaped this danger, the next morning they threw the Captain down the rocks from the castle, who had charge of the watch the night before, and gave Manlius in recompence of the good service he had done, a more honourable then profitable reward, which was this, Every man of them gave him half a pound of the Countrey wheat, which they call Far, and the fourth part of the measure of wine, which the GRECIANS call Cotile; and this might be about a quart, being the ordinary allowance of every man by the day. After this repulse, the GAULS began to be discouraged, partly for that their victuals failed them , and durft no more forage abroad in the fields for fear of Camillus, and partly vexed with the also for that the plague came amongst them, being lodged amongst heaps of dead bodies, lying in plague at Rome every place above ground without burial, and amongst burnt houses destroyed, where the ashes been every place above ground without burial, and amongst burnt houses destroyed, where the ashes been every place above ground without burial. ing blown very high by the wind and vehemency of heat, did give a dry piercing air, that did marvelloully poyfon their bodies when they came to draw in the breath of it. But the greatest cause of all their milchief was, the change of their wonted diet. Who coming out of a fresh Countrey, where there were excellent pleasant places to retire unto, to avoid the discommodity of the parching heat of the Summer, were now in a naughty plain Countrey for them to remain in, in the latter feason of the year. All these things together did heap diseases upon them, besides the long continuance of the fiege about the Capitol (for it was then about the feventh moneth) by reason whereof there grew a marvellous death in their Camp, through the great numbers of them that died daily and lay unburied. But notwithstanding all the death and trouble of the GAULS, the poor belieged ROMANS were nothing hopen the more, the famine did still grow so fast upon them. And because they could hear nothing of Camillus, they were grown almost unto a despair, and send unto him they could not, the GAULS kept so straight watch upon them in the

City. Whereupon both parties finding themselves in hard state, first the watch of either side began

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And as they were debating the matter thus, as well amongst themselves, as with the GAULS, Camillus C came to Rome Gates with his Army, and understanding all what had passed between them, he to Rome with commanded the rest of the Army to march fair and softly after him in good order, and he in the his Army. mean season with the best choice men he had, went before with all speed. As soon as the other ROMANS within the City had spied him, they shouted out for joy, and received him every one with great reverence, without any more words, as their Soveraign Captain and Prince, who had power over them all. And Camillus taking the Gold out of the Scales, gave it unto his men, and commanded the Gauls presently to take up the Scales, and to get them going: For, faith he, it is not the ROMANS manner to keep their Countrey with Gold, but with the Sword. Then Brennys began to be hot, and told him, it was not honourably done of him, to break the accord that had passed between them before by oath. Whereupon Camillus stoutly answered him again, that ac- Camillus specacord was of no validity: for he being created Dittator before, all other Officers and Magistrates what- keth floutly to foever, and their acts, by his election were made of no authority. And feeing therefore they had Brennut King dealt with men that had no power of themselves to accord to any matter, they were to speak to him, if they required ought: for he alone had absolute authority to pardon them if they repented, and would ask it : or else to punish them, and make their bodies answer the damages and loss his Countrey had by them fustained. These words made Brennus mad as a March Hare, that out went his blade. Then they drew their Swords of all fides, and laid luftily one at another as they could, within the houses, and in open streets, where they could but no Battle in order. But Brennus suddenly remembring himself, that it was no even match for him, retired with his men about him into his Camp, before he had loft many of his People. The next night following he departed out of ROME with all his Army, and went to encamp himself about threescore furlongs from thence, in the high way that goeth towards the City of the GABIANS. Camillus with his whole Army well appointed, went after him immediately, and shewed at his Camp by the break of day. The ROMANS having taken heart again unto them, did luftily give them battle : the fame continued long, very cruel and doubtfull, untill the GAULS at the length were overthrown, and their Camp taken Camillus overwith great flaughter. As for those that did escape the fury of the Battle, they were killed, some by throweth the the ROMANS felves, who hotly followed the chafe after the Battle broken: the refidue of them, Army of the and the greatest part, were slain by those of the Cities and Villages near about that did for m. Gails, and the greatest part, were slain by those of the Cities and Villages near abouts, that did fet upon them as they fled scatteringly here and there in the Fields. And thus was the City of Rome strangely again recovered that was before strangely won and lost, after it had continued seven Rome was semoneths in the hands of the barbarous People. For they entred Rome about the fifteenth day of ven moneths July: and they were driven out again about the thirteenth day of February following. So Camil- in the hands of has triumphed as befeemed him, and as one that had faved and delivered his Countrey out of the the Gaste, hands of their Enemies, and for ROME again as liberty. Those that had been abroad all the in Comillat tihands of their Enemies, and fet ROME again at liberty. 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After they had facrificed unto the gods, and rendred them most humble thanks, and had purged their City, as they had been taught by men experienced in those matters for satisfaction of the gods, Camillus began again to build up the Temples that were there before, hard by the which he built another new one also to the god Ains Locatius, in that very place where Marcus Caditius heard the voice warn him of the coming of the GAULS. So by Camillus good diligence, and the Priests great pain and travell, the situations of these Temples were with much ado found out again. But when they were to build again all the rest of the City, that was wholly burnt and destroyed to the ground, the People had no mind to it, but ever shrinked back to put any hand to the Work, for that they lacked all things necessary to begin the fame. Furthermore, weighing their late and long furtained trouble and miteries, they were fitter to take their ease and rest, then to begin new labour and toil, to kill their hearts and bodies altogether. For neither were their bodies able to perform it, nor yet their goods to reach to the charge of it. Wherefore disposing their minds to dwell in the City of VEIES, which remained whole, untouched, and furnished of all things to receive them, they delivered to the practing Orators The busine hea-(whose tongues did never cease to speak placentia to the People) trim occasion to set this ded Orators matter abroach. So they gave good eare, and were willing to hear certain feditions words flir the People spoken against Camillus, which were these: That for his private ambition he would deprive to tumult a them of a City well furnished already, and would against their wills compel them to lodge in Bainst Camillary

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people in ROME, walking out by chance on that fide of the Capitol where Pontius Cominius had gotten up the night before; foied in divers places the prints of his feet and hands, as he had griped and gotten hold, fill digging to get up, and faw the weeds and herbs also growing upon the rocks, and the earth in like manner that troden down. Whereupon they went prefently unto the King to let him understand the same, who forthwith came to view the place. And having considered it well, he did nothing at that time; but when dark night was come, he called a company of the lightest Gaus together, and that used most to dig in mountains, and said unto them : Our enemies themselves do show us the way how to take them, which we could not have found out but by themselves. For they having gone up before us, do give us easily to understand it is no impossible thing for us to climb up also. Wherefore we were utterly shamed, having already begun well, if we should fail also to end well, and to leave this place as invincible. For if it were easie for one man alone, by digging to climb up to the height thereof, much less is it hard for many to get up one after another, to that one do help another. Therefore Sirs I affure you, those that do take pains to get up, shall be honourably rewarded, according to their just defert. When the King had spoken these words unto the Gauls, they sell to it lustily every man to get up, and about midnight they began many of them to dig, and make steps up to the rock one after another, as foftly as could possibly, with catching hold the best they could, by the hanging of the rock, which they found very freep, but nevertheless easier to climb then they took it at the beginning. So that the formost of them being come to the top of the rock, were now ready to take the wall, and to fet upon the Watch that slept; For there was neither man nor dog that heard them. It chanced then there were holy geefe kept in the Temple of Juno, which at other times were wont to be fed till their crops were full : But Victuals being very straight and feant at that time even to find the men, the poor geefe were so hard handled and so little regarded, that they were in manner starved for lack of meat. This Fowl indeed naturally is very quick of hearing, and fo is the also very fearfull by nature, and being in manner famished with their hard allowance they were so much the more waking and easier to be asraid. Upon this occasion therefore they heard the coming of the GAULS, and also began to run up and down and cry for sear; with which noise they did wake those that were within the Castle. 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Thus the ROMANS having escaped this danger, the next morning they threw the Captain down the rocks from the caftle, who had charge of the watch the night before, and gave Manlius in recompence of the good service he had done, a more honourable then profitable reward, which was this, Every man of them gave him half a pound of the Countrey wheat, which they call Far, and the fourth part of the measure of wine, which the GRECIANS call Cotile; and this might be about a quart, being the ordinary allowance of every man by the day. 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All these things together did heap diseases upon them, besides the long continuance of the fiege about the Capitol (for it was then about the seventh moneth) by reason whereof there grew a marvellous death in their Camp, through the great numbers of them that died daily and lay unburied. But notwithstanding all the death and trouble of the GAULS, the poor besieged ROMAN'S were nothing hopen the more, the famine did still grow so fast upon them. And because they could hear nothing of Camillus, they were grown almost unto a despair, and send unto him they could not, the GAULS kept so straight watch upon them in the City. Whereupon both parties finding themselves in hard state, first the watch of either side began to cast out words of peace amongst themselves, and afterwards by consent of the heads, Sulpitius Tribune of the Souldiers came to parly with Brennus. In which parly it was articled, that the ROMANS should pay a thousand pound weight of gold, and that the GAULS should incontinently after the receipt of the same, depart out of their City and all their territories. This Decree being passed by Oath from both, the gold was brought. And when it came to be weighed, the GAULS at the first privily began to deal falsly with them; but afterwards they openly stayed the ballance, and would not let them weigh no more, whereat the ROMAN's began to be angry with them. Then Brennus in fcom and mockery to despight them more, plackt off his sword,

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And as they were debating the matter thus, as well amongst themselves, as with the GAULS, Camillus C came to Rome Gates with his Army, and understanding all what had passed between them, he to Rome with commanded the rest of the Army to march fair and softly after him in good order, and he in the his Army, mean season with the best choice men he had, went before with all speed. As soon as the other ROMANS within the City had spied him, they shouted out for joy, and received him every one with great reverence, without any more words, as their Soveraign Captain and Prince, who had power over them all. And Camillus taking the Gold out of the Scales, gave it unto his men, and commanded the GAULS presently to take up the Scales, and to get them going: For, faith he, it is not the ROMANS manner to keep their Countrey with Gold, but with the Sword. Then Brennus began to be hot, and told him, it was not honourably done of him, to break the accord that had passed between them before by oath. Whereupon Camillus stoutly answered him again, that ac- camillus singacord was of no validity: for he being created Dittator before, all other Officers and Magistrates what- keth flourly to foever, and their acts, by his election were made of no authority. And feeing therefore they had Brennut King dealt with menthat had no power of themselves to accord to any matter, they were to freek to him of the Guids. dealt with menthat had no power of themselves to accord to any matter, they were to speak to him, if they required ought: for he alone had absolute authority to pardon them if they repented, and would ask it : or else to punish them, and make their bodies answer the damages and loss his Countrey had by them sustained. These words made Brennus mad as a March Hare, that our went his blade, Then they drew their Swords of all fides, and laid luftily one at another as they could, within the houses, and in open streets, where they could set no Battle in order. But Brennus suddenly remembring himself, that it was no even match for him, retired with his men about him into his Camp, before he had loft many of his People. The next night following he departed out of ROME with all his Army, and went to encamp himself about threescore surlongs from thence, in the high way that goeth towards the City of the GABIANS. Camillus with his whole Army well appointed, went after him immediately, and shewed at his Camp by the break of day. The ROMANS having taken heart again unto them, did luftily give them battle : the fame continued long, very cruel and doubtfull, untill the GAULS at the length were overthrown, and their Camp taken Camillus overwith great slaughter. As for those that did escape the surv of the Battle, they were killed, some by throweth the the ROMANS felves, who hotly followed the chafe after the Battle broken: the refidue of them, Army of the and the greatest part, were slain by those of the Cities and Villages near about, that did for in. Gauts, and the greatest part, were slain by those of the Cities and Villages near abouts, that did fet upon them as they fled scatteringly here and there in the Fields. And thus was the City of ROME strangely again recovered that was before strangely won and lost, after it had continued seven Rome was semoneths in the hands of the barbarous People. For they entred Rome about the fifteenth day of ven moneths July: and they were driven out again about the thirteenth day of February following. So Camil- in the hands of July: and they were driven out again about the thirteenth day of reornary following. So Camil-lus triumphed as befeemed him, and as one that had faved and delivered his Countrey out of the Guals. hands of their Enemies, and fet ROME again at liberty. Those that had been abroad all the time umphed of the of this Siege, came into ROME again, following his triumphing Chariot: and those that had been Gault. befieged within the Capitol (looking for no other but to have died by famine) went and presented themselves before him, and each one embraced other, in weeping wise for joy. The Priests and Ministers of the Temples also, presented their holy Jewels, whole and undefaced, which some of them had buried in the ground within the City self: and other some had carried away with them, when they fled out of Rome. All these the People did as gladly see, as if the gods themselves had returned home again into their City. After they had facrificed unto the gods, and rendred them most humble thanks, and had purged their City, as they had been raught by men experienced in those matters for fatisfaction of the gods, Camillus began again to build up the Temples that were there before, hard by the which he built another new one also to the god Ains Locutius, in that very place where Marcus Caditius heard the voice warn him of the coming of the GAULS. So by Camillus good diligence, and the Priests great pain and travell, the situations of these Temples were with much ado found out again. But when they were to build again all the rest of the City, that was wholly burnt and destroyed to the ground, the People had no mind to it, but ever shrinked back to put any hand to the Work, for that they lacked all things necessary to begin the fame. Furthermore, weighing their late and long furtained trouble and miferies, they were fitter to take their ease and rest, then to begin new labour and toil, to kill their hearts and bodies altogether. For neither were their bodies able to perform it, nor yet their goods to reach to the charge of it. Wherefore disposing their minds to dwell in the City of VEIES, which remained whole, untouched, and furnished of all things to receive them, they delivered to the practing Orators The busis head (whose tongues did never cease to speak placentia to the People) trim occasion to set this ded Orators matter abroach. So they gave good eare, and were willing to hear certain feditions words für the People fpoken against Camillus, which were these: That for his private ambition he would deprive to tumula and control of the control them of a City well furnished already, and would against their wills compet them to lodge in 82 inst Camilless

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their own Houses, wholly burnt and pulled down. And moreover, that he would make them to racir own riouses, whoshy outing and puncte down, and the People might call him, not onely raise up again the great ruine the fire had made, to the end the People might call him, not onely Captain and Generall of the ROMANS, but the Founder of ROME also, and so drown Romulus Captain and General of the Albana so, on the Founder of Albana and, and to down Abmillist honourable Title thereof. The Senate confidering of this matter, and fearing fome tumult among the People, they would not fuffer Camillus to leave the Dictatorthip before the end of the year, the reope, may would not take that Office above fix Moneths. Then Camillus for his part did much endeavour himself, to comfort and appeale the People, praying them all he could to tarry: and further pointed with his finger unto the graves of their Ancestors, and pur them in mind also of the holy places dedicated to the gods, and fanctified by King Numa, or by Romulus, or by other Kings. But amongst many other tokens drawn out of holy and Divine things, he forgat detection of the bring for example, the head of a man found new and fresh, in making the foundation of the Capitol, as if that place by fatal deftiny had been once chofen to be the head and chief of all Traly. And moreover, that the holy fire of the goddess Vesta (which fince the Wars had been kindled again by the holy Vestal Nuns) would again come to be put out by them, if they did forfake their natural City: befides the great shame and dishonour it would be unto them, to see it inhabited in time to come by unknown ftrangers, or elfe to be left a common field and parture, for Beafts and Cattle to graze in: Such forrowfull examples and griefs, the honeft natural born Citizens, did ever blow into the Peoples ears, as well privately as openly. The People again to the contrary, did make their hearts to yerne for piry, when they laid before their eyes their penury and poverty they furtained: and befought them also not to enforce them to gather and join together again the broken pieces of a spoiled City (as of a Shipwrack that had caft them naked into the Sea, having onely faved bare life and perfons) fince that they had another City near at hand and ready to receive them. So Camillus counfel was, that the Senare should consult upon this matter, and deliver their absolute opinion herein: which was done. And in this Council, he himself brought forth many probable reasons, why they should not leave in any case, the place of their natural birth and Country; and fo did many other Senators in like cafe, favouring that opinion. Laft of all, after these perswasions, he commanded Lucius Lucretius (whose manner was to speak first in fuch Assemblies) that he should stand up and deliver his opinion, and that the rest also in order as they fate, should say their minds. So every man keeping filence, as Lucretius was ready to speak, they rate, mount say used managed by their Council-house, a Captain with his Band that warded that day, who spake aloud to his Ensign-bearer that went formost, to stay, and set down his Ensign day, who space aloud to his enugated that went follows, to may, and let down his enugathere: For, faidhe, here is a very good place for us to dwell in. These words being heard up into the Senate-house, even as they flood all in a doubt and maze what would be the resolution of this matter, Lucretins began to lay, that he most humbly thanked the gods; and allowed of the Captiature, and fo every one of the rest in their order, said as much. Moreover there was a wonderfull change and alteration of mind fuddenly among the common People: for every man did perfwade and encourage his fellow lively to pur his hand to this work. Infomuch as tarrying for no divition or appointing out of ftreets, nor fetting out every man his place he should build in, they fell to work of all hands, every one chusing that place he liked beft, and was most commodious for their Rome is built building, without any other order or divition amongst them. Whereupon, they running to this Building on a head, the ftreets were confused on heaps together, and their houses all built out of order and uniformity. For the report goeth, that the whole City (as well common as private Buildings) was built up new again in a year. But the Surveyors, to whom Camillus had given charge to find out all the holy places where the Temples had been overthrown, as they were about Mount Palatine, they came by chance to the place, where the Chappel of Mars had flood, which the GAULS had wholly burnt and destroyed, as they had done all the reft. They making clean the place, and surveying every corner, did find by chance Romulus Augures crooked fraff hidden under great mount of alhes. This staff is crooked at one of the ends, and they call it Litum, which Southfayers do use to quarter out the Regions of the Element, when they will behold the flying of Birds to tell of things to come. Romulus that was very skilfull in this art, did use this staff: and alter he was taken away from all mens fights, the Priests took it, and kept it as a holy Relick, suffering no creature to lay hands on it. Now when they found this ftaff whole and unbroken, where all things else were confumed and perished by fire, they were in a marvellous joy thereat: for they interpreted this to be a fign of the everlafting continuance of the City of ROME. But before they could make an end of all their building, there grew a new War again upon them. For at one very instant, all the Louis, the Volsces, and the Latins, entred with all their might and main into the Territories of the ROMANS. The THUSCANS also went then and besieged Surrimine the Territories of the ROMANS. UM, that was in league and amity with the ROMANS. The Tribuni militares got them ftraight to the Field with their Army, and encamped about Mount Martian. The LATINS befieged them fo straightly, that their Army stood in great danger to be overthrown, and they were driven to fend to ROME for a new supply. Thereupon the ROMANS did choose Camillus Distator again the

again.

Rome was new built again in

Romulus Aufound whole after Rome was burnt.

mained within their Camp, were burnt to death with fire, untill the ROMANS themselves came to the Latins. quench it, for greediness of their spoil and goods. When all this was done, Camillus lest his Son third time. The occasion of this War is reported two manner of ways: whereof I will declare in the Camp, to keep the prisoners and spoils: and he himself, with the rest of the Army, went the third time, the first, which I do conceive to be but a tale. They say the LATINS sent unto the ROMANS, 10 to invade his Enemies Countrey, where he took the City of Eques. Then after he had overcome Camillus took the Volsces, heled his Army prefently from thence unto the City of Sutrium. For he had not the City of demand some of their free Maidsin marriage: which they did either to make a quarrel of War, or yet heard of their misfortune. Therefore he hasted himself to aid them, because he thought they were yet Aques. elte as desirous indeed to join both the Peoples again by new marriages. The ROMANS were besieged by the Thus CANS. But such was their hard fortune, that they had already yielded up their amazed very much at this, and fore troubled, as not knowing how to answer them, they were so afraid of Wars. For they were yet fcant new fettled at home, and dreaded much left this demand of their City by composition, and saved no part of their goods, but the very clothes they had on their backs.

Daughters, was but a Summons made to give them Hostages, which they finely cloaked under the name of alliance in Marriage. Some fay that there was at that time a Bond-maid called Tutola, or Tutole or Phias some say, Philoris, that went unto the Senate, and counselled them they should send her away soils craft and with some other fair Maid-flaves, dressed up like Gentlewomen, and then let her alone. The Se-substity. nate liked very well of this device, and choic fuch a number of Bond-maids as fhe defired to have. and trimming them up in fine Apparel, begawded with Chains of Gold and Jewells, they fent them forth to the LATINS, who were encamped not far from the City. When night was come, the other Maids hid their Enemies Swords. But this Tutola, or Philotis (call her as you will) did climb up to the top of a wild Fig-tree, from which she shewed a burning Torch unto the ROMANS, having made shift to hang somewhat behind her, to keep the light from sight of the Enemies. For this fignal the Senate of Rome had fecretly appointed her to fet up, which was the cause that the iffuing out of the Souldiers, being commanded to go out in the night, was full of trouble and tumult. For being pressed by their Captains, they called one another, and there was a great ado to put them in order of Battle. Thus they went to take their Enemies fleeping, who nothing miftrufting the Rome deliver'd fame, were flain the most part of them within their Camp. This was done on the fifth day of the from Wars by Moneth called then Quintilia, and now is named July: at which time they do yet celebrate a certain Tutola the Feaft in remembrance of that act. For first of all, going out of the City, they call aloud many of Bond-maid. their fellows names which are most common: as Cains, Marcus, and Lucius, shewing thereby how one of them called another after that fort, as they went in great hafte out of the City. Afterwards all the Maid-fervants of the City being trimly apparelled, go playing up and down the Town, plea- The Maids fantly jefting with those they meet: and in the end they make as though they fought together, in Feath, called token that they did help the ROMANS at that time to destroy the LATINS. Then they are fea. None Captail fted, fitting under Bowers made with wild Fig-tree boughs; and this Feaft is called Nona Caprati- ne. na, by reason of the wild Fig-tree (as some think) from the top whereof, the Bond-maid shewed to the ROMANS the burning Torch. For the ROMANS call the wild Fig-tree, Caprificus. Other fay, that all these things are done and spoken in remembrance of the mischance that happened unto Romulus, when he was taken out of their fight, the fame day without the Gates of the City, at which time there arose a sudden mist and dark cloud. Or as some other say, that then was the Eclipse of the Sun: and they hold opinion that the day was named None Capratine, because Capra in the ROMAN Tongue, signifieth a Goat. Romulus vanished out of mens sights, as he was making an Oration unto his People, near unto the place which is called Goat-marsh, as we have mentioned more at large in his life. The second occasion and beginning of this War (according to the opinion of most Writers) was, that Camillus being chosen Distator the third time, and knowing that the Trib. militares with their Army were straightly besieged by the LATINS and VOLSCES, he was enforced to armall the old men, who for very age were priviledged from further service in Wars. And having fetched a great compass about Mount Martian, because he would not be seen of his Enemies, he came to lodge his camp behind them, where he railed fires, to make the ROMANS know that were befieged, that he was come: which as foon as they perceived, they took to them courage again, and determined to fight. But the LATINS and VOLSCES kept within their Camp. and did intrench and fortifie themselves with a Wall of Wood, which they laid across, because they faw they were beset both before and behind: and determined to tarry the relief of a new supply, as well of their own, as of some other aid besides from the Thus CANS: which thing Camillus perceiving, and fearing left they should serve him, as he had already handled them, by compassing of him again behind, he thought it necessary to prevent this. So considering the inclosure and fortification of their Camp was all of Wood, and that every morning commonly, there came a great Camillus Itrawind from the fide of the Mountains, he made provision of a number of fire-brands. And lead-tagem against ing out his Army into the Fields by break of day, he appointed one part of them to give charge the Latins and upon the Enemies on the one fide, with great noise and shouting : and he with the other part determined to raife fire on the contrary fide, from whence the wind should come, looking for opportunity to do the same. When he saw the Sun up, and the wind beginning to whistle, blowing a good gale from the fide of the hills, and that the skirmish was begun on the other fide: then he gave a fignal unto the Company he led with him, to fet upon the Enemies, and made them throw into the inclosure of their Camp, divers pots and darts with fire, fo that the flame finding matter to catch hold of, in this inclosure of Wood, and Trees laid overthwart, did raise straight an exceeding great flame in the air, and still got way inwards into the LATINS Camp. Whereupon the LATINS

being unprovided of present remedy to quench the slame, and seeing their Camp a fire all about their

ears, they gathered themselves together at the first in a very small room. Nevertheless, they were enforced in the end to get them into the Field, and there they found their Enemies ready armed,

and in battle ray. So as few of those escaped that came into the Field, and their fellows that re- Camillus flew

CAMILLUS. So being turned out of all they had, they met Camillon by the way as they were wandring abroad, So being turned out of an tiney man, tiney mere Commission by the way as tiney were waitering abroad, lamenting their milery with their Wives and little young Children: whose milery went to the very heart of Camillus, when he beheld their lamentable state. Furthermore, when he saw the Ro-MANS weep for pity also, to see the moan that these unfortunate People made unto him, and that it grieved them heartily to behold their great mischance: he determined with himself not to deter revenge, but prefently to go the felf-fame day before the City of SUTRIUM, imagining that he should find the Thus cans out of order, without keeping watch, and attending nothing but making good chers, because they had newly taken a wealthy rich City, where they had left never an Enemy in the same to hurt them, neither feared any abroad to come near to affault them. And indeed it fell out rightly as he gueffed. For he had not onely paffed through the Territories of the City, without any intelligence given to the Enemies within the same : but he was come to the very Gares, and had taken the Walls before they heard any thing of his coming, by reason they neither kept Watch nor Ward, but were dispersed abroad in the City, in every house, eating and drinking drunk together. Infomuch as when they knew their Enemies were already within the City, they were fo full fraught with Meat and Wine, that the most of their wits ferved them not fo much as to fly, but rarried until they were flain or taken, like Beafts in the Houles. Thus was the City of Su-TRIUM twice taken in one day. And it chanced that those which had won it, lost it: and those which had loft it, recovered it again by Camillus means; who deferved both the honour and entry of triumph into ROME: the which wan him no lefs good will and glory, than the two first before had done praife, and gotten fame. For even his greatest Enemies that most spited and envied his former noble acts, afterbing them rather to Fortune that favoured him, than to his valiantness or wor-Sutrium. thinefs, were forced now by this deed of his to confess, that his wildom and valiantness deferved praife and commendation to the skies. Camillus of all his Enemies had one most bitter to him, vea prate and commendation to the skies.

(amount of an inserience say one most bitter to him, which was Marcia Manliss, that was the first man that gave the Gauls the repulse that night that had award the Well of the Capital and had about the skies that any other than the same that the skies had award the Well of the Capital and had about the skies that the same than the skies that the skies Morear Mantiwith they had entred the Walls of the Capitol, and had thought to have taken it: whereupon they gave
they had entred the Walls of the Capitol, and had thought to have taken it: novembre fedition.

In captivities the furname of Capitolinia. He afpiring to be the chief of the City, and finding no direct way in the furname of Capitolinia. He afpiring to be the chief of the City, and finding no direct way in the capitolinia. He afpiring to be the chief of the City, and finding no direct way in the capitolinia. The capitolinia is a constant of the control of the chief of the City, and finding no direct way in the capitolinia. The capitolinia is a control of the chief of the City, and finding no direct way in the capitolinia is a control of the chief of the City, and finding no direct way in the capitolinia is a control of the chief of the City, and finding no direct way in the capitolinia is a control of the chief of the City, and finding no direct way in the capitolinia is a control of the chief of the City, and chief of the City, and chief of the chief of the City, and chief of the chief of the City, and chief of the he began to flatter the common People, and specially those that were indebted: he took upon him to defend their carles, and pleaded their case at the bar against their Creditors. Sometimes he took the Debtors out of the Creditors hands, and carried them away by force, that for lack of winners the multitude and ability to pay were by rigour of the Law condemned to be Bond-flaves. But by this practice, in short time he got him a marvellous number of such needy followers, and poor men, that the Noble men and honest Citizens were afraid of the infolent parts they played, and of the continual troubles and tumulis they daily stirred up in the Market-place. Therefore suspecting the worst in this common peocase, they did choose Quintus Capitolinus Dictator : who caused the said Manlius immediately to be apprehended, and committed to prison. Whereupon the People began to change their Appapriton by

Capitolian rel: which they were never wont to do, but in great and common calamities. But the Senate fearing left fome commotion would rife hereupon, they did fet him at liberty again. He being thus our of prison, was no whit the better, nor wifer thereby, but did still stir up the Commons, titus out of period, was no with the octier, nor which thereby, out that his up the commons, camillas tho more boldly and feditiously than before. Then was Camillas thosen again Tribunum militaria, fen again Tribunum and Manlium was accused in his time of Office. But when the matter came to pleading, the fight basas militaris of the Capitol troubled his Accusers much. For the very place it self where Manisus had repul-

Manlius clapt

of the Gaules by night, and defended the Capitol, was easily feen from the Market-place, where the matter was a hearing; and he himself pointing with his hand, shewed the place unto the gods, and weeping tenderly, he laid before them the remembrance of the hazard of his life, in fight for their falety. This did move the Judges hearts to pity, fo as they knew not what to do, but many times they did put over the hearing of his cafe unto another day, and neither would they give judgement, knowing be was convicted by manifest proofs: neither could they use the feverity of the Law upon him, because the place of his so notable good service was ever still before their eyes. Wherefore Camillus finding the cause of delay of Justice, did make the place of Judgement to be removed without the City, into a place called the Wood Petelian, from whence they could not fee the Capitol. And there the Accufers gave apparent evidence againft him; and the Judges confidering all his wicked practifes, conceived a just cause to punish him, as he had deferved. So they gave tentence of death against him: that he should be carried to the Mount-Capitol, Marcus Manii and there to be thrown down headlong the Rocks thereof. Thus, one and the felf-place was a memory both of his notable good fervice, and also of his miserable and unfortunate end. Besides all this, they razed his house, and built in the same place a Temple to the goddess they call Msneta: and made a Law also, that no Patrician from thenceforth should dwell any more in the put to death. Mount-Capitol. Camillus after this, being called again to take the Office of Tribunus militaru the fixih time, he thought to excuse himself, as well for that he saw he was well stept in years, as allo for that he feared Fortunes spight, or some mishap after he had obtained such glory for his noble acts and fervice. Howbeit the most apparent cause of his excuse, was his sickness, which troubled him much at that time. But the People would allow no excuse by any means, but cryed out, they did not desire he should fight on Foot nor on Horseback, but that he should onely give Counted and command: and therefore they compelled him to take the charge, and to lead the Army with one of his companions named Lucius Frurius, against their Enemies the PRENESTINES, and the VOLSCES, who joyning together, did invade the Confines of the ROMANS friends. So he ld

his part to draw the Wars out in length, that he might fight afterwards (if need required) when he had recovered strength. But Frurius contrarily covering glory, was wholly bent to hazard the Battle, what foever peril came of it: and to this end he stirred up and encouraged the Captains of every private Band. Wherefore Camillus fearing left they should think, for ill will he bare the young men. that he went about to hinder and take away the mean to win their honour, and to do some noble act: fuffered Fruting against his will to put his men in order of battle, and he in the mean season by reafon of his fickhefs, remained with a few about him in the Camp. So went Lucius upon a head Lucius Erurius to present battle to the Enemy, and so was he as headily also overthrown. But Camillus hearing the gave battle to ROMANS were overthrown, fick as he was upon his bed, got up, and taking his houlhold Servants the Praneftines with him, he went in hafte to the Gates of the Camp, and passed through those that fled, untill he and Vollces, came to meet with the Enemies that had them in chase. The ROMANS seeing this that were already thrown. entred into the Camp, they followed him at the heels forthwith: and those that fled also without, when they saw him, they gathered together, and put themselves again in array before him, and perswaded one another not to forsake their Captain. So their Enemies hereupon stayed their chasing, and would purfue no further that day. But the next morning, Camillus leading his Army into the Camillus wan field, gave them battle, and wan the field of them by plain force : and following the victory hard, the field of the he entred amongst them that fled into their Camp pelmell, or hand over head, and slew the most Pranefines part of them even there, After this Victory, he was advertised how the Thuscans had taken the City of Sutrium, and had put to the sword all the Inhabitants of the same, which were Ro-MAN Citizens. Whereupon he fent to Rome the greatest part of his Army, and keeping with him the highest and lustiest men, went and gave affault unto the Thuscans, that now were harboured in the City of Surrium. Which when he had won again, he flew part of them, and the Camillus flew other faved themselves by flight. After this, he returned to Rome with an exceeding spoil, con- the Thusans firming by experience, the wildom of the ROMANS, who did not fear the age nor ficknels of a at Sutrium. good Captain that was expert and valiant, but had chosen him against his will, though he was both old and fick : and preferred him far before the younger and luftier that made fute to have the charge. News being brought tinto the Senate that the Thus culanians were revolted, they fent Camillar tent millar thinter again, willing him of five other companions to take out one he liked beft, every of again against the which defired to be chosen, and made their sute unto him for the same. But he resusing all other, the Thuseuladid choose again Lucius Frurius beyond all expectation of men, seeing not long before he needs miant. would against his will hazard battle, in which he was overthrown. Howbeit Camillus, having a defire (as I think) to hide his fault and shame he had received, did of courtesie prefer him before all other: Now the Thusculanians hearing of Camillus coming against them, subtilly the craft of fought to colour the fault they had already committed. Wherefore they put out a great number of the Thusculaist. people into the fields, some to plough, other to keep the beafts, as if they had been in best peace : and niant. did set the Gates of the City wide open, sent their Children openly to School, their Artisicers wrought their Occupations in their Shops, the men of haviour and honest Citizens walked in the Market-place in their long Gowns, and the Officers and Governors of the City went up and down to every house, commanding them to prepare lodgings for the ROMANS, as if they had stood in no fear at all, and as though they had committed no fault. Howbeit all these fine fetches could not make Camillus believe, but that they had intent to rebell against the ROMANS: yet they made Camillus pity them, seeing they repented them of that they had determined to do. So he commanded them to go to Rome to the Senate, to crave pardon for their fault : and he himself did help them, not onely to purge their City of any intent of Rebellion, but also to get them the Priviledge and Freedom of ROME. And these be the chiefest acts Camillus did in the fixth time of his Tribuneship. After this, one Licinius Stolo moved great fedition in the City, between the common People and the Great fedition Senate. For he would in any cafe that of the two Confuls, which were chosen yearly, the one of mored in Rome them should be a Commoner, and not that both of them should be of the ancient Noble Families, by Licinius called Patricians. The Tribunes of the People were chosen, but the Election of the Consuls, the Stolo. People stayed: fo that the Commonwealth went to decay, and declined to greater troubles, than ever it did before, for lack of Government. But to suppress this, the Senate created Camillus the Camillus creafourth time Dictator: but this was fore against his will, because it milliked the People much. Fur- ted Dictator thermore, he would not complain of the People, for that they having ferved him in many Wars and the fourth time Battles, might boldly and truly fay unto him: that he had done more notable acts by them in the Wars, than he had done by the Patricians in Peace. Yet was he created Distator in despight, to rule the People, and of envy in the Noblemen towards them. Thus necessity did urge him, either by force to suppress the People, if he were the stronger in this diffention: or else that he himself should be suppressed, if he became the weaker. Camillus notwithstanding, preparing to prevent this mischief, and knowing the day the Tribunes had determined, to prefer the passing of their Law by voices of the People: he gave warning by Proclamation fet upon posts, that the same very day he would muster the People: and all was but to draw them from the Market-place into the field of Mars, and did fet great penalties upon those that should be lacking at the Musters, and would presume to disobey. The Tribunes of the People on the contrary part, did withftand his threats, and sware they

would condemn Camillus felf in fifty thousand Drachmes of Silver, if he did not let the People alone, but would go about to diffurb them for giving their voices to fuch a Law as they liked of. Comillus perceiving this, and fearing to be condemned and banished once again, which would fall out

Licinius Stolo made a Law for enjoying of Lands. Stole the first offender of the

> come again to Camillus chofen Dictator fight with ad-

> > Anian fl.

very in for min, being now an ore main, and one that have cone to many great and notable acts, or effe for that he thought himself not strong enough to withstand the force of the People : he kept his house that day, feigning himself to be lick, and certain other days following, and in the end he gave up his Office. Thereupon the Senate chose in his place another Dillator, who named the same Licinius Stolo General of the Horlemen, that was the Authour and furtherer of all this fedition: and besides did suffer him to preser another Law, and to pass it by voices of the People, that above all other Laws, did most trouble the Pariscians. Which Law did forbid any Citizen of Rome, to have, or occupy above five hundred jugera, which amount to 330 acres and a half, 12 pole, and liave, or occupy above the minimized profession aloft, and of great estimation at that time : for that he had in despight of the Senate established this Law. Howbeit shortly after it was found out, that himself had more number of Acres than his own Law permitted: by reason whereof, he received the juft punishment of his own devised forfeiture. Yet the most weighty matter of all this diffention that began first, and most of all troubled the Senate, touching the election of the Consuls, remained fill undetermined. But while these matters were thus in talk, the ROMANS had certain intelligence, how the Gauls were departed once again from the Adriatick Sea, and were coming with a great power straight unto ROME: upon report of which news, the Wars followed immediately. For the Gauls destroyed the champion Countrey as they went : and the poor Countrely. trey-men that could not recover ROME, were feattered here and there amongst the Mountains. The fear of this did somewhat appease the diffention. The People then affembling with the Senate, and the bafer fort with the Noble, did all with one voice and affent choose Camilla Distator the fifth the pater fortwhill the 1400K, and all wall one force and anothe common Distance like fifth ing the necessity and present danger, without framing any excuse, or flarting as he had before, he undertook the charge. Now that he had taken it upon him, he presently levied men, and prepared appointed his Service with his Army. And knowing very well how the flerceness of these barbarous Gaues consisted in down-soulders with Souldiers with the Almy amour and right blows with their Swords, with which they would firike off heads and shoulders of men at a blow, mangling them like Butchers, without any art or skill of fight: he caused iron Sallets, and Morians to be made for the most of his men, as smoothly wrought on the outside as could be, that their Swords lighting on them, should either slide off, or break. Moreover, he caused their Shields to have bars made about them of copper, because the wood felf was not able to abide their blows. Furthermore, he did teach his Souldiers to carry long Javelins or Punchion-flaves, wherewith they might wound their Enenties lifting up their Swords to strike them. Now when the GAULS were come near ROME, having pitched their Camp upon the River of Anian, and being full laden and stuffed with all kinds of ying procession and population of the field, and went to lodge on a little fpoil and booties; then Camillus brought his Army also into the Field, and went to lodge on a little hill which was easie to get upon, where there were many little caves, so that the most of his Army was all hidden and covered, and those that were seen, seemed to be retired thither into those high places for an advantage, and of fear. Camillus to encrease this opinion more in his Enemies, and to make them the bolder, did suffer them to come and spoil even to the foot of the hill where he was lodged, and stirred not once out to trouble them, but kept himself quiet in his Camp and well fortified : untill such time as he spied occasion of advantage, that the best part of their Army were scattered here and there, a forraging all about the Fields: and those which remained in their Camp, fell to eating and drinking as they used carelesly at all hours. Then Camillus sent very early before day, his lightest armed men, to vex and trouble the barbarous People in coming out of their Camp, and to let them in any case from putting their men in order of battle: and he in the break of day came down into the Plain, and did fet his other men being well armed, in good array, which were a great number, and lufty fellows, and were not as the barbarous People thought, few, and fearfull. This at the very first discouraged the hearts of the Gauls marvelloully, because they thought themselves dishonoured, that the ROMANS should charge them first. Afterwards also Camillus Vaunt-guard did fer upon the GAULS, and that on a sudden, before they had leifure to put themselves in battle, or to order their Troops: compelling them to fight without order, as they met out of order by chance. In the end also, Camillus came upon the necks of them, with all his whole force and Army together: against whom they ran notwithstanding, holding up their naked Swords aloft in their hands. But the ROMANS thrusting with their armed Javelins, received their Enemies blows upon them, and thereby fo rebated the edges of their Swords (their blades being very (harp and thin ground, and of so soft a temper) that they bowed again, and stood crooked unreasonably: and furthermore, having pierced their Shields thorow with their punchingstaves, the GAULS arms were so cloud and wearied with them, the ROMANS plucking them back to them again, that they threw away their Swords and Shields, and flying in, closed with the ROMANS and caught hold of their Javelins, thinking by plain force to have wrested them out of their hands. Howbeit they perceiving then the Gauls were naked, fell straight to their Swords: and so was the slaughter of their first ranks very great. The other fled (catteringly here and there, all about the Plain : because Camillus had caused all the Hills and Mountains about them to be occupied and possessed. Neither did they retire towards their Camp, for that it was unfortified, and also knew well enough it would be eafilly taken. This battle (as they fay) was thirteen years after their taking of ROME before. But after that Field, the ROMANS courages were good enough against these barbarous GAULS, whom they stood in fear of before: thinking the first time they came, that they had not overcome them by force, but by reason of the plague that fell amongst them, or through some other strange chance. For they did so how they excupted Priests fear them at that time, that they made a Law, that their Priests should be exempted from Wars, so it empted Pricits

This overthrow was the last martial act Camillus did in the Wars. For, from the Wars were not against the GAULS. This overthrow was the last martial act Camillus did in the Wars.

Camillus slew gain.

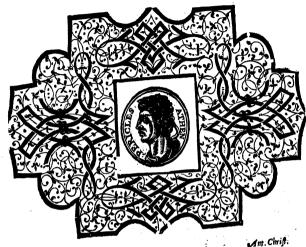
the taking of the City of VELITRES, was an accident depending upon this Journey: because they yielded straight unto him, without striking any stroke. But the seditionsness of the People of ROME about Government, and the chusing of the year Confuls, was the hardest matter he ever had in hand. For they returning home to ROME strong and of great power, by their late obtained victory, would in any case have one of the Confils to be chosen of a Commoner, which was directly against their ancient custom. But the Senate stoutly withstood it, and would not suffer Camillus to be put out of office : hoping the better by means of his authority, which was great then, that they should maintain and continue their ancient Dignity, and Prerogative of their Nobility. But as Camillus was fet in his chair in the Market-place, where he heard and dispatched causes, there came a Serjeant to him, sent from the Tribunes of the People, who commanded him to follow him, and therewithall laid violent hands upon him, as he would have carried him away by force. This made fuch a terrible tumult and uproar. Sedition at that the like was never feen before in the Market-place. For Camillus friends drave the Sergeant back Rome about behind the Chair. The common People cryed out again to the Sergeant from beneath, Pull him out of Confuls. his Chair. This so amazed Camillus, that he knew not well what to say to the matter. Notwithftanding, he would not refign up his Office, but taking those Senatorshe had about him, he went unto the place where the Senate was wont to be kept; and there, before he would go into it, he returned back again unto the Capitol, and made his Prayer unto the gods, that it would please them to bring his troubles again to a quiet, and so made a solemn vow and promise (if these tumults and troubles might be pacified) that he would build a Temple of Concord. When this matter came to debating before the be pacified) that he would build a 1 empte of Control. Which this hatter contenting october the Policy to yield Senate, there fell great contention and divertity of opinions among them: yet in the end, the easiest to necessity. way did carry it, and that was, to grant the common Peoples defire, that a Commoner should be cho- A Commoner way and carry it, and that was, to grain the common reopenly published to the People the Senates Dechosen Consult with a Noble man. The Dicknow having, openly published to the People the Senates Dechosen Consult cree, confirming their defire: the common People were 50 joyfull, that at that prefent they let fall all with a noble their malice against the Nobility and Senate, and brought Camillus home to his house, with great man, should be proposed to the property of the prop Market-place, it was there decreed: that the Temple of Concord should be built at the Commonwealths charge (according to the vow Camillus had made) in fuch a place, as it might be feen from the Mar-ker-place felf, where all the Affemblies for matters of Counfel were made. And further, it was ordered that one day more should be added to the Feafts of the LATINS: and that from thenceforth they should solemnize four Festival days, and should presently make great Sacrifices unto the gods, in every Temple of the City, to give them thanks: and in token of joy they should all wear Garlands upon their heads for this reconciliation. So Camillus proceeding to election, there were chosen two Con-

fuls, Marcus Amilius of the noble Patricians, and Lucius Sextus of the Plebeians or Common- Marcus Amil ers. And this was the last act that ever Camillus did. For the next year after the Plague was in ROME, lint, Lucius and took away an infinite number of People that died, befides many Magistrates and officers of the Cifuls ty that departed: among whom, Camillus also lest his life. Who notwithstanding he had lived a long Camillus died time, and had ended a reasonable course of life, and was ripe for death : yet the ROMANS made more of the plague,

The End of the Life of Furius Camillus.

more and lamentation for his death alone, than for all the reft the Plague had already confumed.

THE LIFE OF PERICLES.



Anno Mundi, 3429.

§ 1 9.



ESAR feeing in ROME one day certain rich and wealthy ftrangers, having little Dogs and Monkies in their arms, and that they made marvellous much of them, he asked them if the Women in their Countrey had no Children: wifely reproving them by this question, for that they bestowed their natural love and affection upon brute Beafts, which they should with all kindness and love bestow upon men. Nature in like case also, having planted in our minds a natural desire to learn and understand, we are in reason to reprove those that vainly abuse this good desire, fondly disposing it to learn things vain and unprofitable : and to cast behind them in the mean feafon things honeft and necessary to be learned. For as touching our outward sense, which

with passion receiveth impression of the thing it seeth, peradventure it will be necessary to consider indifferently the thing feen, whether it will fall our beneficial or hurtfull unto him: but to fareth it not with our understanding, for every man may at his pleasure turn and dispose that to the thing he taketh delight in, the reason whereof we must always imploy to the best part, and that not only to consider and look upon the thing, but also to reap the benefit and commodity of the thing we see. For like as Wit always to be imployed to the eye is most delighted with the lightest and freshest colours; even so we must give our minds unto thole fights, which by looking upon them do draw profit and pleasure unto us. For such effects doth vertue bring: that either to hear or read them, they do print in our hearts an earnest love and defire to follow them. But this followeth not in all other things we esteem, neither are we always disposed to desire to do the things we see well done: but contrarily oftentimes, when we like the Work, we mislike the Workman, as commonly in making these persumes and purple colours. For both the one and the other do please us well: but yet we take Perfumers and Dyers to be men of mean Occupation. Thereforce Antifibenes answered one very wifely, that told him Ismenias was an excellent player of the Flute. But yet he is a naughty man, faid he: otherwise he could not be so cunning at the Flute as he is. Even fo did Philip King of Macedon faytohis Son Alexander the Great on a time: that at a certain Feaft had fung passing sweetly, and like a Master of Musick: Art thou not ashamed Son to fing fo well? It is enough for a King to bestow his leisure sometime to hear Mustitians sing, and he doth much honour to the Muses to hear the Masters of the Science otherwhile, when one of them fingeth to excel another. But he that perfonally thall bestow his time, exercising any mean Science: bringeth his pains he hath taken in matters unprofitable, a witness against himself, to prove that he hath been negligent to learn things honest and profitable. And there was never any young Gentleman nobly born, that feeing the Image of Japiter (which is in the City of P15A)

good things.

Antifthenes

defired to become Phidias: not Polycletus, for feeing of Juno in the City of ARGOS: nor that defired to be Anacreon, or Philemon, or Archibeen, for that they took pleasure sometime to read their works. For it followeth not of necessity, that though the Work delight, the Workman must needs be praised. So in like case, such things do not profit those which behold them, because they do not move affection in the hearts of the beholders to follow them, neither do ftir up affection to refemble them. and much less to conform our selves unto them. But vertue hath this singular property in all her actions: that she maketh the man that knoweth her, to affect her so, that straight he liketh all her doings, and The power of desireth to follow those that are vertuous. For, as for riches, we onely desire to have them in possession on ; but of Vertue, we chiefly love the deeds. Wherefore we are contented to have Goods from other men : but good deeds we would other should have from us. For vertue is of this power, that she allureth a mans mind prefently to use her, that wifely considereth of her, and maketh him very desirous in his heart to follow her: and doth not frame his manners that beholdeth her by any imitation, but by the onely understanding and knowledge of vertuous deeds, which suddenly bringeth unto him a resolute desire to do the like. And this is the reason, why me thought I should continue still to write on the Lives of Noble men, and why I made also this tenth Book : in the which are contained the Lives of Pericles and Fabius Maximus, who maintained Wars against Hannibal. For they were both men very like together in many fundry vertues, and specially in courtesie and justice : and for that they could patiently bear the Follies of their People, and companions that were in charge of Government with them, they were marvellous profitable Members for their Countrey. But if we have forted them well together, comparing the one with the other : you shall easily judg that read our Writings of their Lives. Pericles was of the Tribe of the Acamantides, of the Town of CHOLARGUS, and one of the best and Pericles Stock. most ancient Families of the City of ATHENS, both by his Father and Mother. For Xantippus his Father (who overcame in battle the Lieutenants of the King of Persia in the journey of MyGALA) married Agarifie that came of Clifthenes, he who drave out of ATHENS Pyliftratus off-fpring, and valiantly overthrew their tyranny. Afterwards he established Laws, and ordained a very grave form of Government, to maintain his Citizens in peaceand concord together. This Agarifie dreamed one Pericles monight that she was brought to bed of a Lion: and very shortly after she was delivered of Pericles, who there dream. was so well proportioned in all the parts of his body, that nothing could be mended, saving that his Pericles had a head was somewhat too long and out of proportion to the rest of his body. And this is the onely cause long head, why all the Statues and Images of him almost, are made with a Helmet on his head: because the workmen as it should feem (and so it is most likely) were willing to hide the blemish of his deformity. But the ATTICAN Poets did call him Schinocephalos, as much to fay, as headed like an Onion. For those of ATTICA do sometime name that which is called in the Vulgar Tongue Scilla, that is to say, an Onion of Barbary, Schinos. And Cratinus the Comical Poet in his Comedy he intituled Chirones. faid:

Old Saturn he, and dreadfull dire Debate, Begotten have, between them carnally, This Tyrant here, this heavy jolting pate, In court of gods fo termed worthily.

And again also in that which he termeth Nemefis, speaking of him, he faith: Come Jupiter, come Jupiter, Come jolt-bead, and come In-keeper.

And Telecides mocking him also, saith in a place : Sometimes he stands amaz'd when he perceives, That hard it were sufficiently to know, In what estate his Government he leaves. And then will be be feldom feen below. Such heavy heaps wishin his brains do grow. But yet sometimes out of that monstrous pate, He thundreth fast, and threatneth every state.

And Eupolis in a Comedy which he intituled Demi: being very inquifitive, and asking particularly of every one of the Orators (whom he feigned were returned out of Hell) when they named Pericles the last man unto him, he said :

Truly thou hast now brought unto me here that dwell, The chief of all the Captains that come from dark some hell.

And as for Musick, the most Authors write, that Damon did teach him Musick, of whose name (as Pericles studies men fay) they should pronounce the first syllable short. Howbeit Aristotle faith, that he was taught and Teachers, Musick by Pythoclides. Howsoever it was, it is certain that this Damon was a man of deep understanding, and fubtil in matters of Government : for to hide from the People his fufficiency therein, he gave ir out he was a Mufitian, and did refort unto Pericles as a Mafter Wreftler or Fencer: but he taught him how he should deal in matters of State. Notwithstanding, in the end he could not so cunningly convey this matter, but the People faw his Harping and Musick, was onely a Vizer to his other pra-Cife: wherefore they did banish him ATHENS for five years, as a man that bufily took upon him to change the state of things, and that favoured Tyranny. And this gave the Comical Poets matter to play upon him finely, among which Plate in a Comedy of his, bringeth in a man that asketh him: o Chi-

PERICLES.

O Chiron, tell me first: art thou indeed the man, Which did instruct Pericles thus? make answer if thou can. He was sometime also Scholer to the Philosopher Zenon, who was born in the City of Elea, Zenon Elesn. and raught natural Philosophy, as Parmenides did : but his Profession was to thwart and contrary all

men, and to alledge a world of objections in his Disputation, which were so intricate, that his adverfary replying against him, knew not how to answer him, nor to conclude his Argument. The which Timon Phliasius witnesseth in these words:

Zenon was subtil fure, and very eloquent, And craftily could wind a man by way of argument, If so he were disposed, his cumning to descry,

Or shew the sharpness of his wit to practise policy. But Anaxagoras Clazomenian was he that was most familiar and conversant with him, and did put in him the majerty and gravity he shewed in all his fayings, and doings, who did far excell the common course of ordinary Orators that pleaded before the People: and to be short, he it was that did fathion his manners, altogether to carry that grave countenance which he did. For they called Anaxagora in his time, Xi, as much to fay, as understanding. Either because they had his singular wit and capacity in such great admiration, being grown to fearth out the cause of naturall things: or that he was the first man, who did ascribe the disposition and government of this World, not unto fortune or fatall necessity, but unto a pure, simple, and understanding mind, which doth separate at the first moving cause, the substance of such like parts as are medled and compounded of divers substances, in all other Bodies through the World. Pericles made marvellous much of Ana-Periete: man-xagoras, who had fully infructed him in the knowledge of naturall things, and of those specially ners and beha- that work above in the air and firmamient. For he grew not onely to have a great mind and eloners and behaquent tongue, without any affectation, or groß Countrey terms; but to a certain modest counrenance that fearly finited, very fober in his gate, having a kind of found in his voice that he net renance that fearly finited, very fober in his gate, having a kind of found in his voice that he net renance that fearly finited, very fober honeft behaviour, never troubled in his talk for any thing very lotter had been also fearly the second of the that croffed him, and many other fuch like things, as all that faw them in him, and confidered them, could but wonder at him. But for proof hereof, the report goeth, there was a naughty buffe fellow on a time, that a whole day together did nothing but rail upon Pericles in the Market-place, and revile him to his face, with all the villanous words he could use. But Pericles put all up quicily, and gave him not a word again, dispatching in the mean time matters of importance he had in hand, untill night came, that he went foftly home to his house, shewing no alteration nor semblance of trouble at all, though this lewd variet fellow followed him at the heels, with words of open defamation. And as he was ready to enter in at his own doors, being dark night, he commanded one of his men to take a Torch, and to bring this manhone to his houle. Yet the Poet Ion faith, that Pericles was a very proud man, and a stately, and that with his gravity and noble nind, there was mingled a certain foorn and contempt of other : and contrarily, he greatly praifeth the civility, humanity and courtefit of Cimon, because he could fashion himself to all companies. But letting pass that which the Poet Ion said: who would that Vertue should be full of tragical Discipline, bringing in with it, a certain Satyrical Discourse to move laughter. Now Zenon contrariwife did counsell all those that said Perioles gravity was a prelumption, and arrogancy that they should also follow him in his presumption. For to counterfeit in that fort things honest and The benefit of vertuous, doth fecretly with time breed an affection and defire to love them, and afterwards with Natural Phic cuftom even effectually to the and follow them. So Pericles by keeping Anaxagoras company, did not onely profit himself in these things, but he learned besides to put away all superstitious fear of celeftial fights and impressions seen in the air. For to those that are ignorant of the Caufes thereof, such figns are terrible, and to the godly also fearfull, as if they were utterly undone: and all is, because they have no certain knowledge of the reason that Natural Philosophy yieldeth, which instead of a searfull superstition, would bring a true Religion accompanied with affured hope of goodnets. Some fay a man brought Pericles one day from his Farm out of the Countrey, a Rams head that had but one horn, and that the Prognoflicator Lampon confidering this head, that had but one ftrong horn in the midft of his forehead, interpreted, that this was the fignification thereof. That being two Tribes and feveral Factions in the City of one horn, and ATHENS touching Government, the one of Pericles, and the other of Thucydides: the power touching the control of of both should be brought into one, and specially into his part, in whose house this sign did hap-

pen. Further, it is faid that Anaxagoras being prefent, did cause the Rams head to be cloven

in two pieces, and shewed unto them that stood by, that the brain of this Ram did not fill the

pan of his natural place, but inclosed it self in all parts, being narrow like the point of an Egg

in that part where the horn took his first root of budding out. So Anaxagoras was marvel

louily efterned at that present by all those that stood by but so was Lampon, soon after that

Thurydidds was driven away, and that the Government of the whole Commonweal fell into the

hands of Pericles alone. And it is not to be wondred at (in my opinion) that the Natural Phi-

losopher and the Prognosticator did rightly meet together in troth: the one directly telling the

caule, and the other the end of the event as it fell out. For the profession of the one, is to know

how it cometh: and of the other, wherefore it cometh, and to foretell what it betokeneth. For

where some say, that to shew the cause, is to take away the fignification of the sign: they do not

confider that in feeking to abolish by this reason the wonderfull tokens and figns in the air,

What was fig-

they do take away those also which are done by art. As the noise of basons, the lights of fire by the Sea fide, and the shadows of needles or points of Dials in the Sun : all which things are done by some cause and handiwork, to be a sign and token of something. But this argument peradventure may ferve better in another Book. And now again to Pericles. Whilft he was yet but a young man, the People stood in awe of him, because he somewhat resembled Pysistratus in his coun-People likentenance: and the ancientest men of the City also were much afraid of his soit voice, his eloquent ed to Pysigiratongue, and ready utterance, because in those he was Pysistratus up and down. Moreover he was very rich and wealthy, and of one of the nobleft Families of the City, and those were his Friends also that carried the onely fway and authority in the State: whereupon, fearing left they would banish him with the banishment of Ofracisinon, he would not meddle with Government in any case, although otherwise he shewed himself in Wars very valiant and forward, and seared not to venture his person. But after that Ariftides was dead, that Themistocles was driven away, and that simon being ever in service in the Wars as General in Forraign Countries, was a long time out of GRECE: then he came to lean to the Tribe of the poor People, preferring the multitude of the poor Commonalty, above the small number of Nobility and rich men, the which was directly against his nature. For of himself he was not popular, nor meanly given: but he did it (as it should feem) to avoid suspition, that he should pretend to make himself King. And because he saw Perisles first Cimon was inclined also to take part with the Nobility, and that he was fingularly beloved and liked beginning to of all the honester fort : he to the contrary enclined to the common People, purchasing by this deal in the means fafety to himself, and authority against Cimon. So he presently began a new course of life, wealth. fince he had taken upon him to deal in matters of State : for they never faw him afterwards at any time go into the City, but to the Market-place, or to the Senate-house. He gave up going to all Too much fa-Feafts where he was bidden, and left the entertainment of his friends, their company and familiarity, miliarity bree-So that in all his time wherein he governed the Commonweal, which was a long time, he never deth contempt went out to supper to any of his friends, unless it were that he was once at a Feast at his Nephew Euryptolemus Marriage: and then he tarried there no longer, but while the Ceremony was a doing, when they offer Wine to the gods, and so he rose from the Table. For these friendly meetings at such Feafts, do much abase any counterfeit Majesty or set countenance : and he shall have much ado to keep gravity and reputation, thewing familiarity to every known friend in fuch open places. For in perfect vertue, those things truly are ever most excellent, which be most common: and in good and vertuous men there is nothing more admirable unto strangers, then their daily conversation is to their friends. Pericles now to prevent that the People should not be glutted with seeing him too oft. nor that they should come much to him: they did fee him but at some times, and then he would not talk in every matter, neither came much abroad among them, but referved himfelf (as Critolam faid they kept the SALAMINIAN Galley at ATHENS) for matters of great importance. And in the mean feason, in other matters of small moment, he dealt by means of certain Orators his familiar friends, amongst whom Ephialtes (as they fay) was one: he who took away the Authority and Ephialtes an Power from the Court of Areopagus, and did give too much liberty to the People, as Plato faid. Upon which occasion, as the Comical Poets say, he became so stout and head-strong, that they could no more hold him back, than a young unbridled Colt: and took fuch a courage upon him, that he would obey no more, but invaded the Isle of EUBOBA, and set upon the other Islands. Pericles also because he would fashion a phrase of speech, with a kind of stile altogether agreeable to the manner of life and gravity he had taken upon him: he gave himself to all matters which he had learned of Anaxagoras, shadowing his reasons of Natural Philosophy, with artificial Rhetorick. For having obtained a deep understanding by studying of Philosophy, and a ready way effectually to end any matter heundertook to prove, (besides that Nature had endued him with an excellent wit and capacity, as the Divine Plato doth write, to bring any thing to serve his purpose) he did so artificially compass it with Eloquence, that he far passed all the Orators in his time. And for this cause washe (as they fay) furnamed Olympius, as much to fay, as Heavenly or Divine. But some are Why Periodes of opinion he had that furname, by reason of the common Buildings and stately Works he raif was furnamed ed up in the City of ATHENS, that did much fet forth the fame. Other think it was given him Oismpius. for his great Authority and Power he had in Government, as well in Wars as in Peace. But it is no marvel that this giory was given him, confidering the many other qualities and vertues that were in him. Howbeit the Comedies the Poets cauled to be played in those times (in which there were many words spoken of him, some in earnest, some in sport and jest) do witness that he had that furname given him, chiefly for his Eloquence. For it is reported, that he thundred and lightned in his Orations to the Péople, and that his tongue was a terrible lightning. And touching this matter, they tell of an Answer Thucydides, Milesius Son, should pleasantly make concerning Thucydides Pethe force of Pericles Eloquence. Thucydides was a Nobleman, and had long time contended ricles advertaagainst Pericus in matters of the Commonweal. Archidamus, King of LACEDEMON, asked ry. Thueydides on a time whether he or Perieles wrestled best. Thueydides made him answer. When I have given him an open fall before the face of the World, he can fo excellently deny it, that he maketh the People believe he had no fall at all, and perfuadeth them the contrary of that they faw. Notwithstanding, he was ever very grave and wife in speaking. For ever when he went

up into the Pulpit for Orations, to speak unto the People, he made his Prayers unto the gods,

that nothing might escape his mouth, but that he might confider before, whether it would serve

the purpole of his matter he treated on : yet are there none of his Works extant in writing,

PERICLES.

unless it besome few Laws he made, and but very few of his notable sayings are brought to light, fave onely these. He said on a time, that they must take away the City of ÆGINA, because it was a ftraw lying in the eye of the Haven PIR.EA. And another time, he faid that he saw the Wars afar off, coming from Peloponnesus. And another time, as he took Ship with Sophocles (his companion in commillion with him as general of the Army) who commended a fair young boy they met as they came to the Haven: Sophocles, faid he, a Governour must not onely have his hands, but also his eyes clean. And Stesimbrotus writeth, that in a funeral Oration he made in the praise of those that were slain in the War of Samos: he said they were immortal as the gods. For we do not fee the gods (faid he) as they be, but for the honour that is done to them, and the great happiness they enjoy, we do conjecture they are immortal: and the same things are in those that nappmers they enjoy, we determine they are infinitely at a muture fair those that of the comment of die in fervice and defence of their Countrey. Now where Thucydides doth write the Government of Periodes Comment of Mobility, and yet had appearance of a product comment of the Common-weal under Periodes to be as a Government of Mobility, and yet had appearance of a product common-weal under Periodes to be as a Government of Mobility, and yet had appearance of a product common-weal under Periodes to be as a Government of Mobility. popular State: it is true, that in effect it was a Kingdom, because one alone did rule and govern the whole State. And many other fay also, he was the first that brought in the custom to divide the Enemies Lands won by conqueft among the People, and of the common money to make the People fee Plays and Paftimes, and that appointed them reward for all things. But this cuftom was ill brought up. For the common People that before were contented with little, and got their living painfully with sweat of their brows, became now to be very vain, sumptious, and riotous, by reason of these things brought up then. The cause of the alteration doth easily appear by those things. For Pericles at his first coming, sought to win the favour of the People, as we have faid before, onely to get like reputation that Cimon had won. But coming far short of his Wealth The good decision and ability, to carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor, keeping open decision Cimon and ability, to carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor, keeping open decision carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor, keeping open decision carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor, keeping open decision carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor, keeping open decision carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor, keeping open decision carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor, keeping open decision carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor, keeping open decision carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor, keeping open decision carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor, keeping open decision carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor, keeping open decision carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor, keeping open decision carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor, keeping open decision carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor and charge the carry of and adminy, to carry out the poor old People, breaking open befides all Inclosures and Pales house to all comers, cloathing poor old People, breaking open befides all Inclosures and Pales through all his Lands, that every one might with more liberty come in, and take the Fruits thereof at their pleasure: and seeing himself by these great means out-gone far in good will with the

Arcopagises authority.

Pericles caufeth Cimon to be banished Athens.

The Oftracif-

Cimon from

common People, by Demonides counsel and procurement (who was born in the Isle of Ios) he brought in this distribution of the common money, as Aristoric writeth. And having won in a fhore time the favour and good will of the common People, by diffribution of the common Treafure, which he caused to be divided among them, aswell to have place to see these Plays, as for that they had reward to be prefent at the judgements, and by other such like corruptions: he with the Peoples help, did inveigh against the Court of the Areopagites, whereof he never was any member. For it never came to be his hap to be yearly Governour, nor Keeper of the Laws, dittibution nor King of the Sacrifices, nor Master of the Wars: all which were Officers chosen in ancient time by lot. And further, those on whom the lot fell, if they had behaved themselves well in their Office, they were called forwards, and raifed to be of the body of this Court of the Areopagies. Pericles now by these means having obtained great credit and authority amongst the People, he troubled the Senate of the Arcoparites in fuch fort, that he pluckt many matters from their hearing, by Ephialtes help: and in time made Cimon to be banished ATHENS, as one that favoured the LACEDEMONIANS, and contraried the Commonwealth and Authority of the People. Notwithstanding he was the noblest and richest person of all the City, and one that had won so many glorious Victories, and had so replenished Athens with the conquered spoils of their Enemies, as we have declared in his life: so great was the Authority of Pericles amongst the People. Now the banishment wherewith he was punished (which they call Offracismon) was limited by the Law for ten years. In which space the LACEDEMONIANS being come down with a great Army into the Countrey of TANAGRA, the ATHENIANS fent out their power presently against them. There Cimon willing to shew the ATHENIANS by his deeds, that they had fallely accused him for favouring the LACEDEMONIANS: did arm himself, and went on his Countrey-mens side, to sight in the company of his Tribe. But Pericles friends gathered together, and forced Cimon to depart thence as a banilhed man, And this was the cause that Pericles sought that day more valiantly than ever he did, and he wan the honour and name to have done more in the person of himself that day, than any other of all the Army. At that Battle also, all (imons friends, whom Pericles had burdened likewise to favour the LACEDAMONIANS doings, died every man of them that day. Then the ATHENIANS repented them much that they had driven Cimon away, and wished he were restored, after they had lost this Battle upon the Confines of the Countrey of ATTICA: because they feared sharp Wars would come upon them again at the Peristacalled next Spring. Which thing when Peristes perceived, he fought also to further that the common People desired: wherefore he straight caused a Decree to be made, that Cimon should be called home again, which was done accordingly. Now when Cimon was returned, he advited that peace should be made between both Cities: for the LACEDEMONIANS did love Cimon very well, and contrarily they hated Pericles, and all other Governours. Some notwithstanding do write, that Pericles did never pass his consent to call him home again, before such time as they had madea fecret agreement amongst themselves (by means of Elpinice, Cimons Sister) that Cimon should be fent our with an Army of two hundred Galleys, to make Wars in the King of Persia his Dominions, and that Pericles should remain at home with the Authority of Government within the City. This Elpinice (Cimons Sifter) had once before intreated Pericles for her brother, at fuch time as he was accused before the Judge of treason. For Pexicles was one of the Committees, to whom this Accufation was referred by the People. Elpinice went unto him, and belought PERICLES.

him not to do his worst unto her Brother. Pericles answered her merrily : Thou art too old Elvinice. thou art too old to go through with these matters. Yet when this matter came to judgethent, and that his cause was pleaded : he rose but once to speak against him (for his own discharge as it Pericles modewere) and went his way when he had faid, doing lefs hurt to Cimion then any other of his accusers, ration unto How is Idomeneus to be credited now, who accuseth Pericles that he had caused the Orator Ephi- Cimon. altes to be flain by treason (that was his friend, and did always counsell him, and take his part in all kind of government of the Commonweal) onely for the jealousie and envy he did bear to his glory? I can but muse why Idemeneus should speak so slanderously against Pericles, unless it were that his melancholy humour procured such violent speech: who though peradventure he was not altogether blamelefs, yet he was ever nobly minded, and had a naturall defire of honour, in which kind of men fuch furious cruell passions are seldom seen to breed. But this Orator Ephialtes being cruell to those that took part with the Nobility, because he would spare or pardon no man for any offence whatfoever committed against the peoples authority, but did follow and perfecute them with all rigour to the uttermost: his enemies laid wait for him by means of one Aristodieus TANA-GRIAN, and they killed him by treason, as Aristotle writeth. In the mean Cimon died in the Isle of CYPRUS, being Generall of the Army of the ATHENIANS by fea. Wherefore those that took part with the Nobility, feeing Pericles was now grown very great, and that he went before all other The murther Citizens of ATHENS, thinking it good to have some one to stick on their side against him, and to of Ephlaltes. leffen thereby somewhat his authority, that he might not come to rule all as he would; they raised up against him one Thucydides of the Town of Alopecia, a grave wife man and Father in Law Perioteradyerto Cimon. This Thucydides had less skill of wars then Cimon, but understood more in Civil go- fary in the vernment then he; for that he remained most part of his time within the City: where continually Commoninveighing against Pericles in his Pulpit for Orations to the people, in short time he had stirred up wealth, a like company against the faction of Pericles. For he kept the Gentlemen and richer fort (which they call Nobility) from mingling with the common people, as they were before, when through the multitude of the commons their estate and dignity was obscured, and trodden under foot. Moreover he did separate them from the people, and did affemble them all as it were into one body. who came to be of equall power with the other faction, and did put (as a man will fay) a counterpoise into the ballance. For at the beginning there was but a little lecret grudge onely between these two factions, as an artificiall Flower set in the blade of a Sword, which made those shew a little, that did lean unto the people; and the other also somewhat that favoured the Nobility. But the contention between these two persons, was as a deep cut; which divided the City into two factions: of which the one was called the Nobility, and the other the Commonalty. Therefore Pericles giving yet more liberty unto the people, did all things that might be to pleafe them, ordaining continuall Playes and Games in the City, many Feafts and Bankets, and open pastimes to entertain the commons with such honest pleasures and divises: and besides all this, he sent yearly an Army of threescore Gallies unto the wars, into the which he put a great number of poor Citizens that took pay of the State for nine moneths of the year, and thereby they did learn together, and practife to be good Seamen. Furthermore he fent into the Countrey of CHERRONESUS, a thoufand free-men of the City to dwell there, and to divide the Lands amongst them; five hundred also into the Isle of Naxos : into the Isle of Andros two hundred and fifty : into THRACIA, 2 thousand to dwell with the BISALTES : and other also into ITALY , when the City of Sy-BARIS was built again, which afterwards was furnamed the City of the Thurians, All this he did, to rid the City of a number of idle people, who through idleness began to be curious, and A politick care to defire change of things, as also to provide for the necessity of the poor Towns-men that had for idle persons nothing. For, placing the natural Citizens of ATHENS near unto their subjects and friends, they ferved as a Garifon to keep them under, and did suppress them also from attempting any alteration or change. But that which delighteth most, and is the greatest ornament unto the City of ATHENS, which maketh strangers most to wonder, and which alone doth bring sufficient testimony. to confirm that which is reported of the ancient power, riches, and great wealth of Greece, to Sumptuous be true and not false; are the stately and sumptuous buildings which perieles made to be built in the buildings ere-City of ATHENS: For it is the onely act of all other Pericles did, and which made his enemies eted by Perimost to spite him, and which they most accused him for, crying out upon him in all councils and cles. affemblies; that the people of ATHENS were openly defamed, for carrying away the ready Money of all GREECE, which was left in the Isle of DELOS to be fafely kept there. And although they could with good honefty have excused this fact, saying, that Pericles had taken it from them, for fear of the barbarous people, to the end to lay it up in a more ftronger place, where it should be in better fafety: yet was this too overgreat an injury offered unto all the rest of GREECE, and too manifest a token of tyranny also, to behold before their eyes, how we do employ the Money, which they were inforced to gather for the maintenance of the wars against the barbarous people, in gilding, building, and fetting forth our City, like a glorious woman, all to be ganded with gold and precious stones; and how we do make Images, and build up Temples of wonderfull and infinite charge. Pericles replied to the contrary, and declared unto the ATHENIANS, that they were not bound to make any account of this Money unto their friends and allies, confidering that they fought for their fafery, and that they kept the barbarous people far from GREECE without troubling them to fet out any one Man, Horse or Ship of theirs, the Money onely excepted, which is no

more their that paid it, then theirs that received it, so they bestow it to that use they received it for.

The Odeon.

And their City being already well furnished and provided of all things necessary for the wars, it was And their City being already weil turnined and provided of all things necetiary for the wars, it was good reason they should emplay and bestow the surplus of the treasure in things which in time to come (and being throughly similard) would make their same eternall. Moreover he said that whilest they continue building, alway should be presently rich, by reason of the diversity of works of all forts, and to compass these things which they should have need of, and to compass these things the better, and to said the same of a stiffers and workmen (that would labour) should be for an analysis of a stiffers and workmen (that would labour) should be for an analysis. and other things which they insume the order of artificers and workmen (that would labour) fhould be fer on work; fer them in band, all manner of artificers and workmen (that would labour) find be fer on work; So should all the Towns-men and Inhabitants of the City receive pay and wages of the common treafure, and the City by this means should be greatly beautified, and much more able to maintain it nire, and the City by this means mount of Ereaty beautifue, and anoth invite and or internal it felf. For fach as were strong and able men of body, and of years to carry weapon, had pay and entertainment of the Common-wealth, which were tent abroad unto the wars; and other that were tent abroad unto the wars; and other that were not meet for wars, as craft-men and labourers, be would also they should have part of the common-treasure, but not without they earned it, and by doing fomewhat. And this was his reason, and mon-treature, but not without they stated by which great buildings and devifes of works of the caule that made him occupy the common people with great buildings and devifes of works of the came that than occupy the common people want great billiange and nevtres of works of diverse occupations, which could not be finished of long time; to the end that the Citizens remainunverse occupations, which comes are a man and way to take part of the common treasure, and enrich themselves ing at home might have a mean and way to take part of the common treasure, and enrich themselves mg at nome inight have a mean and way, and ferved on the fea, or elfe that lay in garrifon to keep any as well as those that went to the wars, and ferved on the fea, or elfe that lay in garrifon to keep any place or fort. For some gained by bringing stuff, as stones, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress, place of 1011. For 10110 gained by same 19, 2011 Hewers of frone, Diers, Goldfmiths, Joyners working in Ivory, Painters, men that let in fundry colours of peeces of froze or wood, and Turners. Others gained to bring, fluff, and to furnish them, as Merchants, Mariners, and Shipmafters, for things they brought them by Sea: And by Land others got PRETELIBRIES, PRACTICES, 2010 SHAPMANESS, TOT CHARGES, Sallers, Coller-makers, and Pyoners to make allo, as Cart-makers, Carriers, Carters, Cord-makers, Sallers, Coller-makers, and Pyoners to make alto, as Cart-makers, Carriers, Cartiers, Coru-maccis, Januers, Jouner-maceis, and ryuners to make ways plain, and Miners, and fuch like. Furthermore every science and craft, as a Captain having SoulDivers Artific diers, had also their Army of the Workmen that served them, labouring truly for their living, who cers at them, ferred as apprentices and Journeysman under the workmafters, So the work by this means did disperse terved as apprentices and journeymen under the workmanners, some work by the means up a duperte abroad a common gain to all forts of people and ages, what occupation or trade foever they had. And thus came the buildings to rife in greatness and impruounces, being of excellent workmanthip, and for grace and beauty not comparable, because every workman in his Science did firite what he could TOE grace and orany not comparable, occasion was a monotonin in marchine and retire what he could to excell others, to make his work appear greaten in fight, and to be most workmanly done in shew, to execu oraces, to make up work appear greater in ugas, and to be more workingly gone into ex. But the greatest thing to be worked at wastheir speed and diligence. For where every man thought out the greatest unuglious womans and in many mens lives and ages, and from man to man; they those works were not likely to be finished in many mens lives and ages, and from man to man; they were all done and finished, whileft one only governour continued faill in credit and authority. And yet were any une any municu, winners one our ferrando boafted himself that he had quickly painted certain they say that in the same time as one Agatarchia boafted himself that he had quickly painted certain they say that in the same time 40 one against time or animeted, And I contrarily do rejoyce that I am a long beaths. Zenwie another Painter hearing him, aniwered, And I contrarily do rejoyce that I am a long peants; Zenne another Painter nearing nan, anivered, Ann contrarny corejoyee that 1 am a long time in drawing of them. For commonly fleight and funden drawing of any thing, cannot take deep colours, nor give perfect beauty to the work; but length of time adding to the Painters diligence and labour in making of the work, maketh the colours to continue for ever. For this cause therefore the works Periode made are more wonderfull, because they were perfectly made in so short a time, and have continued to long a kason. For every one of those which were finished up at that time, seemed then to be very ancient touching the beauty thereof; and yet for the grace and continuance of the fame it looketh at this day as if it were but newly done and finished, there is sixth a certain kind of flourishing freshness in it, which letteth that the injury of time cannot impair the fight thereof. As if every of those foreshid works had some living spirit in it, to make it seem young and sresh, and a foul that lived ever, which kept them in their good continuing thate. Now the chief Surveyor Generall of all these works was Philing, albeit that there were many other excellent Workmafters in every frience and occupation. For the Temple of Palas which is called Partherns (as a man would fay, the Temple of the Virgin and is furnamed Hecatompedon, for that it is an hundred foot every way was built by Himms, and Callierates, and the Chappel of Elegin (where the secret Ceremonies of the mysters were made) was first founded by Corabsu, who raised up the first pillars in order, standing beneath on the ground, and did fet them up unto the Mafter Chaptrels. But after he was dead, Missgents, born in the Town of XyPSTA, turned the arches over, and then did fet the pillars in order also which are above, and Xenocias of the Town of CHOLARGEA, was he that made the lamborn or top of the steeple which covereth the Sanctuary; but the long wall which Secretes heard Pericles himself give order for the building of it, was done by Callierates, who undertook the work, Cratissa

the Poet, in a Comedy he made, laugheth at this work, to fee how flowly it went forward, and how Pericles long ago did end this work begun, long it was a doing, faying, And build it high with glorious words, if fo it had been done. But as for deeds (in deed) be built nothing at all,

And as for the Theatest who area joe books norming as an area.

But let is fland; as yet is flands, much liker for so fall.

And as for the Theater or place appointed for mulick, where they hear all Mulicians play, and is called Odon; It is very well made within with divers seats and degrees, and many ranges of pilis called Odon; It is very well made within with divers seats and degrees, and many ranges of pilis. lars, but the top of the roof is altogether round, which is fortewhat hanging downward round about of it felf, coming together into one point. And it is faid that this was made after the partern and fathion of King Kernes royall Pavilion, and that Perieles was the first deviter and maker of it. Wherefore Crassam in another place of his comedy he maketh of the THRACIANS, doth play very pretily upon him, faying,

Pericles here doth come, Dan Jupiter sirnamed; (And onions head) which bath in his great noddle finely framed The plot of Odeon, when he delivered was

From banishment and dangers deep, wherein he long did pass. Pericles was the first that made marvellous earnest labour to the people that they would make an order, that on the day of the Feaft called Panathenaa, they would fet up games for mufick. And he himself being chosen Ruler of these games, as judge to reward the best deserver; ordained the manner the Muficians should ever after keep in their singing, playing on their slutes, or upon the Peridet ere-Cithern, or other Instruments of musick. So the first games that ever were for musick, were kept for Musick. within the Odeon, and so were the other after them also ever celebrated there. The gate and entring into the Castle was made and finished within the space of five years, under the charge of Menelecles, that was Master of the Works. And whilest these gates were a building, there happened a wonderful chance, which declared very well that the goddes Minerva did not millike the Building but that it pleased her marvellously. For one of the most painfullest Workmen that wrought there tell by mischange from the height of the Castle to the ground, which fall did so fore bruise him, and he was fo fick withall, that the Physicians and Surgeons had no hope of his life, Pericles being very forry for his mischance, the goddels appeared to him in his sleep in the night, and taught him a medicine, with the which he did eafily heal the poor bruiled man, and that in short time. And this was the occasion why he caused the Image of the goddels Minerva (otherwise called of health) to be cast in brass, and fet up within the Temple of the Castle, near unto the Altar which was there before. as they fay. But the golden Image of Minerva was made by Phidias, and graven round about the base, who had the charge in manner of all other works, and by reason of the good will Pericles bare him, he commanded all the other workmen. And this made the one to be greatly envied, and the other to be very ill spoken of. For their enemies gave it out abroad, that Phidias received the Gentlewomen of the City into his house, under colour to go see his works, and did convey them to Pericles. Upon this brute the Comicall Poets taking occasion, did cast out many slanderous The Poets Speeches against Pericles, accusing him that he kept one Menippus Wife, who was his friend and raise up flan-Lieutenant in the wars : and burthened him further, that Pyrilampes one of his familiar friends alders against To brought up Fowl, and specially Peacoks, which he secretly sent unto the women that Pericles kept. But we must not wonder at those Satyrs that make profession to speak slanderously against all the world, as it were to facrifice the injuries and wrongs they cast upon honourable and good men, to the fpight and envy of the people, as unto wicked spirits; considering that Stelimbrotus THASIAN durft fallly accuse Pericles of detestable incest, and of abusing his own Sons wife. And this is the reason in my opinion, why it is so hard a matter to come to the perfect knowledge of the truth of ancient things, by the Monuments of Historiographers; confidering long process of time doth utterly obscure the truth of matters done in former times. For every written History speaking of men that are alive, and of the time of things, whereof it maketh mention; fometime for hate and envy, fometime for favour and flattery, doth difguife and corrupt the truth. But Perieles perceiving that the Orators of Thucydides faction in their common Orations did still cry out upon him; that he did vainly waste and consume the common treasure, and that he bestowed upon the works all the whole revenue of the City; One day when the people were affembled together before them all, he asked them if they thought that the cost bestowed were too much. The people answered him, a great deal too much. Well, faid he then, the charges shall be mine (if you think good) and none of yours; The noble provided that no mans name be written upon the works but mine onely. When Pericles had faid fo, faving of Pethe people cried out aloud, they would none of that (either because that they wondred at the great-ricks. nels of his mind, or else for that they would not give him the onely honour and praise to have done fo fumptuous and ftately works) but willed him that he should see them ended at the common charges . without sparing for any cost. But in the end, falling out openly with Thueydides, and putting Thueydides bait to an adventure which of them should banish other, with the banishment of Oftracismon: Pericles nithed by Pegot the upper hand, and banished Thucydides out of the City, and therewithall also overthrew the ricles. contrary faction against him. Now when he had rooted out all factions, and brought the City again to unity and concord he found then the whole power of ATHENS in his hands and all the Perioles power ATHENIANS matters at his disposing. And having all the treasure, armour, galleys, the Isles, and the Sea, and a marvellous feigniory and kingdom (that didenlarge it felf partly over the GRECI-ANS, and partly over the barbarous people) fo well fortified and strengthened with the obedience of Nations subject unto them, with the friendship of Kings, and with the alliance of divers other Princes and mighty Lords , then from that time forward he began to change his manners toward the people, and not so easily to give place and frame himself to the peoples wills and desires, no more then what altereth as it were to contrary winds. Furthermore he altered his over-gentle and popular manner of go- the Commonvernment which he used untill that time, as too delicate and too effeminate an harmony of musick, weal. and did convert it unto an imperious government, or rather to a Kingly authority; but yet held still a direct course, and kept himself ever upright without fault, as one that did, said, and counselled that which was most expedient for the Commonweal. He many times brought on the people by perswasions and reasons to be willing to grant that he preferred unto them; but many times also he drave them to it by force, and made them against their wills do that which was best for them. Following therein the devile of a wife Physician, who in a long and changeable difease doth grant his Patient sometime to take his pleasure of a thing he liketh, but yet after a moderate fort, and another

PERICLES.

The force of Eloquence.

Pericles free

Perieles good husbandry.

> Anaxageras a Mathematicivil life.

Anaxagor 16 faying to Pe-

time also, he doth give him a sharp or bitter medicine that doth vex him, though it heal him: For (as it falleth out commonly unto people that enjoy fo great an Empire) many times misfortunes did chance, that filled them full of fundry paffions, the which Pericles alone could finely free and govern with two principall rudders, Fear and Hope; brideling with the one the fierce and and govern with two principal rudgers, rear and riope; or design with the other conforting their grief infolent rathnels of the common people in profiperity, and with the other conforting their grief and discouragement in adversity. Wherein he manifeftly proved, that Rhethorick and Eloquence (as Plato faith) is an Art which quickeneth mens spirits at her pleasure, and her chiefest sail (as Figgs and) is an Art which quenches throughly, which are as frops and founds of the is to know how to move pallions and affections throughly, which are as frops and founds of the Soul, that would be plaied upon with a fine fingered hand of a cunning Mafter. All which, nor the force of Eloquence onely brought to pals, as Thucydides winnesseth, but the reputation of his life, and the opinion and confidence they had of his great worthiness, because he would not any way be corrupted with gifts, neither had he any coverousness in him. For, when he had brought way be corrupted with give, many business and wealthy, and had in power and authority his City not onely to be great, but exceeding great and wealthy, and had in power and authority exceeded many Kings and Tyrants, yea, even those which by their Wills and Tertaments might have left great possessions to their Children; he never for all that encreased his Fathers Goods and Patrimony left him the value of a groat in filver. And yet the Hiftoriographer Thucydides doth fer forth plainly enough the greatness of his power. And the Comicall Poets also of that time do report it malicioully under covert words, calling his familiar friends the new Pyfifratides, faying, how they must make him swear and protest he would never be King, giving us thereby to understand that his authority was too exceeding great for a popular Government. And Teledides (amongst other) faith, that the ATHENIANS had put into his hands the revenue of the Towns and Cities under their obedience, and the Towns themselves, to bind the one and loose the other, and to pull down their walls, or to build them again at his pleasure. They gave him power to make peace and alliance, they gave all their force, treature and authority, and all their goods wholly into his hands. But this was not for a little while, nor in a geer of favour, that should continue for a time, but this held out fourty years together, he being always the chief of his City amongst tor a time, but this held out fourty years together, he being anways the emer or his city amongst the Ephialies, the Leocrates, the Mironides, the Cimons, the Tolmides, and the Thurshides. For after he had prevailed against Thurshides, and had banished him, he yet remained chief above all other, the space of listen years. Thus having attained a regal Dignity to command all, which continued as aforefaid, where no other Captains authority endured but one year: he ever kept himself upright from bribes and money, though otherwise he was no ill husband, and could warily look to his own. As for his Lands and Goods left him by his Parents, that they mifcarried not by negligence, nor that they should trouble him much, in busying himself to reduce them to a value; he did to husband them as he thought was his best and easiest way. For he fold in gross ever the whole years profit and commodity of his lands, and afterward fent to the market daily to buythe vitore years prom and commonly of the saids, and ancerwant to the marke daily to dry the cates, and other ordinary provision of houshold. This did not like his Sons that were men grown, neither were his women contented with it, who would have had him more liberal in his house; for they complained of his overhard and straight ordinary, because in so noble and great an house as his, there was never any great remain left of meat, but all things received into the house, ran under account, and were delivered out by proportion. All this good husbandry of his was kept upright in this good order, by one Evangelm, fleward of his house, a man very honest and skilfull in all his houshold provision, and whether Pericles had brought him up to it, or that he had it by nature, it was not known. But these things were far contrary to Anaxagoras wildom; For he despising the world, and carting his affection on heavenly things, did willingly for fake his houle, and fuffered all his land to run to layes and to pasture. But (in my opinion) great is the diversity between a contemplative life and a civil life. For the one emploieth all his time upon the speculation of good and honest betweet contemporate and things; and to attain to that, he thinketh he hath no need of any exterior help or inftrument. The other applying all his time upon vertue, to the common profit and benefit of men, he thinketh that he needeth riches as an Instrument not onely necessary but also honest. As, look upon the example of Pericles, who did relieve many people; And Anaxagoras specially among other; of whom it is reported, that Pericks being occupied about matters of flate at that time, having no leifure to think upon Anaxagorus, he feeing himfelf old and forfaken of the world, laid him down, and covered deactions upon America, in the head clote, determining to starve himself to death with hunger. Pericles understanding this, ran familia himfell prefently to him as a man half caft away, and prayed him as earnestly as he could that he would distinct the state of t pofe himfelf to live, being not onely forry for him, but for himfelf also, that he should lose to pore manuelle are, come not only only of the same and government. Then Anaxagoras shewed his face, and told him: O Pericles, those that will see by the light of a Lamp, must put oyl to it, to make the light burn. Now began the LACEDEMONIANS to grow jealous of the greatness of the ATHENIANS, wherefore Pericles to make the ATHENIANS hearts greater, and fodraw their minds to great enterprifes; fet down an order they should fend Ambassadors to perswade all the GRECIANS (in what part soever they dwelt in Europe or Asia, as well the little as the great Cities) to fend their Deputies unto ATHENS, to the general affembly that should be holden there pointeth age Currey to take order for the Temples of the gods which the barbarous people had burnt, and touching the facrifices they had vowed for the prefervation of GREECE, when they gave battel upon them, and touching Sea matters also, that every man might fail in fafety where he would, and that all might live together in good peace and love one with another. To perform this commission, mgar are together in 500 per and and any one of them being fifty years of age and up-

ward. Whereof five of them went to the DORIANS dwelling in ASIA, and to the Inhabitants of the Isles, even unto the Isles of LESBOS, and of the RHODES. Five other went through all the Countrey of HELLESPONT, and of THRACIA, unto the City of BIZANTIUM. Other five were commanded to go into BOEOTIA, into PHOCIDES, and through all PELOPONNESUS, and from thence by the Countrey of the LOCRIANS, into the upland Countrey joyning to it, untill they came into the Contrey of ACARNANIA and of AMBRACIA. And the other five went first into the Ifle of EUBOEA, and from thence unto the OET AIANS, and through all the gulf of MALBA unto the PHIIOTES, unto the ACHAIANS, and the THESSALIANS; declaring to all the people where they came the ATHENIANS Commission, perswading them to send unto ATHENS, and to be present at the Councill which should be holden there for the pacification and union of all GREECE. But when all came to all nothing was done, and the faid Cities of GREECE did not affemble, by practice of the LACEDEMONIANS (as it is reported) who were altogether the let : for the first retufall that was made of their Summons was at PELOPONNESUS. This have I written to make Periol s noble courage to be known, and how profound a wife man he shewed himself unto the world. Furthermore when he was chosen Generali in the wars he was much esteemed, because he ever took great regard to the fafety of his Souldiers. For by his good will he would never hazard battel, which good Generals, neither would he follow them that had obtained great Victories by hazard, howfoever the faker of other did esteem or commend them. For he was wont to say, that if none but himself did lead them his men in to the shambles, as much as lay in him, they should be immortal. And when he saw Tolmides, the Son wars. of Tolmans (trufting to his former Victories, and the praise and commendation of his good service) did prepare upon no occasion, and to no purpose, to enter into the Countrey of BOEOTIA, and had procured also a thousand of the luftiest and most valiant men of the City, to be contented to go with him in that journey, over and above the rest of the Army he had levied; He went about to turn him from his purpole, and to keep him at home, by many perswasions he used to him before the peoples face, and spake certain words at that time that were remembred long after, and these they were, That if he would not believe Pericles counsell, yet that he would tarry time at the least, which is the wifest Counsellor of men. These words were prettily liked at that present time. But within few days after, when news was brought that Tolmides felf was flain in a battel he had loft near unto the Time the best City of CORONEA, wherein perished also many other honest and valiant men of ATHENS: His Counsellor. words spoken before did then greatly encrease Pericles his reputation and good will with the common Tolmides slain people, because he was taken for a wise man, and one that loved his Citizens. But of all his journeys in the field. he made, being General over the army of the ATHENIANS, the journey of the CHERRONESUS was neys, best thought of and esteemed, because it fell out to the great benefit and preservation of all the GRECIANS inhabiting in that Countrey. For besides that he brought thither a thousand Citizens of ATHENS to dwell there (in which doing he strengthned the Cities with so many good men) he did fortifie the bar alfo, which did let it from being of an Ille, with a fortification he drew from one Sea to another, fo that he defended the Countrey against all the invasions and piracies of the THRACIANS inhabiting thereabouts, and delivered it of extream war, with the which it was plagued before, by the barbarous people their neighbours, or dwelling amongst them, who onely lived upon Pyracy and robbing on the Seas. So was he likewise much honoured and esteemed of strangers when he did environ all Peleponnesus, departing out of the Haven of Peges, on the Coast of MEGARA, with a Fleet of a hundred Galleys. For he did not onely spoil the Towns. all along the Sea fide, as Tolmides had done before him, but going up further into the main Land, far from the Sea, with his Souldiers he had in the Galleys, he drave some of them to retire within their walls, he made them so afraid of him, and in the County of NEMEA he overcame the SICYONIANS in battel, that tarried him in the field, and did erect a pillar for a notable mark of his Victory. And imbarking in his Ships a new Supply of Souldiers which he took up in ACHAIA, being Friends with the ATHENIANS at that time, he passed over to the firm Land that lay directly against it. And pointing beyond the mouth of the River of Achelous, he invaded the Achelous ft. Countrey of ACHARNANIA, where he shut up the OENEADES within their walls. And after he had laid wast and destroyed all the Champion Countrey, he returned home again to ATHENS: Having shewed himself in this Journey a dreadfull Captain to his enemies, and very carefull for the fafety of his Souldiers. For there fell out no manner of misfortune all this Journey (by chance or otherwise) unto the Souldiers under his Charge. And afterwards going with a great Navy marvellous well appointed unto the Realm of Pontus, he did there gently use and entreat the Cities of GREECE, and granted them all that were required of him, making the barbarous people inhabiting thereabouts, and the Kings and Princes of the same also, to know the great power and force of the ATHENIANS, who failed without fear all about where they thought good, keeping all the Coasts of the Sea under their obedience. Furthermore, he left with the SINOPIANS thirteen galleys, with certain number of Souldiers under Captain Lamachus to defend them against the Tyrant Timesileus, who being expulsed and driven away with those of his Faction, Pericles caused Proclamation to be made at ATHENS, that fix hundred freemen of the City, that had any defire to go, without compulsion, might go dwell at SINOPA, where they fhould have divided among them the goods and Lands of the Tyrant and his Followers. But he did not follow the foolish vain humours of his Citizens, nor would not yeeld to their unfatiable covetoufness, who being fet on a jollity to see themselves so strong and of such a power, and

of Sicilia,

Pericles an

Lacclamonians

Cleandrides corrupted by

treature Lyfanwithall to

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The description of Aspasia Tharglia.

befides, to have good luck, would needs once again attempt to contemn AGYPT, and to re-Deflues, to have good inch, would need one again attempt to concenn. They pt, and to re-Perietes would you an ine committee upon the committee marvelloufly bear to attempt the unfortunate enterprife of ennot ronow the many of mem whole limits were marvenounly bein to attempt the unfortunate enterprise of encortonials tring Sicilia, which Alcibiadts afterwards did much prick forward. And fone of them dreamof the people. ed befides, of the Conquett of Thus Can, and the Empire of Canthage, But this was not altogether without fome likelihood, nor without occasion of hope, confidering the large bounds together without tome inclinate, and the fortunate efface of their affairs, which fell out according to their own of their kingdom, and the fortunate efface of their affairs, which fell out according to their own of their ranguour, and the localization of the confidence of the curious defire, amploying defire. But Pericles did hinder their going out, and cut off altogether their curious defire, employing ucine. Due Persets and united the force, to keep that they had already gotten: judging it no fmall the most part of their power and force, to keep that they had already gotten: judging it no fmall matter to keep down the Laced Amonians from growing greater. For he was always an matter to acce down and analysis as he shewed himself in many things, but specially in the war he made, called the Holy war. For the LACEDEMONIANS having put the Procians from ne mane, cancumer rong wath for an the City of Delphos, which they had usurped, and having the charge of the Temple of Apollo, in the City of Delphos, which they had usurped, and having reftored the DELPHIANS again unto the fame, fo foon as they were gone thence, Pericles went allo with another Army, and reftored the PHOCIANS in again. And whereas the LACED.#MOand with another charge, encountering the forehead of a Wolf of brafs, the priviledge the Del-PHIANS had granted them, to be the first that should make their demands of the Oracle: he having attained the like priviledge of the PHOCIANS, made his Image also to be graven on the right side of the same Image of the brasen Wolf. Now how wisely Pericles did govern Greece by the power of the ATHENIANS, his deeds do plainly shew. For first of all, the countrey of EUROFA did rebell, against whom he brought the Army of the ATHENIANS. And suddenly in the neck of that, came news from another Coaft, that the Megarians also were in armes against them, and Pliffonix King how they were already entred into the countrey of ATTICA with a great Army, led by Pliffonix of Lacedman. King of Laced & Mon. This occasion drew him homeward again, and so he marched back with fpeed into his countrey, to make preparation to encounter his enemies, that were already entred into the territories of ATTICA. He durft nor offer them battell, being fo great a number of valime Souldiers: but hearing that King Pliftmax was yet but a young man, and was ruled altogether by Cleardrides counsell and direction (whom the Ephores had placed about him to counsell and direct bim) he fought privily to corrupt Cleandrides. When he had won him foon with his money, he perfeaded him to draw back the Peloponnesians out of their countrey of Attica: and foliedid. But when the LACED MONIANS faw their Army cassed, and that the people were gone their way, every man to his own City or Town, they were fo mad at it, that the King was Pericles. condemned in a great fum. The King being unable to answer his Fine, which was so extream great, to materials and a great mail. A see asing orange manufactured market making which was no caucian great, the was driven to ablent himself from LACED EMON. Cleandrides on the other fide, if he had not fled Gylippus over in time, even for splice had been condemned to death. This Cleandrides was Gylippus Father, that afcame the Ather rerwards overcame the ATHENIANS in SICILIA, in whom it feemed nature bred coverousnels, as a difease inheritable by soccession from the Father to the Son. For he being shamefully convi-Gjippus 106- Red allo, for certain vile parts he had plaid, was likewife banished from Sparta: as we have more bed part of the amply declared in the Life of Lyfander. And Pericles delivering up the account of his charge, and ferting down an Article of the expence of ten Talents he had employed, or should employ in needfull causes: the people allowed them him, never asking question how, or which way, nor whether it was true that they were bestowed. Now there are certain writers (amongst whom the Philosopher Theophrassus one) who write, that Pericles sent yearly unto SPARTA ten Talents, with the politic in for- which he entertained those that were in authority there, because they should make no wars with them: not to buy peace of them, but time, that he might in the mean feafon, with better commodity, and triament. not to only peate of them, our time, that he man he mean hearth, with other commontry, and period acts in that leifure, provide to maintain the wars. After that, as the Army of the PELOPONNESIANS were out of the countrey of ATTICA, he returned against the Rebels, and passed into the life EURORA with fitty layle, and five thouland Footmen well armed: and there he overcame all the Cifies that had taken armes against him, and drave away the Hyppobores, who were the most famous men of all the CHALCIDIANS, as well for their riches, as for their valiantness. He drave away also all the Hestieians, whom he chased clean out of all the Countrey, and placed in their City, onely the Citizens of ATHENS. And the cause why he dealt so rigoroully with them was, because they having taken a Galley of the ATHENIANS prisoner, had put all the men to death that were in her. And peace being concluded afterwards between the ATHENIANS and LACEDEMONIANS for thirty years : he proclaimed open wars against those of the Isle of Samos, burthening them, that they being commanded by the ATHENIANS to pacifie the quarrels which they had againft the MILESIANS, they would not obey. But because some hold opinion, that he took upon him this Alpassa a pass war against Samos, for the love of Aspassa, it shall be no great digression of our story, to tell you fing wife Wo- by the way, what manner of Woman she was , and what a marvellous gift and power she had, that the could entangle with her love the chiefest Rulers and Governours at that time of the Commonweal, and that the Philosophers themselves did so largely speak and write of her. First of all, it is certain that the was born in the City of MILETUM, and was the Daughter of one Axiochus: the following the steps and example of an old Curtifan of Ionia, called Thargelia, gave her self onely to entertain the greatest Persons and chiefest Rulers in her time. For this Thargelia being passing fair, and carrying a comely grace with her, having a sharp wit and pleasant tongue, she had the acquaintance and friendship of the greatest of all GREECE, and wan all those that did haunt her company, to be at the King of Persia's commandment. So that she sowed through all the Critis of GREECE great beginnings of the faction of the Medes : for they were the greatest men of power and authority of every City, that were acquainted with her. But as for Aloasia, some lay that Perioles reforced unto her, because the was a wife woman, and had great understanding in matters of state and government. For Sucreots himself went to see her sometimes with his friends: and those that ufied her company also, brought their Wives many times with them to hear her talk : though her train were . to entertain such as would warm them by her fire, Afchines writeth, that Lyficles a Grafier, being before but a mean man, and of a clubbish nature, came to be the chief man of ATHENS, by frequenting the company on Afpafia, after the death of Pericles. And to Plato' book intituled Menerous, although the beginning of it be but pleasantly written, yet in that, this story is written truly : that this Afpafia was repaired unto by divers of the ATHENIANS, to learn the Art of Rhetorick of her. Yet notwithflanding it feemeth most likely, that the affection Pericles did bear her, grew rather of love then of any other cause. For he was married unto a Callies the Rinfwoman of his own , and that before was Hipponics Wife , by whom he had Calling, furnamed rich the rith : and had afterwards by Pericles, Kantappus and Panalus; But not liking her company, he Pericles margave her with her own good will and confent unto another, and married Afpafi whom he dearly ried Afpafia lovedt. For ever when he wens abroad, and came home again, he faluted her with a kifs. Whereup the famous on in the ancient Comedies, the is called in many places, the new Omphale, and formetimes Deianira, and fometimes funo. But Cratinus plainly calleth her Whore in these verses:

His Juno he him brought , Afpafia by Name , which was indeed an open whore, and past all kind of Shame.

And it feemeth that he had a Baftard : for Eupolia in a Comedy of his called Demofie, bringeth him in, asking Pironides thus :

I pray thee is my bastard-Son yet alive ?

And then Pironideranswered him:

A perfect man long lince, he surely had been found, If that this tend and naughty whore, his vertue had not drownd.

To conclude, this Apafe was fo famous, that Cyrus (he that fought against King Artanernes his Brother , for the Empire of PERSIA) called Afpafia his best beloved of all his Concubines, which before was called Milito, and was born in PHOCIDES, being Hermetimus Daughter. And Cyrus being flain in the field , Alpafra was carried to the King his Brother , with whom afterwards she was in great favour. As I was writing this Life, this ftory came in my mind: and me thought I should have dealt hardly, if I should have left it unwritten. But to our matter again. Perioles was charged that he made wars against the SAMIANS, on the behalf of the MILESIANS, at the request of Afpasia: for these two Cities were at wars together for the City of PRIENA, but the SAMIANS were the stronger. Now the ATHENIANS commanded them to lay afide their armes and to come and plead their matter before them, that the right might be decided': but they refused it utterly. Wherefore Pericles went thither and took away the government of the small number of Nobility, taking for hoftages, fifty of the chiefest Men of the City, and so many Children besides, which he left to be kept in the 1fle of LEMNOS. Some fay every one of these hostages offered to where he had a Talent: and besides those, many other offered him the like, such as would not have the Pissurbner the foveraign authority put into the hands of the people. Moreover Pissithnes the Persian, Lieu- Persian. tenant to the King of Perfia, for the good will be bore those of Samos, did fend Pericles ten thou- A good proof fand Crowns to release the holtages. But Perioles never took Penny : and baving done that he de- that Perioles fermined at Sanos, and established a popular government, he returned again to Athens. Notwithstanding, the Samians rebelled immediately after, having recovered their hostages again by means of this Piffathnes that Role them away, and did furnish them also with all their munition of war. Whereupon Perieles returning against them once more, he found them not idle, nor amazed at this coming, But resolutely determined to receive him, and to fight for the seigniory by sea, So there was a great bartell fought between them neer the Ille of THRACIA, and Perieles wan the battell : having with forty four fail onely nobly overcome his enemies, which were threefcore and Fertiles Viten in number, whereof twenty of them were Ships of war. And so following his victory forthwith, the samitars. he wan also the Port of Samos, and kept the Samians besieged within their own City: where they were yet to bold, as they would make fallies out many times, and fight before the walls of the City. But when there arrived a new supply of Ships, bringing a greater aid unto Pericles, then were they shet up on all sides. Pericles then taking threescore Galleys with him, lanched out into the fea, with intent (as some fay) to go meet certain Ships of the PHOENICIANS (that came to aide the Samians) as far from Samos as he could : or as Stefimbrotus faith, to go into Cyprus, which me thinketh is not true. But whatloever was his intent, he committed a foul fault. For Meliffus (the fon of Ithagenes , a great Philosopher) being at that time Generall Meliffus a Phiof the Samtans, perceiving that few ships were left behind at the siege of the City, and that the losopher, General of the Captains also that had the charge of them were not very expert men of war, perswaded his Citizens to make a fallie upon them. Whereupon they fought a battell, and the SAMIANS overcame : the ATHENIANS were taken prisoners , and they funk many of their ships. Now they being Lords again of the fea, did furnish their City with all manner of musicion for wars, whereof before they had great want. Yet Arifforle writeth, that Peritles felf was once overcome in a batteff at fea by Miliffm. Purthermore the Samians , to be even with the ATHENIANS for the injury they had received of them before, did brand them in the forehead with the stamp of an

PERICLES.

of Ship. ttophanes of the

Owl, the Owl being then the stamp of their Coin at ATBENS, even as the ATHENIANS had Owl, the Owl being then the tramp of their Courat Athens, even as the Athenians had branded the Samian prisoners with the stamp of Samana. This Samana is a kind of Ship amongst pranded the SAMIAN priloners with the trainp of Samena. This Samena is a time of simp amongst the SAMIANS, low afore, and well laid out in the mid-ship, so that it is excellent good to rife with Albent the Samia as 3, 10w arore, and well and our more imp, some at a caerical grout to rite with samant a kind the waves of the Sea, and is very (wift under fail : and it was fo called, because the first Ship that seems and a caking fails are under the first Ship that seems and a caking fails are under the fail : was made of this falhion, was made in the ille of Samos, by the Tyrant Polycrates, It is faid that was made of this faithfun, was made in the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the Poet Arifophanes, coverely conveying the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the Covered of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place the same of the Samians of

Persicles being advertised of the overthrow of his Army, returned presently to the rescue. Melissia faying of Ari- of his Comedies, faith: Pericles being advertised of the overturow of its Army, returned presently to the section. President went to meet him, and gave him battell: but he was overthrown, and driven back into his City, went to meet min, and gave min batter; out he was overmously and attenuate min in city, where Pericles walled them in round about the City, defiring victory rather by time and charge, then where Pericus wanted them in round about the City, utiling victory rather by time and charge, then by danger, and loss of his Souldiers. But when he faw that they were weary with tract of time, and by usinger, and 1015 of 1155 Southers. Durwice it is an inactive west wasty with trace of thire, and that they would bring it to hazard of battell, and that he could by no meanes withhold them: he then divided his Army into eight Companies, whom he made to draw Lots, and that Company that tiren arvacea ris Army into cigin Companies, whom he made tours who have that Company that lighted upon the white Bean, they should be quiet, and make good cheer, while the other feven fought. and they tay, that from thence it came, that when any have made good cheer, and taken pleafure a-And they tay, that from thence it came, that when any have made globalities, and taken preature abroad, they do yet call it a white day, because of the white Bean. Ephorus the Historiographer writeth, that it was there, where first of all they begun to use Engines of war to pluck down great walls, and that Pericles used first this wonderfull invention; and that Artemon an Engineer was the first devifer of them. He was carried up and down in a Chair, to fet forward these Works, because he had a lame Leg; and for this cause he was called Periphoretos. But Heraclides Pemicos consunction Ephorus therein, by the verse of Anarrem, in the which Artemon is Periphoreto, many years be Artemon portion and forethis war of Samos began and faith, this Periphoretos as a marvellous tender man, and fo Peripheress 2 sore this war of SANOS occasis; and latting this cripporess, was a mary chous critical man, and to timerous man, foolifhly afraid of his own shadow, that the most part of his time he stirred not out of his house, and nonlining arrain or his own manow, marine more part or mistrance over his head, for fear leaft did fir alwayes having two of his menby him, that held a copper Target over his head, for fear leaft any thing should fall upon him. And if upon any occasion he were driven to go abroad out of his any thing mound ran upon time. And it upon any occasion he were driven to go aproad out of its house, he would be carried in a little bed hanging near the ground, and for this cause he was furnamode; he would be carried in a finite of mangaignear the ground, and for the same fix was utilized med Peripheretes. At the laft, at nine moneths end, the SAMIANS were compelled to yeeld. So Periods took the City and razed their walls to the ground: he brought their Ships away, and made them pay a marvellous great tribute, whereof part he received in hand, and the reft payable at a mempay a marvenous great tribute, whereof part he received in hand, and the reit payable at a certain time, taking hoftages with him for affurance of payment. But Duris the Samian dilacertain time, taking hoftages with him for affurance of payment. certain time, taking nortages with min for anutance of payments. Date one of sentian unateth these matters marvellous pitifully, burthening the ATHENIANS, and Pericle felf with unnateth for matters marvellous pitifully. tern mere manters marvenous primony, outtiening me earnes and so, and erreus ien winding torall cruelty: whereof neither Thucydides, nor Ephoru, nor Arifforle himfelf maketh mention. And turan cruenty: wherever neutrice 1 nmc yarace; not Exports, not Anytonic quantity maketh mention. And fire I cannot believe it is true that is written: That he brought the Captains of the Gallies, and the

The Samians do yeeld to Pericles.

> for to aggravate the calamities of his Countrey, onely to accuse the ATHENIANS, and to make them odious to the world. Periolet having won the City of SAMOS, he returned again to ATHENS, where he did honourably bury the bones of his flain Cirizens in this war: and himself (according to their manner and cuffom) made the funeral Oration, for the which he was marvelloully effective to their families and cuffom) made the funeral Oration, for the which he was marvelloully effective to their families and cuffom). ed, In such fort, that after he came down from the Pulpit where he made his Oration, the Ladies and Gentlewomen of the City came to falute him, and brought him Garlands to put upon his head, as they use to do to noble Conquerours when they return from Games where they have won the Prize. But Elpinic coming to him, faid, Surely Pericles, thy good fervice done, deferved Lipinice. The Files, Due Espisies coming to man, same, outcry espises, my good active uous, deterted.
>
> Perieties tount Garlands of Triumph, for thou haft loft us many a good and valiant Citizen, not fighting with the to an old we MEDES, the PHOENICIANS, and with the barbarous people, as my Brother Cimon did, but man. for deftroying a City of our own Nation and Kindred. Pericles to these words, softly answered Elpi-

souldiers themselves of Samia, into the market-place of the City of MILETUM, where he made

bounders memicives of Samia, and the maintenance of the Cary of military, where he made them to be bound fast unto boards for the space of tendays, and at the end of the same; the poor them to be bound fast unto boards for the space of tendays, and at the end of the same; the poor

men half dead, were beaten down with clubs and their heads pathed in pieces; and alterwards

they threw out their bodies to the Crows, and would not bury them. So Duris being accultomed to

overreach, and to lye many times in things nothing touching him, feemeth in this place out of all rea-

But Ion writeth, that he greatly gloried, and flood mute in his own conceit, after he had fubdued the nice, with Archilochus verle, fmiling: SAMANS, faying: Agamemnon was ten years taking of a City of the barbarous people; and he in nine moneths onely had won the strongest City of the whole Nation of Ionia. Indeed he had good caule to glory in his victories: for truly (if Thucydides report be true) his conquest was no less doubtfull, then he found it dangerous. For the SAMIANS had almost been Lords of the Sea, and taken the feigniory thereof from the ATHENIANS. After this, the wars of PELOPONNE and dascular leignous whereof from the Alaskans. Auer this, me was of Periods did sus being hot again, the CORINTHIANS invading the filanders of CORPHU: Periods did sus being not again, the Correlation in the Correlations and to joyn in league with that periwaue the Athenians to kind and thind the Corphians, and to joyn in reague with the Island, which were of great power by sea, saying: that the Peloponnesians (before it were long) would have war with them. The Athenians consented to his motion, to aid those the control of of CORPHU. Whereupon they fent thither Lacedemonius (Cimons Son.) with ten Gallies onely or OKPHU. WHITEUPOHILIE, I among family and friends, were wholly at the LACEDEMONIANS devotion: Therefore did Pricles cause Lacedemonius to have so sew Ships delivered him, and further, fent him thither against his will, to the end that if he did no notable exploit in this service, that they rent mini timitet aganut inswing to the cinetiat it in and no notable captor, in this territe, that insmight then the more juftly suspect his good will to the LACED EMONIANS. Moreover whilest his lived, he did ever what he could to keep Cimons Children back from rifing : because that by their Names they were no naturall born ATHENIANS, but strangers. For the one was called Lacedamo- Cimons Sons. nim, the other Theffaulus, and the third Alius : and the Mother to all them three, was an Arcadian woman born. But Pericles being blamed for that he fent but ten Gallies onely, which was but a flender aid for those that had requested them, and a great matter to them that spake ill of him: he sent thither afterwards a great number of other Gallies, which came when the battell was fought. But the CORINTHIANS were marvellous angry, and went and complained to the Council of the LACEDEMONIANS, where they laid open many grievous complaints and accufations against the The Athenians ATHENIANS, and so did the MEGARIANS also: alledging that the ATHENIANS had for accorded at Labidden them their havens, their ftaples, and all traffick of merchandise in their territories under their obedience, which was directly against the common Laws and Articles of Peace, agreed upon by Oath among all the GRECIANS. Moreover, the ÆGINETES finding themselves very ill and cruelly handled, did fend fecretly to make their mone and complaints to the LACEDEMONIANS, being afraid openly to complain of the ATHENIANS. While these things were a doing, the City of POTIDEA, subject at that time unto the ATHENIANS (and was built in old time by the CORINTHIANS) did rebell, and was besieged by the ATHENIANS which did hasten on the wars. Notwithstanding this, Ambassadors were first sent unto ATHENS upon these complaints: and Archidamus King of the LACEDEMONIANS did all that he could to pacifie the most part of these quarrels and complaints, intreating their friends and allies. So as the ATHENIANS had had no wars at all, for any other matters, wherewith they were burthened, if they would have granted to have revoked the Decree they had made against the MEGARIANS. Whereupon Pericles, that above all other stood most against the revocation of that Decree, and that did stir up the people and made them fland to that they had once decreed and ordered against the MEGARIANS : was thought the original cause and author of the PELOPONNESIAN wars. For it is faid that the LA-Perieles author CEDEMONIANS dent Ambaffadors unto ATHENS for that matter onely. And when Perioles of the wars alledged a Law that did forbid them to take away the Table whereupon before time had been writ- against Peloten any common Law or Edict: Poliances, one of LACEDEMON Ambaffadors, faid unto him: Well, ponnefus. faid he, take it not away then, but turn the Table onely ; your Law I am fure forbiddeth not that This was pleasantly spoken of the Ambaffadour, but Pericles could never be brought to it for all that. And therefore it seemeth he had some secret occasion of grudge against the MEGARIANS: Periodes malice that. And therefore it deemeth he may some retre occasion of grounge against the MEGARIANS: against the yet as one that would finely convey it under the common cause and cloak, he took from them the Megarians. holy lands they were breaking up. And to bring this to pass, he made an Order, that they should fend an Herauld to summon the MEGARIANS to let the Land alone, and that the same Herauld should go also unto the LACEDEMONIANS to accuse the MEGARIANS unto them. It is true that this Ordinance was made by Pericles means, as also it was most just and reasonable: but it fortuned to, that the meffenger they fent thither died, and not without fulpition that the MEGA-RIANS made him away. Wherefore Charinus made a Law presently against the MEGARIANS; that they should be proclaimed mortall enemies to the ATHENIANS for ever, without any hope of after reconciliation. And also it any MEGARIAN should once put his foot within the territories of ATTICA, that he should suffer the pains of death. And moreover, that their Captains taking yearly their ordinary Oath , should swear among other Articles , that twice in the year they should go with their power, and destroy some part of the MEGARIANS Land. And lastly, that the Herauld Anthimocritus, should be buried by the place called then the Gates Thriaftenes, and now called Dipylon. But the MEGARIANS stoutly denying, that they were any cause of the death of this Anthimocritus, did altogether burthen Afpafia and Pericles with the fame, alledging for proof thereof Ariftophanes verses the Poet, in his Comedie he intituled the Archarnes, which are so common, as every boy hath them at his tongues end.

The young men of our Land (to drunken bibbing bent) Ran out one day unrulily , and toward Megara went : From whence in their outrage, by force they took away, Simetha noble Curtifan, as fhe did fort and play. Wherewith enraged all (with pepper in the nose) The proud Megarians came tous , as to their mortall foes , And took by flealth away of Harlots eke a pair , Attending on Aspasia, which were both young and fair.

But in very deed, to tell the originall cause of this war, and to deliver the troth thereof, it is very hard. But all the Historiographers together agree, that Pericles was the chiefest author of the war; because the Decree made against the MEGARIANS, was not revoked back again. Yet some hold opinion, that Pericles did it of a noble mind and judgement, to be constant in that he thought most expedient. For he judged that this commandment of the LACEDEMONIANS was but a triall, to prove if the ATHENIANS would grant them: and if they yeelded to them in that, then they manifestly shewed that they were the weaker. Other contrarily say, that it was done of a selfwill and arrogancy, to shew his authority and power, and how he did despite the LACED EMO-NIANS. But the shrewdest proof of all, that bringeth best authority with it, is reported after this fort. Phideas the Image-maker (as we have told you before) had undertaken to make the Image of Pallos: and being Pericles friend, was in great estimation about him; but that procured him many Philiss the ill willers. Then they being defirous to hear by him what the people would judge of Pericles, they

inticed Menon, one of the Workmen that wrought under Phidian, and made him come into the marketinticed Azeron, one of the working that wrought under 1 Marso, and made that come into the market-place to pray affurance of the people that he suight openly accuse Phidias, for a fault he had commitplace to pray anurance of the people man is might openly acture a man a sauther had committed about Pallas Image. The people received his obedience, and his accuration was heard openly in teu about Pauas mage. The propie receive his obsenties, and his actuation was near u openly in the market-place, but no mention was made of any theft at all, because that Philaias (through the market-place, but no mention was made or any tites at any because that rmains (inrough Perieles counsell and device) had from the beginning to laid on the gold upon the Image, that it might Perietes counten and device) nad from the beginning to rate on the goin upon the image, that it might be taken off and weighed every whit. Whereupon Perieles openly faid unto his acculers, take off the betall and the state of the work of the work of the state of the work of the wor be taken our and weighed every wint. Whereupon Fericus openny sam unto his accusers, take off the gold and weigh it. The glory of his works did purchase him this envy: For he having graven upon the conductor of the added. gold and weigh it. The giory of the works was purchase than this entry; For the traving graven upon the Scutcheon of the godders, the bartell of the AMAZONS, had cut out the portraiture of himfelf marvellous lively, under the person of an old bald man, litting up a great from with both his telt marvellous ivety, uniter the perion of an one part man, many up a great none want both inshands. Further, he had cut out Periolis Image excellently wrought and artificially, feeming in manhands. Further, he had cut out Periolis Image nancs. Further, ne mad cut out Ferreirs image executing wrought and attituding; techning in manner to be Pericles felf, fighting with an AMAZON in this fort: the AMAZONS hand being lift up ner to be revices sert, nguing with all Anazon in this init; the Anazons hand being lift up high, holdeth a dart before Periodes face, to passing cunningly wrought, as it feemeth to shadow the high, holdeth a dart before Pericus race, to paning cumingly wrought, as structuren to inadow the likeness and resemblance of Pericles: and yet notwithstanding appeareth plainly to be Pericles self on either side of the portraiture. So Phidias was clapt up in prison, and there died of a sickness, or oneither side of the portraiture. on enner race of the portranuce. 30 2 mass was viape up in prinon, and all to bring Pericles into elfe of poilon (as fome fay) which his enemies had prepared for him, and all to bring Pericles into ene of ponton (as tonic tay) which his change had prepared to him; and an cooling revices into further fulpicion, and to give them the more cause to accuse him. But howfoever it was, the people further fulpicion, and to nurmer nupreion, and to give mean the more cause to accure min. Due now never it was, the people gave Memon his freedom, and fet him free from payment of all Subfidies, following the order Gifcon gave Menon instructions, and let min free from payment of all submines, following the order officer made, and gave the Captains charge they thould fee him fafely kept, and that he took no hurt. And Affilia accufed.

Mark and gave the Captains charge they mount the nim tately kept, and that he took no hurt. And
about the fame time also Afpafia was accused, that she did not believe in the gods; and her accuser
that the was Bandan Band acourage time time and Aspana was accured, that he did not detecte in the gous; and her accide was Hermippu, maker of the Comedies. He burdened her further, that the was a Bawd to Pericle, was Hermippin, maker of the Confeders, the butterful net future; that the was a Dawn to Pericles and received Citizens Wives into her house, which Pericles kept. And Diopherer at the same time and received Chizers we'ves mad not note, which retries kept. One Disposers at the ametime made a Decree, that they should make fearth and enquiry for Hereticks that did not believe in the gods, and that taught certain new Doctrine and opinion touching the operations of things above in gods, and that taught certain new Potential and opinion touting the operations of things above in the element, turning the furpition upon Periolis because of Anaxagoras. The people did receive the element, turning the impulsion upon Leviers because of Lanaxagoras. The people and receive and confirm this inquifition; and it was moved also then by Dracondites, that Pericles should de-Pritani, Trea-liver an account of the Money he had spent, unto the hands of the Prytanes, who were treasurers of Pritail, Trea-liver an account of the Money He had been, and that the Judges deputed to give judgement, should give fen-facers of the turers of the the common times and revenues; and that the jonges depicte to give plagement, insome give incommon fines tence within the City upon the Altar. But Agnon put that word out of the Decree, and placed intence within the City upon the Atlast. Did Agrino put that work out of the Decree, and placed in-fread thereof, that the Caufe should be judged by the fifteen hundred Judges, as they thought good, reau mercor, may me came mound to punge by the miner minutes junges, as may mought good, if any man brought his Action for Theft, for Battery, or for Injuffice. As for Afpafia, he faved her, even for the very pity and compatition the Judges took of him, for the tears he fixed in making his even for the very party and companion the judges took of min, for the teats he med in making its humble fuit for her, all the time he pleaded her case; as \(\omega \ifti \) for her, all the time he pleaded her case; as \(\omega \ifti \) for her kins and of the Circ. and kins at a life and he had to be her her him and of the Circ. numore run for met, an time in presentation tairs, as supprising, whiteun. Dut for Zinaxagora, fearing that he could not do fo much for him, he fent him out of the City, and himself did accomrearing mar ne count not to to much not man, he near min out of the people for Phildia fact, and pany him. And furthermore, feeing he had incurred the ill will of the people for Phildia fact, and pany num. And mutatione, acting in his manner than of the people for rinis and, and for this cause fearing the issue of the judgement, he fet the wars after again, that always went for this came rearing me muc of the programm; in at the wars and again, that always went backward, and did but mosk a little, hoping by this means to wear out the acculations againft him, and to root out the malice fome did bear him. For the people having weighty matters in hand and and to root out the maintenance and bear him. For the people having weiging matters in thank and very dangerous also, he knew they would put all into his hands alone, he having won already such very uangerous and, he anew mey wound put an another hands about, he having won arready men great authority and reputation among them. And these be the causes why he would not (as it is said)

great authorny and reputation among them. Another to the cautes why he would not (as it is said) fuffer the ATHENIANS to yeeld unto the LACED ENONIANS in any thing : howbeit the truth

cannot certainly be known. But the LACEDEMONIANS knowing well, that if they could weed

out Pericles, and overthrow him, they might then deal as they would with the ATHENIANS.

out Pericles, and overthrow min, they might then deal as they would with the ATHENIANS: they commanded them they should purge their City of Cylons rebellion, because they knew well enough that Pericles kin by the Mothers side were to be touched withall, as Thueydides declared.

enough that Periotis kin by the Mothers nucleurs and expectation, that were fent to ATHENS for this But this practice fell out contrary to their hope and expectation, that were fent to ATHENS for this purpose. For, weening to have brought Periotes into further suspicion and displeasure, the Citizens

honoured him the more, and had a better affiance in him then before, because they saw his enemis

nonoured min the more, and had a certer anisance in thin the octor, because they saw in circuits did fo much fear and hate him, Wherefore, before King Archidamus entred with the Army of the contract of of the

PELOPONNESIANS into the Country of ATTICA, he told the ATHENIANS, that if King Archidamus fortuned to waste and destroy all the Countrey about, and should spare his Lands and

Goods for the old love and familiarity that was between them, or rather to give his enemies occa-

for fally to accuse him: that from thenceforth, he gave all the Lands and Tenements he had in the Country unto the Commonwealth. So it fortuned that the LACED #MONIANS with all their monitar invade friends and confederates, brought a marvellous Army into the Countrey of ATTICA, under the leading of King Archidamu: who burning and spoiling all the Country they came along, they came nature of a line and the second of Acharnes, where they encamped, inposing the Athenians would not follow have a second following the s never fuffer them to approach fo near, but that they would give them battell for the honour and

defence of their Countrey, and to flew that they were no cowards. But Perielts wifely confidered how the danger was 100 great to hazard battell, where the loss of the City of ATHENS flood in peril, feeing they were threefcore thousand Footmen of the PELOPONNESIANS, and of the BEOTIANS together: for fo many was their number in the first voyage they made against the ATHENIANS. And as for those that were very desirous to fight, and to put themselves to any hazard, being mad to fee their Countrey thus wasted and destroyed before their eyes, Pericles did An excellent comfort and pacific them with these words: That Trees being cut and hewn down, did fpring again comparison to in short time: but men being once dead, by no possibility could be brought again. Therefore her they the Soulthay the Soulthat the Soulthat the Soulthat the Soulthat direct to the soulthat direct to the soulthat the Soult do fomething still against his will. But as a wife Pilot, when he feeth a storm coming on the sa.

doth straight give order to make all things sase in the Ship, preparing every thing ready to defend the ftorm, according to his art and skill, not hearkening to the paffengers fearfull cries and pititul tears, who think themselves cast away : even so did Pericles rule all things according to his wisdom. having walled the City substantially about, and set good watch in every corner; and passed not for those that were angry and offended with him, neither would he be perswaded by his friends earnest request and intreaties, neither cared for his enemies threats nor acculations against him, nor yet reckoned of all their foolish scoffing Songs then sung of him in the City to the shame and reproach of his government, faying that he was a cowardly Captain, and that for dastardliness he let the enemies take all, and spoil what they would. Of which number Cleon was one that most defamed him, and Cleon as used began to enter into some prety credit and sayour with the common people, for that they were angry, Perietes, and milliked with Pericles: as appeareth by these slanderous verses of Hermippus, which were then O King of Satyres thou, who with such manty speech, Of blondy wars and doughty deeds, dost daily to me preach : Why art thou now afraid to take thy Lance in hand .

Or mith thy Pike against thy foes, couragiously to stand? Since Cleon front and fierce, doth daily thee provoke,

With biting words, with trenchant blades, and deadly dannting froak. All this notwithstanding, Pericles was never moved any thing, but with silence did patiently bear all injuries and scoffings of his enemies, and did fend for all that, a navy of a hundred sail unto PELOPONNESUS, whether he would not go in person, but kept himself at home, to keep the people in quiet, untill fuch time asthe enemies had raifed their Camp, and were gone away. And to entertain the common people that were offended and angry at this war, he comforted the poor Note Pericles people again, with caufing a certain diffribution to be made amongst them of the common Trea- policie to pafure, and divition also of the Lands that were got by Conquest. For after he had driven all the ÆGI- cific the peo-NET ES out of their Countrey , he canfed the whole life of EGINA to be divided by Lot amongst ples anger. the Citizens of Athens. And then it was a great comfort to them in this advertity, to hear of by the Athetheir enemies hurt and loss in fuch manner as it did fall out. For their army that was fent by sea ninn. unto Peloponnesus, had wasted and destroyed a great part of the champion countrey there, and had facked besides many small Cities and Towns. Perietes self also entring into the MEGARIANS Countrey by land, did wast the whole Countrey all afore him. So the PELOPONNESIANS receiving by fea as much hurt and lofs at the ATHENIANS hands, as they before had done by land ento the ATHENIANS; they had not holden our wars follong with the ATHENIANS, but Athens. would foon have given over (as Pericles had told them before) had not the gods above fecretive hindred mans reason and policie. For first of all there came such a fore plague among the ATHE-NIANS, that it took away the flower of ATHENS youth, and weakned the force of the whole City befides. Furthermore, the bodies of them that were left alive being infected with this difeafe. their hearts also were so sharply bent against Pericles, that the fickness having troubled their brains they fell to flat rebellion against him, as the Patient against his Physician, or Children against their Father, even to the harring of him, at the provocation of his enemies; who brusted abroad, that the plague came of no cause elle, but of the great multitude of the countrey men that came into the City on Accusations prague came of no came end, out of the great minimum of the Summer, where they were compelled to lie many against Perio together, fmothered up in little Tents and Cabines, remaining there all day long, cowring downwards, and doing nothing, where before they lived in the Countrey in a fresh open air, and at liberty. And of all this (fay they) Perioles is the onely cause, who procuring this war, hath pent and fhrouded the countrey men together within the walls of a City, employing them to no manner of use nor service, but keeping them like Sheep in a pinfold, maketh one to poison another with the infection of their plague fores running upon them, and giving them no leave to change air, that they might fo much as take breath abroad. Pericles to remedy this, and to do their enemies a little mischief, armed a hundred and fifty Ships, and shipped into them a great number of armed Footmen and Horsmen also, Hereby he put the Citizens in good hope; and the enemies in great fear, feeing fo great a power. But when he had shipped all his men , and was himself also in the Admirall ready to hoife fail: fuddenly there was a great eclipse of the Sun, and the day was very dark, that the Sun. all the Army was stricken with a marvellous fear, as of some dangerous and very ill token towards them. Pericles feeing the Master of his Galley in a maze withall, not knowing what to do, cast his Cloak over the Mafters face, and hid his eyes, asking him whether he thought that any harm or no. The Mafter answered him , he thought it none. Then faid Pericles again to him : There is no difference between this and that, faving that the body which maketh the darknels is greater, then my Cloak which hideth thy eyes. These things are thus disputed of in the Schools of the Philosophers. But Pericles hoifing fail notwithstanding, did no notable nor special service, answerable to so great an Army and preparation. For he laying flege unto the Holy City of Epidaurum, when every Perides hard man looked they should have taken it, was compelled to raise his fiege; for the plague, that was so vehement, that it did not onely kill the ATHENIANS themselves, but all other also (were they never fo few) that came to them or near the Camp. Wherefore perceiving the Athenians were perites deprimarvelloufly offended with him, he did what he could to comfort them and put them in heart again; ved of his but all was in vain, he could not pacifie them: for by the most part of voices, they deprived him of charge. his charge of Generall, and condemned him in a marvellous great fine and fum of Money, the which

those that tell the least, do write, that it was the sum of fifteen Talents : and those that say more those that ten the tear, no were, that it was the fall of this condemnation, was Clean, as Idomentus or freak of fifty Talents. The accuser subscribed in this condemnation, was Clean, as Idomentus or Simmin lay, or as Theophrastin writeth: yet Heraelides Pontiem saith, one Lacratidas. Now his common griefs were foon blown over, for the people did eafly let fall their displeasures towards common gries were soon nown over; not the people and eating he had frung. But his own private him, as the Wafp leaveth her fring behind her with them she had frung. But his own private home affairs and houshold causes were invery ill case; both for that the plague had taken away many of troubles. anairs and noumoid taines were in very in care; noum for that he paged has taken away many of his friends and kinfmen from him, as also for that he and his house had continued a long time in difgrace. For Xantippu (Pericus Son and Heir) being a man of a very ill disposition and nature, grace. For Aunispyne (Ferreis son and roa / Joseph a main or a very in ampointment and nature, and having married a young woman very produgall and lavish of expence, the Daughter of Isander, and having married a young woman very produgal and taviln of expence, the Daughter of Islander, Son of Eppliches, he grudged much at his Pathers hardness, who scamby gave him Money and bur a little at a time. Whereupon he fent on a time to one of his Pathers friends in Pericles Name, to pray him to lend him fome Money, who fent it unto him: But afterwards when he came to demand it again, Pericles did not onely refuse to pay it him, but surther also he put him in sujt. But this made the young man Xantippus fo angry with his father, that he spake very ill of him in every place where he came : and reported in way of mockery , how his Father spent his time when he was at home, and what talk he had with the Sophisters, and the Master Rhetoricians. For a mischance forming on a time, at the game of the throwing of the Dart, who should throw best, that he that threw, did unfortunately kill one Epitimem a THESSALIAN : Xantippu went practing up and down the Town, that his Father Perioles was a whole day diffuting with Protagoras the Rhetorician, to know which of the three by Law and Reafon should be condemned for this murther: The Dart, he that threw the Dart, or the deviler of the game. Moreover Stefinbroton writeth, that the bruit that ran thorough the City, that Periode did keep his Wife, was fown abroad by Xantippus that ran thorough the City, that Periode did keep his Wife. himfelf. But fo it is, this quarrell and hate betwirt the Father and the Son continued without reconciliation unto the death. For Xantippus died in the great plague, and Pericles own Sifter also: conculation unto the death. For Austreption used in the great prague, and Persetts own States also: moreover he loft at that time by the plague, the more part of his friends and kinsfolks, and those moreover he loft at that time by the plague, the more part of his friends and kinsfolks, and those Periotes con- specially that did him greatest pleasure in governing of the State. But all this did never pull down his countenance, nor any thing abate the greatness of his mind, what misfortune foever he had fufrained. Neither faw they him weep at any time, nor mourn at the funerals of any of his kinfmen or friends, but at the death of Paralus, his youngest and lawfull begotten Son: for, the loss of him alone did onely melt his heart. Yet be did ftrive to fhew his naturall conftancy, and to keephis accustomed modesty. But as he would have put a Garland of Flowers upon his head, forrow did fo pierce his heart when he faw his face, that then he burft out in tears and cried amain; which they never faw him do before all the days of his life. Furthermore the people having proved other Caprains and Governours, and finding by experience that there was not one of them of judgement and authority fufficient for fo great a charge: in the end, of themselves they called him again to the Pulpit for Orations to hear their Countels, and to the state of a Captain also to take charge of the state. But at that time he kept himself close in his house, as one bewaiting his late grievous loss and forrow. Howheit Alcibiades, and other his familiar friends, perfwaded him to fhew himfelf unto the people; who did excuse themselves unto him, for their ingratitude towards him. Pericles then taking the Government again upon him, the first matter he entred into was: that he prayed them to revoke the Statute he had made for base born Children, fearing left his lawfull Heirs would fail, and so his house and Name should fall to the ground. But as for the Law, thus it stood: Pericles when he was in his best authority, caused a Law to be made, that they onely should be counted Citizens of ATHENS, which were natural ATHENIANS born by Father and Mother. Not long time after, it for tuned that the King of EGYPT having fent a guit unto the people of ATHENS, of fourty thousand thens for bale born Chilbushels of Corn, to be diffributed among the Citizens there : many by occasion of this Law were accufed to be base born, and especially men of the baser fort of people, which were not known before, or at the leaft had no reckoning made of them, and so some of them were fallly and wrongfully condemned. Whereupon fo it fell out, that there were no lefs then five thousand of them convicted and fold for flaves: and those that remained as free-men, and were judged to be naturall Citizens, amounted to the number of fourteen thouland and fourty persons. Now this was much milliked of the people, that a Law enacted, and that had been of fuch force, should by the self same maker and deviser of the same be again revoked and called in, Howbeit Pericles late calamity that fortuned to his house, did break the peoples hardned hearts against him: who thinking these forrows smart, to be punishment enough unto him for his former pride, and judging that by Gods divine juffice and permillion this plague and lofs fell upon him, and that his request allo was tollerable: they fuffered him to enrole his bate born Son in the Register of the lawfull Citizens of his family, giving him his own Name Pericles. It is the felf fame Pericles , who after he had overcome the PELOPONNESIANS in a great battell by fes, near unto the Ifles of Arginuses, was put to death by fentence of the people, with other Captains his companions. Now was Pericles at that time infected with the plague, but not fo vehemently

Pericles the bafe born put call question

as other were, but more temperately: which by long space of time, with many alterations and changes, did by little and little decay and confume the strength of his body, and overcame his senses and nets.

A philosophi noble mind. Therefore Theophraftsu in his Morals declareth, in a place where he disputeth, whether mens manners do change with their misfortunes, and whether corporall roubles and afflictions do fo alter men, that they forget vertue, and abandon reason: that Perieles in his sickness shewed a friend of his that came to feehim, I cannot tell what a preferving Charm, that the women had tied (as a mens manners Carkanet) about his nock, to let him understand he was very ill, fince he suffered them to apply by misfortunes Carkanet)

fuch a foolish bable to him. In the end Pericles drawing fast unto his death, the Nobility of the City, and fuch his friends as were left alive, standing about his bed, began to speak of his vertue, and of the great authority he had born, confidering the greatness of his Noble acts, and counting the number of his victories he had won (for he had won Nine foughten battels being General of the ATHENIANS, and had fet up so many tokens and triumphs in honour of his Countrey) they reckoned up among themselves all these matters, as if he had not understood them, imagining his senses had been gone. But he contrarily being yet of perfect memory, heard all what they had faid, and thus he began to speak unto them: That he marvelled why they had so highly praised that in him, which was common to many other Captains, and wherein fortune dealt with them in equality alike, and all this while they had forgotten to speak of the best and most notable thing that was in him, which was, that no ATHENIAN had ever worn black gown through his occasion; and fure so was he Anotable saya noble and worthy person. For he did not onely shew himself mercifull and courteous, even in weighty ing of Perioles matters of government among so envious people and hatefull enemies; but he had this judgement also to think, that the most noble acts he did were these; that he never gave himself to hatred, envy nor choler, to be revenged of his most mortall enemy, without mercy shewed towards him, though he had committed unto him fuch absolute power and sole government among them. And this made his surname be Olympius (that is, divine or celeftial) which otherwise for him had been too proud and ar-vedly called rogant a Name, because he was of so good and gentle a nature, and for that in so great liberty he had Olympius. kept clean hands and undefiled ; even as we efteem the gods authors of all good, and caufers of no evil, and fo worthy to govern and rule the whole Monarchy of the world. And not as Poets fay, which do confound our wits by their follies and fond feignings, and are also contrary to themselves, considering that they call Heaven (which containeth the gods) the everlafting feat, which trembleth not, and is not driven nor moved with winds, neither is darkned with clouds, but is always bright and clear. and at all times shining equally with a pure bright light, as being the onely habitation and mansion place of the eternal God, onely happy and immortal: and afterwards they describe it themselves, full of diffentions and enmitties, of anger and passions, which do nothing become wise and Learned men. But this discourse peradventure would be better spoken of in some other Book. Now the troubles the A- The Athenians THENIANS felt immediately after Pericles death, made them then lament the loss of fo Noble a mem-lamented the ber. For those who unpatiently did brook his great authority while he lived, because it drowned their loss of Pericles own, when they came after his death to prove other speakers and Governours, they were compelled being dead. then to confess, that no mans nature living could be more moderate nor grave, with lenity and mercy, then was his. And that most hated power, which in his life time they called Monarchy, did them most plainly appear unto them, to have been the manifest rampier and bulwark of the safety of their whole State and Commonweal: fuch corruption and vice in government of the State did then foring up immediately after his death, which when he was alive, he did ever suppress and keep under, in such fort, that either it did not appear at all, or at least it came not to that head and liberty, that such faults were committed, as were unpossible to be remedied.

The End of the Life of Pericles.

THE

FABIUS.

THELIFEOF FABIUS MAXIMUS.



Ann. Mund. 3628.

Ant. Christ.

Aving already declared unto you fuch things worthy memory as we could collect and gather of the Life of Pericles: it is now good time we should proceed to write also of the Life of Fabius Maximus. It is said the first Fabius, from whom the House and Family of the Fabians did descend, (being the greatest and Noblest house of all other in ROME) was begotten by Hercules, whom he got of a Nymph, or (as other fay) a Woman of the Countrey by the River of Tyber. And some say, that the first of this House, were called at the beginning Fodians, because they did hunt wild beafts, with pitfals and dirches. For unto

this present the Romans occasion they have called them Fabians. But howfoever it was, this is certain, that many Noble men have come out of that House: and among other, there was one of that House called Fabius Rullus, whom the ROMANS for his nobleacts did furname Maximus, very great After him Fabius Maximus, whose Life we have now in hand, was the fourth lineally descended of the same line, and he was surnamed Verrucosus, because of a certain birth-marke he had upon one of his lips, like a little wart. And he was also furnamed Ovicula, a little Lamb, for his fornes, flowness, and gravity of his doings whileft he was a child. But, because of nature he was dull, still, and very filent, and that he was feldom feen to play at any passime among the boyes, and for that they saw he was but of flow capacity, and hard to learn and conceive, and withall that the boyes might do to him what they would, he was fo lowly to his fellows: this made men judge that looked not into him, that he would prove a very fool and idiot. Yet other were in contrary opinion of him : who confidering more deeply the man, perceived in his nature a cerrain secret constancy and the majesty of a Lyon. But Fabius self when he was called to serve the Commonweal, did quickly shew to the world, that which they took for dullness in him, was his gravity, which never altered for no cause or respect : and that which other judged searfulnels in him, was very wildom. And where he shewed himself not hasty nor suddain in any thing, it was found in him an affured and fetled constancy. Wherefore when he came to constant der the great foveraignty of the Commonweal, and the continual wars it was in, he did use his body to all hardness, and brought up himfelf therewithall, that he might be the better able to ferve in the field : and he gave himself much to eloquence also, as a necessary instrument to perswade Souldiers unto reason. His tongue likewise did agree with his conditions and manner of life. For he had no manner of affection, nor counterfeit finences in his speech, but his words were ever very grave and profound, and his fentences even grafted in him by nature, and (35 fome (ay) were much like Thucydides sayings: As appeareth in a funerall Oration he made before FABIUS.

the people in the praise of his Son, who died when he came out of his Consulship, which is yet extant to be feen. Now as for him, having been five times chosen Consul, in his first year of Fabius five

unto them, as thundring, lightning and fuch other like : but other also more strange, never seen nor

that about the City of ANTIUM they found Wheat ears, which were all bloudy when they were reaped: that there fell from Heaven burning stones, all in a stame of fire: and in the Countrey of the PHALERIANS how the element feemed to open, and many little written fcroles fell down upon the ground , in one of the which were written these words, word for word : Mars doth now handle his

was it beyond all reason increased in him, by the wonderfull good success he had before. For, notwithstanding the Senate called him home again, and that his fellow Consul stood against his intent; he for all that did give battel to the GAULS, in despight of them all, and wan the victory. Likewife, though all these signs and wonders in the air, did greatly trouble and amaze multitudes of people : yet did they nothing trouble Fabins, for he faw no apparent cause to be troubled withall. But he understanding the small number of his enemies, and lack of Money that was among them:

their allies and confederates, as need required, to keep their Cities still under their obedience : and in the mean feason by tract of time, to wear out Hannibals force and power, which was like straw set on fire, that ftraight giveth forth a blaze, and yet hath no fubstance to hold fire long. When Fabius had thus faid enough to periwade Flaminius, yet it would not fink into Flaminius head : for faid he, I will not tarry untill the wars come to Rome gates, neither will I be brought to fight upon the walls of the City to defend it, as Camillus did, that fought within the City himself in old time. Whereupon he commanded his Captains to fet out their bands to the field, and he himself took his Horse-

back; which upon the fuddain, without any cause, was so afraid, and took on so with himself, that he cast the Consul to the ground with his head forward. For all this fall he would not change his

mind, but held on his journey towards Hannibal, and prefented him battel in Thuscan, by the

that were fighting, heard any such thing at all. Flaminius the Consul himself was slain at that battel

after he had in his own person done many valiant acts, and many of the worthiest Gentlemen and valiant Souldiers of his Army lay dead about him : the refidue being fled, the flaughter was great, for

the bodies slain were Fifteen thousand, and so many Prisoners lest alive. After this overthrow, Hannibal made all the fearch he could possibly to find the body of Flaminius, to bury him honourably, because of his valiantness; but he could never be found amongst the dead bodies, neither was

it ever heard what became of it. Now as touching the first overthrow at TREBIA, neither the

General that wrote it, nor the Post that brought the first news to Rome, told the troth of it as it

was, but fained that the end was doubtfull, and that they could not tell who had the best. But of

this battel, fo foon as the Prator Pomponius had received the news, he called all the people to

counsell, where without difguifing or diffembling at all, he plainly faid thus unto them: My Lords,

we have loft the battel, our Army is overthrown and the Conful himself is slain in the field:

wherefore, consider what you have to do, and provide for your safety. These words spoken to the

people, as it had been a boysterous storm of weather that had fallen on them from the sea to put

them in danger, did so terrifie the multitude, and trouble the whole City for fear, that they were

all in a maze, and knew not what to determine. Yet in the end they all agreed, that it flood them

upon to have a chief Magistrate, called in Latine Dictator, that should be a man of courage, and

fwerable to the dignity and foveraignty of the Office: and moreover, that to his gravity and wife-

dom there was joyned (by reasonable age) strength of body, and valiantness with experi-

ence. This countel being confirmed by them all, Fabius was chosen Dillator, who named Lucius

his Confulfnip, he triumphed over the LIGURIANS (which be people of the mountains, and times Conful. upon the coaft of GENUA) who being overthrown by him in a great battel, where they had loft many men, they were compelled to go their way, and to take the Alpes for their fuccour, and durft no more appear upon the borders of IT ALY, whereupon they did confine. Hannibal entring IT A-Ly afterwards with a great Army, and having won the first battel near unto the River of TREBIA: Hannibal de-

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Ly atterwards with a great Army, and naving won the line batter and the Lorentz of Transfer if troyeth the paffed further, and went through Thus Can, wasting and destroying all the Countrey as he paffounties of Countrey of fed by. This made Rome quake for fear. Befides they faw many figns and tokens, fome common Thulcan.

heard of before. For it was reported that certain Targets were waxen all bloudy of themselves, and Wonders.

weapons. But, all these figns and wonders did nothing appall nor daunt the boldness of Caius Fla-Flaminius minus Conful then: who befides the natural great courage, and afpiring mind he had to honour, yet talhous.

gave counsel, and was of opinion that they thould patiently forbear a little, and not to hazard battel against a man, whose Army had been long trained in wars, and by many foughten fields was grown Fabius wife valiant and expert. Moreover, he thought good they should fend aid to their subjects, and other

Lake called Thrasimena, which is the Lake of Perusia. This battel was so fiercely sought on The Romans both fides, that notwithstanding there was such a terrible earthquake therewhile, that some Cities slainby the were overthrown and turned topfie turvy, fome Rivers had their streams turned against their Lake Thresh

course, and the foot of the mountains were torn in sunder and broken open, yet not one of them mena.

could ftoutly use it without sparing or fearing any person. And for this, Fabius maximus was Fabius Diffa; though the onely man meet to be chosen, as he, whose noble courage and grave behaviour was an- tor

Minutius General of the Horfemen. Then he first required the Senate, that they would grant
The Distant
him he might have his Horse in the wars: the which was not lawfull for the Distant, but exmight not ride prefly forbidden by an ancient order. Either because they thought the chiefest force of their in the wars,

Army did confift in their Footmen, which caused the making of this Law; whereby the General should be amongst them in the day of the battel, and in no wise should for sake them : Or

The Majesty of Fabius the Dictator.

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Fabius Religion.

The Sibylles phelies.

Fabius Vow.

else because the authority of this Magistrate in all other things was so great, that it was in manner after the state of a King : Yet all this norwithstanding, they were willing thereunto, and that the Dillacor should have absolute power over the people. Fabina at his first coming, because he would shew the majesty and dignity of his Office, that every man should be the more obedient and ready at his commandment : when he went abroad, he had four and twenty Sergeants before him, carrying the bundles of Rods and Axes. And when one of the Confuls came to him, he fent a Sergeant to command his bundle of Rods that were carried before him, to be put down, and all other tokens of dignity to be laid aside : and that he should come and speak with him, as a private man. And first to make a good foundation, and to begin with the service of the gods, he declared unto the people, that the loss they had received, came through the rashness and willfull negligence of their Captain, who made no reckoning of the gods nor Religion : and not through any default and cowardliness of the Souldiers. And for this cause he did perswade them not to be afraid of their enemies, but to appeale the wrath of the gods, and to ferve and honour them. Not that he made them hereby superstitious, but did confirm their valiancy with true Religion and godliness: and besides did utterly take away and asswage their fear of their enemies, by giving them certain hope and assurance of the aid of the gods. Then were the holy Books of the Sibylles Prophefies perused, which were kept very secret, and therein they found certain ancient Prophefies and Oracles , which spake of the present misfortunes of the time : But what was contained therein, it is not lawfull to be uttered to any person. Afterwards the Dillator, before the open affembly of the people made a folemn vow unto the gods, that he would facrifice all the profits and fruits that should fall the next year, of Sheep, of Sowes, of milch-Kine, of Goats in the Mountains, champion Country, Rivers or Meadows of ITALY. And he would celebrate plays of Musick, and shew other sights in the honour of the gods, and would beflow upon the fame the fum of three hundred three and thirty Seftercians, and three hundred three and thirty Seftercians and three hundred three hundred three hundred three and thirty Seftercians and three hundred three and thirty Seftercians are something three hundred dred three and thirty ROMAN Pence, and a third part over. All which firm reduced into GRECIAN Money, amounted to fourfcore and three thouland, five hundred and fourfcore and three filver Drachmas, and two Oboles. Now it were a hard thing to tell the reason why he doth mention this furn fo precifely, and why he did divide it by three, unless it were to exroll the power of the number of Three: because it is a perfect number by the nature, and it is the first of the odd numbers, which is the beginning of divers numbers, and containeth in it self the first differences, and the first elements and principles of all the numbers united and joyned together. So Fabim having brought the people to hope and sruft to have the aid and favour of the gods, made them in the end the better disposed to live well afterwards. Then Fabius hoping after victory, and that the gods would fend good luck and profperity unto men through their valiantness and wisdom : did straight set forwards unto Hannibal, not as minded to sight with him, but fully refolved to wear out his strength and power, by delays and tract of time; and Fabius doings ber of his people, with the great number of his Souldiers. Fabius camped always in the strong against Hannia and high places of the mountains, our of all danger of his enemies Horfemen, and coafted full atter the enemy : fo that when Hannibal stayed in any place , Fabius also stayed : if Hannibal removed, he followed him straight, and would be always near him, but never for fook the hills, neither would he come so near him, as that he should be enforced to fight against his will. Yet always he followed the enemy at his tail, and made him ever afraid of him, thinking ftill that he fought to get the vantage, to give the charge upon him. Thus by delaying, and prolonging the time in this fort, he became difliked of every body : for every many both in his own Camp and abroad, fpake very ill of him openly : and as for his enemies, they took him for no better then a rank coward, Hannibal onely excepted. But he perceiving his great reach and policy, and forefering his manner of fight, law there was no remedy, but by plain force or flight to bring him to the fight: for otherwise his delay would overthrow the CARTHAGINIANS, when they should not come to handy strokes with him, wherein onely consisted all their hope and strength, and in the mean time his Souldiers should fall away and die, and his Money wax fcant, and himfelf should grow the weaker. Thereupon Hannibal began to bethink him, and devise all the ftratagems and policies of war he could imagine : and like a cunning wrettler, to feek out all the tricks he could to give his adverfary the fall. For fuddenly he would go and give alarm to his Camp; by and by again he would retire: Another time he would remove his Camp from one place to another, and give him fome advantage, to fee if he could plack his lingring devile out of his head, and yet to hazard nothing. But as for Fabius, he continued fifl refolute in the first determination: that delay of fight was the best way, so to overthrow him. Howbeit Minating, General of his Horsemen, did trouble him much: for he being earnestly bent to fight without dif-Horsemen, de-failed pains defire to fight: Which wrought much in them, and fo fittred up their courages, that they mocked Fabius alrogether, and called him Hannibals School-mafter : and contrariwise they commended Minutius, for a valiant Captain and worthy ROMAN. This made Minutius look high, and have a proud opinion of himself, mocking Fabius because he ever lodged on the hills, with saying the Dillator would make them goodly sports, to see their enemies waste and burn ITALY before their faces. Moreover he asked Fabisss friends, Whether he would in the end lodge his Camp in the skie, that he did climb fo high upon Mountains, miftrufting the earth : or elfe that he

was so afraid his enemies would find him out, that he went to hide himself in the clouds. Fabius friends made report of these jests, and advised him rather to hazard battel, then to bear such reproachfull words as were spoken of him. But Fabius answered them : If I should yeeld to that you counsel me, I should shew my self a greater coward then I am taken for now : by leaving my determination, for fear of their mocks and spightfull words. For it is no shame for a man to stand fearfull and jealous of the welfare and fafety of his Countrey : but otherwife to be afraid of the wagging of every straw, or to regard every common prating, it is not the part of a worthy man of courage, but rather of a base minded person, to seek to please those whom he ought to command and govern, because they are but fools. After this Hallnibal chanced to fall into a Hannibal feel great errour; for intending to leave Fabius to bring his Army into the plains, where there was rour. plenty of victuals, and store of Pasture to feed his Horse and Cattel : he commanded his guides to bring him straight after supper, into the plain of CASINUM. They mistaking his words, and not understanding well what he faid, because his ITALIAN Tongue was but mean, took one thing for another, and so brought him and his Army to the end of the field near the City of Ca-SILINUM, through the middest of which runneth a River, the ROMANS call Vulturnus. City. Now the Countrey lying by it, was a Valley compassed in with Mountains round about, saving Valuarius st. that the River went to the Sea : where leaving its own bankes, it spreadeth abroad into the marrishes and bankes of fand very deep, and in the end fell into that part of the Sea which is most dangerous, and where was neither succour nor covert. Hannibal being now fallen as it were into the bottom of a fack; Fabius that knew the Countrey, and was very perfect in all the ways thereabouts, followed him step by step, and stopped his passage, where they should have come out of the Valley, with four thousand Footmen, which he planted there to keep the straight, and disposed the rest of his Army upon the hangings of the hills, in the most apt and fit places all about. Then with his Light horsemen he gave a charge upon the rereward of his Hannibal set enemies battel: which put all Hannibals Army by and by out of order, and so there were slain upon by Faeight hundred of his men. Whereupon Hannibal would have removed his Camp thence imme-bins. diately : and knowing then the fault his guides had made, taking one place for another, and the danger wherein they had brought him, he roundly truffed them up, and hung them by the necks, Now to force his enemies to come down from the tops of the hills, and to win them from their strength, he saw it was impossible, and out of all hope. Wherefore perceiving his Souldiers both afraid and discouraged, for that they saw themselves hemmed in on all sides, without any order to escape: Hannibal determined to deceive Fabius by a device. He caused straight two thousand Hannibals stra-Oxen to be chosen out of the herd, which they had taken before in their spoils, and tied to their tagem. horns light bundles of reeds, and fallow faggots, or bunches of the dead cuttings of Vines: and commanded the Drovers that had the charge of them, that when they saw any signall or token life up in the air in the night, they should then straight set fire on those bundles and bunches, and drive up the beafts to the hills, towards the ways where the enemies lay. Whileft these things were a preparing, he on the other fide ranged his Army in order of battel, and when night came, caused them to march fair and foitly. Now these beafts, whilest the fire was but little that burnt upon their horns, went but fair and foftly up the hill, from the foot of the mountains from whence they were driven : infomuch as the Herdmen that were on the top of the mountains, wondered marvelloully to fee fuch flames of fire about the horns of fo many beafts, as if it had been an Army marching in order of battel with lights and torches. But when their horns came to be burnt to the flumps, and that the force of the fire did fry their very flesh, then began the Oxen to fight together, and to thake their heads, whereby they did fet one another on fire. Then left they their foft pace, and went no more in order as they did before, but for the extream pain they felt, began to run here and there in the mountains, carrying fire still about their horns, and in their tails, and fet fire of all the boughs and Coppies they paffed by. This was a strange fight to look upon, and did much amaze the ROMANS that kept the passages of the mountains, for they thought they had been men that ran here and there with Torches in their hands. Whereupon they were in a marvellous fear and trouble, supposing they had been their enemies that ran thus towards them, to environ them on all fides, fo as they durft no more keep the paffages which they were commanded; but forfaking their straights, began to flie towards their main and great Camp. Thereupon Hannibals Light horsemen immediately possessed the straights that were there : by reason whereof, all the rest of his Army marched out at their ease and leisure, without fear or danger, notwithstanding they were loden and troubled with marvellous great spoils, and of all kind of forts. Fabius then perceived very well the fame night, that it was but a fleight of Hannibal; for some of the Oxen that fled here and there fell upon his Army. Whereupon fearing to fall upon fome ambush by reason of the dark night, he kept his Men in battel ray, without stirring, or making any noile. The next morning by break of day, he began to follow his enemies by the track, and fell upon the tail of the rereward, with whom he skirmilhed within the straights of the mountains, and so did diffress somewhat Hannibals Army. Hannibal thereupon fent out of his vantguard a certain number of SPANIARDS (very lufty and nimble

fellows that were used to the mountains, and acquainted with climbing up upon them) who

coming down, and fetting upon the ROMANS that were heavy armed, flew a great number

of them, and made Fabius to retire. Thereupon they despiled Fabius the more, and thought

worse of him then they did before, because his pretence and determination was, not to be

felf fame day the Sergaents that carried the Axes before him, and fent away the train that waited

upon him, and did so put himself in prease of the people in the market-place, and followed his own

peculiar businels as a private person. Now the ROMANS imagined, that when Fabius should see

how they had made Minutius equal in authority with him, it would grieve him to the heart for very

anger : but they came short to judge of his nature, for he did not think that their folly should hurt

that were offended with their mocks. Thus Fabins took every thing quietly, that the people of-

tered him, and did comfort himself with the Philosophers rules and examples; who did maintain,

that an honest and wise man, can no way be injured nor dishonoured. For all the displeasure he re-

ceived by the peoples folly, was in respect of the Commonwealth; because they had put a Sword into

a mad mans hand, in giving Minutius authority to follow his rash humour and fond ambition in the

wars. Wherefore, fearing left he being blinded with vain glory and prefumptuous opinion of him-

felf, should rashly (and upon a head) haften to do some great hurt before he came to the Camp,

he departed fuddenly out of Rome without any mans knowledge, to return again to the Camp

have the authority to command the whole Army when it came to his turn. But Fabius would not

confent to that, but divided the Army between them; thinking it better he should alone command

the one half, then the whole Army by turns. So he chose for himself the first and third Legion;

and gave unto him the second and fourth; and divided also between them the aid of their Friends.

And when Minutius made his boaft, that the Majesty of the highest Magistrates was brought lower

for his fake; Fabius told him, that he might think, if he were wife, he had not to fight with him,

but with Hannibal : and if he would needs contend against his Companion, yet he should have a spe-

cial regard and confideration, that having won now the Citizens good wills, by whom he was fo

much honoured, he should have no less care of their health and safety, then he had, who was now troden under foot, and ill intreated by them. Minutius took his lesson for a counterfeit mock,

after old mens manners and fashion : and so taking the one half of the Army unto him, went and

lodged alone by himself. Hannibal hearing of their jar and squaring together, sought straight

opportunity to make their discord finely to serve his turn. Now there was a hill between both their

Camps not very hard to be won, and it was an excellent place to lodge a Camp fafely in, and was

very fit and commodious for all things. The Fields that were about it, did feem afar off to be very

plain and even ground, because they had no covert of wood to shadow them, yet were there many

ditches and little vallies in them: wherefore Hannibal though he might eafily have taken it at his plea-

fure if he had lifted, did let it alone in the midest between them, for a bait to draw out his enemies

Field, as it fell out indeed. For first Minutius fent thither his light horsemen, and afterwards all his

men at arms : and laftly perceiving that Hannibal himself came to releeve his men that were upon

the hill, he himself marched forward also with all the rest of his Army in order of battel, and gave

a hot charge upon them that defended the hill, to drive them thence. The fight continued equal a

good space between them both , untill such time as Hannibal saw his enemy come directly within his

danger, and shewed the rereward of his battel naked unto his men, whom before he had laid in am-

bush : he straight raised the signal he had given them. They upon that discovered all together, and

with great cries did fet upon the rereward of the ROMANS, and flew a great number of them at the

first charge: and did put the rest in such a sear and disorder, as it is unpossible to express it. Then

was Minutius rash bravery and fond boasts much cooled, whenhe looked first upon one Captain,

then upon another, and faw in none of them any courage to tarry by it, but rather that they were

all ready to run away: which if they had done, they had been cast away every man: for the Nu-

got him to a little hill before his Camp, where when he faw Minutius and all his men compaffed

about on every fide, and even staggering and ready to fly, and heard besides their cries, not like

men that had hearts to fight, but as men scared, and ready to fly for fear to save themselves : he clap-

ped his hand on his thigh, and fetched a great figh, faying to those that were about them: O gods,

how Minutius is gone to cast himself away, sooner then I looked for, and later then he defired : But

in speaking these words, he made his ensigns march on in haste, crying out aloud: O my friends,

we must disparch with speed to succour Minutius : for he is a valiant man of person, and one that

Hannibals craftiness against Fabius.

brought to fight with Hannibal, but by wildom and policy to overthrow him, whereas he himself by Hamibal was first finely handled and deceived. Hamibal then to bring Fabius surther in dishking and furpition with the ROMANS, commanded his Souldiers when they came near any of Fabius Lands, that they should burn and destroy all round about them, but gave them in charge in no

Fabius leaveth the field.

Minutius rathnefs.

wifeto meddle with Fabius Lands, nor any thing of his, and did purpofely appoint a Garrifon to fee that nothing of Fabius should miscarry, nor yet take hurt. This was straight carried to Rome, which did thereby the more incense the people against him. And to help it forward, the Tribunes never ceafed crying out upon him in their Orations to the people, and all by Metellus special procurement and periwation: who of inhielf had no cause to mislike with Fabius, but onely because he was Minutius Kiniman (General of the Horsemen) and thought that the ill opinion they bear to Fabius, would turn to the praise and advancement of Minutius. The Senate also were much offended with Fabius, for the composition he made with Hannibal, touching the Prisoners taking of either fide. For it was Articled between them, that they should change Priloners, delivering Man Fabius changed have not geth Driloners for Man, or elfe two hundred and fifty filver Drachmas for a Man, if the one chanced to have more geth Driloners. getti Prinoners with Prinoners then the other. When exchange was made between them, it appeared that Hannibal had left in his hands of ROMAN Prisoners, two hundred and fourty more then Fabius had to exchange of his. The Senate commanded there should be no Money sent to redeem them, and greatly found fault with Fabins for making this accord: because it was neither honourable nor profitable for the Commonweal, to redeem men that cowardly suffered themselves to be taken Pissoners of their enemies. Fabius understanding it, did patiently bear this displeasure conceived against him by the Senate. Howbeit having no Money, and meaning to keep his word, and not to leave the poor Citizens Priloners behind him : he lent his Son to ROME, with Commission to fell his Lands, and bring him Money immediately. The young man went his way to Rome, and fold his Fathers Farms, and brought him Money forthwith to the Camp: Fabius therewith redeemed the Prifoners, and fent their ranfome unto Hannibal. Many of the Prifoners whom he had redeemed, offered to repay tent their raniome unto Franceson, many of the their raniome transfer in their raniome; but he would never take any thing again, and gave them all their raniome free them. ly. Alterwards being called to Rome by the Priefts to do certain folemn Sacrifices, he left the Army in charge with Minutim to govern the fame in his absence, with condition not to set upon the enemy, nor to fight with him at all: the which not onely by his authority he did exprelly forbid him, but also as his very friend, he did warn and intreat him in no wife to attempt. Howber Minutius little regarding his commandments or requests, so soon as Fabius back was turned, began to be somewhat lufty, and doing with his enemies. So one day amongst the rest, Minutius perceiving Hannibal had fent a great part of his Army abroad to forrage and get victuals, came and fet upon them that remained behind, and drave them into their Camp, with great flaughter, and did put them in a marvellous fear that were faved, as men that looked for no lefs, but to have been befieged in their Camp. Afterwards also, when their whole Army came together again, he retired back in fpight of them all, and loft not a man. This exploit fet Minutius in a pride, and brought the Souldiers to be more rash then they were before. The news of this overthrow went with speed to ROME, and there they made it a great deal more then it was. Fabins hearing of it, faid, he was more alraid of Minutus prosperity, then of his own adversity. But the common people rejoyced Fabius accused marvellously, and made great shew of joy up and down the market-place. Whereupon Mesellus of Treason by one of the Tribunes going up into the Pulpit, made an Oration unto the people, in the which he highly magnified Minutius, and commended his courage: and contrarily charged Fabius no more of cowardlines, but with flat treason. Furthermore, he did accuse the Nobility and greatest men of ROME, faying: that from the first beginning they had laid a Plot to draw these wars out at length, onely to deftroy the peoples power and authority, having brought the whole Commonweal to the flate of a Monarchy, and into the hands of a private perion; who by his remiffeness and delayes, would give Hamibal leifure to plant himself in IT ALY, and by time give open passage to the CAR-THAGINIANS, at their pleasure to fend Hamibal a second and Army, to make a sul conqueft of all ITALY Fabius hearing these words, rose up straight and spake to the people, and tarried not about the answering of the accusations the Tribune had burthened him withall; but prayed them they would dispatch these Sacrifices and Ceremonies of the gods, that he might speedily return again to the Camp, to punish Minutius, for breaking his commandment, in fighting with the enemy. He had no fooner fpoken these words, but there arose a marvellous tumult and hurlyburly presently among the people, for the danger Minutius stood in then, because the Distator had abfolute power and authority to imprifon and put to death whom he thought good, without ordinary course of Law or arraignment. Moreover, they did judge, since Fabius had of late less his accustomed mildness and affability, that he would grow to such severity in his anger, that it would be a hard thing to appeale him. Wherefore every man held his peace for fear, faving onely Metellus the Tribune: hehaving authority by vertue of his Office, to fay what he thought good, and who one ly of all other kept still his place and authority, when any Distrator was chosen. Then all the Officers that were put down, instantly belought the people not to forfake Minnius, nor to suffer the like The cruelty of to be done to him, as Manlius Torquatus did of late to his Son, who strook off his head, after he had valiantly fought with his enemies and overcome them, for breaking his commandment. And began to periwade them further, to take this tyrannical power of the Dictatorship from Fabius; and to put their affairs into the hands of him, that would and could tell how to bring them fairly to pals. The people were tickled marvelloully with these feditious words, but yet they durft not force Fabius to refign his Dictatorship, though they bare him great grudge, and were angry with him in their hearts. Howbeit they ordained, that Minutius thenceforth should have equal power and authority with the Dictator in the wars; a thing that was never feen nor heard of before, and yet the The Dictator very fame done in that fort again, after the battel of CANNES. For Marcus Junius being at that and General

very tame done in that tort again, after the batter of CANNES. For Markey James being at that of the Hofe-time Distance in the Camp, they did choic another Distance in Rome, which was Fabius Butes, to men made e-Name and create new Senators in the place of those that were slain in the battel. But after he had qual in authonamed them, and reftored the full number again of the Counfel of the Senate, he discharged the riev.

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or dishonour him at all. But as wise Diogenes answered one that said unto him, Look, they mock Diogenes thee : Tufh (faid he) they mock not me : meaning thereby, that he took them to be mocked, words,

where he found Minutius so proud and stout, that he was not to be dealt with. For he would needs Minutius reides

to battel. Now when Hannibal faw Fabius and Minutius lodged afunder, he placed certain-bands Hannibal laid in the night among those ditches and vallies. Afterwards the next morning by break of day, he fent amouth for a small number of men openly to win this hill : hoping by this policy to train Minutius out to the Minntius.

ftraglers that fled. Minutius Souldiers being brought to this danger and diffres, which Fabius Fabius fore-

MIDIANS finding they were the stronger, did disperse themselves all about the plain, killing all for faw they would fall into, and having upon this occasion his Army ready ranged in order of battel, fight in the to see what would become of Minutius, not by report of Messengers, but with his own eyes : he

Manlins Torgustus to his Son after his victory.

Fabius rescueth Minutius General of the Horfemen.

delty of Fabins. Minutius Oration to his Souldiers.

knowledging

The rashness milius Con-

loveth the honour of his Countrey. And though with overmuch hardiness he hath ventured too far, and made a fault, thinking to have put the enemies to flight: time ferveth not now to accuse him, we will tell him of it hereafter. So he prefently brake the NUMIDES, and dispersed them, that lay waiting in the fields for the ROMANS, which they thought would have fled. Afterwards he went further, and did fet upon them that had given charge upon the rereward of Minutius battel, where he flew them that made head against him. The relidue, fearing lest they should fall into the danger they had brought the ROMANS unto: before they were invironed in of all fides, did turn uanger mey nau wought in Now Hannibal feeing this charge, and confidering how Fabius in person, rail straight to Fabius. Now Hannibal seeing this charge, and confidering how Fabius in person, with more courage then his age required, did make a lane in the middeft of those that fought against when more countries and the fide of the bill, to come to the place where Minutius was : he made the battel to ceale, and commanded to found the retreat, and fo drew back his men again into his Camp, the ROMANS being very glad also they might retire with fafety. They say Hamibal in his retiring, faid merrily The great mo- to his friends: Have not I told you (Sirs) many a time and oft, of the hanging cloud we faw on the top of the mountains, how it would break out in the end with a tempest that would fall upon us? After this battel, Fabius having stript those that were left dead in the field, retired again to his own Camp, and spake not an ill word of Minutius his companion. Minutius then being come to his Camp, affembled his Souldiers, and spake thus to them: My friends, not to err at all, enterprising great matters, it is a thing passing mans nature : but to take warning hereafter, by faults that are paft and done, it is the part of a wife and valiant man. For my felf, I acknowledge I have no less The wildom of occasion to praise Fortune, then I have also cause to complain of her. For that which long time could never teach me, I have learned by experience in one little piece of a day; and that is this; That I am not able to command, but am my felf fitter to be governed and commanded by another: and that I am but a fool to stand in mine own conceit, thinking to overcome those, of whom it is more honour to me to confeis my felf to be overcome: Therefore I tell you, that the Dillator Fabits henceforth shall be he, who alone shall command you in all things. And to let him know that we do all acknowledge the favour which we have prefently received at his hands, I will lead you to give him thanks, and will my felf be the first man to offer to obey him in all that he shall command me. These words being spoken, he commanded his Ensign-bearers to follow him, and he himself marched formost towards Fabius Camp. When he came thither, he went directly to the Distances Tent: Whereat every man wondered, not knowing his intent. Fabius came out to meet him, Minutius after he had fet down his Enfigus at his feet, faid with aloud voice; O Father; and his fouldiers unto Fabius souldiers; O Masters: which name the bondmen that are infranchised, do use to them that have manumiffed them. Afterwards every man being filent, Minutius began aloud to fay untohim: My Lord Diffator, this day you have won two victories: the one of Hannibal, whom valiantly you have overcome : the fecond , of my felf your companion , whom also your wisdom and goodnels hath vanquished. By the one you have faved our lives; and by the other, you have and goodings that variquities. So have we also been overcome in two forts; the one by Hammbal to our shame, wifely taught us. So have we also been overcome in two forts; and the other by your felf, to our honour and prefervation. And therefore do I now call you my Father, finding no other Name more honourable to call you by, wherewith I might honour you: acknowledging my felf more bound unto you for the prefent grace and favour I have received of you, then unto my natural Father that begot me. For by him onely I was begotten; but by you, mine, and all these honest Citizens lives have been faved. And having spoken these words, he embraced Fabins; and fo did the Souldiers also, heartily embrace together, and kiss one another. Thus the joy was great throughout the whole Camp, and one was fo glad of another, that the tears trickled down their cheeks for joy. Now when Fabius was afterwards put out of his Office of Dictatorship, there were new Consuls chosen again: the two first followed directly Fabius former order he had begun: for they kept themselves from giving Hannibal any battel, and did alwaies fend aid to their subjects and friends, to keep them from rebellion, untill that Terentius Varro (a man of mean birth, and known to be very bold and rash) by flattering of the people, wan credit among them to be made Conful. Then they thought that he by his rashness and lack of experience, would incontinently Terential Var hazard battel, because he had cried out in all the assemblies before, that this war would be ever-77, Paulus Ja. lafting, folong as the people did chuic any of the Fabians to be their Generals: and vaunted himfelf openly, that the first day he came to see his enemies, he would overthrow them. In giving out these brave words, he affembled such a power, that the ROMANS never saw so great a number together against any enemy that they ever had: for he put into one Camp 88000 fighting men. This made Fabins and the other ROMANS, men of great wisdom and judgement, greatly afraid: because Camp under they faw no hope for Rome to rife again, if it fortuned that they should lole so great a number of the same of the sa 73,88000 men. very skilfull and expert in wars, but ill beloved of the common people, whose fury he yet feared, Fabur counted for that they had condemned him a little before to pay a great Fine to the Treasury: and after he to Paulus #had somewhat comforted him, he began to perswade and encourage him to resist the fond rashness of his companion; telling him, that he should have as much to do with Terentius Varro for the preservation and safety of his Countrey, as to fight with Hannibal for desence of the same. For they were both Martiall men, and had both a like desire to fight; the one because he knew not wherein the vantage of his strength confissed, and the other because he knew very well his weakwherein the valuage of this ittenguire of the state of th Farro : for I dare warrant you, if you keep Hannibal from battel but this year, he shall of necessity,

if he tarry, confume himfelf, or else for shame be driven to flie with his Army. And the rather, hecause hitherto (though he seem to be Lord of the Field) never one yet of his enemies came to take his part; and moreover because there remains at this day in his Camp, not the third part of his Army, he brought with him out of his Countrey. Unto these perswasions, the Conful (as it is reported) answered thus : When I look into my self, my Lord Fabiu, me thinks my best way were rather to fall upon the enemies Pikes, then once again to light into the hands and voices of our Citizens. Therefore, fith the estate of the Commonwealth so requireth it, that it behoveth a man to do as you have faid, I will do my best endeavour to shew my felf a wife Captain, for your fake onely, rather then for all other that should advise me to the contrary. And so Paules departed from ROME with this mind. But Terentine his companion would in any case they should command the whole Army by turns, each his day by himself; and went to encamp hard by Hannibal, by the River Aufide, near unto the Village called CANNES. Now when it came to Aufiding fi. his day to command by turns, early in the morning he caused the signal of battel to be set out, which was a Coat-armour of Scarlet in grain, that they did lay out upon the Pavilion of the General: fo that the enemies at the first fight began to be afraid, to fee the lustiness of this new come General, and the great number of Souldiers he had also in his Hoft, in comparison of them that were not half so many. Yet Hannibal of a good courage, commanded every man to arm, and to put themselves in order of battel: and himself in the mean time taking his Horse back, followed with a few, gallopped up to the top of a little hill not very freep, from whence he might plainly discern all the ROMAN'S Camp, and saw how they did range their men in order of battel. Now one Gifcon (a man of like state and Nobility as himself) being with him at that time, told him. that the enemie feemed afar off to be a marvellous number. But Hannibal rubbing his forebead. answered him: Yea, said he, but there is another thing more to be wondred at then you think of Gifcon, Gifcon straight asked him : What ? Marry faith he, this : that of all the great number of Souldiers you see yonder, there is not a man of them called Gifcon as you are. This merry answer delivered contrary to their expectation that were with him, looking for some great weighty matter, made them all laugh. So down the hill they came laughing aloud, and told this pretty jest to all they met as they rode, which straight from one to another ran over all the Camp, infomuch as Hann bal himself could not hold from laughing. The CARTHAGINIAN Souldiers perceiving this, began to be of a good courage, imagining that their General would not be so merrily disposed asto fall a laughing, being so near danger, if he had not perceived himself a great deal to be the stronger, and that he had good cause also to make no reckoning of his enemies. Further- Hannibals strdmore, he shewed two policies of a skilfull Captain in the bastel. The first was, the situation tagents at the of the place, where he put his men in order of battel, so as they had the wind on their backs; battel of which raging like a burning lightning, raised a sharp dust out of the open fandy valley, and passing Cannes. over the CARTHAGINIANS squadron, blew full in the ROMANS faces, with such a violence. that they were compelled to turn their faces, and to trouble their own rankes. The second po- Hannibals orlicy was, the form and order of his battel : for he placed on either fide of his wings, the best and der of battel valiantest Souldiers he had in all his Army; and did fill up the middest of his battel with the worst of at Cannes. his men, which he made like a point, and was farther out by a great deal, then the two wings of the front of his battel. So be commanded those of the wings, that when the ROMANS had broken his first front, and followed those that gave back, whereby the middest of his barrel should leave an hollow place, and the enemies should come in still increasing within the compass of his two wings, that then they should set upon them on both sides, and charge their stankes immediately, and so inclose them in behind. And this was cause of greater slaughter. For when the middle battel began to give back, and to receive the ROMAN'S within it, who pursued the other very horly, Hannibals battel changed her form : and where at the beginning it was like a point, it became now in the middeft like a cressant or half Moon. Then the Captains of the chosen Bands that lay out The staughter in both the wings, made their men to turn, some on their left hand, and some on the right, and char-of the Roman's ged the Roman's on the slankes and behind, where they were all naked; so they killed all those as the battel that could not fave themselves by flying before they were environed. They fay also, that there fell of Cannes. out another mischief by misfortune unto the Horsemen of the ROMANS, and by this occasion. The Horse of Paulus Amilias the Conful being hurt, did throw his Master on the ground: whereupon those that were next him, did light from their Horse backs to help him. The residue of the Horsemen that were a great way behind him, seeing them light, thought they had all been commanded to light: hereupon every man forfook their Horse, and fought it out on foot. Hannibal when he faw that, faid : yea marry, I had rather have them to, then delivered me bound hand and foot. But for these matters the Historiographers do dilate more at large. Furthermore, of the two Confuls, Varro laved himself by his Horse, with a few following him, within the City of VENUSA. Paulus being in the middeft of the throng of all the Army, his body full of Arrows that stuck fast in Paulus Amihis wounds, and his heart fore loden with grievous forrow and anguish, to fee the overthrow of his line flain at the men; was fet down by a Rock, looking for some of his enemies to come and rid him out of his battel of Can-Pain. But few could know him, his head and face was on fuch a gore bloud; infomuch as his friends and fervants also passed by thim and knew him not. And there was bur one young Gentleman of a Noble house of the Patricians, called Cornelius Lentulus, thatknew him, who did his best endeayour to fave him. For he lighted on foot prefently, and brought him his Horse, praying him to

get up upon him, to prove if he could fave himself for the necessity of his Countrey, which now

intreaty, and compelled him to take his Horfe back again, though the tears ran down the checks

for pity: and raifing himfelf up to take him by the hand, he faid unto him: I pray you tell Fabius

Maximus from me, and witness with me, that Paulus emilius even to his laft hour hath fol-

lowed his countel, and did never fwerve from the promife he made him: but that first he was forced

to it by Varro, and afterwards by Hannibal. When he had delivered these words, he bad Lennding

farewell : and running again into the fury of the flaughter, there he died amongst his slain com-

panies. It is thought there were flain at this battel Fifty thoufand ROMANS, and Four thou-

fand taken Prifoners, and other Ten thousand that were taken Prifoners in two Camps after the

battel. When this noble victory was gotten, Hannibals friends gave him counfel to follow his

good fortune, and to enter Roms after the scattered number that fled thither, so as within sew

days following he might sup in their Capitol. A man cannot easily guess what was the cause that

flayed him, that he went not, unless it was (as I think) some good fortune, or favourable God

trayed thus, that he went not, unucion was (as I think) tome good rottime, of favourable God toward the ROMAN's that withflood him, and made him afraid and glad to retire. Whereupon

they say, that one Barca a CARTHAGINIAN, in his anger said to Hannibal; Sir, you have the way

to overcome, but you cannot use victory. Notwithstanding, this victory made a marvellous change

for him, for hereupon, all ITALY in manner came in to fubmit themselves to him, where before he

had no Town at commandment, nor any storehouse or Port through all ITALY : yea he did mar-

vellors hardly, and with much ado victual his Army with that he could daily rob and spoil, ha-

ving no certain place to retire unto, nor grounded hope to entertain these wars, but kept the

field with his Army, removing from place to place, as they had been a great number of murtherers

and thieves together. For the most part of the Countrey did yeeld immediately unto him: as the

City of CAPUA, being the chiefest and greatest City of all ITALY but ROME, and did receive

Hamibal, and were at his devotion. Thus we may plainly fee, that as the Poet Euripides faith; It is a great mischief not onely to be driven to make triall of friends, but proof also of Captains

50000 Remans flain at the battel of

> All Italy revolted and **f**ubmitted

themselves to

at Cannes.

Fabius order for mourning.

at Cannes.

wildom. For that which before they accounted cowardlines and faint heart in Fabius, immediately after the battel, they thought it more then mans reason, and rather an heavenly wisdom and influence, that fo long forciaw the things to come, which the parties felves that afterwards felt them, gave little credit unto before. Upon this occasion, ROME reposed incontinently all their hope and trust in Fabius, and they repaired to him for counsel, as they would have ran unto some Temple or Altar for fanctuary. So as the first and chiefest cause of staying the people together from dispersing themselves abroad, as they did when Rome was taken by the Gauls, was the onely opinion and confidence they had in Fabius wildom. For where before he feemed to be a coward and timerous, when there was no danger nor misfortune happened; then when every man wept and cried out for forrow, which could not help, and that all the world was fo troubled that there was no order taken for any thing, he contrarily went alone up and down the City very modeftly, with a bold constant countenance, speaking courteously to every one, and did appeale their womanish cris and lamentations, and did forbid the common affemblies and fond ceremonies, of lamenting the dead corfe at their burials. Then he perswaded the Senate to assemble in countel, and did comfort up those that were Magistrates, and he alone was the onely force and power of the City: for there was not a man that bare any Office, but did caft his eye upon Fabius, to know what he should do. He it was that caused the gates of the City straight to be warded, and to keep those in for going their trancy arer
the overthrow
are Games.

It was that cancer the games of the City. He moreover did appoint the time and place of mourning of Games. ing, and did command who oever was disposed to mourn, that he should do it privately in his own house, and to continue onely but thirty days. Then he willed all mourning to be left off, and that the City might be clean from such unclean things. So the Feast of Ceres falling about that time, he thought it better to leave off the Sacrifices and Proceffion which they were wont to keep on Ceres day; then by their small number that were left, and forrow of those that remained, to let their enemies understand their exceeding great loss: For the gods delight to be served with glad and rejoycing hearts, and with those that are in prosperity. But all this notwithstanding, whatsoever the Priests would have done, either to pacifie the wrath of the gods, or to turn away the threatnings of these similter signs, it was forthwith done. For they did send to the Oracle of Apollo in the City of DELPHOS, one of Fabius Kinsmen surnamed Pittor. And two of the Vestal Nuns being defloured, the one was buried alive according to the Law and cuftom, and the other made her felf the correttion away. But herein the great courage and noble clemency of the Romans is marvelloully to be noted and regarded; For the Conful Terentius Varro, returning back to Rome, with the shame of his extream misfortune and overthrow, that he durft not look upon any man; the Senate notwithflanding, and all the people following them, went to the gates of the City to meet him, and did honourably receive him. Nay further, those that were the chief Magistrates and Senatours, among whom Fabius was one, when filence was made, they commended Varro much because he did not despair of the preservation of the Commonweal after so great calamity, but did return again to the City, to help to reduce things to order, in using the authority of the Law, and the service of the Citizens, as not being altogether under foot, but standing yet in reasonable terms of good recovery. But when they underflood that Hannibal after the battel was gone into other parts of ITALY, then they began to be of good cheer again, and fent a new Army and Generals to the field, among which the two chief Generals were Fabius Maximus, and Claudius Marcellus, both which by contrary means in manner, wan alike glory and reputation. For Marcellus (as we have declared in his Life) was a man of speedy execution, of a quick hand, of a valiant nature, and a right martial man, as Homer calleth them that valiantly put themselves in any danger : by reason whereof, having to deal with another Captain alike venturous and valiant as himself, in all service and execution, he shewed the self boldness and courage that Hannibal did. But Fabine persisting still upon his first determination, did hope that though he did not fight with Hannibal, nor ftir him at all, yet continual wars would confume him and his Army in the end, and bring them both to nought; as a common wrestler that forceth his body above his natural strength, doth in the end become a lame and bruised man : Hereupon Possidonius writeth, that the one was called the Romans Sword, Possidonius and the other their Target. And that Fabius constancy and resoluteness in wars to fight with se-words of Facurity, and to commit nothing to hazard and danger, being mingled with Marcellus heat and fury. bius and Marwas that onely which preferred the Romans Empire. For Hannibal meeting always in his way collus. the one that was furious as a strong running stream, found that his Army was continually turmovled and overhurried; and the other that was flow as a little pretty River, he found that his Army ran foftly under him without any noyle, but yet continually by little and little it did ftill confume and diminish him, untill he saw himself at the last brought to that pass, that he was weary of fighting with Marcellus, and afraid of Fabins, because he fought not. For during all the time of thele wars, he had ever these two Captains almost against him, which were made either Prætors, Confuls or Proconfuls, for either of them both had been five times before chosen Conful. Yet as for Marcellus, Hamibal had laid in ambush for him in the fift and last year of his Confulship, where he Marcellus slain fet upon him on a fudden, and flew him. But as for Fabins, he laid many baits for him, and did by an ambuth what he could by all the skill and reach he had, by ambushes, and other warlike policies to entrap of Hannibals. him, but he could never draw him within his danger. Howbeit at one time he put him to a little trouble, and was in good hope then to have made him fall upon his ambush he had laid for him, and this policy : He had counterfeited Letters written and fent unto him from the City of METAPONT. to pray him to come to them, and they would deliver their City into his hands; and withall, that Hannibals and fuch as were privy to the contents of the same, desired no other thing but his repair thither. These Fabius. Letters prettily quickened Fabius, infomuch as he was determined one night to have taken part of his Army, and to have gone to them : but because the figns of the Birds did promise him no good fuccels, he left off his purpole. Soon after he understood they were counterfeit Letters, made by Hannibals fine device to have drawn him our, and to have entrapped him, for whom himself lay in person in ambush near the City, looking and waiting for his coming : but the gods who would have him faved, were onely to be thanked for his happy fcape. Furthermore concerning the revolt of the Cities that were subject unto him, and the rifing of their allies and friends against them; Fabius lening thought it far better to entreat them curteoully, making them ashamed without occasion to rebell in correcting against them, rather than openly to suspect them, and to deal straightly with those that were so to of faults. be suspected. Now for this matter, it is reported that Fabius had a Souldier in his Camp that was a MARSIAN born by Nation, a valiant man of his person, and also of as Noble a House as any that were of all the allies of the ROMANS; who had practifed with other his fellows of the Band he ferved in to go ferve the enemy. Fabins hearing of this practife he went about, gave him no ill countenance for it, but calling him to him, he faid : I must confess there is no reckoning made of you, as your good fervice doth deferve; wherefore for this time (faith he) I blame the petty Note how F4-Captains onely, which in such fort do bestow their good will and favour at adventure, and not by bias reclaimed delert : But henceforth it shall be your own fault if you do not declare your mind unto me , and an evil Soulbetween you and me make me privy of your lack and necessity. When he had spoken these words dier. to him, he gave him a very good Horse for service, and did reward him with other honourable gifts, as men of good fervice and defert have commonly bestowed on them. And this did so encourage his Souldiers thenceforth, that he became a very faithfull and ferviceable Souldier to the ROMANS. For Fabius thought it more fit, that hunters, riders of Horses, and such like as take upon them to tame bruit beafts, should sooner make them leave their savage and churlish nature by gentle usage and manning of them, then by beating and shackling of them. And so a Governour of Men, should rather correct his Necessary Souldiers by patience, gentleness and elemency, then by rigor, violence or severity: Otherwise he should Rules for a handle them more rudely and sharply then Husbandmen do Fig-trees, Olive-trees and wild Pomegranates; who by diligent pruning and good handling of them, do alter their hard and wild nature, and cause them in the end to bring forth good Figs, Olives and Pomegranates. Another time certain Caprains of his brought him word, that there was one of their Souldiers which would ever go out of the Camp, and leave his Enfign. He asked them, what manner of man he was: They anfwered him all together, that he was a very good Souldier, and that they could hardly find out such another in all their Bands as he : and therewithall they told him of fome notable fervice they had feen him do in person. Whereupon Fabius made a diligent enquiry to know what the cause was that made him go fo oft out of the Camp : in the end he found he was in love with a young Woman, and that to go fee her was the cause he did so oft leave his Ensign, and did put his life in so great danger, for that the was to far off. When Fabius understood this, he fent certain Souldiers (unknowing to the Souldier) to bring the Woman away he loved, and willed them to hide her in his Tent; and then called he the Souldier to him, that was a Lucanian born, and taking him aside, said unto him thus : My friend, it hath been told me, that thou haft lyen many nights out of the Camp, against the Law of Arms and Order of the ROMANS; but therewithall I understand also that

otherwise thou art an honest man, and therefore I pardon thy faults past, in consideration of thy

How Fabius again.

good service : but from henceforth I will give thee in custody to such a one, as shall make meaccount of thee. The Souldier was blanke when he heard these words. Fabius with that, caused the Woman he was in love with to be brought forth, and delivered her into his hands, faying unto him: This Woman hereafter shall answer me thy body to be forthcoming in the Camp amongst us : and from henceforth thy deeds shall winess for the rest, that thy love unto this Woman, may be no cloke for thy departing out of the Camp for any wicked practife or intent. Thus much we find written concerning this matter. Moreover, Fabisa after fuch a fort recovered again the City of TAREN-Tum, and brought it to the obedience of the ROMANS, which they had loft by treason. It fortune, and brought to the tuned there was a young man in his Camp, a TARENTINE born, that had a Sifter within Tatuned there was a young RENTUM, which was very faithfull to him, and loved him marvellous dearly: now there was a Captain, a BRUTIAN born, that fell in love with her, and was one of those to whom Hannibal had committed the charge of the City of TARENTUM. This gave the young Souldier the Tanau communicum in charge of the carry of the control of the carry services and the carry services are carry services and the carry services and the carry services are carry services are carry services and the carry services are carry services are carry services are carry services and the carry services are carry servines are carry services are carry services are carry services are vealed his intent to Fabius, and with his privity Hed from his Camp, and got into the City of Ta-RENTUM, giving it out in the City, that he would altogether dwell with his Sifter. Now for a few days at his first coming the Brut IAN Captain lay alone by himself, at the request of the maidhis Sifter, who thought her Brother had not known of her love; and shortly after the young fellow took his Sifter afide, and faid unto her: My good Sifter, there was a great speech in the Ro-MANS Camp, that thou wert kept by one of the chiefest Captains of the Garrison: 1 pray the if it be fo, let me know what he is; for fo he be a good fellow, and an honeft man (as they lay he is) I care not : for wars that turneth all things topfi-turvy, regardeth not of what place or calling he is of , and ftill maketh vertue of necessity, without respect of shame. And it is a special good fortune, at such time as neither right nor reason rules, to happen yet into the hands of a good and gracious Lord. His Sifter hearing him speak these words, fent for the BRUTIAN Captain, to bring him acquainted with her Brother, who liked well of both their loves, and endeavoured himself to frame his Sifters love in better fort towards him, then it was before: by reason whereof, the Captain also began to trust him very much. So this young TARENTINE faw it was very easie to win and turn the mind of this amorous and mercinary man, with hope of great gifts that were promifed him, and Fabius should perform. Thus do the most part of writers set down this story. Howbeit fome writers fay, that this Woman who wan the BRUTIAN Captain, was not a TAREN-TINE, but a BRUTIAN born, whom Fabius it is said, kept afterwards for his Concubine, and that the understanding the Captain of the Brutians (who lay in garrifon within the City of TARENTUM) was also a Brutian born, and of her own native Countrey, made Fabius Tarenium won privy to her intent, and with his confent, the coming to the walls of the City, fpake with this Bru-TIAN Captain, whom the handled in fuch fort, that they wan him. But whileft this gere was a brewing, Fabius, because he would train Hannibal out of those quarters, wrote unto the Souldiers of RHEGIO, which belonged to the ROMANS, that they should enter the borders of the Bru-TIANS, and lay fiege to the City of CAULONIA, and raze it to the ground. These RHEGIAN Souldiers were about the number of Eight thouland, and the most of them Traitors and runagates from one Camp to another : and the worst fort of them and most defamed of life, were those that Marcellus brought thither out of SICILE, fo that in losing them all, the loss were nothing to the Commonwealth, and the forrow much less. So Fabins thought, that putting these sellows out for a prey to Hannibal (as a stale to draw him from those quarters) he should pluck him by this means from TARENTUM; and so it came to pass. For Hannibal incontinently went thence with his Army to entrap them : and in the mean time Fabius went to lay fiege to TARENTUM, where he had not lien fix days before it, but the young man (who together with his Sifter had drawn the BRUTIAN Captain to this treason) stole our one night to Fabius, to inform him of all, having taken very good marks of that fide of the wall the BRUTIAN Captain had taken charge of, who had promifed him to keep it fecret, and to fuffer them to enter that came to affault that fide. Yet Fabius would not ground his hope altogether upon the BRUTTANS executing this treason, but went himself in person to view the place appointed, howbeit without attempting any thing for that time: and in the mean feason, he gave a general affault to all parts of the City (as well by sea as by Land) with great shouts and cries. Then the BRUTIAN Captain seeing all the Citizens and garrifons run to that part where they perceived the noise to be greatest, made a signall unto Fabius, that now was the time. Who then caused scaling ladders to be brought a pace, whereupon himself with his company scaled the walls, and so wan the City. But it appeared here, that ambition overcame him: for first he commanded they should kill all the BRUTIANS, because it should not be known he had won the City by treason. But this bloudy policy failed him: for he miffed not onely of the glory he looked for, but most deservedly he had the reproach of cruelty and falsshood. At the taking of this (ity, a marvellous number of the TARENTINES were flain, besides there were fold Thirry thousand of the chiefest of them, and all the City was facked: and of the spoil there was carried to the common store treasure at Rome Three thousand Talents. It is reported also, that when they did spoil and carry away all other spoils lest behind, the Recorder of the City asked Fabius, what his pleasure was to do with the gods, meaning the Tables, and their Images: and to that Fabius answered him, Let us leave the TARENTINES their gods that be angry with them. This notwithflanding, he carried from thence Hercules statue, that was of a monstrous bigness, and caused it to be set up in the Capitol, and withall did set up his own Image in brass on horseback by him.

Fabius took the City of Tarentum. Fabius ambifoul murder.

But in that act he shewed himself far harder hearted than Marcellus had done, or to say more truly, thereby he made the world know how much Marcellus courtefie, clemency, and bounty was to be wondred at, as we have written in his Life. News being brought to Hannibal, that TARENTUM was belieged, he marched presently with all speed possible to raise the siege: and they say he had almost come in time, for he was within forty furlongs of the City when he understood the troth of the taking of it. Then faid he out aloud, Sure the Romans have their Hannibal too: for as we wan TARENTUM, fo have we loft it. But after that, to his friends he faid plainly (and that was the first time they ever heard him speak it) that he saw long before, and now appeared plainly, that they could not possibly with this small power keep ITALY. Fabius made his Triumph and entry into Rome Fabius second the fecond time, by reason of taking this City: and his fecond Triumph was much more honourable Triumph. than the first, as of a valiant Captain that held out still with Hannibal, and easily met with all his fine policies, much like the flight tricks of a cunning wreftler, which carried not now the former roughness and strength any more, because that his Army was given to take their ease, and grown to delicacy, partly through the great riches they had gotten, and partly also for that it was fore wasted and diminished, through the sundry soughten battles and blows they had been at. Now there was one Mar-CIL LIVIM a ROMAN, that was Governous of TARENTUM at that time when Hannibal took it. and nevertheless kept the Castle still out of Hannibals hands, and so held it still untill the City came again into the hands of the ROMANS. This Livius spited to see such honour done to Fabius, so that one day in open Senate, being drowned with envy and ambition, he burst out and said: that it that one day in open schae, that was cause of taking of the City of TARENTUM again. Fabius smiling Fabius with was minion, not a word, man you fall thou fayeft true, for if thou hadft not loft it, I had never Answer. won it again. But the ROMANS in all other respects did greatly honour Fabius, and specially for that they chose his Son Consul. He having already taken possession of his Office, as he was dispatching certain causes touching the Wars, his Father (whether it was for debility of his age, or to prove his Son) took his horse to come to him, and rode through the press of the people that thronged about him, having business with him. But his Son seeing him coming afar off, would not fuffer it, but fent an Officer of his unto him, to command him to light off his horfe, and to come on foot if he had any thing to do with the Conful. This commandment milliked the people that heard A ftrange comon toot it he nad any rning to up what the Conful the and they all looked upon Fabius, but faid not a word: thinking with themselves, that the Conful the Son to the did great wrong to his Fathers greatness. So he lighted straight, and went a good round pace to em- Fathe brace his Son, and faid unto him; You have reason Son, and do well to shew over whom you com- The Father of mand, understanding the authority of a Consul, which place you have received : For it is the direct beyeth his Sona course, by the which we and our ancestors have encreased the Roman Empire : preferring ever the honour and state of our Countrey, above Father, Mother or Children. And truly they fay, that Fabius him. Great-Grandfather, being the greatest and most Noble person of ROME in his time, having five times been Conful, and had obtained many Triumphs, for divers Honourable and fundry Victories he had won : was contented after all thefe, to be his Sons Lieutenant, and to go to the wars with him, he being chosen Conful. And last of all, the Conful his Son returning home to ROME a Conquerour. inhistriumphing Chariot drawn with four Horses, he followed him on Horseback also, in troop with the reft; thinking it honour to him, that having authority over his Son in the right of a Father, and being also the Noblett Man of all the Citizens, so taken and reputed, nevertheless he willingly submitted himself to the Law and Magistrate, who had authority of him. Yet besides all this, he had far more excellent vertues to be had in admiration, than those already spoken of. But it fortuned that this Son of Fabius died beforehim, whose death he took patiently, like a wise man, and a good Father. Now the custom being at that time, that at the death of a Noble man, their nearest Kinfman should make a Funeral Oration in his praise at their Obsequies : he himself made the same Oration in honour of his Son, and did openly speak it in the Market-place, and moreover wrote it, and delivered it out abroad. About this time, Cornelius Scipio was sent into SPAIN, who drave out the CARTHAGINIANS from thence, after he had overthrown them in many battles, and had conquered many great Cities, and greatly advanced the honour and estimation of the state of Rome: for the which at his return, he was as much, or rather more honoured, beloved and efteemed, than any other that was in the City of ROME. Hereupon Scipio being made Conful, confidered that the peo- Scipio Conful, ple of ROME looked for some great matter at his hands, above all other. Therefore he thought, to take upon him to fight against Hannibal in ITALY, he should but sollow the old manner, and tread too much in the steps of the old man : whereupon he resolved immediately to make wars in Africk, and to burn and destroy the Countrey even unto CARTHAGE gates, and so to transfer the wars out of ITALY into LYBIA, procuring by all possible device he could, to put it into the peoples heads, and to make them like of it. But Fabius contrarily, perswading himself that the enterprize this young Fabius was arash youth took in hand, was utterly to overthrow the Commonweal, or to put the State of ROME rain youth took in hand, was utterly to overthrow the Commonweal, or to put the State of ROME gainft the in great danger: deviled to put ROME in the greatest fear he could possible, without sparing speech counsel and or deed he thought might serve for his purpose, to make the people change from that mind. Now he device of Scicould so cunningly work his purpose, what with speaking and doing, that he had drawn all the Senate pio African. to his opinion. But the people judged, it was the fecret envy he bare to Scipio's glory, that drew him to encounter this device, onely to blemish Scipio's Noble fortune; fearing, left if he should happen to do some honourable service (as to make an end altogether of this war, or otherwise to draw Hannibal out of ITALY) that then it would appear to the world, he had been too foft, or too negligent, to draw this war out to such a length. For my part, methinks the onely matter that moved Fabius

by reason or the great danger depending to fore against him (whether it were through amwards he went further than he should, contending too fore against him (whether it were through amwards he went further than he should, contending too fore against him (whether it were through amwarus ne went nutries main in mount, command to the greatness of Scipio; confidering also he did his bition or oblinacy) feeking to hinder and supprets the greatness of Scipio; confidering also he did his outout or continue y) seeking to immee and appears are greaters at supply a commenting and its daths belt to perfusade Craffus, Scipio's companion in the Confulfhip, that he should not grant unto him the

leading of the Army, but if he thought good to go into AFRICK, to make wars upon the CARTHAleading of the Army, but it ne thought good to go him of Krick, to make wats upon the CARTHA-GINIANS, that he thould rather go himfelf. And moreover, he was the let that they gave him no Money for maintenance of these wars. Scipio hereupon being turned over to his own credit, to surnish himlest as he could, he levied great sums of Money in the Cities of Thus CAN, who for the great love mutett as necrouse, ne review great over they bare him, made contribution towards his journey. And fraffin remained at home, both because they bare him, made contribution towards his journey. they pare unit, many contributions for covetous man of nature; as also, because he was the chiefest Prelate ne was a tort and no amountous not corresponding to the state of the s

home, that had great defire to go this journey with him. For he cryed out with open mouth, in all nome, that has great active to be that Scipio was not contented onely to fly Hamibal, but that he would carry with him befides the whole force of ITALY that remained: alluring the youth with fweet would carry with min believe the minor to leave their Wives, their Fathers, Mothers, and their Counbaits of vain hope, and perfurading them to leave their Wives, trey, even now when their enemy knocked at ROME gates, who did ever conquer, and was never yet conquered. These words of Fabins did so damp the ROMANS, that they appointed Scipio should furnish his journey onely with the Army that was in SICILIA, saving that he might supply to them if he would, three hundred of the best Souldiers that had served him faithfully in Spain. And so it doth would, there into this prefere, that Fabius both did and faid all things according to his wonted manner,

THE COMPARISON OF PERICLES with FABIUS.

Ere have you heard what is written of these two great Persons. And for as much as they have both left behind them, many notable examples of vertue, as well in martial matters, as in civil government, let us begin to compare them together. First of all, Pericles began to govern the Commonweal, at what time the people of ATHENS were in their chiefest prosperity, and of greater power and wealth, than ever they had been of before or fince. The which might feem to be a cause of the continual maintenance of the same in security without danger of falling, not fo much for their worthiness, as for their common power and felici-

ty: where contrariwise Fabius acts fell out in the most dishonourable and unfortunate time that ever happened to his countrey, in which he did not onely keep the City in good frate from declining, but raifed it up, and delivered it from calamity, and brought it to be better than he found it. Furthermore, Cimons great good fortune and success, the victories and triumphs of Myronides, and of Leocrates, and many notable valiant deeds at arms of Tolmides, gave good cause to Pericles, to entertain his City in Feafts and Plays, whileft he did govern the fame ; and he did not find it in fuch ill case and distress, that he was driven to defend it by force of arms, or to conquer that again which before was loft. But Fabius in contrary manner, when he saw before him many overthrows, great flying away, much murder, great flaughters of the Generals of the ROMAN Armies, the Lakes, the Plains, the Woods filled with scattered Men, the people overcome, the Flouds and Rivers running all agore-blood (by reason of the great flaughter) and the stream carrying down the dead bodies to the main sea: cid take in hand the government of his Countrey, and by a course far contrary to all other, he did so underprop and bear up the same, that he kept it from falling flat to the ground, amongst those ruines and overthrows other had brought it to before him. Yet a man may fay also, that it is no matter of so great difficulty to rule a City already brought low by adversity, and which compelled by necessity, is contented to be governed by a wife man: as it is to bridle and keep under the infolency of a people, puft up with pride and prefumption of long prosperity, as Pericles found it amongst the ATHENIANS. The great multitude also of so many grievous calamities as lighted on the ROMANS necks at that time, did plainly thew Fabius to be a grave and conftant man, which would never give way unto the importunate cries of the common people, nor could ever be removed from that he had at the first determined. The winning and recovering again of TARENTUM, may well be compared to the taking of SAMOS, which Pericles wan by force : and the Cities of CAMPANIA, unto the Ille of EUBOEA : excepting the City of CAPUA, which the Confuls Fulvius and Appius recovered again. But it seemeth that Fabius never wan battle, fave that onely for which he triumphed the first time : where Pericles set up nine Triumphs, of Battles and Victories he had won, as well by Sea as by Land. And fo also, they cannot alledge such an act done by Pericles as Fabius did, when he rescued Minutius out of the hands of Hannibal, and saved a whole Army of the ROMANS: which doubtless was a famous act, and proceeded of a noble mind, great wildom, and an honourable heart. But Pericles, again did never commit fo gross an errour as Fabins did, when he was out-reached and deceived by Hannibals fine stratagem of his Oxen: who having found his Enemy by chance to have thut himself up in the straight of a valley, did fusfer him to escape in the night by a subtilty, and in the day by plain force: for he was prevented by overmuch delay, and fought withall by him he kept inclosed. Now if it be requisite, a

and high Bilhop, who by the Law of their recingion, was continuous deviling to flay the young men at Bilhop of Rome his labour loft that way, took again another course to cross Scipro, deviling to flay the young men at

appear even to this parents. Now Scipio was no fooner arrived in Africk, but news were brought to and natural uniposition.

None incontinently, of wonderfull exploits, and noble fervice done beyond measure; and of great ROME incomments, or women the profess, and more retrice wine or your meanine; and or great spoils taken by him, which argued the troth of the news. As, the King of the Numidians taken Pri-The famous Affice by Sci- spoils taken by him, which argued the troth of the news. As, the same of the speak of the enemies burnt and destroyed at a time, with loss of a great number of people, pio Africant. Soner, two Camps of the enemies burnt and destroyed at a time, with loss of a great number of people, pio Africant. Soner, two Camps of the enemies burnt and destroyed at a time, with loss of a great number of people, auter, two camps of the chemics business and states of the states and Pofts for life running in the neck one of armor and housesthat were confumed in the same: Letters and Pofts for life running in the neck one of another from Cart Hage to call Hamibal home, and to pray him to hunt no longer after vain hope

that would never have end, hafting himfelf with all ipeed positible to come to the refere of his Country. that would never have that, matching mained with an appear pointed to the return of the country. These wonderfull great fortunes of Scipio, made him of such renown and fame within Rome, that there was no talk but of Scipio. Fabius notwithstanding desisted not to make a new request, being of opinions to the scipio. nion they should send him a Successor; alledging no other cause nor reason, but a common speech of every body; that it was a dangerous thing to commit to the fortune of one man alone, fo great exceedcrety buy; that it was a was because it is a rare matter to see one man happy in all things. These ing prosperity and good success, because it is a rare matter to see one man happy in all things. These words did fo much mislike the people, that they thought him an envious troubletome man, or elfe they worms use to much immed him fearful; and that his courage failed with his firength, fearing Hannibal mought in age that many time treating, and though Hamibal was forced to leave IT ALY, and to remove doubtfully than he needed. For now though Hamibal was forced to leave IT ALY, and to return into Africk, yet Fabius would not grant, that the peoples joy and fecurity they thought they were in, was altogether clear, and without tear and miftruft; but gave it out, that then they were in greateft danger, and that the Commonweal was breeding more mitchief now than before. For when Hannibal (laid be) (hall return home into Africk, and come before Carthage walls, the Ro-MANS shall be less able to abide him there, then they have been before: and Scipio moreover shall meres than the ten above a some man mere, that the bloud of fo many Prætors, Diceators, and Conmeet with an Army yetwarm, and embrued with the bloud of fo many Prætors, Diceators, and Confuls of Rome, which they have overcome, and put to the Sword in ITALY. With these uncomfortable speeches, he ftill troubled and disquieted the whole City, perswading them that notwithstanding the war was transferred out of ITALY into Africx, yet that the occasion of fear was no less near unto ROME, than it was ever before. But within fhort space after, Scipio having overcome Hannibal unto Mona, main was trained and trodden under foot the glory and pride of Carthage, he brought a greater joy to Rome than they ever looked for ; And by this noble victory of his, he railed up again the declining state of the Empire of Rome, which a little before was falling downright. Howbeit Fabius lived not to the end of this War, nor ever heard while he lived the joyfull news of Hannibals happy overthrow, neither were his years prolonged to fee the happy affured prosperity of his Country, For about that time that *Hannibal* departed out of ITALY, a fickness took him, whereof he died. The stories declare that the THE BANS buried Epaminondas at the common charges of the people; be cause he died in fo great poverty, that when he was dead, they found nothing in the house but a little The death of iron fpit. Now the ROMAN'S buried not Fabius fo at the common charge of the City, but every man of benevolence gave towards his Funeral charge, a piece of coin that carried the leaft value of their cur-The Funerals rant money, not for that he lacked ability to bring him to the ground, but onely to honour his memory, in making his obsequies at their charges, as of one that had been their common Father. So had his vertuous life an honourable end and buriall.

of Fabius.

The End of Fabius Maximus Life.

PERICLES and FABIUS.

The faults of Generals.

Pericles and vil govern-

The compari-

good Captain do not onely use well what he hath in his hands, but that he wisely judge also what will The gift of a follow after, then the wars of the ATHENIANS fell out in fuch fort, as Pericles faid they would come good General. to pass: for with ambition to embrace too much, they overthrew their estate. But the ROMANS contratiwife, having fent Scipio into AFRICK to make wars with the CARTHAGINIANS, wan all that they took in hand: where their General did not overcome the enemy by fortune, but by valiantness. So that the wildom of the one is winneffed, by the ruine of his Countrey; and the error of the other teftified, by the happy event of that he would have let. Now the fault is alike in a General, to fall into danger, for lack of forecast: as for cowardliness to let slip a fit opportunity offered, to do any notable piece of fervice. For like default and lack of experience maketh the one too hardy, and the other too fearfull. And thus much touching the wars. Now for civil government : it was a foul blot to Pericles, to be the author of wars. For it is thought, that he alone was the cause of the same, for that he Fernics and Fabius for ci- Would not have them yield to the LACEDEMONIANS in any respect. And yet methinks Fabius Mawould not use the state of the CARTHAGINIANS, but flood firm and bold in all danger to maintain the Empire of his Country against them. But the goodness and clemency Fabius shewed unto Minutius, doth much commend Pericks acculations and practiles, against Cimon and Thucydides: both of them being Nobleand good men, and taking part with the Nobility, whom he expuled out of ATHENS, and banished for a time. So was Pericles power and authority in the Commonweal greater : by reason whereof he did ever foresee, that no General in all his time did rashly attempt any thing hurtfull unto the Commonweal, except Tolmides onely: who fled from him, and in despite of him went to fight with the BOSQTIANS, where he was flain. As for all other Generals, they wholly put themselves into his hands, and did obey him for the greatness of his authority. But Fabius, although for his part he never committed any fault, and that he went orderly to work in all government; yet because he was not of power to keep others from doing ill, it seemeth in this respect he was deper octained in Athens, the Rofective. For if Fabius had carried like authority in Rome, as Pericles did in Athens, the Rofective. MANS had not faln into fo great mifery as they did. And for Liberality, the one shewed it, in refufing the Money offered him: and the other in giving unto those that needed, and redeeming his poor captive Countrey men. And yet Fabius might dispend no great Revenue, for his whole Receits came onely to fix Talents. But for Pericles, it is hard to fay how rich he was, who had coming in to him, great presents by his authority, as well of the Subject, as of the Friends and Allies of the ATHENI-ANS, as also of Kings and frange Princes: yet he never took Bribe for all that of any person living. And to conclude, as for the impusous building of Temples, the stately Works and common Buildings: The Buildings put all the Ornaments together that ever were in ROME, before the times of the Cefars, they are not to be compared with thole, wherewith Perioles did beautifie and adorn the City of ATHENS. For rang comparation, neither in quality nor quantity was there any proportion or like comparation, between the exceeding sumptuousness of the one, and of the other.

THE

THE LIFE OF ALCIBIADES.



Anno Mundi. 3 5 3 2.

LCIBIADES by his Fathers fide, was anciently descended of Eurysaces, that Alcibiades was the Son of Ajax, and by his Mothers fide of Alemaon ; for his Mother Di- flock, nomacha, was the Daughter of Megacles. His Father Clinias having armed and fet forth a Galley at his own proper cofts and charges, did win great honour in the battle by fea, that was fought along the coaft of ARTEMISIUM, and he was flain afterward in another battle fought at CORONEA, against the he was slain afterward in another battle rought as Ondones, Some Aleibiades Turors, were Pericles and Ariphron, Xan-Aleibiades Turors, were Pericles and Ariphron, Xan-Aleibiades Turors.

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tippus Sons: who were all his neer Kinsmen. They say, and truly, that Socrates Tutors. good will and triend thip did greatly further Alcibiades honour. For it appeareth not, neither was it ever written, what were the Names of the Mothers of Nicias, of Demosthenes, of Lamachus, of Phor- The Mothers mion, of Thrasbulus, and of Theramenes; all which were notable famous men in their time. And to of famous men the contrary, we find the Nurse of Alcibiades, that she was a LACEDAMO NIAN born, and was called never known Amicla, and that his Schoolmaster was called Zophyrus : of the which, Antisthenes mentioneth the one, and Plato the other. Now for Alcibiades beauty, it made no matter if we spake not of it, yet I will a Alcibiades little touch it by the way: for he was wonderfull fair, being a Child, a Boy, and a Man, and that at all beauty. times, which made him marvellous amiable, and beloved of every man. For where Euripides faith, Alcibiades lifetimes, which made him marvellous amiable, and beloved of every lital. For which European fall, ed by nature, that of all the fair times of the year, the Autumn or later feation is the faireft: that commonly falleth * The equivonot out true. And yet it proved true in Alcibiades, though in few other; for he was passing fair even cation of these to his latter time, and of good temperature of body. They write of him also, that his tongue was some- two Greek what fat, and it did not become him ill, but gave a certain natural pleasant grace in his talk: which A- words Kee and ristophanes mentioneth, mocking one Theorus that did counterfeit a lisping grace with his tongue : This Alcibiades, with his fat listing tongue,

Into mine ears, thu trusty tale, and Song full often sung : Look, upon Theolus (quoth he) lo there he bows, Behold his comely crow-bright face with fat and * flatling blows. The Son of Clinias, would lift it thus somewhiles, And sure he lisped never a lie, but rightly hit his wiles. And Archippus another Poet also, mocking the Son of Alcibiades, faith thus:

Because he would be like his Father every way, In his long trailing gown he would go jetting day by day. And counterfeit his speech, his countenance and face ; As though dame nature had him given therein a perfect grace; To lift and look afide, and hold his head awry,

Even as his Father look't and lift, so would be prate and pry.

For his manners they altered and changed very oft with time, which is not to be wondred at, seeing his marvellous great prosperity, as also adversity that followed him afterwards. But of all the Alcihialce great desires he had, and that by nature he was most enclined to, was ambition, seeking to have the upper hand in all things, and to be taken for the best person: as appeareth by certain of his deeds, and notable fayings in his youth, extant in writing. One day wreftling with a companion of his, that handled him hardly, and thereby was likely to have given him the fall, he got his fellows arm in his

be expressed in in English, in itead whereof I have fet flatling blows, for flattering brows, observing the grace of lifping as neer as I could like to the Latin and French tranflations, likewife Thealus for Tucoruse

play on the Flute.

mouth, and bit so hard, as he would have easen it off. The other feeling him bite so hard, let go his hold ftraight, and faid unto him: What Aleibiades, biteft thou like a Woman? No marry do Inot(quothhe) but like a Lyon. Another time being but a little boy, he played as Skails in the midft of the street with other of his companions, and when his turn came about to throw, there came a cart laden by chance that way : Alcibiades prayed the carter to flay a while, untill he had played our his game, because the skails were fet right in the high way where the cart should pass over. The carter was a stubborn knave, and would not fray for any request the Boy could make, but drave his Horse on still, in so much as other boys gave back to lethin go on: but Alcibiades fell flat to the ground before the cart, and bad the ther boys gave back to lethin go on: but Alcibiades fell flat to the ground before the cart, and bad the carter drive over and be durft. The carter being afraid, plucked back his Horse to stay them: the Alcibiades flu-neighbours frighted to fee the danger, ran to the boy in all hafte crying our. Afterwards when he was put to school to learn, he was very obedient to all his Masters that taught him any thing, javing that he distance to learn to play on the Flute or Recorder: faying, that it was no gentlemanly quality. For, A vile thing to faidhe, to play on the Viol with a flick, doth not alter mans favour, nor difference any gentleman: but otherwife, to play on the Flute, his couprenance altereth and changeth fo off, that his familiar friends can feant know him. Moreover the Harp or Viol doth not let him that playeth on them, from speaking, or finging as he playeth; where he that playeth on the Flute, holdeth his mouth so hard to it, that it taketh not onely his words from him but his voice. Therefore faid he, let the Children of the THE-BANS play on the Flute, that cannot tell how so speak: as for the ATHENIANS, we have (as our forefathers tell us) for Protecters and Patrons of our Countrey, the goddels Pallas, and the god Apollo: of the which the one in old time (as it is faid) brake the Flute, and the other pulled his skin over his ears, that played on a Flure. Thus Alcibiades alledging these reasons, partly in sport, and partly in good earnest, did not onely himself leave to learn to play on the Flute, but he turned his companions minds also quite from it. For these words of Alcibiades, ran from boy to boy incontinently: that Alcibiades had reason to despite playing on the Flure, and that he mocked all those that learned to play on it. So afterwards, it fell out at ATHENS, that teaching to play on the Flute, was put out of the number of honest and liberal exercises, and the Flute it felf was thought a vile inftrument, and of no reputation. Furthermore, in the acculations Antiphon wrote against Alcibiades, it is declared : that when he was a Roy, he fied our of his tusors house, into the house of Democrates one of his lovers, and how Ariphron one of his twors thought so have made a headle cry him through the City; but Pericle, would not furter him, faying, that if he were dead, they should know it but one day sconer by crying of him: and if he were alive, that is would be furth a frame to him while he lived, that he had bin better he had never been heurd of again. The fame Antiphon accuseth him further, that he had killed a servant of his that attended on hims, in the wraftling place of Sibyrius, with a blow of a staff. But there is no re-fon to credit his writing, who confessed he speaketh all the ill he can of him, for the ill will he did bear him. Now Braight there were many great and rich men that made much of Alcibiades, and were glad Secrettes love to get his good will. But Secretes Love unto him had another end and cause, which wineffed that Alcibiades had a natural inclination to vertue. Who perceiving that vertue did appear in him, and was joyned with the other beauty of his face and body, and fearing the corruption of riches, dignity and authority, and the great number of his companions, as well of the chiefest of the City, as of strangers, feeking to entice him by flattery, and by many other pleafures: he took upon him to Protect him from them all, and not to fuffer to goodly an imp to look the hope of the good fruit of his youth. For fortune doth never to intangle nor frare a man without, with that which they commonly call riches, as to let and hinder him fo, that Philosophy thould not take hold on him with her free, severe and quick reafons. So Alcibiades was at the beginning, affayed with all delights, and thut up as it were in their company that feafted him with all pleasures, onely to turn him that he should not hearken to Socrates words, who fought to bring him up at his charge, and to teach him. But Alsibiades notwithflanding, having a good natural wie, knew what Socrates was, and went to him, refusing the company of all his rich friends and their flatteries, and fell in a kind of familiar friendfhip with Socrates. Whom when he had heard speak, he noted his words very well, that they were no perswasions of a man seeking his dishonefty, but one that gave him good counfel, and went about to reform his faults and imperfections, and to pluck down the pride and prefumption that was in him : then, as the common Proverb faith, Like to the craven Cock, he drooped down his wings,

Which cowardly doth run awey, or from the pit out-flings.

And did think with himself, that all Socrates love and following of young men, was indeed a thing fent from the gods, and ordained above for them, whom they would have preferred, and put into the pathway of honor. Therefore he began to despise himself, and greatly to reverence Socrates, taking pleasure in his good using of him, and much embraced his vertue: fo as he had (he wift not how) an image of love graven in his heart, or rather (as Place faith) a mutual love, to wit, an holy and honest affection towards Socrates. Infomuch as all the world wondred at Alcibiades, to fee him commonly at Socrates hoard, to play, to wreftle, and to lodge in the wars with Socrates: and contrarily to chide his other welwillers, who could not fo much as have a good look at his hands, and befides became dangerous to fome, as it is faid he was unto Anytus, the Son of Anthemion, being one of those that loved him well. Anytus, making good chear to certain strangers his friends that were come to fee him, went and prayed Alcibiades to come and make merry with them : but he refused to go. For he went to make merry with certain of his companions at his own house, and after he had well taken his cups, he went to Anyray house to counterfeit the fool amongst them; and staying at the halldoor, and seeing Anytas table and cupboard full of plate of filver and gold, he commanded his servants to take away half of it, and

carry it home to his house. But when he had thus taken his pleasure, he would come no nearer into the house, but went his way home. Anytus friends and guests milliking this strange part of Alcibiades, said it was shamefully and boldly done to abuse Anytus. Nay, gently done of him, said Anytus : for he hath left us fome, where he might have taken all. All other also that made much of him, he served after that fort, faving a stranger that came to dwell in ATHENS; who being but a poor man as the voice went, fold all that he had, whereof he made about an hundred Stateres, which he brought unto Alcibiades, and prayed him to take it at his hands. Alcibiades began to be merry, and being very glad to understand his good will towards him, took his honest offer, and prayed him to come to supper to him : so he welcomed him very heartily, and made him good chear. When supper was done, he gave him his Money again, and commanded him not to fail the next morning to meet him where the Farms and beral fact. Lands of the City are wont to be let out to those that bid most, and charged him he should outbid all The poor man would fain have excused himself, saying, the Farms were too great for him to hire : But Alcibiades threatned to whip him, if he would not do it : For befides the defire he had to pleafure him, he bare a private grudge against the ordinary Farmers of the City. The next morning the stranger was ready in the market-place, where they did cry out the letting of their Farms, and he raifed one to a Talent more than all other did offer. The other Farmers were as mad with him as could be, that they all did fer upon him, crying out; Let him put in fecurity straight, supposing he could have found none. The stranger was marvellous blank thereat, and began to shrink back. Then cryed Alcibiades our aloud to the Officers that farethere to take the best offers : I will be his furety, faith he, put me in the Book, for he is a friend of mine. The Farmers hearing him fay fo, were at their wits end, and wift not what to do. For they being always accustomed to pay their yearly Rent as it went before, by the help of the reft of the years that followed after : perceiving now that they should not be able to pay the arrearages of the Rent due to the Commonweal, and seeing no other remedy, they prayed him to take a piece of Money, and to leave the bargain. Then Alcibiades would in no wife he should take less than a Talent, which they gave him willingly. So Alcibiades suffered the stranger then to depart, and made him gain by his device. Now Socrates love which he bare him, though it had many mighty and great adverfaries, yet it did fray much Alcibiades, fometime by gentle nature, fometime by his grave countell and advice : so as the reason thereof took so deep root in him, and did so pierce his heart, that many times the sears ran down his cheeks. Another time also being garried away with the enticement of flatterers, that held up his humour with all pleafure and delights, he stole away from Socrates, and made him run after him to fetch him again, as if he had been a flave Alcibiales ran that had run away from his Mafters house: for Alcibiades flood in awe of no man but Socrates onely. and indeed he did reverence him, and did despite all other. And therefore Cleanthes was wont to fay, that Alcibiades was held of Socrates by the ears ; but that he gave his other lovers hold, which Socrates never fought for: for to fay truly, Alcibiades was much given over to lust and pleasure. And Alcibiades giperadventure it was that Thucydides meant of him, when he wrote that he was incontinent of body, yen to pleafure and diffolute of life. Those that marred Alcibiades quite, did still prick forward his ambition and defire of honour, and did put him in the head to thrust himself into great matters betimes, making him believe that if he did but once begin to shew himself to deal in matters of state, he would not onely blemish and deface all other Governours, but far excell Pericles, in authority and power among the Grecians. For like as Iron by fire is made fost, to be wrought in any form, and by cold also is thur and hardened again : even to Alcibiades being puffed up with vanity and opinion of himself, as oft as Socrates took him in hand, was made fast and firm again by his good perswasions, in so much that when he saw his own fault and folly, and how far wide he had strayed from vertue, he became fuddenly very humble and lowly again. Now on a time when he was grown to mans state, he went into a Grammar School, and asked the School-master for one of Homers books. The School-mafter answered him, He had none of them : Alcibiades up with his fift and gave him a Alcibiales good box on the ear, and went his way. Another Grammarian told him on a time he had Homer flruck a which he had corrected. Alcibiades replyed, Why what meanest thou, to stand teaching little Children Schoolmaster their A, B, C, when thou art able to correct Homer, and to teach young men not boys? Another time because he had be came and knocked at Pericles gate, defirous to speak with him: answer was made him, He was not his School at leifure now, for that he was builty occupied by himself, thinking on his reckonings he had to make with the ATHENIANS. Why, faid he, going his way, it were better he were occupied, thinking how to make no account at all. Moreover, being but a young boy, he was at the journey of POTIDEA, where he lay still with Socrates, who would never let him be from him in all battles and skirmishes he Alcibiades first was in: among which there was one very hot and bloody, where they both fought valiantly, and Alci- Souldier fare biades was hurt. But Socrates stepped before him, and did defend him so valiantly before them all, that with Socrates. he faved him and his weapon out of the enemies hand. So the honour of this fight out of doubt, in ved by Secrater equity and reason, was due unto Socrates: but yet the Captains would fain have judged it on Alcibiades fide, because he was of a Noble house. But Socrates, because he would encrease his desire of honour, and would prick him forward to honest and commendable things, was the very first that witnessed Alcibiades had deferred it: and therefore prayed the Captains to judge him the Crown and compleat armour. Afterwards, in the battle of DELION, the ATHENIANS having received the overthrow, Alcibiales fra Socrates retired with a few other on foot. Alcibiades being on horfeback, and overtaking him, would ved Socrates not go from him, but kept him company, and defended him against a troop of his abenies that followed him, and flew many of his company. But that was a pretty while after, and before he gave a the battle of

box on the ear unto Hipponicus, Callias Father; who was one of the greatest men of power in the Delion.

Alcibiales in-

Alcibiades

married.

ALCIBIADES.

City, being a Noble man born, and of great possessions, which was done upon a bravery and certain buffiness, as having laid a wager with his companions he would do it, and for no malice or quarrell intinets, as naving iaux a wager winting companions in whom a si, and ion in mante or quarrent that he bare the man. This light part was ftraight over all the City, and every one that heard it, faid, that he pare the man. This hight pare was leading to the first of the house, and knocking at his gate was it was lewdly done. But Alcibiades the next morning went to his house, and knocking at his gate was te was rewary uone. Due Autoritates the man and the first to his body to be whipped, and punished at his let in: so he stripping himself before him, delivered him his body to be whipped, and punished at his pleasure. Hipponiess pardoned him, and was friends with him, and gave him his Daughter Hipparete pleature. Hipponics paraoneum, and was member and gave mum in Daugner Hipparte afterwards in marriage. Howbeit fome fay, it was not Hipponics: that gave her to him, but Calling afterwards in marriage. Howbeit fome fay, it was not Hipponics: that gave her to him, but Calling afterwards at the birth of the first Child he had by her, Son, with ten Talents of Gold with her. Afterwards at the birth of the first Child he had by her, Son, with ten Talents of Gold Wall have promifed him upon contract, if his Wife had Children, he asked ten Talents more, faying, they were promifed him upon contract, if his Wife had Children, But Calliar fearing left this was an occasion fought of him to lie in wait to kill him for his Goods: declared openly to the people, that he made him his Heir generall, if he died without Heirs special of his body. This Gentlewoman Hipparete being an honest true Wite to Aleibiades, misliking her Hufand did fo much mifule her, 2s to entertain common light ftrumpers, as well Citizens as ftrangers; the went abroad one day to her Brothers houle, and told him of it. Alcibiades passed not for it, and made well autom one day to lice alrounds money and by Wife if the would, prefere her caufe of divorce no further reckoning of the matter: but onely bad his Wife if the would, prefere her caufe of divorce Hippartical before the Judge. So she went thinker her felf, to sue the divorce between them, according to the Hipparticinem octore the jouge, so me were times a content of the hand, and carried her through the market-place to be divorced Law, but Alcibiades being there also, took her by the hand, and carried her through the market-place from Alcibia home to his house, and no man durft meddle between them, to take her from him: And so she continome to his house, and no man units means between disch, to take her from him : Alan in the continued with him all the days of her life, which was not long after; for fine died, when Aleibiades was in his journey he made to E PH ESUS. This force Aleibiades uled, was not thought altogether unlawfull, nor uncivil, because it seemeth that the Law was grounded upon this cause: that the Wise which would be divorced from her Husband, should go her self openly before the Judge to put up her comwould be divorced from the randoms, the Husband might come to speak with his Wife, and seek to plaint, to the end, that by this means, the Husband might come to speak with his Wife, and seek to plaint, to the city, that by this includes had a marvellous fair great Dog, that coft him threefcore and ten Minas, and he cut off histail that was his chief beauty: when his friends reproved him, and told him how every man blamed him for it; he fell a laughing, and told them he had that he fought. For, Alcibiales faithhe, I would have the ATHENIANS rather prate upon that, than they should fay worse of me. great Dog. Moreover, it is faid, the first time that Alcibiades spake openly in the Commonweal, and began to Michiales lar- deal in matters, was upon a gift of Money he gave unto the people, and not of any pretence or former purpose he had to do it. One day as he came through the market-place, hearing the people very nict purpore ne name to work. One way as the collection of the saked what the matter was; they told him it was about Money certain men had given to the people: Then Aleibiades went to them, and gave them Money out of his own purse. The people were so glad at that, as they sell to shouting and clapping of their hands, in token of thankfulness: and himself was so glad for company, that he forgat a Quail he had under his gown, which was so afraid of the noife, that the took her flight away. The people feeing the Quail, made a greater noife than before, and many rofe out of their places to runafter her; fo that in the end, it was taken up by man octore, and many tone out of man process him the Quail again, and for that cause Alcibiades a Master of a Ship called Antiochus, who brought him the Quail again, and for that cause Alcibiades did love him ever after. Now albeit the Nobility of his house, his goods, his worthiness, and the great number of his kinfmen and friends, made his way open to take upon him Government in the Commonweal; yet the onely way he defired to win the tayour of the common people by, was the grace of his eloquence. To prove he was eloquent, all the Comical Poets do teffifie it: and befides them, Alcibiades Demostheners, the Prince of Orators alfodoth say, in an Oration he made against Medias, that Alcibiades above all other qualities he had, was most eloquent. And if we may believe Theophrastus, the greatest fearcher of Antiquities, and best Historiographer above any other Philosopher; he hath written, that Alcibiades had as good a wit to devile and confider what he would say, as any man that was in his time. Howbeit fometimes studying what he should fay, as also to deliver good words, not having them very ready at his tongues end, he many times took breath by the way, and panfed in the midft of his tale, not speaking a word, until he had called it to mind that he would fay. His charge was great, and much spoken of also, for keeping of running Horses at Games: not onely because they was great, and more sponsor and, or the number of Coaches he had befides. For never private person, no were the best and swiftest, but for the number of Coaches he had besides. nor any Prince, did ever fend seven so well appointed Coaches, in all furniture unto the games Olympinor any Prince, did ever fend seven so well appointed Coaches, in all furniture unto the games Olympinor

coming into the Common wealth. Alcibiades marvellous eloquent.

Alcibiades wit and imperfe-Rion.

Altibiades vi- cal, ashe did: nor that at one course hath born away the first, the second, and the fourth prize, as Thugames Olympical.

and Name, that ever ftrived for victory therein. For Euripides pronounced his praise, in a Song he made of him, as followeth: O Son of Clinia, I will refound thy praise : For thou art bold in martial deeds, and overcom' ft always. Thy victories therewith, do far exceed the rest, That ever were in Greece ygot, therefore I count them best. For at th' Olympick games, thou hast with Chariots won The first prize, second, third and all, which there in race were run. With praise and little pain, thy head hath twice been crown'd, With Olive boughs for viltory, and twice by Trumpets found The Heraulds have proclaim d thee victor by thy Name: Showe all thale which ran with thee, in hope to get the game.

cydides faith: or as Euripides reporteth, the third. For in that game, he excelled all men in Honour

Howbeit the good affection divers Cities did bear him, contending which should gratisfie him best, and much encrease his same and honour. For the EPHESIANS did set up a Tent for him very sump-

tuously and richly furnished. Those of the City of CHIO, furnished him with provender for his Horse. and gave him Muttons besides, and other beasts to facrifice withall. They of LESBOS also fent him in Wine and other provision of victuals, to help him to defray the great charges he was at in keeping open house, and feeding such a number of mouths daily. Yet the spite they did bear him, or rather his breach of promife which he often made, with this magnificence and frate he shewed, gave the people more cause to speak of him than before. For they say there was one Diomedes at ATHENS, a friend of Michiades, and no ill man, who defired once in his life to win a game at the plays Olympical. This breaker of proman being informed that the ARGIVES had a Coach excellently furnished, belonging to the Com-mife, monweal, and knowing that Alcibiades could do very much in the City of ARGOS, in cause he had many friends in the fame : he came to intreat Alcibiades to buy this Coach for him. Alcibiades thereupon bought it, but kept it to himself, not regarding Diomedes request he had made. Diomedes seeing that, fell ftark mad for anger, and called the gods and men to witness, that Alcibiades did him open wrong; and it seemeth there fell out sute in Law upon the same. For Isocrates wrote an Oration, and drew a Plea in defence of Alcibiades, being yet but a Child, touching a couple of Horses: yet in this Plea, his adversary was called Tisias, and not Diomedes. Furthermore, Alcibiades being yet but a young man, when he came to practife and plead publickly, he put all other Orators to filence, but Alcibisdes adonely two that were ever against him; the one was Phanx the Son of Erafistratus, and the other Ni- Commoncias the Son of Niceratus. Of these two, Nicias was a man grown, and had won the Name and wealth when reputation of a good Captain. And Pheas: began also to come forward as he did, being of a good and he came to honourable House: but he lacked many things, and among other, eloquence especially. For, he could Pheas lacked more properly talk and discourse among his friends privately, then he had any good grace to open a eloquence. matter openly before the people. For he had, as Enpolis faith: Words enough, but no eloquence.

There is a certain Oration extant in writing against Alcibiades and Pheax: where among other acculations is brought in, how Alcibiades was ordinarily served in his house, with gold and filver plate that belonged to the Commonweal, and which were used to be born for state and magnificence, in solemn processions before them, and how he used them as boldly, as if they had been his own. Now there was one Hyperbolus in ATHENS at that time, born in the village of PERITHOIDE: of whom Thucydides maketh mention, as of anaughty wicked man, serving as a fit subject and matter to all the taunts and mocks of the comical Poets of that time: but he was so impudent a person, and cared so little what men faid of him, that he paffed not though he were defamed, neither did any thing grieve him, whatfoever they reported of him: which some do call boldness and courage, being no better indeed than plain impudency, extream madness, and desperate folly. He would never please any man: and if the common people had any grudge to any Noble man or Magistrate, whom they would any way accuse, Hyperbolus wicked tongue was their instrument to utter their spite. Now the people (by Hyperbolus procurement) being affembled, were ready to proceed to the banishment, of Oftracismon by most voices. The manner of The manner and custom of this kind of banishment, was for a time to banish out of their City, such a the punishment one as seemed to have too great authority and credit in the City; and that was, rather to satisfie their by the Offraenvy, then for to remedy their fear. And because it was manifest it would fall out to one of them cifmon. three to be banished (to wit, Alcibiades, Nicias, or Phaax,) Alcibiades found means to join all their three factions in one, becoming friends one to another: and having conferred with Nicias about it, he made Hyperbolus felf to be banished, who was the chief instrument to prepare the way of their Hyperbolus habanishment. Howbeit other say, he spake not with Nicias about it, but with Pheax, and joyning his nished for ten part with Pheax, he caused Hyperbolus to be banished, who feared nothing less: for it was never seen years. before, that a man of mean countenance, and of small authority, fell into the hap of this banishment: as Plato the Comical Poet testifieth, speaking of Hyperbolus:

Although for this defert, this pain to him is due, Or greater punishment prepar'd, the which might make him rue: Tet since he was by birth, a person mean and base, Such punishment therefore did seem (for him) too great of grace. Since Oftracifmon was not made at first to be, Nor yet devis'd as punishment for such mean folk as he.

But of this matter, we have spoken more at large before: and now to return again to Alcibiades. Niciae had great reputation among strangers, and his enemies grieved at it no less, than at the honour the Citi-Zens selves did unto him. For his house was the common Inn for all LACEDEMONIANS when they came to ATHENS, and they ever lay with him: moreover he had very well entertained the LACEDÆ-MON Priloners that were taken at the Fort of Pyle. And afterwards when peace was concluded between LACEDEMON and ATHENS, and their Prisoners delivered home again by Nicias means onely and procurement, they loved him more than ever they did before. This was blown abroad through GREECE, inat Pericles had kindled the wars amongst them, and Nicias had quenched it: so some called this mace Nicium, as one would fay, Nicias work But Alcibiades stomacking this, and envying Nicias Nicias Peace. glory, determined to break the peace what soever came of it. Wherefore to compais this matter, know- Alcibiades ing arft of all that the ARGIVES had no liking to the LACEDEMONIANS, but were their mortal breaketh the eners ies, and that they did but feek matter to fall out with them: he fecretly put them in hope of peace of the and Legue with the ATHENIANS. Moreover he did perswade them to it, both by Letters and word of mouth, speaking with the Magistrates, and such as had greatest authority and credit among the people:

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declaring unto them, that they should not fear the LACEDEMONIANS, nor yield to them at all, but to flick to the ATHENIANS, who would foon repent them of the peace they had made, and break it with them. Afterwards when the LACEDEMONIANS had made league with the BOEO-TIANS, and had delivered the City of PANACTUM to the ATHENIANS, all defaced and spoiled, contrary to the league: Alcibiades perceiving how the people were much offended thereat, made them more earnest against them, and therewithall brought Nicias in difference with the people, and charged niorecanicie against them, and this entire and the cooling at that the world ne-him with many matters of great likelihood. As at that time when he was General: that he would nevertake any of the LACEDEMONIANS, when they were flut up within the Isle of SPHACTERIA, and much less dig. els them when he might: and moreover when other had taken them prisoners by force, that he had found the means to deliver them, and fend them home again, to gratifie the LACEDÆ-MONIANS. Furthermore, that being their friend, he did not his duty to diffwade the people from making of league offensive and defensive with the BOEOTIANS and the CORINTHIANS: and again allo, if there were any people of GREECE that had a defire to become friends and allies with the A-THENIANS, that he did the best he could to let them, if the LACEDEMONIANS had no liking of the matter. Now as Nicias was thus in diffrace with the people, for the causes above aid: in the midft of this ftir, Ambassadors came by chance from LACEDEMON to ATHENS, who at their coming gave very good words, faying they had full power and commission to compound all controvering gave very good words, faying they had full power and commission to compound all controvering gave very good words, faying they had full power and commission to compound all controvering gave very good words, faying they had full power and commission to compound all controvering gave very good words, faying they had full power and commission to compound all controvering gave very good words, faying they had full power and commission to compound all controvering gave very good words, faying they had full power and commission to compound all controvering gave very good words, faying they had full power and commission to compound all controvering gave very good words, faying they had full power and commission to compound all controvering gave very good words, faying they had full power and commission to compound all controvering gave very good words, faying they had full power and commission to compound all controvering gave very good words. and the people the next day should affemble in counsel to give them audience: which Alcibiades searing much, he went to labour the Ambassadors, and spake with them apart in this fort. What mean you, Alcibiates be my Lords of Sparta: do ye not know that the Senate hath always accustomed to be gracious and my Lorus of Sparia: us years allow that are unto them for any matter, and that the people contrarily are of a guidennatura. proud nature, and defirous to embrace all great matters? If therefore at the first fight, yedo give them to understand that you are come hither with full power, to treat freely with them in all manner of causes: do you not think that they will make you fretch your authority, to grant them all that they will demand? Therefore, my Lords Ambassadors, if you look for indifferency at the ATHENIANS hands, and that they shall not prefs you too far against your wills, to grant them any thing of advantage: I would with you a little to cover your full Commission, and in open manner to propound certain Articles, and reasonable capitulations of Peace, not acquainting them otherwise with your full power to agree in all things: and for my part, I will affure you of my good will in favour of the LACEDEMONIANS. When he had told them this tale, he gave them his faithful promile, and vowed as it were to perform his word. Hereupon Alcibiades turned the Ambassadors from the trust they reposed in Nicias, and wan them on his side: in so much as they gave credit to no man but to him, wondring much at his great wisdom and ready wit, and they thought him a rare and notable man. The next morning the people were affembled to give the Ambaffadors audience. They were fent for, and brought into the Market-place. There Alcibiades gently asked them, what was the cause of their coming. They answered; that they were come to treat of Peace, but they had no power to determine any thing. Then began Alcibiades to be angry with them, as if they had done him wrong, and not be any to them: calling them unfaithfull, unconftant, and fickle men, that were come neither to do, nor fay any thing worth the hearing. The Senate also were offended with them, and the people rated them very roughly: whereat Nicisa was so ashamed and amazed withall, that he could not tell what to say, to fee to fudden a change, knowing nothing of Alcibiades malice and fubril practife with the Ambaffa dors. So the Ambassadors of LACEDEMON were dispatched without any thing done, and Alcibiades chosen General : who presently brought the ARGIVES, the ELIANS, and the MANTINE ANS in league with the ATHENIANS. Though no man did commend this practife of his, in work ing it after this fort: yet it was a marvellous thing of him to devife to put all PELOPONNESUS in arms, and to procure such a number of Souldiers against the LACEDÆMONIANS, as he did bechofen Genefore the City of MANTINEA, and to shift off the miferies of War and hazard of Battle, so far from ATHENS. Which if the LACEDEMONIANS did win, could not profit them much; and if they loft it, they could hardly fave their City of SPARTA. After this battle of MANTINEA, the thousand men whom the City by an ancient Order did keep continually in pay, as well in peace as in war, within the City of Argos, thinking now opportunity ferved them very trimly: attempt ed to take the foveraign authority from the common people, and to make themselves Lords of the City. And to bring this to pals, the LACEDEMONIANS coming in the mean time, did aid them in their purpole, and fo did put down the government of the people : notwithstanding immediately after the people took arms again, and became the stronger. Alcibiades coming thither even at that time, did warrant them the victory, and to fet up again the authority of the people. Then he perfuaded them to make their walls longer to join the City to the Sea, to the end they might more easily be aided by Sea, by the ATHENIANS. He brought them also from ATHENS, many Carpenters, Masons, Stone-hewers, and other Workmen: and to conclude he shewed themby all the means and ways he could, that he did bear good will unto them, and thereby wan himfelf no lefs favour particularly among them, than generally he did good unto his Countrey. He did Periwade also his Citizens of PATRAS to join their town to the Sea, by making long walls, which they built out even to the cliffs of the Sea. And when one faid unto them, Alas, poor people of PATRAS! what do you mean? the ATHENIANS will eat you out: Alcibiades answered him, it may well be, but it shall be by little and little, beginning first at the feet, but the LACEDEMONIANS will devour you all at once, and begin at the head. Now although Alcibiades did make the City of

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brought to the Sea by the Argives.

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ATHENS ftrong by fea, yet be did not leave to perswade the ATHENIANS also to make themfelves strong by land. For he did put the young men oftentimes in mind of the Oath they were made to fwear in AGRAULOS, and did advise them to accomplish it indeed. Which was that they should take all Corn-fields, Vines, and Olive-Trees, to be borders and confines of ATTICA, whereby they were taught to reckon all Land theirs that was manured and did bring forth fruit. Yet with all thefe goodly deeds and fair words of Alcibiades, and with this great courage and quickness of understanding. he had many great faults and imperfections. For he was too dainty in his fare, wantonly given to light women, riotous in banquets, vain and womanish in apparel. He ware ever a long purple gown Alcibiates riot that iwept the Market-place as he walked up and down, it had fuch a train, and was too rich and coftly for him to wear. And following these vain pleasures and delights, when he was in his galley, he caused the plancks of the poop thereof to be cut and broken up, that he might lie the softer; for his bed was not laid upon the overlop, but laid upon girthes strained over the hole, cut out and fastened to the fides, and he carried to the wars with him a guilded Scuchion wherein he had no cognizance nor ordinary device of the ATHENIANS, but onely had the Image of Cupid in it, holding lightning in his hand. The Noble men and best Citizens of ATHENS perceiving this, they hated his falhions and conditions, and were much offended at him, and were afraid withall of his rafhnels and infolency; he did so contemn the Laws and customs of their Countrey, being manifest tokens of a man that alpired to be King, and would subvert and turn all overhand. And as for the good will of the common people towards him, the Poet Aristophanes doth plainly express it in these words:

The people most desire what most they hate to have, And what their mind abhors, even that they feem to crave. And in another place he faid also, aggravating the suspition they had of him: For State or Commonweal, much better should it be To keep within the Countrey, none fuch Lions looks as he ; But if they needs will keep a Lion to their cost. Then must they needs obey his will, for he will rule the roast.

For to fay truly, his courtefies, his liberalities, and noble expences to fnew the people fo great plea-fure and partime as nothing could be more: the glorious memory of his anceftors, the grace of his Eloquence, the beauty of his person, the strength and valiantness of his body joyned together with his wildom and experience in martial affairs; were the very causes that made them to bear with him in all things, and that the ATHENIANS did patiently endure all his light parts, and did cover his faults with the best words and terms they could, calling them youthfull and gentlemens sports. As when he kept Agartharcus the Painter prisoner in his house by force, until he had painted all his walls within : and when he had done, let him go, and rewarded him very honestly for his pains. Again, when he gave Alcibiades difa box on the ear to Taureas, who did pay the whole charges of a company of common Players, in wantonness. fpight of him, to carry away the honour of the Games. Also when he took away a young woman of MELIA by his authority that was taken among certain prifoners in the Wars, and kept her for his Concubine: By whom he had a Child, which he caufed to be brought up: which they called a work of charity, albeit afterwards they burthened him, that he was the onely cause of murdering of the poor MBLIANS, faving the little Children, because he had favoured and perswaded that unnatural and wicked Decree, which another had propounded. Likewise where one Aristophon a Painter had painted a Curtizan named Nemea, holding Alcibiades in her arms, and fitting in her lap, which all the people ran to fee, and took great pleafure to behold it : the grave and ancient men were angry at these foolish parts, accounting them impudent things, and done against all civil modesty and temperancy. Wherefore it feemed Archestratus words were spoken to good purpose, when he said : that GREECE could not abide two Alcibiades at once. And on a day as he came from the Council and affembly of the City, faying. where he had made an excellent Oracion, to the great good liking and acceptation of all the hearers, and by means thereof had obtained the thing he defired, and was accompanied with a great train that followed him to his honour; Timon furnamed Mifantropos (as who would fay, Loup-garon, or the manhater) meeting Alcibiades thus accompanied, did not pass by him, nor give him way (as he was wont to do all other men) but went Araight to him, and took him by the hand, and faid : O, thou doft well my Son, I can thee thank, that thou goeft on, and climbeft up ftill : for if ever thou be in authority, wo be unto those that follow thee, for they are utterly undone. When they heard these words, those that stood by fell a laughing: other reviled Timon, other again marked well his words, and thought of them many a time after; fuch fundry opinions they had of him for the unconstancy of his life, and waywardness of his nature and conditions. Now for the taking of Sigile, the Athe-NIANS did marvelloully covet it in Pericles life, but yet they did not meddle withall, untill after his death: and then they did it at the first under colour of friendship, as aiding those Cities which were oppressed and spoiled by the Syracustans. This was in manner a plain bridge made, to pais afterwards a greater power and Army thither. Howbeit the onely procurer of the ATHENIANS, and perswader of them, to send small Companies thither no more, but to enter Alcibiales the with a great Army, at once to conquer all the Countrey together, was Alcibiades, who had so allured the people with his pleasant tongue, that upon his perswasion, they built Castles in the air, and thought to do greater wonders by winning onely of SICILIA. For where other did fet their minds upon the conquest of Sicile, being that they onely hoped after: it was to Alcibiades,

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but a beginning of further enterprizes. And where Nicias commonly in all his perswafions, did our a reguming of interest conceptable. too great a matter for them to take the City of Syracusa : Alcibiades again had a further reach in his head, to go conquer Lybia, and Carthage, and that being conquered, to pass from thence into ITALY, and to to PELOPONNESUS: fo that SICILIA should ferve but to furfrom thence into 11 ALI, and to 12 ALI Souldiers for their conquefts which he had imagined. Thus the nith them with victuals, and to pay the Souldiers for their conquefts which he had imagined. Thus the young men were incontinently carried away with a marvellous hope and opinion of this journey, and young men were morning sales that told them wonders of the Countries: infomuch as there was no have good car to one main man and the youth in their meetings, but companies of men to fit round to The divination gether, draw plats of SICILE, and describe the scituation of Lybia and Carthage. And yet The divination they say, that neither Socrates the Philosopher, nor Meton the Aftronomer did ever hope to see any good fuccels of this journey. For the one by the revealing of his familiar spirit, who told him all things to come, as was thought, had no great opinion of it: and Meton, whether it was for fear of the fucces of the journey he had by reason, or that he knew by divination of his Art what would follow, he counterfeited the mad man, and holding a burning Torch in his hand, made as though he would have fet his house on fire. Other say, that he did not counterfeit, but like a mad man indeed did fet his house on fire one night, and that the next morning betimes he went into the marketplace to pray the people, that in confideration of his great lofs and his grievous calamity place to pray the people, that in commerciation of the great too and the greatest chaining for late happened him, it would pleafe them to discharge his Son from going this voyage. So by this mad device, he obtained his request of the people for his Son, whom he abused much. But Nicias against his will was chosen Captain, to take charge of Men in these Wars: who milliked this fourney, as well for his companion and affociate in the charge of these Wars, as for other misfortunes he forefaw therein. Howbeit the ATHENIANS thought the War would fall out well, if they did not commit it wholly to Alcibiades rashness and hardiness, but did join with him the wiftney are not commit it whoshy to Automates rainness and naturess, but and join with min the wildom of Nicias: and appointed Lamachus also for their third Captain, whom they fent thither, though the were waxen now somewhat old, as one that had shewed himself no less venterous and hardy in some battles, then Akibiades himself. Now when they came to resolve of the number of Souldiers, the furniture and order of these Wars, Niciar sought crookedly to thwart this journey, and break it off altogether: but Alcibiades withstood him, and got the better hand of him. There was an Orator called Demostratus, who moved the people also that the Captains whom they had chosen for these Wars, might have full power and authority to levy men at their discretion, and to make fuch preparation as they thought good: whereunto the people condefcended, and did authorize them. But when they were even ready to go their way, many figns of ill success lighted in the neck one of another: and amongst the rest this was one; That they were commanded to take Ship on the day of the celebration of the Feaft of Adonia, on the which the cuftom is, that Women do fet up in divers places of the City, in themidft of the ftreets, Images like to dead coarfes which they carry to burial, and they represent the mourning and lamentations made at the funerals of the dead, with blubbering and beating themselves, in token of the forrow the goddels Venus made, for the death onnovering and octaining inclinered, in lower of the foreign and were wont of her friend Adonis. Moreover, the Hermes (which are the Images of Mercury, and were wont of the fit up in every lane and fireet) were found in a night all hacked and hewed, and mangled, fpecially in their faces: which put divers in great fear and trouble, yea even those that made no ac-Images hewn count of fact toys. Whereupon it was alledged, that it might be the CORINTHIANS that did it, or procured that leud act to be done, favouring the Syracustans, who were their near Kinfmen, and had been the first founders of them; imagining upon this ill roken, it might be a cause to break off the enterprize, and to make the people repent them, that they had taken this War in hand. Nevertheless the people would not allow this excuse, neither hearken to their words that faid, they should not reckon of any such signs or tokens, and that they were but some light brained youths, that being tipled, had played this shamefull part in their bravery, or for sport. But for all these reasons, they took these signs very grievously, and were indeed not a little asraid, as thinking undoubtedly that no man durst have been so bold to have done such an abominable sact, but that there was some conspiracy in the matter. Hereupon they looked upon every suspition and conjecture that might be (how little or unlikely soever it were) and that very severely: and both Senate and People, also met in Council upon it, very oft in few days. Now whilest they were builty fearching out the matter, Androeles a common Counfeller, and Orator in the Commonwealth, brought before the Council certain flaves and frangers that dwelt in ATHENS: Altibiades ac- who depoted, that Alcibiades, and other of his friends and companions, had hacked and mangculcidor pro- led other Images after that fort, and in a mockery had counterfeited also in a banker that he made, the Ceremonies of the holy Mysteries; declaring these matters particularly: How one Theodoral holy Mysteries counterfeited the Herauld, that was wont to make the Proclamations : Polytion the Torch-beart, and Alcibiades the Prieft, who sheweth the holy signs and Mysteries: and that his other companions were the Affiltants, as those that make suit to be received into their Religion and Order, and into the brotherhood of their boly Mysteries, whom for this cause they call Mystes. Their very words are written in the Acculation Theffalas (Cimons Son) made against Aleibiada, charging him that he had wickedly mocked the two goddeeffes, Ceres and Proferpina. Whereat the people being marvellously moved and offended; and the Orator Androcles his mortal enemy,

aggravating and stirring them up the more against him: Alcibiades a little at the first began tok

amazed at it. But afterwards, hearing that the Mariners which were prepared for the voyage of

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SICILIA, and the Souldiers also that were gathered, did bear him great good will, and specially how the aid, that came from ARGOS, and MANTINEA (being a thouland Footmen well armed and appointed) did fay openly, how it was for Alcibiades fake they did take upon them fo long a voyage beyond Sea, and that if they went about to do him any hurt or wrong, they would prefently return home again from whence they came : he began to be of a good courage again, and determined with this good favourable opportunity of time, to come before the Council, to answer to all such Articles and Accusations as should be laid against him. Thereupon his Enemies were a little cooled fearing left the People in this judgement would have shewed him more favour, because they ftood in need of him. Wherefore to prevent this danger, they had fed other Orators, who fet a The craft of good face on the matter, as they had been Alcibiades friends, and yet they wished him no less evil Alcibiades Ethen the rankest Enemies he had. These fine fellows rose up in open Affembly, and said : It was no reason, that he that was now chosen one of the Generals of so mighty and puissant an Army (being ready to hoise fail, and the aid also of their Allies and friends) should be driven to stay now, and to lose time and occasion of well doing, whilest they should go about to choose Judges, and appoint him his hours and time of answer. Therefore they faid, it was fit he should take his journey betimes, and when Wars were done, that he should present himself to require justice, and to purge himself of such matters as should be objected against him. But Alcibiades smelling straight their fetch, and perceiving the practife of his stay, stept up, and declared how they did him great wrong, to make him depart with the charge of a Generall of fo great an Army, his mind being troubled with continuall fear of fo grievous curses, as he should leave upon him: and that he deserved death. if he could not purge and justifie himself of all the unjust and surmized accusations against him. And if he had once cleared himself of all things, and had published his innocency, he should then have nothing in his head to trouble him, nor to think upon, but to go on lustily to fight with his Enemies, and to cast behind him the danger of all his slanderous detractors. But all this could not perfwade them. And so he was presently commanded in the behalf of the People, to imbark and thip away his men. Thus he was compelled to take the Seas with his other companions, having in Alcibiales their Navy about an hundred and forty Galleys, all having three Oars to a barque: and five thou. journey into fand one hundred Footmen, very well armed and appointed, and throwers with flings, Archers, and Sielle. other light armed men to the number of thirteen hundred, sufficiently surnished of all warlike and necessary munition. Now after they were arrived on the Coast of ITALY, they landed in the City of RHEGIO: where, holding council in what fort they should direct these Wars, it was resolved in the end that they should straight go unto SICILIA. This opinion was followed, although Nicias did contrary it, when Lamachus gave his consent thereunto, and at his first coming, he was the occasion of winning the City of CATHANA. But he never after did any exploit, for he was called home immediately by the ATHENIANS, to come and answer certain Accusations laid to his charge. For as we told you before, there was at the beginning certain light suspitions and accusations put up against him, by some Slaves and strangers. But afterwards when he was gone, his Enemiesenforced them, and burthened him more cruelly, adding to his former fault, that he had broken the Images of Mercury: and had committed Sacriledge, in counterfeiting in jeft and mockery the holy Ceremonies of the Myfteries: and blew into the ears of the People, that both the one and the other proceeded of one fet conspiracy, to change and alter the Government of the state and the City, Upon these informations, the People took it in so ill part, that they committed all to prison, that were in any fort accused or suspected thereof, and would never let them come to their answer; and moreover did much repent them that they had not condemned Alcibiades, upon fo great complaints and informations as were exhibited against him, while his offence was in question before them, and the fury and hatred of the People was fuch towards him, that if any of Alcibiades friends and acquaintance came within their danger, they were the worse handled for his sake. Thucydides did not name his Accusers, but some other do name Dioclides and Teucer: amongst whom Phrynicus Phrynicus the the Comicall Poet is one, who discovereth it in his Verses, by bringing in one that speaketh to the Comical Poet, Image of Mercury:

> My good friend Mercury , I pray thee take good heed, That thou fall not and break thy neck : for so thou mights me breed Both danger and distrust, and though I guiltless be, Some Diocles falfly might accuse and trouble me. Mercury answereth:

Take thou no thought for me, my felf I shall well fave: And will foresee full well therewith, that Teucer (that false knave) Shall not the money get, which he by Law hath won, For his promoters bribing part and accusation,

And yet for all this, these tokens do shew no certainty of any thing. For one of them being asked how he could know them by their faces in the night, that had broken and defaced these Images? he answered, that he knew them well enough by the brightness of the Moon. And hereby it appeareth plainly that he was perjured, because that the same night, on the which this fact was committed, there was a conjunction of the Moon. This did a little trouble and stay men of judgement : howbeit the common fort of People this notwithstanding, did not leave to be as sharp fet, to receive all Accufations and Informations that were brought in against him, as ever they were before. Now there was among the Prifoners whose cause was hanging before them, the

Andocides the Orator cast into prison.

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Orator Andocides (whom Hellanicus the Historiographer discribeth to descend of the race of Ulyses) whom they took to be a man that hated the Government of the common People, and bent altogether to favour the small number of the Nobility. But one of the chiefest occasions why he was suspected to be one of them that had broken the Images, was : for that hard by his house there was a fair great Image fetup in old time by the Family or Tribe of the Egides, and that alone amongst all the reft of 10 many famous Images, was left whole and unbroken: whereupon it is called at this day, the Mercury of Andocides, and is so called generally of every body, albeit the Inscription shewuay, the meretry of Anabelues, and is to cancel generally of every body, after the interpretable being in prison, chanced to fall in acquaintance with one Timam, with whom he was more familiar then with all the reft, who was also prisoner with him for the self cause, This Timaus was a man not fo well known as he, but befides, a wife man, and very hardy. He perfwaded him, and put into his head, that he should accuse himself, and certain other with him : for taking the matter upon him, and confessing it, he should receive grace and pardon, according to the casing the matter upon min, and containing a state of the stand upon the courtefie of the courte and promife of the Law: where contrarily, if he should stand upon the courtesse of the Judges sentence, he might easily endanger himself: because Judgements in such cases are uncertain to all People, and most to be doubted and feared toward the rich. And therefore he told him, it were his best way, if he looked into the matter wifely, by lying to fave his life, rather then to suffer death with thame, and to be condemned upon this falle acculation. Also he said, if he would have regard to the Commonwealth, that it should in like case be wisely done of him, to put in danger a few of thole (which flood doubtfull whether in troth they were any of them or no) to fave from the fury of the People, and terror of death, many honest men, who indeed were innocent of this lewd Fact. Timaus words and perswasions wrought such effect with Andocides, that they made him yeeld unto them, and brought him to accuse himself, and certain other with him by means whereof Andoeides according to the Law had his pardon: but all such as he named and accused, where every man put to death, faving such as saved themselves by running away. Furthermore, to Made every man por to train, and series of troth, Andocides among those that were accused, did accuse also certain of his own Servants. Now though the People had no more occasion to occupy their busic heads about the breakers of these Images, yet was not their malice thus appeafed against Alcibiades, untill they fent the Galley called Salaminiana, commanding those they fent by a special Commission to seek him out, in no case to attempt to take him by sorce, nor to lay hold on him by violence : but to use him with all the good words and courteous manner that they possibly could, and to will him onely to appear in person before the People, to answer to certain Acculations put up against him. If otherwise they should have used force, they seared much left the Army would have mutined on his behalf within the Countrey of their Enemies , and that there would have grown some sedition amongst their Souldiers. This might Alcibiades have eafily done, if he had been disposed: for the Souldiers were very forry to see him depart: perceiving that the Wars should be drawn out now in length, and be much prolonged under Nicias, seeing Altibiates fent Alcibiades was taken from them, who was the onely spur that pricked Nicias forward to do any Service : and that Lamachus also, though he were a valiant man of his hands, yet he lacked Honour and Authority in the Army, because he was but a mean man born, and poor besides. Now Alcibiades for a farewell, disappointed the ATHENIANS of winning the City of MESSINA: for they having intelligence by certain private persons within the City, that it would yeeld up into their hands, Alcibiades knowing them very well by their names, bewrayed them unto those that were the Syracustans friends: whereupon all this practife was broken utterly. Afterwards when he came to the City of Thuries, fo foon as he had landed, he went and hid himfelf incontinently in such fort, that such as sought for him could not find him. Yet there was one that knew him where he was , and faid : Why, how now Alcibiades , dareft thou not trust the justice of thy Countrey? Yes very well (quoth he) and it were in another matter: but my life standing upon it, I would not truft mine own mother, fearing left negligently she should put in the black bean, where the should cast in the white : for by the first, condemnation of death was fignified : and by the other, pardon of life. But afterwards, hearing that the ATHENIANS for malice had condemned him to death: Well, quoth he, they shall know 1 am yet alive. Now the manner of his Alcibiader ca- Accordation and Indictment framed against him, was found written in this fort: The same the Son of Cimon, of the Village of LACIADES, hath accused, and doth accuse Alcibiades, the Son of Clinias, of the Village of SCAMBONIDES, to have offended against the goddesses, Ceres and Proferpina, counterfeiting in mockery their holy Mysteries, and shewing them to his familiar friends in his house, himself apparelled and arrayed in a long Vestment or Cope, like unto the Vestment the Priest weareth when he sheweth these holy Sacred Mysteries: and naming himself the Priest, Polyrion the Torch-bearer, and Theodorus of the Village of PAYGEA the Verger, and the other lookers on Brethren, and iellow-fcorners with them, and all done in manifest contempt and derision of holy Ceremonies and Mysteries of the Eumolpides, the religious Priests and Ministers of the facred Temple of the City of ELEUSIN. So Alcibiades for his contempt and not appearing, was condemned, and his Goods confifcate. Befides this condemnation, they decred also, that all the religious Priests and women should ban and accurse him. But hereunto answered one of the Nuns called Theano, the Daughter of Menon, of the Village of AGRAULA, faying that she was professed religious, to pray and to bless, not to curse and ban. After this most grievous sentence and condemnation paffed against him, Alcibiades departed out of the City of Thurses, and went into the Country of Peloponnesus, where he continued a good feafon in the City of

DAMONIANS, that he might come and dwell in their Countrey, promifing them he would do to them more good being now their friend, then ever he did them hurt, while he was their Enemy. The LACEDEMONIANS granted his request, and received him very willingly into their City: where. Alcibiades flyeven at his first coming, he did three things. The first was : that the LACEDEMONIANS by his cit to Sparial perswasion and procurement, did determine speedily to fend aid to the Syracusians whom they had long before delayed: and fo they fent Gylippus their Captain to overthrow the ATHE-NIANS Army, which they had fent thither. The second thing he did for them, was : that he made them of GREECE to begin War upon the ATHENIANS. The third, and greatest matter of importance, was : that he did counsell them to fortifie the City of Decelea, which was within the Territories of ATTICA felf: which confumed, and brought the Power of the ATHENIANS lower then any other thing whatfoever he could have done. And if he were welcome, and well eftermed in Sparta, for the service he did to the Commonwealth: much more he wan the love and good wills of private men, for that he lived after the LACONIAN manner. So as they that faw his skin scraped to the flesh, and saw him wash himself in cold water, and how he did eat brown bread, and sup of their black broth : would have doubted (or to fay better, never have believed) that fuch a man had ever kept Cook in his house, nor that he ever had feen so much as a perfuming pan, or had touched cloth of Tiffue made in MILETUM. For among other qualities and properties he had (whereof he was full) this as they fay was one whereby he most robbed mens hearts: that he could frame altogether with their manners and fashions of life, transforming himself more easily to all manner of shapes, then the Camelion. For it is reported, that the Camelion cannot Alcibiades take white colour : but Alcibiades could put upon him any manners, cuftoms or fashions, of what more change Nation foever, and could follow, exercife, and counterfeit them when he would, as well the good Camelion. as the bad. For in Sparta, he was very painfull, and in continual exercise: he lived sparingly with little, and led a straight life. In IONIA, to the contrary, there he lived daintily and superfluoully, and gave himself to all mirth and pleasure. In Thrasta, he drank ever, or was alwaise on horseback. If he came to Tifaphernes, Lieutenant of the mighty King of Persia, he far exceeded the magnificence of Persia in pomp and sumptuousness. And these things notwithstanding, never altered his natural condition from one fashion to another, neither did his manners (to fay truly) receive all forts of changes. But because peradventure, if he had shewed his naturall disposition, he might in divers places where he came, have offended those whose company he kept, he did with such a vizard and cloak disguise himself, to fit their manners whom he conpanied with, by transforming himself into their naturall countenance, as he that had seen him when he was at SPARTA, to have looked upon the outward man, would have faid as the common Proverb faith: It is not the fon of Achilles, but Achilles felf. Even so, it is even he whom Lycurgus brought up. But he that had inwardly feen his natural

ALCIBIADES.

ARGOS. But in the end fearing his Enemies, and having no hope to return again to his own

Countrey with any fafety : he fent unto Sparta, to have fafe conduct and license of the Lace-

doings, and good will indeed lie naked before him, would contrarily, have used this common

This woman is no changeling.

For he entertained Queen Timan , King Agis wite of Sparta, fo well in his absence, he being Alcibiades got abroad in the Wars, that he got her with child, and she her self denied it not. For she being Timas hing brought to bed of a fon, who was named Leorychides; openly to the world called him by that name: child. but when the was amongst her familiars and very friends, the called him fostly Alcibiades, the was fo far in love with him. And Alcibiades, jefting out the matter, faid he had done it for no burt, nor for any luft of flesh to satisfie his desire : but onely to leave of his race, to reign amongst the LACEDEMONIANS. This matter was brought by divers unto King Agis ears, who at the length believed it : but specially when he began to make a reckoning of the time how long it was fince he lay with his wife. For lying with his wife one night when there was a terrible Earthquake, he ran out of his chamber for fear the house would fall on his head : so that it was ten moneths after ere he lay again with her. Whereupon her Son Leorychides being born at the end of ten Leotychides Almoneths, he faid it was none of his: and this was the cause that Leotychides did not succeed after-cibiales ballwards in the Kingdom, because he was not of the bloud-royall. After the utter overthrow of the ard, ATHENIANS in SICILIA, those of the Ides of CHIO and LESBOS, with the CYZICENI-ANS, did fend altogether their Ambassadours to SPARTA, to let the LACEDAMONIANS underftand, they had good will to leave the ATHENIANS, fo they would fend them aid to defend them. The BOEOTIANS favoured those of LESBOS: Pharnabazus, the King of PERSIANS Lieutenant, favoured the CYZICENIANS. This notwithftanding the LACEDAMONIANS were better affected to help those of CHIO first, by the perswasion of Alcibiades, who took their matter in hand : and he took Sea himself and went into Asia, where he almost turned the Countrey of IONIA against the ATHENIANS : and keeping alwaies with the Generals of the LACEDÆ-MONIANS, he did much hurt the ATHENIANS. Yet notwithstanding, King Agis did bear him ill will, partly for the injury he did him in dishonouring and defiling his wife, and partly also, for that he envied his glory : because the rumour ran all about , that the most part of the goodly exploits of those Wars did happen well by Alcibiades means. Other also of the greatest Authority among the SPARTANS, that were most ambitious among them, began in their minds

Alcibiadescondemned being abfent.

The Lacedaeth to Tifachernes.

place, and goodly pro-

to be angry with Alcibiades, for the envy they bare him: who were of fo great power, that they procured their Governours to write Letters to their Captains in the Field to kill him. Alcibiades hearing of this, did no whit defift to do all that he could for the benefit of the LACEDEMONI-ANS: yet he had an eye behind him, flying all occasions to fall into their hands. So in the end, for more furety of his person, he went unto Tifaphernes one of the King of Persia's Lieutenants, Alcibiates ior more turery or my person, to the many of the angles reasons Secure annies.

Alcibiates fly- with whom he wan incontinently such credit, that he was the first and chiefest person he had about Attitudes ny-with whom newest autonomatory and fimple person, but rather malicious, and subtil of nature, ing the Lice-him. For this barbarous man being no simple person, but rather malicious, and subtil of nature, demands, 90° and that loved fine and crafty men: did wonder how he could fo eafily turn from one manner of living to another, and also at his quick wit and understanding. Moreover, his company and minner to pass the time away, was commonly marvellous full of mirth and pleasure, and he had such pleato pais the time and, that no man was of fo fullen a nature, but he would make him merry, fant comely devices with him, that no man was of fo fullen a nature, but he would make him merry, nor so churlish, but he would make him gentle. So that both those that feared him, and also they that envied him, were yet glad to fee him, and it did them good to be in his company, and ufe talk with him. Infomuch as this Tisaphernes (that otherwise was a churlish man, and naturally hated Milibinder cal- the Grecians) did give himself so much unto Alcibiades flatteries, and they pleased him so Mutotates called a pleasant well, that he himself did study to flatter Alcibiades again, and made much of him. For he called Alcibiades his fair house of pleasure, and goodly prospect : notwithstanding he had many goodly Gardens, fweet Springs, green Arbours, and pleasant Meadows, and those in all royall and magnificent manner. Alcibiades despairing utterly to find any safety or friendship among the SPARTANS, and fearing on the other fide King Agu also: he began to speak ill of them, and to difgrace all that they did, to Tifaphernes. By this practife he ftayed Tifaphernes from aiding them to friendly as he might; and that he did not utterly destroy the ATHENIANS: for he perfwaded him that he should furnish the LACEDEMONIANS but with little money, to let them diminish and consume by little and little, to the end that after one had troubled and weakened the other, they both at the length should be the easter for the King to overcome. This barbarous man did eithey both at the length should be the easter for the King to overcome. This barbarous man did either they both at the length should be the easter for the King to overcome. This barbarous man did either they be the should be the easter for the King to overcome. This barbarous man did either they be the should be the easter for the King to overcome. This barbarous man did either they be the should be the easter for the King to overcome. This barbarous man did either they be the should be the easter for the King to overcome. This barbarous man did either they be the should be the easter for the King to overcome. much: infomuch as he was fought to, and regarded of all hands of the GRECIANS. Then were the ATHENIANS forry, and repented them when they had received fo great lofs and hurt, for that they had decreed fo leverely against Alcibiades, whom in like manner was very forrowfull, to fee them brought to so hard terms, fearing, if the City of ATHENS came to destruction, that he himself should fall in the end into the hands of the LACEDEMONIANS, who maliced him to the death. Now about that time, all the power of the ATHENIANS was almost in the Isle of Sa-NOS, from whence with their Army by Sea, they fought to suppress the Rebels that were up against them, and to keep all that which yet remained. For they were yet pretily strong to resist the Enemies, at the least by Sea : but they flood in fear of the power of Tesaphernes, and of the hundred and fifty Galleys which were reported to be coming out of their Countrey of PHOENICIA to the aid of their Enemies, which if they had come, the City of ATHENS had been utterly spoiled, and for ever without hope of recovery. The which Alcibiades understanding, fent secretly unto the chiefest men that were in the Army of the ATHENIANS at SAMOS, to give them hope he would make Tisaphernes their friend : howben not of any desire he had to gratifie the People, nor that he trufted to the Commonalty of ATHENS, but onely to the honourable and honest Citizens, and that conditionally, so as they had the heart and courage, to bridle a little the over-licentiousness and infolency of the common People, and that they would take upon them the Authority to govern, and to redress their State, and to preferve the City of Athens from finall and utter destruction. Upon this advertisement, all the heads and chief men did give very good ear unto it : faving onely Phrynicus, one of the Captains, and of the Town of DIRADES: who mistrusting (that was true indeed) that Alcibiades cared not which end went forward, nor who had the chief government of ATHENS, the Nobility or the Commonalty, and did but feek all the devices and ways he could, to return again if it might be possible, in any manner of fort, and that he did but curry favour with the Nobility, blaming and accusing the People : he stood altogether against the motion, whereupon Alcibiades device was not followed. And having now shewed himself open Enemy to Alcibiades, he did fecretly advertise Astrochus, then Admirall to the LACEDEMONIANS, of Alcibiades practife, and warned him to take heed of him, and to lay him up fafe, as a double-dealer, and one that had intelligence with both fides : but he understood not how it was, one Traytor to speak to another. For this Aftiochus was a follower of Tija phermes for his private commodity: and perceiving Alcibiades in fuch credit with him , he did discover to Alcibiades all that Phrynic m had advertised him. Alcibiades straight sentmen of purpose to Samos, unto the Captains there, to accuse Phrymeus of the treason he had revealed against them. Those of the Council there, receiving this intelligence, were highly oftended with Phrynicus. So, he feeing no better way to fave himfelf for making of this fault, went about to make amends with committing a worle fault. Thereupon he fent again to Affiochus, complaining much he had disclosed him : and yet nevertheless he promised him , if he would keep his counsel, that he would deliver the whole Fleet and Army of the ATHENIANS into his hands. Howbeit this treason of Phrynicus did the ATHENIANS no hurt at all, by reason of Africebus counter-treason: for he did let Alcibiades again understand what offer Phrynicus had made him. Phrynieus looking to be charged with this again the fecond time before the Council, by means of Alcibiades, did first advertise the chief of the Army of the ATHENIANS : that their Enemies would come and fet upon them, and where, and how, and gave them warning to keep near their Ships,

to make a firong watch, and to fortifie themselves with all speed, the which forthwith they did. And as they were about it, there came other Letters from Alcibiades, by the which hedid warn them again to take heed of Phrynicus, because he had practised again with their Enemies, to deliver the whole Army of ATHEMS into their hands. But they gave no credit to his second Letters : for they thought that he knowing the preparation and mines of the enemies, would ferve his own turn with the false that the knowing the propagation of the propagation of the propagation of Phrymicis. Notwithstanding this, there was some fallhood in fellowship : for one Hermon. openly in the Market-place stabbed Phrynicus in with a dagger, and killed him. The fact being of Phrynicus pleaded in Law, and throughly confidered of, the dead body by the fentence of the People was con- and his condemned for a Traytor : and Hermon the murderer and his fellows, were crowned in recompence of demnation their fact they had done to kill a Traytor to the Commonwealth. Wherefore those that were Alcibiades friends, being at that time the stronger and greater men in the Council in the Army of Sa-MOS: they fent one Pisander to Athens, to attempt to after the Government, and to encourage the Noblemen to take upon them the Authority, and to pluck it from the people; affuring them that Tilaphernes would give them aid to do it, by means of Alcibiades, who would make him their friend. This was the colour and cloke wherewith they ferved their turns, that did change the Government of ATHERS, and that brought it into the hands of a small number of Nobility : for they were in all but four hundred, and yet they called themselves five thousand. But so soon as they felt themfelves ftrong, and that they had the whole authority of Government, without contradiction in their hands, they made then no more reckoning of Alcibiades, and so they made Wars more coldly and flackly then before. Partly because they mistrusted their Citizens, who found the change of Government very strange : and partly also because they were of opinion that the LACED EMONIANS (who at all times did most favour the Government of Nobility) would be better inclined to make peace with them. Now the common People that remained still in the City, stirred not, but were quiet against their wills, for fear of danger, because there were many of them slain, that boldly took upon them in open presence to refist these four hundred. But those that were in the Camp in the Isle of Samos, hearing these news, were so grievously offended, that they resolved to return incontinently again, unto the haven of PIREA. First of all, they fent for Alcibiades; whom incommently again, then they commanded him straightly to lead them against these Tyrants, led home from who had usurped the liberty of the People of Athens. But nevertheless he did not herein, 38 exile, another would have done in this case, seeing himself so suddenly crept again in favour with the common People : for he did not think he should incontinently please and gratifie them in all things, though they had made him now their General over all their Ships, and so great an Army, being before but a banished man, a vagabond, and a fugitive. But to the contrary, as it became a General worthy of such a charge, he considered with himself, that it was his part wilely to stay those, who would in a rage and fury carelefly caft themselves away, and not suffer them to do it. And truly Alcibiades was the cause of the preserving of the City of ATHENS at that time from utter destruction. For if they had fudenly (according to their determination) departed from Samos to go to A-THENS: the Enemies finding no man to lett them, might eafily have won all the Countrey of IONIA, of HELLESPONT, and of all the other Isles without stroke striking, whilest the ATHE-NIANS werebusie fighting one against another in civil Wars: and within the compass of their own walls. This Alcibiades alone, and no other, did prevent, not onely by perswading the whole Army, and declaring the inconvenience thereof, which would fall our upon their fudden departure : but also by intreating some particularly apart, and keeping a number back by very force. To bring this Thrashbulus 2 about, one Thrashulm of the Town of STIRA, did help him much : who went through the Ar- man of the my, and cried out upon them that were bent to enterprise this journey : for he had the biggest and biggest voice loudest voice, as they say, of any man that was in all the City of ATHENS. This was a notable of all the Aact, and a great piece of service done by Alcibiades: that he promised the five hundred fail of the thenians. PHOENICIANS (which the LACEDEMONIANS affuredly looked for, in their aid from the King of PERSIA) should not come at all, or else if they came, it should be in the favour of the ATHENIANS. For he departed immediately, and went with great speed to Tisaphernes: whom he handled in such fort, that he brought not the Ships that lay at rode before the City of ASPENDA. and to he brake promile with the LACEDEMONIANS. Therefore Alcibiades was marvellously blamed and accused, both of the one and the other side, to have altered Tisaphernes mind, but chiefly

return without some well-deserving, and before he had done some greater exploit, as onely upon the The Chizens Peoples favour and good will: to the end that his return might be glorious and triumphant; he de for Ataliades parted first from Samos with a small number of Gallies, and went failing up and down the Isles of to return

the LACED.EMONIANS: who faid, that he had perswaded this barbarous Captain, he should nei-

ther aid the one nor the other, but rather to fuffer themselves to devour and destroy each other. For

it had been out of doubt, if this great Fleet and Navy of the Kings had come, to joyn their force with

either part: that they had taken from the one of them, the feigniory and dominion of the fea. Shortly

after, the 400 Noblemen that had usurped the authority and government of ATHENS, were utterly

driven away and overthrown, by reason of the friendly aid and affistance that Alcibiades friends gave

those that took the Peoples part. So the Citizens were very well pleased with Alcibiades, insomuch

as they fent for him to return when he thought good. But he effecting it no honour unto him to

COs and of GNIDOS. There he was advertised, that Mindarus, the Admiral of the LACEDE-

MONIANS, was gone with all his Fleet unto the straight of HELLESPONT, and that the Cap-

Battel by fea before the Ci-

ctory of the by Sea,

with speed, to and the ATRENIANS: and by very good fortune came with eighteen Gallies, even at the very instant when they were both in the midst of their fight, with all their Ships before the City of Abydos. The battel was cruelly foughten between them from morning till night, both the one and the other having the better in one part of the battel, and the worst in another place. Now Athenian and at the first discovery of Alcibiades coming, both parts had indeed contrary imaginations of him. Lucedamonians For the enemies took heart unto them: and the ATHENIANS began to be afraid. But Alcibiades fetting up a Flag in the top of his Admiral Galley, to shew what he was, he presently set upon the PRIOPONNESSANS that had the better, and had certain Gallies of the ATHENIANS in chase : whereupon the Paloponnasians gave over their chase, and fied. But Alcibiades followed them so luftily, that he ran divers of them aground, and brake their Ships, and flew a great number of men that leapt into the Sea, in hope to fave themselves by swimming aland: notwithflanding that Pharnabarms was come thither to aid the LACEDEMONIANS, and did his best endeavour to fave their Gallies by the Sea shore : yet the ATHENIANS in the end wan 30 Gallies of their Enemies, and faved all their own, and so did set up certain Flags of triumph and victory. Aleibiades having now happily gotten this glorious victory, would needs go shew himself intriumph unto Tisaphernes. So having prepared to present him with goodly rich presents, and appointed also a convenient Train and number of Sail meet for a General, he took his course directly to him, But he found not that entertainment he hoped for : for Tifaphernes standing in great hazard of difpleasure, and fear of punishment at the Kings hands, having long time before been defamed by the Alcibiade ta- LACEDEMONIANS, who had complained of him, that he did not fulfill the Kings command-Alcibides ta-Ren primer at ment, inought that International was active in a very mappy from a white tupon he kept min primer sardis, flyth in the City of SARDIS, supposing the wrong he had done, would by this means easily discharge from Tijapher and purge him to the King. Yet at the end of thirty daies, Alicibiades by fortune got a horse, and the frealing from his keepers, fled unto the City of CLAZOMENES, and this did more increase the survey of the company of the fpition they had of Tisaphernes, because they thought that underhand he had wrought his liberty. Alcibiades took then Sea again, and went to feek out the Army of the Arrantans. Which when he had found, and heard news that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together in the City of CIZYCUM, he made an Oration to his Souldiers, and declared unto them how it was very requifite they should fight with their Enemies, both by Sea and by Land, and moreover that they should asfault them within their Forts and Caftles, because otherwise they could have no money to defray their charges. His Oration ended, he made them immediately hoife fail, and so to go lie at anker in the Ille of Proconnesus; where he took order that they should keep all the Pinaces and Brigantines among the Ships of war, that the Enemy might have no manner of intelligence of his coming. The great thoures of rain also, with thunder and dark weather that fell out suddenly upon it, did greatly further him in his attempt and enterprize: infomuch as not onely his Enemies, but the AT HE-NIANS that were there before, knew nothing of his coming. So fome made their reckoning, that they could do little or nothing all that day ; yet he made them fuddenly imbark, and hoife fail. They were no fooner in the main Sea, but they discryed afar off the Galleys of their Enemies, which lay at rode before the haven of CIZYCUM. And fearing left the great number of his Fleet would make them flye, and take Land beforehe could come to them: he commanded certain Captains to flay behind, and to row foftly after him, and himself with forry Galleys with him, went towards the Enemies to provoke them to fight. The Enemies supposing there had been no more Ships then those that were in fight, did fet out prefently to fight with them. They were no fooner joyned together, but Alcibiades Ships that came behind, were also discryed. The Enemies were so affraid thereat, Alcibiades vi that they caft about and fled ftraight. Alcibiades leaving his Fleet, followed the chafe with twenty ftory at CPU of the best Galleys he had, and draw them aland. Thereupon he landed also, and pursued them to couragiously at their heels, that he slew a great number of them on the main Land, who thought by flying to have faved themselves. Moreover, Mindarus and Pharnabazus, being come out of the City to refcue their People, were overthrown both. He flew Mindarus in the Field, fighting valiantly : as for Pharnabazus, he cowardly fled away. So the ATHENIANS spoiled the dead bodies (which were a great number) of a great deal of armour and riches, and took befides all their Enemies Ships. After they took the City of CIZYCUM, Pharnahazus having left it. Then the PSIOPONNESIANS being flain, they had not onely the possession of the whole Countrey of Hallsport, which they kept: but they drave their Enemies by force out of all parts of the Sea. There were at that time certain Letters intercepted, whereby a Secretary gave advertisement unto the Fphori at Sparta, of the overthrow in this fort : All is loft, Mindarm is flain, our People dye for hunger, and we know not what to do. Now the Souldiers of ATHENS that had been at this journey and overthrow, grew to fuch pride and reputation of themselves, that they would not, and disclaimed also to serve with other Souldiers that had been beaten many times, and went away with the worse : where they to the contrary had never been overcome as a little before happened, that the Captain Thrasyllus had been overthrown by the City of EPHESUS : and for this overthrow, the Educations had fet up a triumph and token of brass, to the utter shame and ignominy of the ATBENIANS. For the which Alcibiades Souldiers did very much rebuke Thrafyllus men, and did exceedingly excell their Captain and themselves, and would neither encamp with them, neither have to do with them, nor yet keep them company : untill such time as Pharnabarus came with a great Army against them, as well of Footmen as Horsemen, when they ran a foraging upon the ADDDERIANS : and then Alcibiades went to the refeue of them, and gave Pharnabaxus battel,

and overthrew him once again, and did together with Thrafyllus, chase him even untill dark night, Then both Alcibiades and Thrafyllus Souldiers did company together, one rejoycing with another: and so returned all with great joy into one Camp. The next morning Alcibiades set up a Triumph for the victory he had the day before, and then went to spoil and destroy Pharnabazus Countrey where he was Governour, and no man durst once come out to meet him. In this rode there were taken Prisoners, certain Priests and Nuns of the Countrey; but Alcibiades freely delivered them afterwards without ransome. And preparing to make Wars against the CHALCEDONIANS, who were revolted from the ATHENIANS, and had received a Garison and Governour of the LACE-DEMONIANS into their City, he was advertised that they had brought all their Goods and Cattels out of their Fields, and had delivered them to the fafe custody of the BYTHINIANS, who were their neighbours and friends. Hereupon he led his Army into their Borders, and fent a Herauld to funumon the Bythinians, to make amends for the wrong they had done the Athenians. The BYTHINIANS fearing lest Alcibiades would fet upon them, did straight deliver him their goods they had before in their custody, and moreover made a league with the ATHENIANS befides. That done, he went and laid fiege to the City of CHALCEDON, the which he environed all about from the one fide of the Sea to the other. Pharnabazus came thither, thinking to have raifed the fiege. And Hippocrates a Captain of the LACEDEMONIANS, that was Governour of the City, affembled all the force he was able to make within the fame, and made a falley out also upon the ATHENIANS at the very fame time. Whereupon Alcibiades putting his men in order of battel, fo as they might give charge upon them both at one inftant, fought fo valiantly, that he for- Alcibiates viced Pharnabaxus to run his way with shame enough, and slew Hippocrates in the Field, with a great story at Chalnumber of his men. Then took he the Seas again, to go towards the Countrey of Helle cedonia. number of his men. Then took he the Seas again, to go towards the Countrey of Helle Milibiades SPONT, to get fome Money, where on the fudden he did take the City of Selvere : because took the City he valiantly put himself in hazard before the time appointed him. For certain of his friends with- of Selptra. in , with whom he had fecret practife , had given him a token , that when time ferved , they would shew a burning torch in the air at midnight : but they were compelled to shew this fire in the air before they were ready, for fear left one of their confederacy would betray the matter, who fuddenly repented him. Now this torch burning in the air, was fet before Alcibiades was ready with his company. But he perceiving the fign fet, took about thirty men with him in his company, and ran with them to the walls of the City, having commanded the rest of his Army to follow him with all speed possible. The gate was opened to him, and to his thirty men : besides them there followed twenty other light armed men. Howbeir they were no fooner entred the City, but they heard the Citizens armed come against them : so that there was no hope to scape, if they did tarry their coming. Nevertheless, considering that untill that present time, he was never overcome in The present battel where he had taken charge; it grieved him very much to fly : wherefore it straight came in wit of Alibiahis head to make filence by found of Trumpet, and after filence made, he caused one of them that des. were about him to make Proclamation with a loud voice, that the SELY BRIANIANS Should not take Arms against the ATHENIANS. This cooled them a little that would fain have been doing, because they supposed that all the Army of the ATHENIANS had been already in the City: the other on the contrary fide, were very glad to talk of peace, without any further danger. And as they began to parle upon composition, the rest of Aicibiades Army was come on. Now he thinking indeed (which was true) that the SELYBRIANIANS fought nothing but peace, and fearing left the THRACIANS (which were many in number , and came with good will to ferve him in that journey) would fack and spoil the City, he made them all to go out again : and so concluding peace with the chief of the SELYBRIANIANS, he did them no more hurt upon their humble dubmission, but made them pay him a sum of money, and so leaving a Garison of the Athenians within the City, he departed thence. Whilst Alcibiades was in treaty with the Selv-BRIANIANS, the other ATHENIAN Captains that lay at the fiege of CHALCEDON, made an agreement with Pharnabazus, that he should give them a sum of money, and give up the Town into the ATHENIANS hands, to enjoy it as they did before. And with express condition The Chalcedoalfo, that the ATHENIANS should make no rodes into Pharnabaz su Dominions, to hurt or spoil nians receive any of his : and he likewise should be bound to give good safe conduct unto the Ambassadours of the the Athenians. ATHENIANS, to go and come fafe from time to time, to the King of Persia. The other Captains being sworn to this peace, Pharnabazus conditioned also that Alsibiades at his return should likewise be sworn to the peace and conditions thereof. But Alcibiades said he would not be fworn at all, unless Pharnabazau were first fworn for his part. Thus when Oaths were taken on either side, Alcibiades went also against those of BYZANTIUM, who in like case had rebelled against the ATHENIANS. At his first coming thither, he invironed the City round about with a wall. Afterwards he practifed with two fecret friends of his, Anaxilaus and Lycurgus, and certain other within the City, who promifed him to deliver it into his hands, so they might be affured he would do them no hurt. To colour this practife, he gave it out that he must needs leave the siege, Alcibiades straand depart with speed, for certain news that were come out of IONIA: and thereupon he im- tagem at Bybarked prefently, and went out of the haven at noon day with all his Ships, howbeit he returned gamium. again the same night. And going aland with the choisest and best armed men he had, he approached the walls of the City, without any manner of noise, and having left order with them that remained in the Ships, that in the mean season they should row with all force into the haven, with as great cries and shours as might be, to fear and trouble the Enemies : partly to fear the BYZANTINES

Alcibiades winneth By antium.

torn into his

Countrey.

the more with their judden coming among them, and partly that his confederates within the City, might with better opportunity receive him and his company, into the Town with the more affured fafety, whilst every man ran to the haven, to refift them that were upon the Galleys. Neverthelefs they went not away unfought with. For those that lay in garrifon within the City, some of them PELOPONNESIANS, other BOEOTIANS, and other MEGARIANS, did fo valiantly repulse them that came out of their Galleys, that they drave them to retire abound again. Afterwards hearing how the ATHENIAN'S were entred the City on the other fide, they put themselves in battel ray, and went to meet them. The battel was terrible of both parts: but Alcibiades in the end obtained victory, leading the right wing of this battel, and Theramenes the left. The victory being gotten, he took three hundred of his Enemies prisoners, who had escaped the fury of the battel. But after the battel, there was not a BYZANTINE put to death, neither banished, nor his goods confidenced: because it was capitulated by Alcibiade: with his confederates, that neither he nor his, should hurt any of the BYZANTINES, either in person or goods, nor any way should rifle them. And Anaxilam being afterwards accused of Treason in LACIDAMON for this practise, he anfwered and juftified himself in such fort, that they could not find he had committed the fault laid unto his charge. For he faid that he was no LACEDEMONIAN, but a BYZANTINE: and that he faw not LAC DEMON in danger, but BY ZANTIUM, which the Enemies had encompassed about with a wall they had built, that it was impossible to bring any thing into the City. Moreover he alledged, that they having small store of corn within the City (as was true indeed) the Palo-PONNESIANS and BOBOTIANS that lay there in garrison, did eat it up, while the poor By-ZANTINES themselves, their wives and children, died for very hunger. Therefore it could not be faid of him, that he had betrayed his Countrey, but rather that he had delivered it from the miferies and calamities the Wars brought upon it : wherein he had followed the example of the honestoff men of LACEDENON, who did acknowledge nothing honeft and just, but that which was necesfary and profitable for their Countrey. The LACEDBAONIANS hearing his reasons alledged for his purgation, were ashamed to condemn him, and therefore they let him go. Now Alcibiades destrous in the end to see his native Countrey again (to speak more truly, that his Countrey-men should see him) after he had so many times overthrown their Enemies in battel: he hoised sail and directed his course towards ATHENS, bringing with him all the Galleys of the ATHENIANS Altibiates ho- richly furnished, and decked all about with Scutchions and Targets, and other Armour and Weapon gotten amongst the spoils of his Enemies. Moreover, he brought with him many other Ships which he had won and broken in the Wars, besides many Ensigns and other Ornaments : all which being counted together one with the other, made up the number of two hundred Ships. Furthermore, where Davis Samian writeth (who challenged that he came of his houle) that at thermore, where Davis Samian writeth (who challenged that he came of his houle) that at thermore, where Davis an excellent player on the Flute (that had won certain of the Pythinis return one Chrysogonus, an excellent player on the Flute (that had won certain of the Pythinis return one Chrysogonus, an excellent player on the Flute (that had won certain of the Pythinis return one Chrysogonus, an excellent player on the Flute (that had won certain of the Pythinis return one Chrysogonus, an excellent player on the Flute (that had won certain of the Pythinis return one Chrysogonus, an excellent player on the Flute (that had won certain of the Pythinis return one Chrysogonus, an excellent player on the Flute (that had won certain of the Pythinis return one Chrysogonus, an excellent player on the Flute (that had won certain of the Pythinis return one Chrysogonus, an excellent player on the Flute (that had won certain of the Pythinis return one Chrysogonus, an excellent player on the Flute (that had won certain of the Pythinis return one Chrysogonus, and excellent player on the Flute (that had won certain of the Pythinis return one Chrysogonus, and excellent player on the Flute (that had won certain of the Pythinis return one Chrysogonus, and the Chrys an games) did play fuch a note, that at the found thereof the Galley-flaves would keep stroke with their Oars; and that Callippides another excellent player of Tragedies, playing the part of a Comedy, did ftir them to row, being in fuch Players garments as every Mafter of fuch Science useth commonly to wear, prefenting himself in a Theatre or Stage beforethe People to shew his art; and that the Admirall-Galley wherein himself was, entred the Haven with a Purple Sail, as if some Masque had come into a mans house after some great Banquet made : neither Ephorm, nor Theopom-Piss, nor Xenophon, make anymention of this at all. Furthermore, methiaks it should not be true, that he (returning from exile after to long a banishment, and having) passed over such forrows and calamities as he had sustained) would so proudly and presumptroously thew hanself unto the ATRA NIANS. But meerly contrary, it is most certain, that he returned in great fear and doubt. For when he was arrived in the Haven of PIREA, he would not fer foot aland, before he first saw his Nephew Euryptolemus, and divers other of his friends, from the harches of his Ship, flanding upon the fand in the Havens mouth ; who were come thither to receive and welcome him , and told him that he might be hold to land, without fear of any thing. He was no fooner landed, but all the People ran out of every corner to fee him, with fo great love and affection, that they took no heed of the other Captains that came withhim, but clustered all to him onely, and cried out for joy to fee him : Those that could come near him, did welcome and embrace him ; but all the People wholly followed him. And somethat came to him, put Garlands of Flowers upon his head : and those that could not come near him, faw him afar off, and the old folkes did point him out to the younger fort. But this common joy was mingled norwithflanding with tears and forrow, when they came to think upon their former misfortune and calamities, and to compare them with their prefent prosperity: weighing with themselves also how they had not lost Sicilia, nor their hope in all things else had failed them, if they had delivered themselves and the charge of their Army into Alcibiades hands, when they fent for him to appear in person before them. Confidering also how he found the City of ATHENS in manner put from the feigniory and; commandment of the Sea; and on the other fide how their force by Land was brought into such extremity, that ATHENS frantly could defend her Suburbs, the City felf being so divided and turmoyled with civil diffention : yet he gathered together thole few, and small force that remained, and had not onely reftered ATHENS to her former power and foveraignty on the Sea, but had made her also conqueror by Land. Now the Decree for his repair home again, past before by the People, at the instant request of Cultius, the Son of Challesenna, who did prefer it : 25he himfelt did teftifie in his Elegies, putting Altibiades in remembrance of the good turn he had done him, faying:

I was the first that moved in open conference The Peoples voyce to call thee home, when thou wert banisht hence. So was I eke the fir ft which thereto gave confent. And therefore may I boldly say, by truth of such intent : I was the onely mean, to call thee bome again, By fuch request so rightly made, to move the Peoples vain And this may ferve for pledge, what friendship I thee bear : Fast sealed with a faithfull tongue, as plainly shall appear.

But notwithstanding, the People being affembled in Council, Alcibiades came before them, and made an Cration : wherein he first lamented all the mishaps, and found himself grieved a little

with the wrongs they had offered him, yet he imputed all in the end to his curfed fortune, and

fome spightfull god that envied his glory and prosperity. Then he dilated at large the great hope Alcibiades otheir Enemies had to have advantage of them : and therewithall perswaded the People to be of ration to the good courage, and afeard of nothing that was to come. And to conclude, the People crowned people. him with Crowns of Gold, and chose him General again of Athens, with soveraign power Alcibideschoand Authority both by Land and by Sea. And at that very inftant it was decreed by the People, fengoneral that he should be restored again to his Goods, and that the Priests Eumolpides should absolve with soveraign him of all their Curses, and that the Heraulds should with open Proclamation revoke the Execrati- authority. ons and curfings they had thundred out against him before, by commandment of the People. Whereto they all agreed, and were very willing, faving Theodorus the Bilhop, who faid : I did neither excommunicate him, nor curse him, if he hath done no hurt to the Commonwealth. Now Alcibiades flourished in his chiefest prosperity, yet were there some notwithstanding that misliked very much the time of his landing : faying, it was very unlucky and unfortunate. For the very day of his the time of instanding : raying, it was very amount, and the state of the washing day, which they celebrate in the honour of Minerva : on the which day, the Pricts that they call Praxiergides, do make certain secret and hidden Sacrifices and Ceremonies, being the five and twentieth day of the Moneth of September, and do take from the Image of this goddess all her Rayment and Jewels, and keep the Image close covered over. Hereupon the ATHENIANS do ascribe that day for a most unfortunate day, and are very circumspect to do any matter of importance on it. Moreover, it was commonly scanned abroad of every body, that it seemed the goddels was not content, nor glad of Alcibiades return : and that the did hide her felf, because the would not fee him, nor have him come near her. Notwithstanding all these toyes and Ceremonies, when Alcibiades found every thing fell out well at his return, and as he would have withed it; he armed a hundred Galleys prefently, to return again to the Wars. Howbeit he wifely regarded the time and folemnity of celebration of these mysteries, and considerately stayed untill they had finished all. And it fell out, that after the LACEDEMONIANS had taken and fortified the City of DECRIBA, within the Territory of ATTICA, and that the Enemies being the strong ger in the Field, did keep the way going from ATHENS to ELEUSIN, fo as by no possible means they could make their folemn procession by Land, with such honour and devotion as they were before accustomed to do: and thereby all the Sacrifices, Daunces, and many other holy devour Ceremonies they were wont to do by the way, in finging the holy Song of Inching, came of very necessity to be left off and clean laid aside. Then Alcibiades though he should do a meritorious Alcibiades redeed to the gods, and an acceptable to men, to bring the old Ceremonies up again upon the faid flored the old Feast : and thereupon purposed to accompany the Procession, and defend it by power against all Ceremonies. invalion and disturbance by the Enemies: as one that foresaw one of these two things would come to pals : Either that Agis King of the LACEDEMONIANS would not flir at all, and that he by this means should so much imbase and diminish his reputation and glory : or if he did come out into the Field, that he would make the Battel very gratefull to the gods, confidering it should be in defence of their most holy Feast and Worship, and in the fight of his Countrey, where the People should see and witness both his valiantness, and also his courage. Alcibiades being fully refolved upon this procession, went and made the Priests Eumolpides, their Vergers, and other their Ministers and Officers of these mysteries, privy to his determination. Then he fent out Scouts to watch on the fide of the hills thereabouts, and to view the way of their perambulation. The next morning very early he fent out light Horsemen also to scour the Countrey. Then he made the Priests, the professed, and all the Ministers of Religion, go in Procession, together with those that followed the fame : and he himself compassed them about with his Army on every side, mar-

ching in Battel ray, and very good order, and with great filence. This was an honourable and

devout leading of an Army, and such as if his greatest Enemies would confess a truth, they

could not but say, Alcibiades had as much shewed the Office of a high Bishop, or of a noble

Souldier and good Captain. So he entred this Procession, returning to ATHENS in all safe or-

der again, and not an Enemy that durst once look out into the Field to set upon them. Now

this did more encrease the greatness of his mind, and therewith the Peoples good opinion of his

fufficiency, and wife conduction of an Army: infomuch as they thought him unvincible, having

the Soveraign Power and Authority of a General. Furthermore, he spake so fair to the

poor People, and meaner fort, that they chiefly wished and defired he would take upon him

like a King o yea, and many went to him to perswade him in it, as though he should thereby

withftand all envy, and drive away the Laws and Customs of trying of matters by the voyces of the People, and all fuch fond devices as did destroy the state of the Commonweal. And furthermore, they faid it was very needfull that he alone should take upon him the whole Rule and Government of the City, that he might dispose all things according to his will, and not stand in sear of slanderous and wicked tongues. Now, whether Alcibiades ever had any mind to uturp the Kingdom, the matter is fomewhat doubtfull. But this is certain, the greatest men of the City fearing left indeed he meant fome such thing, did haften his departure as soon as they could positible, doing all other things according to his mind : and did assign him such Affociates in his charge of General, as he himfelf beft liked. So in the end he departed with a cond journey. Fleet of an hundred Galleys, and first of all he fell with the Isle of Andros, where he overcame by fight the Inhabitants of the faid Isle, and certain LACEDEMONIANS that were amonght them : but he took not the City, which was one of the first matters his Enemies did accule him for. For if ever man was overthrown and envied for the estimation they had of his valour and sufficiency, truly Alcibiades was the man. For his notable and sundry services he had done, won him such estimation of wisdom and valiantness, that where he slacked in any service whatfoevever, he was prefently suspected, judging the ill success not in that he could not, but for that he would not : and that where he undertook any Enterprife, nothing could withfrand or lie in his way. Hereupon the People performing themselves, that immediately after his departies in his way. Hereupon the People performing themselves, that immediately after his departies, they should hear that the Ille of Chio was taken, with all the Country of 10 NIA, Lack of money cite, viewy more and the lack of findently from him as they looked for. Moreover, the occasion of they were angry they could have no news fo fuddently from him as they looked for. Moreover, the occasion of they were angly they could have no news to had and specially making War with such Enemies, the overthrow they did not consider the lack of money he had, and specially making War with such Enemies, of the Albenia as were ever relieved with the great King of Persia's aid, and that for necessities sake he was fundry times driven to leave his Camp, to feek money where he could get it, to pay his Souldiers, and to maintain his Army. Now for testimony hereof, the last Accusation that was against him, was onely for this matter. Lyfander being sent by the LACEDEMONIANS for Admiral and General of their Army by Sea, used such policy with Cyrus the King of Per-51A's brother, that he got into his hands a great fum of money: by means whereof he gave unto his Mariners four Oboles a day for their Wages, where before they were wont to have but three, and yet Alcibiades had much ado to furnish his with three onely a day. For this caule, to get money, Alcibiades failed unto CARIA. But in the mean time Antiochus, whom Alcibiades had left his Lieutenant behind him, and had given him charge of all the Ships in his ablence, being a very skilfull Sea-man, but otherwise a hafty harebraind fool, and of small capacity: he being expresly commanded by Alcibiades not to fight in any case, though the Enemies offered him Battel, was to foolish rash, and made to little reckoning of his straight commandment, that he armed his own Galley, whereof himself was Captain, and other be-Antiochusrath- fides, and went to the City of EPHESUS, passing all along his Enemies Galleys, reviling and offering villany to those that stood upon the Hatches of their Galleys, Lyfander being marvelloully provoked by these words; went and encountred him at the first with a few Ships. The other Captains of the Galleys of the ATHENIANS, feeing Antiochus in danger, went to aid him, one after another. Then Lyfander of his part also set out all his whole Fleet against and the over-Lyfander being and men were taken Priloners: wherefore Lyfander fet up shews of triumph in token of victory.

Alcibiades hearing this illegarded news are started and applications. him, and in the end overcame them: Antiochus felf was killed in the conflict, and many Gallies general of the Alcibiades hearing this illfavoured news, returned prefently with all possible speed to Samos: Lucisonmann and when he came thither, he went with all the reft of his Fleet to offer Lysander battel. But Lyfander quietly contenting himself with his first Victory, went not out against him. Now this Victory was no fooner won, but one Thrafybulus the Son of Thrason, Alcibiades Enemy, went incontinently from the Camp, and got him to ATHENS, to accuse Aleibiades to the Michigales acpeople: whom he informed how all went to wrack, and that he had loft many Ships, for that cufed again by People : whom he informed now all went to wrack, and that he he gave too great credit to, Thriffipular, he regarded not his charge, carelelly putting men in truft; whom he gave too great credit to, and were full of Mariners becaule they were good fellows, and would drink drunk with him, and were full of Mariners mocks and knavish jests, such as they use commonly amongst themselves. And that he in the mean time took his pleasure abroad, here and there, scraping money together where he could come by it, keeping good chear, and feafting of the ABYDENIAN and IONIAN Curtizans, when the Enemies Army was so near theirs as it was. Moreover, they laid to his charge, that he did fortifie a Castle in the Countrey of THRACIA, near unto the City BISANTHE, for a place to retire himself unto, either because he could not, or rather that he would not live any longer in his own Countrey. Upon those accusations, the ATHENIANS giving credit to the report, did immediately choose new Captains, and thereby declared their milliking. Alcibiades hearing of this, and fearing left they would do him some worse harm, did leave straight the Altibides put ATHENIANS Camp, and gathering a certain number of strangers together, went of himself

nor State: where he got a marvellous mals of money together, by means whereof he did affure

the Grecians inhabiting those marches, from all invation of foraign Enemies. Now Tydem,

and Menander, and Adimanthus, the ATHENIANS Captains, being afterwards in a place com-

monly called the Goats River, with all the Galleys the City of ATHENS had at that time

upon the Coast: used every morning to go into the Sea, to offer Battel to Lyfander, who rode

at Anker before the City of Lampfachus, with all the LACEDEMONIANS Army by Sea, and commonly returned again to the place from whence they came, in very ill order, without either Lyfander rode watch or ward, as men that were careless of their Enemies. Alcibiades being on the Land not for Lambiafar off, and finding their great fault and negligence, took his Horse, and went to them, and cut, told them that they lay on an ill shoar, where there was no good rode, nor Town, and where they were driven to seek their Victuals, as far as to the City of SESTOS, and that they suffered their Mariners to leave their Ships, and go aland when they lay at anker, stragling up and down the Countrey as they would themselves, without regard that there lay a great Army of their Enemies before them, ready to be 'fet out at the Generals commandment : and therefore he advised them to remove thence, and go to cast anker before the City of Sastos. Howbeit The Arbenians the Captains would not be advised by him : and that which was worst of all, Tydaus, one of regarded not the Captains, flourly commanded him to get him away, as one that had nothing to do with the matter, and that other had charge of the Army. Whereupon Alcibiades fearing they would purpole some Treason against him, did depart presently from them. And as he went his way, he faid to some of his friends which accompanyed him out of the Camp at his return : that if the Captains of the ATHENIANS had not been so round with him, he would have forced the LACEDEMONIANS to have come to battel in despight of their beards, or else he would have driven them to forfake their Ships. Some took this for a glorious brag : other thought he was like enough to have done it, because he could have brought from Land a great number of THRACIANS, both Archers and Horsemen, with whom he might have given a charge upon the LACEDEMONIANS, and done great mischief unto their Camp. But now, how wifely Alcibiades did foresee the faults he told the ATHENIANS Captains of, their great missfortune and loss that followed incontinently, did too plainly witness it to the World. For Lyfander The Athenians came so fiercely upon them on a sudden, that of all the Ships that they had in their whole overcome by Fleet, onely eight Gallys were faved, with whom Conon fled : and the other being not much Lyfander. less then two hundred in number, were every one of them taken and carried away, with three thousand Prisoners, whom Lysander put to death. Shortly after, he took the City self of Athens taken ATHENS, and razed their long Walls even to the ground. After this great and notable Victo- by Lyfander. ry, Alcibiades fearing fore the LACEDEMONIANS, who then without lett or interruption of any, were onely Lords and Princes by Sea and by Land: he went into the Countrey of BYTHI- Alcibiades fly-NIA, and caused great Goods to be brought after him, and took a marvellous sum of mo- eth into the nev with him, besides great Riches he lest also in the Castles of Thracia, where he did re- Countrey of main before. Howbeit he loft much of his Goods in BYTHINIA, which certain THRACI- Bythtnia. ANS dwelling in that Countrey, had robbed him of, and taken from him. So he determined to repair forthwith unto King Artaxerxes , hoping that when the King had once proved him, he should find him a man of no less service, then he had found Themistocles before him; besides that the occasion of his going thither, should be much juster then his was : for he did not go thither, to make War against the City of ATHENS and his Countrey, as Themistocles did : but of a contrary intent, to make intercession to the King, that it would please him to aid them, Now Alcibiades thinking he could use no better mean then Pharnabazus help onely, to see him fafely conducted to the Kings Court : he took his journey to him into the Countrey of PHRY-GIA, where he abode a certain time to attend upon him, and was very honourably entertained and received of *Pharnabazus*. All this while the ATHENIANS found themselves desolate, Lylander apand in miserable state to see their Empire lost: but then much more, when Lysander had taken pointed thirty away their Liberties, and fet thirty Governours over their City. Now too late, after all was tyrants over loft (where they might have recovered again, if they had been wife) they began together to the Citizens bewail and lament their miseries and wretched state, looking back upon all their wilfull faults of Athens. and follies committed : among which, they did reckon their fecond time of falling out with Al- Too late recibiades, was their greatest fault : for they banished him onely of malice and displeasure, not for the Athenians. any offence himself in person had committed against them, taying that his Lieutenant in his abfence had fhamefully loft a few of their Ships : and they themselves more shamefully had driven out of their City, the nobleft Souldier, and most skilfull Captain that they had. And yet they had some little poor hope left, that they were not altogether cast away, so long as Alcibiades lived, and had his health. For before, when he was a forfaken man, and led a banished life, yet he could not live idlely, and do nothing; wherefore now much more, faid they to themfelves, if there be any help at all, he will not fuffer out of doubt the infolency and pride of the LACEDAMONIANS, nor yet abide the cruelties and outrages of these thirty Tyrants. And furely the common People had fome reason to have these thoughts in their heads, considering that the thirty Governours themselves did what they could possibly to spy out Alcibi. des doings, and what he went about. Infomuch as Critius at the last, declared to Lyfander, that so long the LACEDEMONIANS might reckon themselves Lords over all GREECE, as they kept from the common People the Rule and Authority of the City of ATHENS. And further he added, that notwithstanding the People of ATHEN'S could well away to live like Subjects under the Government of a few: yet Alcibiades whilest he lived, would never suffer them so to be reigned over, but would attempt by all device he could, to bring a change and innovation among them. Yet Lysander would not credit these perswasions, before speciall commandment was sent to him

from his Au- to make War upon certain free People of the THRACIANS, who were subject to no Prince thoult of Ge-

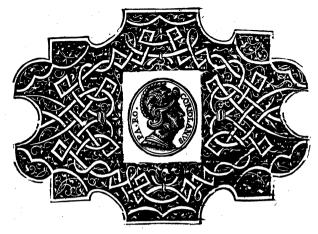
ALCIBIADES.

The Lacedamonians will Lyfander to kill Alcibiades.

from the Senate of LACEDEMON, upon his Allegiance, that he should devise to kill Alcibiades by all means he could procure: either because in troth they seared the subtility of his wit, and the greatnels of his courage, to enterprife matters of great weight and danger, or elle that they fought to granels of his courage, ners or the courage, recently the manuary or great weight and manger, or the that they rought to gratific King Agis by it. Lyfander being thus straightly commanded, did fend and practife incontinent. ly with Pharmabazsu to execute the Fact : who gave his Brother Magasus, and his Uncle Susamithres Commission to attempt the matter. Now was Alcibiades in a certain Village of PHRYGIA, with a Concubine of his called *Timandra*. So he thought he dreamed one night that he had put on his Concu-Pergis before bines Apparell, and how the dandling him in her arms, had drefted his head, frizeled his hair, and painted his face, as he had been a woman. Other fay, that he thought Magent strake off his head, paniere instace, as ite had been a woman. Other ray, that he thought 272 age 250 neares of his head, and made his body to be burnt: and the voice goeth, this Vision was but a little before his death. Those that were sent to kill him, durst not enter the house where he was, but set it on fire round about. Alcibiades (pying the fire, got fuch Apparell and Hangings as he had, and threw it on the fire, thinking to have put it out : and fo catting his Cloak about his left arm, took his naked Sword in his other hand, and ran out of the house, himself not once touched with fire, faying his clothes were a little finged. These murtherers, so soon as they spied him, drew back, and stood afunder, and durst not one of them come near him, to stand and fight with him: but afar off, they bestowed so many Arrows and Darts on him, that they killed him there. Now when they had left him, Timandra went and took Curtizan buried Middleth his body, which the wrapped up in the best Linen she had, and buried him as honourably as she could polible, with fuch things as the had, and could get together. Some hold opinion that Lau, the onely Last a Cuttipointoie, whili their tamps as life man, and count get together, a other form opinion that Last, the only famous Curtizan, which they fay was of CORINTH, though indeed the was born in a little Town of Sicilia, called Hiccara, where the was taken, was his daughter. Notwithflanding, touching the death of Alcibiades, there are fome that agree to all the rest I have written, saving that they say, it was neither Pharmabazus, nor Lyfander, nor the Lacedemonians, which caufed him to be flain, was neutral rout more man, incl. Light and the head from a Noble house, whom he had from away, and in-Dut that he account while a young Schick woman of a roune nome; whom he had been away, and in-ticed to folly: her Brethren to revenge this injury, went to fer fire upon the house where he was, and that they killed him as we have told you, thinking to leap out of the fire.

The end of Alcibiades life.

THE LIFE OF CAIUS MARTIUS CORIOLANUS.



Ann. Mund.

Ant. Christ.



HE House of the Martians at ROME was of the number of the Patri-The Family, out of the which have sprung many noble personages, whereof An-on Martine was one, King Numa's Daughters Son, who was King of the Mar-ROME after Tullus Hostilius. Of the same House were Publius and Quin- Publius and two, who brought to ROME their best water they had by Conduits. Cen- Quintus Marforinus also came of that Family, that was so surnamed, because the Peo- tius, brought ple had chosen him Cenfor twice. Through whose perswasion they made conduits to a Law, that no man from thenceforth might require, or enjoy the Cen-Rome. forship twice. Caius Martius, whose Life we intend now to write, be- Cenforinuslaw. ing left an Orphan by his Father, was brought up under his Mother a

Widow, who taught us by experience, that Orphanage bringeth many discommodities to a Child, but doth not hinder him to become an honest man, and to excell in vertue above the common fort; as they that are meanly born, wrongfully do complain, that it is the occasion of their casting away, for that no man in their youth taketh any care of them to fee them well brought up, and taught that were meet. This man also is a good proof to confirm some mens opinions: That a rare and excellent wit untaught, doth bring forth many good and evill things together: as a fat foyl that lyeth unmanured bringeth forth both herbs and weeds. For this Martins naturall wit and great heart did marvellously stir up his courage to do and attempt notable acts. But on the other fide for lack of education, he was so cholerick and impatient, that he would yeeld to no living creature: which made him churlish, uncivill, and altogether unfit for any mans conversation. Yet men marvelling much at his conftancy, that he was never overcome with pleasure, nor money, and how he would endure eafily all manner of pains and travels: thereupon they well liked and commended his stoutness and temperancy. But for all that, they could not be acquainted with him, as one Citizen useth to be with another in the City: his behaviour was so unpleasant to them by reafon of a certain infolent and stern manner he had, which because he was too Lordly, was disliked. And to fay truly, the greatest benefit that Learning bringeth unto men, is this : that it teacheth The benefit of men that be rude and rough of nature, by compass and rule of reason, to be civill and courteous, Learning. and to like better the mean flate, then the higher. Now in those days, valiantness was honoured what this in ROME, above all other vertues: which they called virtue, by the name of vertue it self, as inclusioned word First ding in that generall name, all other speciali vertues besides. So that virtus in the Latine, was as significant. much as valiantness. But Martin being more inclined to the Wars, then any other Gentleman of his time, began from his childhood to give himself to handle Weapons, and daily did exercise himself therein; and he esteemed outward Armour to no purpose, unless one were naturally armed within. Moreover, he did so exercise his body to hardness and all kind of activity,

a garland of oaken boughs.

The goodness of the Oak.

Too fudden honour in youth killeth further defire of fame.

Extremity of nfury complained of at Rome by the People.

that he was very swift in running, strong in wrestling, and mighty in griping, so that no man could ever cast him. Infomuch as those that would try masteries with him for strength and nimbleness, would fay when they were overcome : that all was by reason of his natural strength, and hardness Coriolanus first of ward, that never yeelded to any pain or toyl he took upon him. The first time he went to going to Wars, the Wars, being but a ftripling, was when Tarquine furnamed the proud (that had been King of ROME, and was driven out for his pride, after many attempts made by fundry Battels to come in again, wherein he was ever overcome) did come to ROME with all the aid of the LATINES, and again, wherein he was ever overcome / and controlled the whole reft upon a Battell by them, who many other People of IT ALY: even as it were to fet up his whole reft upon a Battell by them, who with a great and mighty Army had undertaken to put him into his Kingdom again, not fo much to pleasure him, as to overthrow the power of the ROMANS, whose greatness they both seared and envied. In this Battell, wherein were many hot and sharp encounters of either party, Martins valiantly fought in the fight of the Diffator: and a ROMAN Souldier being thrown to the ground even hard by him, Martius straight bestrid him, and slew the Enemy with his own hands that had before overthrown the ROMAN. Hercupon, after the Battell was won, the Diffator did not forget fo noble an act, and therefore first of all he crowned Martin with a Garland of oaken boughs. For whosever saveth the life of a ROMAN, it is a manner among them, to honour him with such crowned with a Garland. This was, either because the Law did this honour to the Oak, in favour of the Arca-DIANS, who by the Oracle of Apollo were in old time called eaters of akorns: or else because the Souldiers might easily in every place come by oaken boughs: or lastly, because they thought it very necessary, to give him that had faved a Cirizens life, a Crown of this Tree to honour him, being properly dedicated unso Jupiter, the Patron and Protector of Cities, and thought amongst other wild Trees to bring forth a profitable Fruit, and of Plants to be the strongest. Moreover, men at the first beginning did use akorns for their bread, and honey for their drink: and further, the Oak did feed their Beafts, and give them Birds, by taking glew from the Oaks, with the which they made bird-lime to catch filly Birds. They fay that Castor and Pollan, appeared in this Battell, and that incontinently after the Battell , men faw them in the Market-place at ROME , all their Horses being on a white foam: and they were the first that brought news of the Victory, even in the same place, where remaineth at this prefent a Temple built in the honour of them, near unto the Fountain. And this is the caule, why the day of this victory (which was the fifteenth of July) is confecrated yet to this day unto Caffor and Pollux. Moreover it is daily feen, that honour and reputation lighting on young men before their time, and before they have any great courage by nature, the defire to win more dieth straight in them, which easily happeneth, the same having no deep root in them before. Where contrariwise, the first honour that valiant minds do come unto, doth quicken up their appetite, hastning them forward as with force of wind, to enterprife things of high deferving praise. For they efteen not to receive reward for service done, but rather take it for a remembrance and encouragement, to make them do better in time to come : and be ashamed also to cast their honour at their heels, not feeking to increase it still by like desert of worthy valiant deeds. This desire Coriolanus no- being bred in Martine, he ftrained ftill to pass himself in manlines : and being desirous to shew a Corrolation daily increase of his valiantness, his noble service did still advance his same, bringing in spoyls upon spoyls from the Enemies. Whereupon, the Captains that came afterwards (for envy of them well deferring that went before) did contend who should most honous him, and who should bear most honourable testimony of his valiantness. Infomuch as the ROMANS having many Wars and Battels in those days, Coriolanus was at them all: and there was not a Battell fought, from whence he returned not with some reward of honour. And as for other, the onely respect that made them valiant, was that they hoped to have honour : but touching Martius, the onely thing that made him to love honour, was the joy he saw his Mother did take of him. For he thought nothing made him so happy and honourable, as that his Mother might hear every body praise and commend him, that she might always fee him return with a Crown upon his head, and that the might ftill embrace him with tears Coriolanus and running down her cheeks for joy: Which defire they fay Epaminendas did avow and confess to Epaminondar have been in him, as to think himself a most happy and blessed man, that his Father and Modid both place ther in their life time had feen the victory he wan in the plain of Leuctres. Now as for Epaminondas, he had this good hap, to have his Father and Mother living, to be partakers of his nonour auke.

The obedience joy and prosperity: but Martim thinking all due to his Mother, that had been also due to his Faof Coriolassus ther if he had lived, did not onely content himself to rejoyce and honour her, but at her desire took to his Mother. a Wife also, by whom he had two Children, and yet never left his Mothers houle therefore. Now he being grown to great credit and authority in ROME for his valiantness, it fortuned there grew fedition in the (ity, because the Senate did favour the rich against the People, who did complain of the fore oppression of Usurers, of whom they borrowed money. For those that had little, were yet fpoiled of that little they had by their Creditors, for lack of ability to pay the Ulury: who offered their Goods to be fold to them that would give most. And such as had nothing left, their bodies were laid hold on, and they were made their Bondmen, notwithstanding all the wounds and cuts they shewed, which they had received in many Battels, fighting for defence of their Countrey and Common wealth: of the which, the last War they made was against the SABYNS, wherein they fought upon the promife the rich men had made them, that from thenceforth they would intreat them more promifes make gently, and also upon the word of Marcin Valering chief of the Senate, who by Authority of men valint, in the Council, and in the behalf of the rich the Council, and in the behalf of the rich, faid they should perform that they had promited But after that they had faithfully ferved in this laft Battell of all, where they overcame their Enemies, CORIOLANUS.

feeing they were nevera whit the better, nor more gently intreated, and that the Senate would give no ear to them, but made as though they had forgotten their former promite, and fuffered them to Ingratitude. be made Slaves and Bond-men to their Creditors; and befides, to be turned out of all that ever they and good ferhad: they fell then even to flat rebellion and mutiny, and to ftir up dangerous tumults within the City, vice unrewar-The ROMANS Enemies hearing of this rebellion, did straight enter the Territories of ROME with ded, prove a marvellous great Power, fpoiling and burning all as they came. Whereupon the Senate immediately made open Proclamation by found of Trumpet, That all those that were of lawfull age to carry Weapon, should come and enter their names into the Muster-masters Book, to go to the Wars; but no man obeyed their commandment. Whereupon their chief Magistrates, and many of the Senate, began to be of divers opinions among themselves. For somethought it was reason, they should somewhat yeeld to the poor Peoples request, and that they should a little qualifie the severity of the Law. Other held hard against that opinion, and that was Martin for one. For he alledged, Martins Corinof the Law. Other neutrative against that opposite that the Creditours lofing their Money they had lent, was not the worft thing that was herein; but the people. that the lenity that was favoured, was a beginning of disobedience, and that the proud attempt of the Commonalty, was to abolish Law, and to bring all to confusion. Therefore he said, if the Senate were wife, they should betimes prevent and quench this ill favoured and worse meant beginning. The Se- The People nate met many days in consultation about it; but in the end they concluded nothing. The poor leave the City common People feeing no redrefs, gathered themselves one day together, and one encouraging another, they all for look the City, and encamped themselves upon a hill, called at that day the holy bill along the River of Tiber, offering no creature any hurt or violence, or making any shew of actuall rebellion, faving that they cried as they went up and down, that the rich men had driven them out of the City, and that throughout all ITALY they might find air, water, and ground to bury them in. Moreover they faid, to dwell at ROME was nothing elfe but to be flain, or hurt with continual Wars, and fighting for defence of the rich mens Goods. The Senate being afraid of their departure, did fend unto them certain of the pleasantest old men, and the most acceptable to the People among them. Of those Minenius Agrippa was he, who was sent for chief man of the Message from the Senate. He after many good perswasions and gentle requests made to the People, on the behalf of the Senate, knit up his Oration in the end, with a notable tale, in this manner: That on An excellent a time all the Members of mans body did rebell against the belly, complaining of it, that it onely tale told by remained in the midft of the body, without doing any thing, neither did bear any labour to the grippa to pacimaintenance of the reft: whereas all other parts and Members did labour painfully, and were very he the People. carefull to fatisfie the appetites and defires of the body. And fo the belly, all this notwithftanding laughed at their folly, and faid : It is true, I first receive all meats that nourish mans body; but afterwards I fend it again to the nourishment of other parts of the same. Even so (quoth he)O you, my Masters, and Citizens of ROME, the reason is alike between the Senate and you. For matters being well digested, and their counsels throughly examined, touching the benefit of the Common-wealth, the Senators are cause of the common commodity that cometh unto every one of you. These persuasions pacified the People, conditionally, that the Senate would grant there should be yearly chosen five Magistrates, which they now cast Tribani plebis, whose Office should be to defend gianting of the poor People from violence and oppression. So Junius Brutus, and Sicinius Velutus, were the Tribusi pickits. first Tribunes of the People that were chosen, who had onely been the causers and procurers of this Faniss Brans, sedition. Hereupon the City being grown again to good quiet and unity, the People immediately Sicinius Velawent to the Wars, shewing that they had a good will to do better then ever they did, and to be first Tribunes. very willing to obey the Magistrates in that they would command, concerning the Wars. Martins also, though it liked him nothing to fee the greatness of the People thus increased, confidering it was to the prejudice and imbasing of the Nobility, and also saw that other noble Patricians were troubled as well as himself: he did perswade the Patricians, to shew themselves no less forward and willing to fight for their Countrey, then the common People were: and to let them know by their deeds and acts, that they did not so much pass the People in power and riches, as they did exceed them in true Nobility and valiantnels. In the Countrey of the VOLSCES, against whom the ROMANS made War at that time, there was a principall City of most fame, that was called CORIOLES, before the which the Confull Cominius did lay fiege. Wherefore all the other VOLSCES fearing left The City of that City should be taken by affault, they came from all parts of the Countrey to fave it, intending Corioles befier to give the ROMANS battell before the City, and to give an onset on them in two severall places. Gonfull Comi-The Conful Commiss understanding this, divided his Army also into two parts, and taking the one nius. part with himself, he marched towards them that were drawing to the City out of the Countrey: and the other part of his Army he left in the Camp with Titus Latius (one of the valiantest men Titius Latius, a the ROMANS had at that time) to refift those that would make any falley out of the City upon valizat Roman. them. So the CORIOLANS making small account of them that lay in Camp before the City, made a Salley out upon them, in thewhich at the first the Coriol Ans had the better, and drave the ROMANS back again into the Trenches of their Camp. But Martins being there at that time, running out of the Camp with a few men with him, he flew the first Enemies he met withall, and made the rest of them stay upon the sudden, crying out to the ROMANS that had turned their backs, and The property calling them again to fight with a loud voice. For he was even such another, as Cato would have a of a Souldier. Souldier and a Captain to be, not onely terrible and fierce to lay about him, but to make the Enemy afraid with the found of his voyce, and grimness of his countenance. Then there flocked about him

immediately, a great number of ROMANS: whereat the Enemies were so afraid, that they gave

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The City of

Corroles taken.

CORIOLAN US. back prefently. But Marine not staying to, did chase and follow them to their own Gates, that ned for the. And there perfecting that the Amarica and Arrows which flew about their ears from the Walls of the City, and that there was no cone and Arrows which new about the first to follow the flying Enemies into their City, for that it man amongst them that durst venture himself to follow the flying Enemies into their City, for that it man antonger ment that durit venture minion to follow the mying and and any jor that it was full of men of War, very well armed and appointed, he did encourage his fellows with words and deeds, crying out to them, that fortune had opened the Gares of the City, more for the followers then the flyers. But all this notwithflanding, few had the hearts to follow him. Howbeit Martim being in the throng amongst the Enemies, thrust himself into the Gates of the City, and entred the fame among them that fled, without that any one of them durft at the first turn their face upon the name among them that need, without that any one or than a feeing he was entred the City with very him, or offer to flay him. But he looking about him, and feeing he was entred the City with very mm, or oner to tray mm. Due the tooking about mm, and then give was entired the city with very few men to help him, and perceiving he was environed by his Enemies that gathered round about to fet upon him, did things as it is written, wonderfull and incredible, aswell for the force of his hand, as allo for the agility of his body, and with a wonderfull courage and valiantness he made a lane through the midft of them, and overthrew also those he layed at: that some he made run to rane introugume mun or mem, and overtunew and more he hard at the fourthest part of the City, and other for fear he made yeeld themselves, and to let fall their weather for fear he made yeeld themselves. pons before him. By this means, Martin that was gotten out, had fome leifure to bring the Ro-NAN'S with more fatery into the City. The City being taken in this fort, the most part of the Souldiers began incontinently to fpoil, to carry away, and to look up the booty they had won. But Martin was marvellous angry with them, and cried out on them, that it was no time now to look after spoil, and to run stragging here and there to enrich themselves, whilest the other Consul and ancer 1901, and 10 1011 in againg race and increase, mind and how that leaving the fpoil, their fellow Citizens peradventure were fighting with their Enemies: and how that leaving the fpoil, they should feek to wind themselves out of danger and perill. Howbeit, cry and say to them what he could, very few of them would hearken to him. Wherefore taking those that willingly offered themselves to follow him, he went out of the City, and took his way towards that part, where he understood the rest of the Army was, exhorting and intreating them by the way that followed him, not to be faint-hearted; and oft holding up his hands to Heaven, be befought the gods to be gracious and favourable unto him, that he might come in time to the Battell, and in a good hour to ha zard his life in defence of his Countrey-men. Now the ROMANS when they were put in battell ray, and ready to take their Targets on their arms, and to gird them upon their arming Coats, had a custom to make their Wills at that very instant, without any manner of writing, naming him Souldiers Te- onely whom they would make their Heir in the prefence of three or four Winelies. Martin cane just to that reckoning, whilft the Souldiers were doing after that fort, and that the Enemis were approached so near, as one stood in view of the other. When they saw him at his first coning all bloody, and in a fweat, and but with a few men following him: fome thereupon began to be afeard. But soon after, when they saw him run with a lively cheer to the Confull, and so takehim by the hand, declaring how he had taken the City of CORIOLES, and that they faw the Confull Cominion also kils and embrace him: then there was not a man but took heart again to him, and began to be of good courage, fome hearing him report from point to point, the happy furcels of this Exploit, and other also conjecturing it by seeing their gettures afar off. Then they all began to call upon the Confull to march forward, and to delay no longer, but to give charge upon the Enemy. Martins asked him how the order of their Enemies Battel was, and on which fide they had placed their best fighting men. The Consult made him answer, that he thought the Bands which were in the vaward of their Battell, were those of the ANTIATES, whom they estremed to be the warlikeft men, and which for valiant courage would give no place, to any of the Hoft of By Coriolanus their Enemies. Then prayed Martim, to be fet directly against them. The Confull granted him, greatly praifing his courage. Then Martim, when both Armies came almost to joyn, advanced himfelf a good space before his Company, and went so siercely to give charge on the vaward that came right againft him, that they could ftand no longer in his hands : he made fuch a lane through them, and opened a passage into the Battell of the Enemies. But the two Wings of either side turmeans the Volfci were ned one to the other, to compass him in between them: which the Consull Committee perceiving, overcome in he fent thither ftraight of the best Souldiers he had about him. So the Battell was marvellous bloudy about Maring, and in a very thort space many were slain in the place. But in the end the ROMANS were fo ftrong, that they diffrested the Enemies, and brake their array; and fartering them, made them fiy. Then they prayed Martin that he would retire to the Camp, be cause they saw he was able to do no more, he was already so wearied with the great pain he had taken, and so faint with the great wounds he had upon him. But Martin answered them, that it was not for Conquerours to yeeld, nor to be faint-hearted: and thereupon began afresh to chale those that fled, untill such time as the Army of the Enemies was utterly overthrown, and numbers of them flain and taken Prisoners. The next morning betimes, Martins went to the Conful, and the other ROMANS with him. There the Confull Cominius going up to his Chair of State, in the presence of the whole Army, gave thanks to the gods for fo great, glorious, and prosperous a Victory: then he spake to Martim, whose valiantness he commended beyond the Moon, both for that he himself faw him do with his eyes, as also for that Martin had reported unto him. So in the end he willed Martins, that he should choose our of all the Horses they had taken of this ferrice; their Enemies, and of all their Goods they had won, (whereof there was great flore page) of every fort which he liked best, before any distribution should be made to other. Beids this great honourable offer he had made him, he gave him in testimony that he had won that

day the price of prowels above all other, a goodly Horse with a Capparison, and all Furniture to him; which the whole Army beholding, did marvelloufly praife and commend. But Martins ftep- Valiancy reping forth, told the Conful, he most thankfully accepted the gift of his Horse, and was a glad man warded with ping forth, told the Commit, he most thanhand acceptance and as for his other offer, which befides, that his fervice had deferved his Generals commendation: and as for his other offer, which Field. was rather a mercenary reward, then an honourable recompence, he would have none of it, but Martius noble was contented to have his equall part with the other Souldiers. Onely this grace (faid he) I crave answer and and beleech you to grant me : Among the VOLSCES there is an old friend and Host of mine, an refusal, honest wealthy man, and now a Prisoner, who living before in great wealth in his own Countrey liveth now a poor prisoner, in the hands of his Enemies: and yet notwithstanding all this his misery and misfortune, it would do me great pleasure if I could fave him from this one danger, to keep him from being fold as a Slave. The Souldiers hearing Martins words, made a marvellous great shout among them, and there were more that wondred at his great contentation and abstinence, when they faw so little covetousness in him, then they were that highly praised and extolled his valiantness. For even they themselves that did formewhat malice and envy his glory, to fee him thus honoured and paffingly praifed, did think him so much the more worthy of an honourable recompence for his valiant service, as the more carelesly he refused the great offer made unto him for his profit : and they esteemed more the vertue that was in him, that made him refuse such rewards, then that which made them to be offered to him, as unto a worthy person. For it is far more commendable, to use Riches well, then to be valiant: and yet it is better not to defire them then to use them well. After this shout and noise of the Assembly was somewhat appealed, the Consul Cominius began to speak in this fort. We cannot compell Martin to take these Gifts we offer him if he will not receive them, but we will give him fuch a reward for the noble fervice he hath done, as he cannot refuse, them, but we will give him fuch a reward for the noble service he had done, as he cannot return.

Therefore we do order and decree, that henceforth he be called Coriolanus, unless his valiant acts med Coriolanus. have won him that name before our nomination. And so ever since, he still bare the third name of by the Con-Coriolanus. And thereby it appeareth, that the first name the Romans have, as Caim, was as su our Christian name now. The second, as Martin, was the name of the House and Family they came How the Roof. The third, was some addition given, either for some act or notable service, or for some mark mans came to of. Ine third, was some addition given a share for some fact of nonable territe; of for some many have three on their face, or of some shape of their body, or else for some speciall vertue they had. Even so did names. the Grecians in old time give additions to Princes, by reason of some notable act worthy me- Why the Gremory. As when they have called some, Soter and Callinicos, as much to say as Saviour and Conque-cians gave ror. Or else of some notable apparent mark on ones sace, or on his body, they have called him Kings sur-Phiscon and Grypos: as ye would say, gorebelly, and hook-nosed; or else for some vertue, as Eu-names. ergeter, and Philadelphes, to wit, a Benefactour, and lover of his brethren. Or otherwise for ones great felicity, as Endamon: as much to fay, as fortunate. For fo was the fecond of the * Battes *Thefe were furnamed. And fome Kings have had furnames of jeft and mockery. As one of the Antigones that the Princes was called Dofon, to fay, the Giver: who was ever promifing, and never giving. And one of the that built the Prolomers was called Lamyros : to fay , conceitive. The ROMANS use more then any other Nati- City of Cyon, to give names of mockery in this fort. As there was one Metellus furnamed Diadematus, the Names of banded, because he carried a band about his head of long time, by reason of a sore he had in his mockery aforehead. One other of his own family was called Celer, the quick Flie, because a few days after mong the the death of his Father, he shewed the People the cruell fight of sencers at unrebated Swords, which Romans. they found wonderfull for the shortness of time. Other had their Surnames derived of some accident at their birth. As to this day they call him Proculeiss, that is born, his Father being in some far voyage: and him Posthumius, that is born after the death of his Father. And when of two Brethren twins, the one doth die, and the other furviveth: they call the furviver Vopifcus. Sometimes also they give surnames derived of some mark or missortune of the body : as Sylla, to say, crooked nofed : Niger , black : Rufus , red : Cacus , blind , Claudus , lame. They did wifely in this thing to accustome men to think, that neither the loss of their fight, nor other such misfortunes as may chance to men, are any shame or disgrace unto them, but the manner was to answer boldly to such names, as if they were called by their proper names. Howbeit these matters would be better amplified in other stories then this. Now when this war was ended, the flatterers of the People began to flir up sedition again, without any new occasion, or just matter offered of complaint. For they Sedition at did ground this fecond infurrection against the Nobility and Patricians, upon the Peoples milery and Rome by reamisfortune, that could not but fall out, by reason of the former discord and sedition between them son of samines and the Nobility. Because the most part of the arable Land within the Territory of Rome, was become heathy and barren for lack of ploughing, for that they had no time nor mean to cause Corn to be brought them out of other Countreys to fow, by reason of their Wars which made the extream dearth they had among them. Now those busie pratiers that sought the Peoples good will by sigh flattering words, perceiving great scarcity of Corn to be within the City, and though there had been plenty enough, yet the common People had no money to buy it : they spread abroad false tales and rumours against the Nobility, that they in revenge of the People, had practifed and procured the extream dearth among them. Furthermore, in the midst of this stir, there came Ambassadours to ROM E from the City of VELITRES, that offered up their City to the ROMANS, and prayed them they would fend new Inhabitants to replenish the same: because the plague had been so extream among them, and had killed such a number of them, as there was not lest alive the tenth person of the people that had been there before. So the wife men of ROME began to think, that the necessity of the VELITRIANS fell out in a most happy hour, & how by this occasion it was very meet in so great a scarcity of victuals,

The tenth part of the Ethe Confull.

Battell.

Velitres made a Colony to Rome. Two practifes to remove the Cedition at

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to disburden Rome of a great number of Citizens: and by this means as well to take away this new to dissoluted ROME of a great manner of the City, as also to clear the same of many mutinous and sedification, and utterly to rid it out of the City, as also to clear the same of many mutinous and sedification. tious persons, being the superfluous ill humours that grievously sed this disease. Hereupon the Confuls prickt out all those by a Bill, whom they intended to fend to VELITRES, to go dwell there as in form of a Colony: and they levied out all the rest that remained in the City of ROME, a great in form of a Colony; and they review on an incomment of foreign War, to pacific their number to go against the Volsces, hoping by the mean of foreign War, to pacific their fedition at home. Moreover they imagined, when the poor with the rich, and the mean fort with the Nobility, should by this device be abroad in the Wars, and in one Camp, and in one Service, and in one like danger: that then they would be more quiet and loving together. But Sicinius and Brut m, two seditious Tribunes, spake against either of these devices, and cried out upon the Noblebunes of the People, against men, that under the gentle name of a Colony, they would cloak and cover the most cruell and un-People, against then, that a might be: because they sent their poor Citizens into a fore insected City and pesti-both those de-naturall fact as might be: because they sent their poor Citizens into a fore insected City and pestinaturan fact as inigin be: because they sent their pool children and a fore infected chy and petition and in the fact of the sent though the sent the sent the sent though the sent the headlong caft down the People into a most bottomles pir. And are not yet contented to have famished some of the poor Citizens heretofore to death, and to put other of them even to the mercy of the plague: but airesh they have procured a voluntary War, to the end they would leave beof the progress of all the progress and the poor filly People should not be plagued, and onely hind no kind of milery and ill, wherewith the poor filly People should not be plagued, and onely because they are weary to serve the rich. The common People being set on a broile and bravery with these words, would not appear when the Consuls called their names by a Bill, to press them for the Wars, neither would they be fent out to this new Colony: infomuch as the Senate knew not well wars, nemer women they be transfer to make the matter. Martim then, who was now grown to great credit, and a from what to fay or to do in the matter. Martim then, who was now grown to great credit, and a from man befides, and of great reputation with the nobleft men of ROME, role up, and openly fpake against these flattering Tribunes. And for the replenishing of the City of Velitres, he did compell those that were chosen to go thither, and to depart the City, upon great penalties to him that should disobey: but to the Wars, the People by no means would be brought or conftrained. So Martin taking his friends and followers with him, and fuch as he could by fair words intreat to go with him, did run certain forreys into the Dominion of the ANTIATES, where he met with great plenty of Corn, and had a marvellous great fpoil, as well of Cattell as of men he had taken Prifoners, whom he brought away with him, and referved nothing for himself. Afterwards, having brought back again all his men that went out with him, fafe and found to ROME, and every man rich and loaden with spoil : then the home-tarriers and house-doves that kept ROME still, began to repent them that it was not their hap to go with him, and so envied both them that had sped to well in this journey, and also of malice to Martine, they spited to see his credit and estimation increase still more and more, because they accounted him to be a great hinderer of the People. Shortly

Coriolanus offendeth the People.

Coriolanus invadeth the Antiates, and bringeth rich fpoiles home.

The manner of fuing for office at Rome Whereupon this means of fuing was fo deviled.

after this, Martine flood for the Confulfhip: and the common People favoured his fute, thinking it would be a shame to them to deny and retule the chiefest Nobleman of bloud, and most worthy person of ROME, and specially him that had done so great service and good to the Common-wealth. For the cultom of ROME was at that time, that such as did sue for any Office, should for certain days before be in the Market-place, onely with a poor gown on their backs, and without any Coat underneath, to pray the Citizens to remember them at the day of election: which was thus devifed, either to move the People the more, by requesting them in such mean Apparell, or else because they might shew them their wounds they had gotten in the Wars in the service of the Common-wealth, as manifest marks and testimonies of their valiantness. Now it is not to be thought, that the futers went thus loofe in a fimple Gown in the Market-place, without any Coat under it, for fear, and suspition of the common People: for Offices of dignity in the City were not then gi then by defert, yen by favour or corruption. It was but of late time, and long after this, that buying and felling without favor, veri by rayour of consupriors. A way but of the Electors were bought for money. But alter corruption had once gotten way into the election of Offices, it hath run from man to man, even to the very fentence of Judges, and also among Captains in the Wars: so as in the end, that onely turned Common-wealths into Kingdoms, by making Armes subject to Money. Therefore methinks he had reason that said: He that first made Banquets, and gave Money to the common People, was the first that took away Authority, and destroyed Common-wealths. But this Pestilence crept in onely delitory by little and little, and did fecretly win ground fill, continuing a long time in ROME, beforeit was openly known and discovered. For no man can tell who was the first man that bought the Peoples voices for Money, nor that corrupted the fentence of the Judges. Howbeit at ATHENS fome the son of Anthemion, was the first that fed the Judges with Money, the son of Anthemion, was the first that fed the Judges with Money, that with mo- about the end of the Wars of PELOPONNESUS, being accused of Treason for yeelding up the ney corrupted Fort of PYLE at that time, when the golden and unfoiled age remained yet whole in judgement at the fentence of ROME. Now Marting following this cultom, shewed many wounds and cuts upon his body, which the Index and the junge, and he had received in seventeen years service at the Wars, and in many sundry Battels, being ever voices of the the foremost man that did set out feet to fight. So that there was not a man among the People, but was ashamed of himself, to refuse so valiant a man; and one of them said to another, we must needs choose him Consul, there is no remedy. But when the day of election was come, and that Marinu came to the Market-place with great pomp, accompanied with all the Senate and the whole Nobility of the City about him, who fought to make him Conful, with the greatest instance and intreary they could, or ever attempted for any man or matter; then the love and good will of the common Feople.

turned straight to an hate and envie toward him, fearing to put this Office of Soveraign Authority into his hands, being a man fomewhat partiall towards the Nobility, and of great credit and Autho-See the fichie rity amongst the Parricians, and as one they might doubt would take away altogether the liberty minds of comfrom the People. Whereupon for these considerations, they refused Martin in the end, and made mon People. two other that were Suters, Confuls. The Senate being marvelloully offended with the People, did account the shame of this refusall, rather to redound to themselves then to Marting: but Marting took it in far worse part then the Senate, and was out of all patience. For he was a man too full of passion and choler, and too much given over to self-will and opinion, as one of a high mind and great courage, that lacked the gravity and affability that is gotten with judgement of Learning and reason, which onely is to be looked for in a Governour of State and that remembred not how wilfulness is the thing of the World, which a Governour of a Common-wealth for pleasing should thun, being that which Plato called folitariness. As in the end, all men that are wilfully given to The fruits of a felt-opinion and obstinate mind, and who will never yeeld to others reason; but to their own, re- self-will and main without company, and forfaken of all men. For a man that will live in the world, must needs oblinacy, have patience, which lufty blouds make but a mock at. So Martin being a ftout man of nature, that never yeelded in any respect, as one thinking that to overcome always, and to have the upperhand in all matters, was a token of a magnanimity, and of no baseand faint courage, which spitteth out anger from the most weak and passionate part of the heart, much like the matter of an imposthume : went home to his house, full fraighted with spite and malice against the People, being accompanied with all the luftiest young Gentlemen , whose minds were nobly bent, as those that came of noble race, and commonly used for to follow and honour him. But then specially they flockt about him, and kept him company to his much harm, for they did but kindle and inflame his choler more and more, being forry with him for the injury the People offered him, because he was their Captain and Leader to the Wars, that taught them all Martiall Discipline, and stirred up in them a noble emulation of honour and valiantness, and yet without envy, praising them that deserved best. In the mean season, there came great plenty of Corn to ROME, that had been bought, part in IT ALY, and part was Great flore of fent out of SICILE, as given by Gelon the Tyrant of SYRACUSA: fo that many stood in great Corn brought hope, that the dearth of Victuals being holpen, the civil differtion would also cease. The Senate to Rome. fate in Council upon it immediately, the common People stood also about the Palace where the Council was kept, gaping what refolution would fall out: perfwading themselves that the Corn they had bought should be fold good cheap, and that which was given should be divided by the poll, withnau bought intoute to tone good circle), and that we have a constitute of the Senators amongst them did so wish and out paying any penny, and the rather, because certain of the Senators amongst them did so wish and persuade the same. "But Martin standing upon his seet, did somewhat sharply take up those who ration against ration against "went about to gratifie the People therein: and called them People-pleafers, and Traytors to the the Infolency "Nobility. Moreover he faid, they nourished against themselves, the naughty seed and cockle of of the People. "infolency and fedition, which had been fowed and feattered abroad amongst the People, which they "fhould have cut off, if they had been wife, in their growth: and not (to their own destruction) "have fuffered the People, to establish a Magistrate for themselves, of so great Power and Autho-"rity, as that man had, to whom they had granted it. Who was also to be seared, because he ob-"tained what he would, and did nothing but what he lifted, neither paffed for any obedience to the " Confuls, but lived in all liberty, acknowledging no superiour to command him, faving the onely " heads and authors of their faction, whom he called his Magistrates. Therefore faid he, they that " gave counfell, and perswaded that the Corn should be given out to the common People grans, as "they used to do in the Cities of GREECE, where the People had more absolute Power, did but onely 44 nourish their disobedience, which would break out in the end, to the utter ruine and overthrow of "the whole State. For they will not think it is done in recompence of their fervice paft, fithence they "know well enough they have so oft refused to go to the Wars, when they were commanded : nei-"ther for their mutinies when they went with us, whereby they have rebelled and forfaken their "Countrey: neither for their accufations which their flatterers have preferred unto them, and they "have received, and made good against the Senate . but they will rather judge, we give and grant "them this, as abasing our felves, and standing in sear of them, and glad to flatter them every way. " By this means their disobedience will still grow worse and worse : and they will never leave to " practise new sedition and uproars. Therefore it were a great folly for us, methinks, to do it : yea, "fhall I say more? we should if we were wise, take from them their Tribuneship, which most ma-"nifeftly is the embaling of the Confulship, and the cause of the division of the City. The state "whereof as it standeth, is not now as it was wont to be, but becometh dismembred in two factions, "which maintains always civil diffention and discord between us, and will never suffer us again to "be united into one body. Martin dilating the matter with many such like reasons, won all the young men, and almost all the rich men to his opinion: insomuch as they rang it out, that he was the onely man, and alone in the City, who ftood out against the People, and never flattered them. There were onely a few old men that ipake against him, fearing lest some mischief might fall out upon it, as indeed there followed no great good afterward. For the Tribunes of the People being present at this confultation of the Senate, when they faw that the opinion of Martins was confirmed with the more voices, they left the Senate, and went down to the People, crying out for help, and

that they would affemble to fave their Tribunes. Hereupon the People ran on head in tunnult Sedition at together, before whom the words that Martius spake in the Senate were openly reported : which Rome for Co-

the People fo stomacked, that even in that fury they were ready to slie upon the whole Senate. riolanus.

But the Tribunes laid all the fault and burthen wholly upon Martius, and fent their Serjeants forthwith to arreft him, prefently to appear in person before the People, to answer the words he had spontage the series of the seri with to arrest time, precently to appear in period basic and a copie, it admits the words it that the the Tri-ken in the Senate. Marrism shouly with shood these Officers that came to arrest him. Then the Tribunes in their own persons, accompanied with the Ædiles, went to setch him by force, and so laid violent hands upon him. Howbeit the noble Patricians gathering together about him, made the timular speafed. The next morning berimes, the Confuls feeing the People in an uproar, running tumuit appeared. The next morning octaines, the Comus occurs the reopic in an uprost, running to the Market-place out of all parts of the City, they were afraid left all the City would together by the ears: wherefore affembling the Senate in all hafte, they declared how it frood them upon, to appeale the fury of the People, with some gentle words, or gratefull Decrees in their favour: and moreover, like wife men they should consider, it was now no time to stand at defence and in contention, nor yet to fight for honour against the Commonalty, they being fallen to fo great an extremity, and offering fuch imminent danger. Wherefore they were to confider temperately of things, and to deliver some present and gentle pacification. The most part of the Senators that were present arthis Council, thought this opinion beft, and gave their confents unto it. Whereupon the Confuls rifing out of Council, went to fpeak unto the People as gently as they could, and they did pacifie their fury and anger, purging the Senate of all the unjust acculations laid upon them; and used great modefty in perfusading them, and also in reproving the faults they had committed. And as for the reft, that touched the fale of Corn, they promifed there should be no dishking offered them in the price. So the most part of the People being pacified, and appearing so plainly by the great silence that was among them, as yeelding to the Confuls, and liking well of their words: the Tribunes then of the People rose out of their season, and said: Forasmuch as the Senate yeelded unto reason, the People People rose out of their season, and said: Forasmuch as the Senate yeelded unto reason, the People also for their part, as became them, did likewife give place unto them: but notwithstanding, they would that Marine should come in person to answer to the articles they had devised. First, when ther he had not folicited and procured the Senate to change the prefent flate of the Common-weal, uner ne nau not concueu and produced the Senate to change the precise thate of the Commissionweat, and to take the Soveraign Authority out of the Peoples hands. Next, when he was fent for by Authority of their Officers, why he did contemptuously resist and disobey. Lastly, feeing he had driven and beaten the Ædiles into the Market-place before all the World if in doing this, he had gainft Coriolautiven and useated the reduces into the market-place before an the world; it in using this, ne had not done as much as in him lay, to raife Civil Wars, and to fet one Citizen against another. All not one force to any of the form and without the state of th not done as much as in him lay, to raise livil events, and to let one latten against angener. All this was spoken to one of these two ends, either that Marisia against his nature should be constrained to humble himself, and to abase his haughty and fierce mind: or else if he continued still in his stoutness, he should incur the Peoples displeasure and ill will so far, that he should never possibutions, he should never possible the state of the bly win them again. Which they hoped would rather fall out fo, then otherwife: as indeed they gueffed unhappily, confidering Martine nature and disposition. So Martine came and presented himself to answer their Accusations against him, and the People held their peace, and gave attentive car, to hearwhat he would fay. But where they thought to have heard very humble and lowly words come from him, he began not onely to use his wonted boldness of speaking (which of it self was very rough and unplealant, and did more aggravate his accutation, then purge his innocency) but allogave himself in his words to thunder, and look therewithall fo grimly, as though he made Coriolanus no reckoning of the matter. This firred coals among the People, who were in wonderfull fury at stoutness in it, and their hate and malice grew fo toward him, that they could hold no longer, bear, nor induce it, and their hate and malice beload. Whose not to the malice and found to the Tutture his bravery and careles boldness. Whereupon Sicinius, the cruellest and stoutest of the Tribunes, himfelf. after he had whiferered a little with his companions, did openly pronounce in the face of all the People, Martine as condemned by the Tribunes to die. Then prefently he commanded the Ædiles to appre-Tribute, prohendhim, and carry him ftraight to the Rock Tarpeian, and to caft him headlong down the fame. require, pro- menumin, and carry min altagent to the roots and periods, and to take min managers, advert me same to lay hands upon Martin to do that they were commanded, divers of the roots of death when the Adites came to tay nanosupon Maritum to no matthey were communicate, unversional rente of death people themselves thought it too cruell and violent a deed. The Noblemen being much troubled to upon Maritar, upon Mariius fee fo much force and rigour used, began to crie aloud; Help Mariius: so those that laid hands on him being repulfed, they compafied him in round among themselves, and some of them holding up their hands to the People, belought them not to handle him thus cruelly. But neither their words nor crying out could ought prevail, the rumult and hurly burly was fo great, untill such time as the Tribunes own friends and kinfmen weighing with themselves the impossibility to convey Marism to execution, without great flaughter and murder of the Nobility: did perswade and advile not to proceed in fo violent and extraordinary a fort, as to put fuch a man to death, without lawfull process in Law, but that they should refer the sentence of the Bends. The voyce of the People. Then Sieinim bethinking himself a little, did ask the Patricians for what cause they took Martin out of the Officers hands that went to do execution? The Patricians as ked him again, why they would of themselves so cruelly and wickedly put to death, so noble and valiant a ROMAN as Martim was, and that without Law and Juffice ? Well then, faid Sichim, if that be the matter, let there be no quarrell or diffention against the People: for they do grant your demand, that his Cause should be heard according to the Law. Therefore, said he to your demand, that his caute mould be nearly according to the Law, Therefore, rath he will add of our next.

Corio/annthath Marting, we do will and charge you to appear before the People, the third day of our next.

you, man by mee copie may her continue open you a man plane mich and mere glad then of the adjournment, and were much pleased they had gotten Marine out of this danger. In the mean space, before the third day of their next Seilion came about, the same be-

ing keptevery ninth day continually at ROME, whereupon they call it now in Latine, Nundias.

CORIOLAN,US.

ady twenting and affembly here, to make your purgation for fuch Articles as shall be objected against to answer the many the business and affembly here. The Noble to answer the you, that by free voyce the People may give fentence upon you as shall please them. The Noble-People. Paople.

CORIOLANUS.

there fell out Warsagainst the ANTIATES, which gave some hope to the Nobility, that this adjournment would come to little effect, thinking that this War would hold them so long, as that the tury of the People against him would be well swaged, or unterly forgetten, by reason of the trouble of the Wars. But contrary to expectation, the peace was concluded prefently with the ANTIA-TES, and the People returned again to ROME. Then the Patricians affembled oftentimes together, to confult how they might stand to Martine, and keep the Tribunes from occasion to cause the People to mutiny again, and rife against the Nobility. And there Appin Claudin (one that was raken ever as an heavy enemy to the People) did avow and proteft, that they would utterly abase the Authority of the Senate, and destroy the Common-weal, if they would fuffer the common People to have Authority by voyces to give judgement against the Nobility. On the other fide again, the most ancient Senators, and such as were given to savour the common People, said: That when the People should see they had Authority of life and death in their hands, they would not be so cruell and fierce, but gentle and civil. More also, that it was not for contempt of Nobility or the Senate. that they fought to have the Authority of Juffice in their hands, as a preheminence and prerogative of honour: but because they feared, that themselves should be contermed and hated of the Nobility: So as they were perswaded, that so soon as they gave them Authority to judge by voices, they would leave all envy and malice to condemn any. Martin leeing the Senate in great doubt how to resolve, partly for the love and good will the Nobility did bear him, and partly for the fear they stood in of the People: asked aloud of the Tribunes, what matter they would burden them with? The Tribunes answered him, that they would shew how he did aspire to be King, and would prove Coriolanus acthat all his actions tended to usurp tyrannicall power over ROME. Martine with that, rifing upon his feet, faid: That thereupon he did willingly offer himfelf to the People, to be tried upon King, that Acculation: and that if it were proved by him, he had so much as once thought of any such matter, that he would then refuse no kind of punishment they would offer him: Conditionally (quoth he) that you charge me with nothing else beside, and that ye do not also abuse the Senate. They promifed they would not. Under these Conditions the Judgement was agreed upon, and the People affembled. And first of all the Tribunes would in any case (whatsoever became of it) that the People should proceed to give their voyces by Tribes, and not by hundreds : for by this meanes the multitude of the poor needy People (and all fuch rabble as had nothing to lofe , and had lefs regard of honesty before their eyes) came to be of greater force (because their voyces were numbred by the pole) then the noble honest Citizens, whose Persons and Purse did dutifully serve the Common-wealth in their Wars. And then when the Tribunes faw they could not prove he went about to make himfelf King, they began to broach afreth the former words that Martim had spoken in the Senate, in hindering the distribution of the Corn at mean price unto the common People, and perswading also to take the Office of Tribuneship from them. And for the third. they charged him anew, that he had not made the common distribution of the Spoil he had gotten in the invading the Territories of the ANTIATES : but had of his own Authority divided it among them, who were with him in that journey. But this matter was most strange of all to Marting, looking least to have been burdened with that, as with any matter of offence. Whereupon being burdened on the fudden, and having no ready excuse to make even at that instant : he began to fall a praising of the Souldiers that had served with him in that Journey. But those that were not with him, being the greater number, cried out so loud, and made such a noise that he could not be heard. To conclude, when they came to tell the voyces of the Tribes, there were three voyces odd, which condemned him to be banished for ever. After declara- Cariolanus bation of the Sentence, the People made such joy, as they never rejoyced more for any Battell nished for ethey had won upon their Enemies, they were so brave and lively, and went home so jocondly from the Affembly, for triumph of this sentence. The Senate again in contrary manner were as fad and heavy, repenting themselves beyond measure, that they had not rather determined to have done and suffered any thing whatsoever, before the common People should so arrogantly and outragiously have abused their Authority. There needed no difference of Garments I warrant you, nor outward thews to know a Plebeian from a Patrician, for they were eafily discerned by their looks. For he that was on the Peoples side , looked chearfully on the matter: but he that was fad, and hung down his head, he was fure of the Noblemens fide. Sa- Coriolanusconving Martin alone, who neither in his countenance nor in his gate, did ever shew himself aba-adversity, shed, or once let fall his great courage: but he onely of all other Gentlemen that were angry at his fortune, did outwardly shew no manner of passion, nor care at all of himself. Not that he did patiently bear and temper his evil hap, in respect of any reason he had, or by his quiet condition: but because he was so carried away with the vehemency of anger, and desire of revenge, that he had no fenfe nor feeling of the hard ftate he was in , which the common People judge not to be The force of forrow, although indeed it be the very fame. For when forrow (as you would fay) is fet on anger. fire, then it is converted into spite and malice, and driveth away for that time all faintness of heart and naturall fear. And this is the cause why the cholerick man is so altered and mad in his actions. as a man fet on fire with a burning ague : for when a mans heart is troubled within , his pulse will beat marvellous strongly. Now that Martin was even in that taking, it appeared true foon after by his doings. For when he was come home to his house again, and had taken his leave of his Mother and Wife, finding them weeping and shriking out for forrow, and had also comforted and perswaded them to be content with his chance: he went immediately to the Gate of the City,

Volfces.

accompanied with a great number of Patricians, that brought him thither, from whence he went accompanies with a great number of a strends onely, taking nothing withhim, nor requesting any on his way with three or four of his friends onely, taking nothing withhim, on us way with time of roll of the country at his houses, turmoyled with fundry thing of any man. So he remained a few days in the Country at his houses, turmoyled with fundry forts and kinds of thoughts, fuch as the fire of his choler did ftir up. In the end feeing he could refolve no way, to take a profitable or honourable course, but onely was pricked forward still to be revenged of the ROMANS: he thought to raife up fome great Wars against them, by their necrest venged of the ROMANS: he discussed the police great versal against them, oy mer necret neighbours. Whereupon he thought it his best way, first to stir up the VOLSCES against them, neighbours have been only in strength and siches to encounter them, notwithstanding their knowing they were yet able enough in strength and siches to encounter them, notwithstanding their former loffes they had received not long before, and that their power was not fo much impaired, as their malice and defire was increased to be revenged of the ROMANS. Now in the City of An-Tallar Aufalus and the was one called Tulim Aufalim, who for his riches, as also for his nobility and valiagren person Tium, there was one called Tulim Aufalim, who for his riches, as also for his nobility and valiagren person antiels was honoured among the VOISCES as a King. Martin knew very well that Tullu did more malice and envy him then he did all the ROMANS besides: because that many times in Battels where they met, they were ever at the encounter one against another, like lufty couragious youths, triving in all emulation of Honour, and had encountred many times together. Infomuch as befides the common quarrell between them, there was bred a marvellous private hate one against notes the common quarren between them; there was been a marvenous private nate one against another. Yet notwithstanding; considering that Tullus Assidius was a man of a great mind, and that he above all other of the VOLSCES most desired revenge of the ROMANS, for the injuries they had done unto them: he did an act that confirmed the words of an ancient Poet to be true,

It is a thing full hard, mans anger to withfland If it be fliffly bent to take an enterprise in hand, For then moft men will have the thing that they defire,

Although it soft their lives therefore, such force hath wicked ire. And so did he. For he disguised himself in such array and attire, as he thought no man could ever have known him for the perion he was, feeing him in that apparell he had upon his back : and as Homer faid of Uly fes:

guifed, goeth to Antium, a City of the Volfecs.

who faid :

Goriolanus dif- It was even twi-light when he entred the City of ANTIUM, and many Peoplemet him in the streets, but no man knew him. So he went directly to Tulius Aufidius house, and when he came thither, he our no man knew min. So he went unertry to 1 min 2 min mone, and pake not a word to any man, his got him up ftraight to the chimney hearth, and fate him down, and fpake not a word to any man, his face all muffled over. They of the house fpying him, wondred what he should be, and yet they durft nate an infinite over. They of the house 193mg min, womand what he infom be, and yet they durit not bid him rife. For illiavouredly muffled and diffguiled as he was, yet there appeared a certain Manager than the control of the cont jefty in his countenance, and in his filence: whereupon they went to Tullus who was at supper, to tell him of the frange difguifing of this man. Talliu role prefently from the board, and coming towards him, asked him what he was, and wherefore he came. Then Martins unmuffled himself, and after he had pawfed a while, making no answer, he faid unto himself, If thou knowest me not yet, Tullus, and feeing me, does not perhaps believe me to be the man I am indeed, I must of necessity bewray my felito be that I am. "I am Cains Marsins, who hath done to thy felf particularly, and to all the Corbolanus O- W VOLSCES generally, great hurt and milchief, which I cannot deny for my furname of Corbolanus

Tain to Tal. " that I bear. For I never had other benefit nor recompence of the true and painfull fervice I have "done, and the extream dangers 1 have been in, but this onely furname: a good memory and wit-"nels of the malice and diffleafure thou flouldest bear me. Indeed the name onely remaineth with "me: for the reft, the envy and cruelty of the People of ROME have taken from me, by the fuf-"ferance of the daftardly Nobility and Magistrates, who have for faken me, and let me be banished "by the People. This extremity hath now driven me to come as a poor futer, to take thy chimney "hearth, not of any hope I have to fave my life thereby. For if I had feared death, I would not "have come hither to have put my self in hazard: but prickt forward with defire to be revenged of "them that thus have banished me, which now I do begin, in putting my person into the hands of "their Enemies. Wherefore if thou haft any heart to be wrecked of the injuries thy Enemies have "done thee, speed thee now, and let my misery serve thy turn, and so use it, as my service may be "a benefit to the VOLSCES: promifing thee, that I will fight with better good will for all you, "then I did when I was against you, knowing that they fight more valiantly, who know the force "of the Enemy, then fuch as have never proved it. And if it be so that thou dare not, and that thou "art weary to prove fortune any more, then am I also weary to live any longer. And it were no "wildom in thee, to fave the life of him, who hath been heretofore thy mortall Enemy, and whole "fervice now can nothing help nor pleasure thee. Tullus hearing what he said, was a marvellous glad man, and taking him by the hand, he faid unto him: Stand up, O Martin, and be of good chear, for in proffering thy felf unto us, thou doeft us great honour: and by this means thou maift hope also of greater things at all the VOLSCES hands. So he feafted him for that time, and entertained him in the honourablest manner he could, talking with him of no other matter at that present but within few days after, they fell to confultation together in what fort they should begin their Wars. Now on the other fide, the City of ROME was in marvellous uproar and difcord, the Nobility against the Commonalty, and chiefly for Martin condemnation and banishment. Moreover the Priefts, the Soothfayers, and private men also, came and declared to the Senate certain about Natitus fights and wonders in the air, which they had feen, and were to be confidered of: amongst the which such a Visson happened: There was a Citizen of Rome called Titus Latinus, a man of

CORIOLANUS. mean quality and condition, but otherwise an honest sober man, given to a quiet life, without superthinn, and much less to vanity or lying. This man had a vition in his dream, in the which he thought that Jupiter appeared unto him, and commanded him to fignifie to the Senate, that they had caused a very vile lewd dancer to go before the Procession : and faid, the first time this Vision had appeared unto him, he made no reckoning of it: and coming again another time in his mind. he made not much more account of the matter then before. In the end, he faw one of his Sons die, who had the best nature and condition of all his brethren : and suddenly he himself was so taken in all his limbs, that he became lame and impotent. Hereupon he told the whole circumstance of this Vision before the Senate, fitting upon his little Couch or bed, whereon he was carried on mens arms: and he had no sooner reported this Vision to the Senate, but he presently felt his body and limbs restored again to their tormer strength and use. So raising up himself upon his Couch, he got upon his feet at that inftant, and walked home to hishoufe, without help of any man. The Senate being amazed at this matter, made diligent enquiry to understand the truth; and in the end they found there was such a thing: There was one that had delivered a Bondman of his that had offended him, into the hands of other Slaves and Bondmen, and had commanded thent to whip him up and downthe Market-place, and afterwards to kill him: and as they had him in execution, whipping him cruelly, they did so martyr the poor wretch, that for the cruell smart and pain he felt, he turned and writhed his body in strange and pitifull fort. The Procession by chance came by even at the same time, and many that followed it, were heartily moved and offended with the fight, saying: that it was no good fight to behold, nor meet to be met in Procession time. But for all this. there was nothing done: faving they blamed and rebuked him that punished his Slave so cruelly. For the ROMANS at that time, did use their Bondmen very gently, because they themselves did labour with their own hands, and lived with them and among them; and therefore they did use them the more gently and familiarly. For the greatest punishment they gave a slave that had offended, was this. They made him carry a limmer on his shoulders that is fastened to the Axeltree of a Coach, The Romans this. They made mind early a mind on that fort amongst all their Neighbours. He that had once manner of p and compelled him to go up and down in that fort amongst all their Neighbours. He that had once mishing their abidden this punishment, and was seen in that manner, was proclaimed and cried in every Market, slaves Town: fo that no man would ever trust him after, and they called him Furcifer, because the LA- Whereof Fur-TINES call the Wood that runneth into the Axeltree of the Coach', Farca, as much to fay, as a cifer came. Fork. Now when Latinus had made report to the Senate of the Vision that had happened to him, they were deviling whom this unpleasant dancer should be, that went before the Procession. Thereupon certain that stood by, remembred the poor Slave that was fo cruelly whipped through the Market-place, whom they afterwards put to death: and the thing that made him remember it, was the strange and rare manner of his punishment. The Priests hereupon were repaired unto for their advice: they were wholly of opinion, that it was the whipping of the Slave. So they caused the Slaves Master to be punished, and began again a new Procession, and all other Shews and Sights in honour of Jupiter. But hereby appeareth plainly, how King Nume did wifely ordain all other Ceremonies concerning devotion to the gods, and specially his custom which he established, to bring the People to Religion. For when the Magistrates, Bishops, Priests, or other religious A Ceremony Ministers go about any Divine Service, or matter of Religion, an Herauld ever goeth before them, instituted by crying out aloud, Hoc age: as to fay, do this, or mind this. Hereby they are specially comman. King Numa ded wholly to dispose themselves to serve God leaving all other by single and matters adds. It have touching Reded, wholly to dispose themselves to serve God, leaving all other business and matters aside: know-ligion. ing well enough, that whatfoever most men do, they do it as in a manner constrained unto it. But the ROMANS did ever use to begin again their Sacrifices, Processions, Playes, and such like Shews, done in honour of the gods, not onely upon such an occasion, but upon lighter causes then that. As when they went on Procession through the City, and did carry the Images of their gods, and fuch other like holy Reliques upon open hollowed Couches or Chariors, called in Latine Then The fuperflitise: one of the Coach-horses that drew them stood still, and would draw no more: and because also on of the Rothe Coach-man took the rains of the bridle with the left hand, they ordained that the Proces man: Then[a. fion should be begun again anew. Of late time also, they did renew and begin a Sacrifice thirty times one after another, because they thought still there fell out one fault or other in the same : so holy and devout were they to the gods. Now Tullus and Martins had secret conference with the greatest personages of the City of Antium, declaring unto them that now they had good time offered them to make War with the ROMANS, while they were in diffention one with another. They answered them, they were ashamed to break the League, considering The Remains that they were sworn to keep peace for two years. Howbeit , shortly after , the ROMANS gavethe feller gave them great occasion to make War with them. For on a holy day common Playes being occasion of gave them great octation to make vota what them. And the Proclamation by found of Trumper, Wars. that all the VOLSCES should avoid out of ROME before Sun set. Some think this was a crait Martine Gorio-that all the VOLSCES should avoid out of ROME before Sun set. Some think this was a crait Martine Gorio-that all the VOLSCES should avoid out of ROME before Sun set. Some think this was a crait for the control of the control and deceit of Martins, who fent one to Rome to the Confuls, to accuse the Volsces fallely, custain of the advertifing them how they had made a conspiracy to set upon them while they were busy in seeing Volses. their Games, and also to fet their City on fire. This open Proclamation made all the VOLSCES more offended with the ROMANS, then ever they were before: and Tullus aggravating the matter, did so inflame the Volsces against them, that in the end they sent their Ambassadors to ROME, to summon them to deliver their Lands and Towns again, which they had taken from them in times past, or to look for present Wars. The ROMANS hearing this, were marvellously nettled; and made no other answer but thus: If the VOISCES be the first that begin War,

Coriolanuschosen Generall

the Romans.

A fine device to make the Commonalty fuspect the Nobility. Great heartburning bebility and the People.

the ROMANS will be the last that will end it. Incontinently upon the return of the VOISCES Ambassadours, and delivery of the ROMANS answer, Tullus caused an Affembly generall to be made of the VOISCES, and concluded to make War upon the ROMANS. This done, Tullus did counfell them to take Martine into their service, and not to mistrust him for the remembrance of any thing paft, but boldly to truft him in any matter to come : for he would do them more fervice in any thing part, but bottly to true that man many matter to tonic that move the model of them. So Martius was calfighting for them, then ever he did them displeasure in fighting against them. So Martius was called forth, who spake so excellently in the presence of them all, that he was thought no less eloquent in tongue, then warlike in shew: and declared himself both expert in Wars, and wife with valigainst the Ro- annels. Thus he was joyned in Commission with Tullus as Generall of the VOLSCES; having abfolute Authority between them to follow and purfue the Wars. But Martin fearing left tract of time to bring this Army together with all the Munition and Furniture of the VOLSCES, would rob him of the mean he had to execute his purpose and intent, lest order with the Rulers and chief of the City, to affemble the rest of their power, and to prepare all necessary provision for the Camp. Then he with the lighteft Souldiers he had, and that were willing to follow him, ftole away upon the fudden , and marched with all speed , and entred the Territories of Rome, before the Ro-MANS heard any news of his coming. Informuch as the Volsces found fuch spoil in the fields, as they had more then they could fpend in their Camp, and were weary to drive and carry away that Territories of they had. Howbeit the gain of the spoil, and the hurr they did to the ROMANS in this invasion, was the least part of his intent: for his chiefest purpose was, to increase still the malice and diffention between the Nobility and the Commonalty: and to draw that on , he was very careful to keep the Noblemens Lands and Goods fafe from harm and burning, but spoiled all the whole Countrey besides, and would suffer no man to take or hurt any thing of the Noblemens. This Countrey bettees, and would unter no man to take or that any thing of the exponents. This made greater fit and broyl between the Nobility and the People, then was before. For any Noblemen fellour with the People, because they had so unjustly banished a man of so great valour Noblemen fellour with the People, because they had so unjustly banished a man of so great valour and power. The People on the other fide, accused the Nobility, how they had procured Marine to make these Wars to be revenged of them: because it pleased them to see their Goods burnt and fpoiled before their eyes, whilft themselves were well at case, and did behold the Peoples losses and misfortunes, knowing their own Goods fare and out of danger: and how the War was not made against the Noblemen, that had the Enemy abroad, to keep that they had in fafety. Now Martiso having done his first exploit, (which made the Volsces bolder, and lefs fearfull of the Ro-MANS) brought home all the Army again, without lofs of any man. After their whole Army (which was marvellous great, and very forward to fervice) was affembled in one Camp, they agreed to leave part of it for Garifon in the Countrey about, and the other part should go on, and make the War upon the Romans. So Martins bad Tullus choose, and take which of the two charges he liked best. Tullus made him answer, he knew by experience that Martins was no less valiant then himfelf, and how heever had better fortune and good hap in all Battels, then himfelf had Therefore he thought it best for him to have the leading of those that would make the Wars abroad, and himfelf would keep home, to provide for the fafety of the Cities of his Countrey, and to furnish the Camp also of all necessary provision abroad. So Marism being stronger then before, went first of all unto the City of Cercees, inhabited by the Romans, who willingly yeelded themfelves, and therefore had no hurt. From thence he entred the Countrey of the LATINS, imagining the ROMANS would fight with him there to defend the LATINS, who were their confe gaming the ROMANS for their aid. But on the one fide, the derates, and had many times fent unto the ROMANS for their aid. But on the one fide, the People of ROME were very ill willing to go: and on the other fide, the Confuls being upon going out of their Office, would not hazard themselves for fo fmall a time: fo that the Ambassadors of the LATINS returned home again, and did no good. Then Martine did befiege their Cities, and liaving taken by force the Town of the TOLERINIANS, VICANIANS, PEDANIANS, and the BOLANIANS, who made refiftance, he facked all their Goods, and took them prisoners. Such as did yeeld themselves willingly unto him, he was as carefull as possible might be, to defend them from hurt: and because they should receive no damage by his will, he removed his Camp as far from their Confines as he could. Afterwards, he rook the City of Boles by affault, being about an hundred furlong from ROME, where he had a marvellous great spoil, and put every man to the fword that was able to carry Weapon. The other Volsces that were appointed to remain in Garilon for defence of their Countrey, hearing this good news, would tarry no longer at home, but armed themselves, and ran to Martin Camp, saying they did acknowledge no other Cap tain but him. Hereupon his fame ran through all ITALY, and every one praifed him for a him Capitain, for that by change of one man for another, such and so strange evens fell out in the State. In this while, all went still to wrack at ROME. For to come into the field to fight with the Enemy, they could not abide to hear of it, they were one fo much against another, and full of se ditious words, the Nobility against the People, and the People against the Nobility. Until they had intelligence at the length, that the Enemies had laid fiege to the City of Lavinium, in the which were all the Temples and Images of their gods their Protectors, and from whence came first Levinium bulk their ancient Originall, for that Leva at his first arrival into ITALY did build that City. The fell there out a marvellous fudden change of mind among the People, and far more strange and contrary in the Nobility. For the People thought it good to repeal the condemnation and esile of Martine. The Senate affembled upon it, would in no case yeeld to that: who either the it of a felf-will to be contrary to the Peoples desire : or because Martin should not reum

through the grace and favour of the People. Or elfe, because they were throughly angry and offerided with him, that he would fet upon the whole, being offended but by a few, and in his doings would shew himself an open Enemy besides unto his Countrey : notwithstanding the most part of them took the wrong they had done him, in marvellous ill part, and as if the injury had been done unto themselves. Report being made of the Senates resolution, the People found themselves in a straight : for they could authorize and confirm nothing by their voices, unless it had been first propounded and ordained by the Senate. But Martim hearing this stir about him, was in a greater rage with them than before : infomuch as he raifed his Siege incontinently before the City of LAVINIUM. and going towards Rome, lodged his Camp within forty Furlongs of the City, at the Ditches called Cluilia. His incamping to near ROME; did put all the whole City in a wonderfull fear : howbeit for the present time it appealed the sedition and diffention betwixt the Nobility and the People. For there was no Conful, Senator, nor Magistrate, that durst once contrary the opinion of the People, for the calling home again of Martins. When they faw the Women in a marvellous fear. running up and down the City: the Temples of the gods full of old People, weeping bitterly in their Prayers to the gods: and finally, not a man either wife or hardy to provide for their fafety; then they were all of opinion, that the People had reason to call home Martins again, to reconcile themselves to him, and that the Senate on the contrary part, were in marvellous great fault, to be angry and in choler with him, when it frood them upon, rather to have gone out and intreated him, So they all agreed together to fend Ambaffadors unto him, to let him understand how his Countreymen did call him home again, and reftored him to all his Goods, and befought him to deliver them fend ambatiafrom this War. The Ambassadors that were sent, were Martin familiar friends and acquain-dors to Goriotance, who looked at the least for a courteons welcome of him, as of their familiar Friend and Kins- lanus to treat man. Howbeit they found nothing less: for at their coming they were brought through the Camp, of Peace. to the place where he was fet in his Chair of State, with a marvellous and unipeakable Maiefty, having the chiefest men of the VOLSCES about him: so he commanded them to declare openly the cause of their coming. Which they delivered in the most humble and lowly words they possibly could devife, and with all modest countenance and behaviour agreeable to the same. When they had done their Message: for the injury they had done him, he answered them very hotly, and in great choler: but as General of the Volsces, he willed them to reftore unto the Volsces, all their Lands and Cities they had taken from them in former Wars: and moreover, that they should give them the like honour and freedome of ROME, as they had before given to the LA-TINS. For otherwise they had no other means to end this War, if they did not grant these honest and just Conditions of Peace. Thereupon he gave them thirty days respite to make him anfwer. So the Ambassadors returned straight to Rome, and Martine forthwith departed with his Army out of the Territories of the ROMANS. This was the first matter wherewith the Vols- The first occa-CES (that most envyed Martin Glory and Authority) did charge Martins with. Among those, sion of the Tullus was chief: who though he had received no private injury or displeasure of Martin, yet Volsces envy to the common fault and imperfection of mans Nature wrought in him, and it grieved him to fee his Coriolanus. own Reputation blemished through Martius great Fame and Honour, and so himself to be less esteemed of the Volsces than he was before. This fell out the more, because every man honoured Martins, and thought he onely could do all, and that all other Governours and Captains must be content with such Credit and Authority as he would please to countenance them with, From hence they derived all their first Accusations and secret murmurings against Martius. For private Captains conspiring against him, were very angry with him: and gave it out, that the removing of the Camp was a manifest Treason, not of the Towns, nor Forts, nor of Arms, but of Time and Occasion, which was a loss of great importance, because it was that which in reason might both loofe and bind all; and preferve the whole. Now Martius having given the Ro-MANS thirty days respite for their Answer, and specially because the Wars have not accustomed to make any great changes in less space of time then that, he thought it good yet, not to lie asleep and idle all the while, but went and destroyed the Lands of the Enemies Allies, and took seven great Cities of theirs well inhabited, and the ROMANS durft not once put themselves into the Field, to come to their aid and help, they were so faint-hearted, so mistrustfull, and loth besides to make Wars. Insomuch as they properly resembled the bodies paralytick and loosed of their limbs and members, as those which through the Palsey have lost all their sense and feeling. Wherefore, the time of Peace expired, Martins being returned into the Dominions of the Ro-MANS again with all his Army, they fent another Ambassade unto him, to pray Peace, and Another Amthe remove of the Volsces out of their Countrey : that afterwards they might with better buffade fent to leifure fall to fuch Agreements together, as should be thought most meet and necessary. For Coriolanus, the ROMANS were no men that would ever yield for fear. But if he thought the Vols-CES had any ground to demand reasonable Articles and Conditions, all that they would reasonably ask should be granted unto by the ROMANS, who of themselves would willingly yield to reason, conditionally, that they did lay down Arms. Martius to that answered: that as General of the Volsces he would reply nothing unto it : but yet as a ROMAN Citizen, he would counsell them to let fall their pride, and to be conformable to reason, if they were wise: and that they should return again within three days, delivering up the Articles agreed upon, which he had first delivered them. Otherwise, that he would no more give them affurance or fafe conduct to return again into his Camp; with fuch vain and frivolous Meffages.

and Soothfayers fent to Co-

When the Ambassadors were returned to ROME, and had reported Martius Answer to the Senate: their City being in extream danger, and as it were in a terrible from or tempest, they threw out (as the common Proverb faith) their holy Anchor. For then they appointed all the Bishops, Priests, Mithe common Provero faint), their many Annual. For their appointed an the Daniops, Prients, Ministers of the gods, and keepers of holy things, and all the Augures or Sooth-Layers, which foreshew things to come by observation of the flying of Birds (which is an old ancient kind of prophecying and things to come by observation of the flying of Birds (which is an old ancient kind of prophecying and tungs to come by ourcevation of the sign of the Martins, apparelled as when they do their Sacrifices; and divination amongst the ROMANS) to go to Martins, apparelled as when they do their Sacrifices; and first to entreat him to leave off War, and then that he would speak to his Countrey-men, and conclude Peace with the VOLSCES. Martius suffered them to come into his Camp, but yet he granted them nothing the more, neither did he entertain them or speak more courteoully to them, than he did the first time that they came unto him, saving onely that he willed them to take the one of the two: either nne une use the first Conditions offered, or else to receive war. When all this goodly rabble of to accept Peaceunder the first Conditions offered, or else to receive war. sure reactions of the Gates fuperfittious Priests were returned, it was determined in Council, that none should go out of the Gates superfictions rate to water the state of the City, and that they should watch and ward upon the Walls to repulse their Enemies if they came to affault them: referring themselves and all their hope, to time and Fortunes uncertain favour, not knowing otherwise how to remedy the danger. Now all the City was full of tumult, fear, and marvellous doubt, what would happen, until at the length there fell out fuch a like matter, as Homer oft times faid they would leaft have thought of. For in great matters, that happen feldom, Homer faith, and crieth out in this fort :

The goddes Pallas she, with her fair glistering eyes, Did put into his mind such thoughts, and made him so devise.

But sure some god hash sane out of the Peoples mind, And in another place:

Both wit and under standing eke, and have therewith asign'd. Some other simple shirit, instead thereof to bide, That so they might their doings all, for lack of wit misguide.

And in another place:

The People of themselves did either it consider, Or elfe some god instructed them, and so they joyn'd together.

Many reckon not of Homer, as referring matters unpoffible, and fables of no likelihood or truth, unto many reckon not of 120mer, as keretening manters unportate, and taken and inclinious of trust, and mans Reason, Free-will, or Judgement, which indeed is not his meaning. But things true and likely, he maketh to depend of our own Free-will and Reason. For he oft speaketh these words: I have thought it in my noble heart.

And in another place:

Achilles angry was, and forry for to hear Him so to say, his heavy breast was fraught with pensive fear.

Bellerophon (she) could not move with her fair tongue, And in another place: So honest and fo vertuous, he was the rest among.

But in wondrous and extraordinary things, which are done by fecret informations and motions, he doth not fay that God taketh away from man his choice and freedome of will, but that he doth more it: neither that he doth work delire in us, but objecteth to our minds certain imaginations whereby we are led to defire, and thereby doth not make this our action forced, but openeth the way to our Will, and addeth thereto courage, and hope of fuccels. For either we must say, that the gods meddle not with the Caufes and beginnings of our actions : or else what other means have they to help and further men? It is apparent that they handle not our bodies, nor move not our feet and hands, when there is occasion to use them: but that part of our mind from which these motions proceed, is induced thereto, or carried away by such Objects and Reasons, as God offereth unto it. Now the ROMAN Ladies and Gentlewomen did wifit all the Temples and gods of the same, to make their Prayers unto them: but the greatest Ladies (and more part of them) were continually about the Allar of Jupiter Capitolin, among which Troop by name, was Valeria, Publicola's own Sifter. The felf-fame Publicola, who did fuch notable service to the ROMANS, both in Peace and Wars, Valeria, Publi- and was dead also certain years before, as we have declared in his Life. His Sifter Valeria was greatly honoured and reverenced among all the ROMANS: and did fo modeftly and wifely behave her felf, that the did not shame nor dishonour the House she came of. So she suddenly fell into sud a fancy, as we have rehearfed before, and had (by fome god as I think) taken hold of a noble device. Whereupon she rose, and the other Ladies with her, and they all together went straight to the House of Volumnia, Martius Mother: and coming in to her, found her, and Martius Wife her Daugher in Law, set together, and having her Husband Martius young Children in her lap. Now all the Train of these Ladies, sitting in a ring round about her, Valeria first began to speak in this sor unto her: "We Ladies, are come to visit you Ladies (my Lady Volumnia and Virgilia) by no dire "Ation from the Senate, nor commandment of other Magistrate, but through the inspiration (as] "take it) of forne god above: who having taken compassion and pity of our Prayers, hath more "us to come unto you, to intreat you in a matter, as well beneficiall for us, as also for the whole Cities "zens in general, but to your felves in speciall (if it please you to credit me) and shall redound to "your more fame and glory, than the Daughters of the SABYNS obtained in former age, when they "procured loving Peace, instead of hatefull War, between their Fathers and their Husbands

Volumnia, Martius Mother. The words of Valeria unto Volumnia and Virgilia.

"Come on good Ladies, and let us go all rogether unto Martin, to intreat him to take pity upon "us, and alio to report the truth unto him, how much you are bound unto the Citizens : who not-"withfranding they have fustained great hurr and losses by him, yet they have not hitherto fought re-"venge upon your persons by any discourteous usage, neither ever conceived any such thought or in-" tent against you, but to deliver you fafe into his hands, though thereby they look for no better grace "or clemency from him. When Valeria had spoken this unto them, all the other Ladies, together with one voice confirmed that the had faid. Then Volumnia in this fort did answer her: " My good with one voice confirmed that the natural and recommon milery and calamity of our Country, and yet The answer of Ladies, we are partakers with you of the common milery and calamity of our Country, and yet Followski to "our grief exceedeth yours the more, by reason of our particular missortune, to feel the loss of the Roman "my Son Martine former valiancy and glory, and to fee his person environed now with our Ene- Ladies. "mies in Arms, rather to fee him forth-coming and fafe kept, than of any love to defend his per-" fon, But yet the greatest grief of our heaped mishap is; to see our poor Countrey brought to "fuch extremity, that all the hope of the fafety and prefervation thereof, is now unfortunately cast "upon us simple Women: because we know not what account he will make of us, since he hath cast "from him all care of his natural Countrey and Commonweal, which heretofore he hath holden "more dear and precious, than either his Mother, Wife or Children. Notwithstanding, if ye think " we can do good, we will willingly do what you will have us; bring us to him we pray you. For "if we cannot prevail, we may yet die at his feet, as humble Suiters for the fafety of our Countrey. Her Answer ended, she took her Daughter in Law, and Martin: Children with her, and being accompanied with all the other ROMAN Ladies, they went in troop together unto the VOLSCES Camp: whom when they faw, they of themselves did both pity and reverence her, and there was not a man among them that once durft fay a word unto her. Now was Martim fet then in his Chair of State, with all the Honours of a General, and when he had spied the Women coming afar off, he marvelled what the matter meant : but afterwards knowing his Wife which came foremost, he determined at the first to perfist in his obstinate and inflexible rankor. But overcome in the end with natural affection, and being altogether altered to fee them, his heart would not ferve him to tarry their coming to his Chair, but coming down in hafte, hewent to meet them, and first he kissed his Mother, and imbraced her a pretty while, then his Wife and little Children. And Nature fo wrought with him, that the tears fell from his eyes, and he could not keep himfelf from making much of them, but yielded to the affection of his blood, as if he had been violently carried with the fury of a most fwift running stream. After he had thus lovingly received them, and perceiving that his Mother Vo-lumnia would begin to speak to him, he called the chiefest of the Council of the Volsces to hear what she would say. Then she spake in this fort: "If we held our peace (my Son) and determined The Oration "not to speak, the state our poor Bodies, and present sight of our Rayment, would easily bewray of Volumnia "to thee what life we have led at home, fince thy exile and abode abroad, but think now with thy unto her for "felf, how much more unfortunate than all the Women living, we are come hither, confidering that Coriolanus. "the fight which should be most pleasant to all other to behold, spightfull Fortune had made most " fearfull to us: making my felf to fee my Son, and my Daughter here her Husband, belieging the "Walls of his native Countrey: so as that which is the onely comfort to all other in their adversity "and mifery, to pray unto the gods, and to call them for aid, is the onely thing which plungeth "us into most deep perplexity. For we cannot (alas) together pray, both for victory to our Coun-"trey, and for fafety of thy life also: but a world of grievous curses, yea more than any mortall "Enemy can heap upon us, are forcibly wrapt up in our Prayers. For the bitter fop of most hard "choice is offered thy Wife and Children, to forgo one of the two : either to lafe the Person of thy "felf, or the Nurse of their native Countrey. For my felf (my Son) I am determined not to tarry "till Fortune in my life time do make an end of this.War. For if I cannot perswade thee, rather to "do good unto both Parties, than to overthrow and destroy the one, preferring Love and Nature be-"fore the Malice and Calamity of the Wars, thou shalt see, my Son, and trust unto it, thou shalt no " fooner march forward to affault thy Countrey, but thy foot shall tread upon thy Mothers Womb, "that brought thee first into this World. And I may not defer to see the law either that my Son "be led Priloner in triumph by his natural Countrey-men, or that he himfelf do triumph of them, "and of his natural Countrey. For if it were fo, that my request tended to fare thy Countrey, in de-"ftroying the VOLSCES, I must confess, thou wouldst hardly and doubtfully resolve on that. For "as to destroy thy natural Countrey, it is altogether unmeet and unlawfull, so were it not just, and "less honourable, to betray those that put their trust in thee. But my onely demand consisteth, to "make a Goal-delivery of all evils, which delivereth equal benefit and fatety, both to the one and "the other, but most honourable for the VOISCES. For it shall appear, that having victory in "their hands, they have of special favour granted us singular graces, Peace and Amity, albeit them-"felves have no less part of both than we. Of which good, if so it came to pass, thy self is the "onely Author, and so hast thou the onely honour. But if it fail, and fall out contrary, thy self "alone deservedly shalt carry the shamefull reproach and burthen of either party. So, though the end " of War be uncertain, yet this notwithstanding is most certain, that if it be thy chance to conquer, "this benefit shalt thou reap of thy goodly Conquest, to be chronicled the plague and destroyer of "thy Countrey. And if Fortune overthrow thee, then the World will fay, that through defire to " revenge thy private injuries, thou hast for ever undone thy good friends, who did most lovingly and " courteoully receive thee. Martins gave good ear unto his Mothers words, without interrupting her Speech at all, and after the had faid what the would, he held his peace a pretty while, and

"doft thou not answerme? doft thou think it good altogether to give place unto thy choier and

"defire of revenge, and thinkeft thou it not honerty for thee to grant thy Mothers request, in fo

"weighty a caude? doft thou take it honourable for a Noble man, to remember the wrongs and injuweighty a camer unit moutane it announced to a notification of the writer done him, and doft not in like cafe think it an honeft Noblemans part, to be thankfull for the

" goodnels that Parents do show to their Children, acknowledging the duty and reverence they ought

goodines that ratemand him is more bound to flew himself thankfull in all parts and re-

" spects than thy self: who so universally shewest all ingratinude. Moreover (my Son) thou hast "forely taken of thy Countrey, exacting grievous payments upon them, in revenge of the injuries

"offered thee; befides, thou hait nothitherto shewed thy poor Mother any courteile. And there-

onereu tite; ociuce, mou mat institute the matter of the without compulfion I should obtain my so just and

"reafonable request of thee. But fince by reafon I camot perswade thee to it, to what purpose do I "defer my laft hope? And with thefewords, her felf, his Wife and Children, fell down upon their

knees before him : Martius feeing that, could refrain no longer, but went ftraight and lift her up,

crying out, On Mother, what have you done to her Aha holding her hat a by the right hand, Of Mother, faid he, you have won a happy Victory for your Countrey, but mortal and huppe for your Son: for I fee my felf vanquifhed by you alone. These words being spoken openly, he spake a little apart with his Mother and Wise, and then let them return again to Rome, for so they did re-

a new apart with the required and varies, and use the them required them; and to remaining in Camp that night, the next morning he diffloged, and marched homeward into the VOLSCES Countrey again, who were not all of one mind, nor all alike comented.

For fome midliked him and that he had done: other being well pleased that Peace should be made, faid:

that neither the one nor the other, deferved blame nor reproach. Other though they milliked that

was done, did not think him an ill man for that he did, but faid, he was not to be blamed, though he

yielded to such a forcible extremity. Howbeit no man contraried his departure, but all obeyed his

commandment, more for respect of his worthiness and valiancy than for fear of his Authority. Now

the Citizens of Rome plainly shewed, in what fear and danger their City stood of this War, when

they were delivered. For so soon as the Watch upon the Walls of the City perceived the VOLSCES

Camp to remove, there was not a Temple in the City but was prefently fet open, and full of men wea-

ring Garlands of Flowers upon their heads, facrificing to the gods, as they were wont to do upon the

news of some great obtained Victory. And this common joy was yet more manifestly shewed, by the

honourable courtefies the whole Senate and People did befrow on their Ladies. For they were all throughly perfuaded, and did certainly believe, that the Ladies onely were cause of the faving of

their good will and forwardness, ordained that the Temple and Image should be made at the common

charge of the City. Notwithstanding that, the Ladies gathered Money among them, and made

with the fame a fecond Image of Fortune, which the ROMANS fay did speak as they offered her

ye have devoutly offered me up. Moreover, that the spake that twice together, making us to be-

lieve things that never were, and are not to be credited: For to fee Images that ferm to fweat or

from his voyage, Tullus that hated and could no longer abide him for the fear he had of his Authority, fought divers means to make him away; thinking if he let flip that prefent time, he should never recover the like and fit occasion again. Wherefore Tullus having procured many other of his confederacy, Goriolanas, required Martin might be deposed from his Estate, to render up account to the Volsces of his Charge and Government. Martine fearing to become a private man again under Tulling being Genciral (whose Authority was greater otherwise, than any other among all the Volsces) answered: He was willing to give up his charge, and would refign it into the hands of the Lords of the VOLS-CES, if they did all command him, as by all their commandment he received it. And moreover that he would not refule even at that prefent to give up an account unto the People, if they would tarry the hearing of it. The People hereupon called a Common Council, in which affembly there were certain Orators appointed, that stirred up the Common People against him: and when they had told their tales, Martin role up to make them answer. Now, notwithstanding the mutinous People made a marvellous great noise, yet when they saw him, for the reverence they bare unto his valiantness, they quieted themselves, and gave him audience to alledge with leisure what he could for his purgation. Moreover, the honestest men of the ANTIATES, and who most rejoiced in Peace, shewed by their countenance that they would hear him willingly, and judge also according to their conscience. Whereupon Tullus fearing that if he did let him speak, he would prove his innocency to the People, because amongst other things he had an eloquent tongue; besides that the first good service he had done to the People of the VOLSCES, did win him more favour, then these last Accusations could purchase him displeasure; and furthermore, the offence they laid to his charge, was a testimony of the good will they ought him; for they would never have thought he had done them wrong for that they took not the City of ROME, if they had not been very near taking of it, by means of his approach and conduction. For these causes Tullus thought he might no longer delay his pretence and enterprize, neither to tarry for the mutining and rifing of the Common People against him : wherefore, those that were of the conspiracy, began to cry out that he was not to be heard, and that they would not suffer a Traitor to usurp tyrannical power over the Tribe of the Volsces, who would not yield up his State and Authority. And in faying these words, they all fell upon him, and killed him in the Market place, Coriolanus none of the people once offering to rescue him. Howbeit it is a clear case, that this murder was not murdered in generally confented unto, of the most part of the Volsces : for men came out of all parts to honour the City of his body, and did honourably bury him, setting up his Tomb with great store of Armour and spoils, as Antinum. the Tomb of a worthy person and great Captain. The Roman's understanding of his death, shewed needs, the total state of the Roman's understanding of his death, shewed needs, no other honour or malice, faving that they granted the Ladies their request they made : that they might mourn ten Moneths for him, and that was the full time they used to wear blacks for the death of The time of their Fathers, Brethren, or Husbands, according to Numa Pompilius order, who established the mourtaing ap-fame, as we have enlarged more amply in the description of his Life. Now Marsius being dead, the pointed by whole state of the Volsces heartily wished him alive again. For, first of all they fell out with the ÆQUES (who were their Friends and Confederates) touching preheminence and place: and this quarrel grew on fo far between them, that frays and murders fell out upon it one with another. After that the ROMANS overcame them in Battle, in which Tullus was flain in the Field, and the flower of all Tullus Aufidius their force was put to the Sword: fo that they were compelled to accept most shamefull Conditions of stain in Battle. Peace, in yielding themselves subject unto the Conquerors, and promising to be obedient at their commandment.

The End of Caius Martius Coriolanus Life.

Corrolland compatition of crying out, Oh Mother, what have you done to me? And holding her hard by the right hand, Oh his Mother.

Coriolanus withdraweth his Army from

> the City, and delivering themselves from the instant danger of the War. Whereupon the Sonate ordained, that the Magistrates to gratifie and honour these Ladies, should grant them all that they The Temple of would require. And they onely requested that they would build a Temple of Fortune for the Wo-Fortune built men, unto the building whereof they offered themselves to destray the whole charge of the Sacrifices, for the women, and other Ceremonies belonging to the service of the gods. Nevertheless, the Senate commending

> up in the Temple, and did fet her in her place : and they affirm, that the spake these words : Ladies, The Image of Fortune spake to the Ladies

potency of God.

weep, or to put forth any humour red or bloody, it is not a thing unpossible. For Wood and Of the fweating and voices themselves, or do take of the air, many forts and kinds of spots and colours: by which figns and tokens it is not amifs, methinks, that the gods fometimes do warn men of things to come. And it is possible also, that these Images and Statues do sometimes put forth sounds like unto sighs or mourning, when in the midft or bottom of the fame, there is made some violent separation, or breaking afunder of things, blown or devised therein; but that a body which hath neither life nor soul, should have any direct - exquisite words formed in it by express voice, that is altogether unpolfible: For the foul, not God himfelf can diftinctly speak without a body, having necessary Organs and inflruments meet for the parts of the fame, to form and utter diffinct words. But where Stories many times do force us to believe a thing reported to be true, by many grave testimonies: therewe must say, that it is some passion contrary to our five natural senses, which being begotten in the imaginative part or understanding, draweth an opinion unto it self, even as we do in our sleeping. For many times we think we hear that we do not hear, and we imagine we see that we see not. Yet notwithstanding, such as are godly bent, and zealously given to think on heavenly things, fo as they can no way be drawn from believing of that which is spoken of them, they have this reason to ground the foundation of their belief upon; that is, the Omnipotency of God, which is wonderfull, and hath no manner of refemblance or likenels of proportion unto ours, but is altogether contrary, as touching our nature, our moving, our art, and our force : and therefore if he do any thing unpossible to us, or do bring forth and devile things above mans common reach and understanding, we must not therefore think it unpossible at all. For if in other things he is ar contrary to us, much more in his Works and secret Operations, he far paffeth all the reft : but the most part of Gods doings, as Heraclisms faith, for lack of faith, are hidden and unknown unto us. Now when Martius was returned again into the City of ANT IUM

ALCIBIADES and CORIOLANUS.

fuffer the Captains of the ATHENIANS to run into great errours, neither would be fee them caft away, by following ill counfell which they took, neither would he forfake them in any danger they put themselves into. But he did the very same that Aristides had done in old time unto Themsstoeles, for which he was then, and is yet fo greatly praifed. For he went unto the Captains that had charge then of the Army of the ATHENIANS, although they were not his friends, and told them wherein they did amis, and what they had further to do. Where Martins to the contrary, did first great hurt unto the whole City of Rome, though all in Rome had not generally offended him : yea, and when the best and chiefest part of the City were grieved for his sake, and were very forry and angry for the injury done him. Furthermore, the ROMANS fought to appeale one onely displeasure and despight they had done him, by many Ambassadors, Petitions and requests they made; whereunto he never yielded, untill his Mother, Wife, and Children came, his heart was so hardened. And bereby it appeared he was entred into this cruel War (when he would hearken to no peace) of an intent utterly to destroy and spoil his countrey, and not as though he meant to recover it, or to return thither again. Here was indeed the difference between them: that Ipials being laid by the LACED & MONIANS to kill Alcibiades. for the malice they did bear him, as also for that they were afraid of him, he was compelled to return home again to ATHENS. Where Martins contrariwise, having been so honourably received and entertained by the VOLSCES, he could not with honefty for fake them, confidering that they had done him that honour, as to choose him their General, and trusted him so far, as they put all their whole Army and Power into his hands ; and not as the other, whom the LACEDAMONIANS rather abused than used him, suffering him to go up and down their City (and afterwards in the midst of their Camp) without honour or place at all. So that in the end Alcibiades was compelled to put himself into the hands of Tilaphernes: unless that they will say that he went thinher of purpose to him. with intent to fave the City of ATHENS from utter destruction, for the defire he had to return home again. Moreover, we read of Alcibiades, that he was a great taker, and would be corrupted with Alcibiades and Money: and when he had it, he would most licentiously and dishonestly spend it. Where Martins Coriolans in contrary manner would not fo much as accept gifts lawfully offered him by his Captains, to honour manner for him for his valiantness. And the cause why the People did bear him such ill will, for the controversie Money. they had with the Nobility about clearing of Debts, grew : for that they knew well enough it was not for any gain or benefit he had gotten thereby, so much as it was for spite and displeasure he thought to do them. Antipater in a Letter of his, writing of the death of Aristotle the Philosopher, doth not without cause commend the fingular gifts that were in Alcibiades, and this especially, that he passed all other for winning mens good wills. Whereas Martius noble acts and vertues, wanting that affability, became hatefull, even to those that received benefit by them, who could not abide his severity and felf-will: which caufeth defolation (as Plato faith) and men to be ill-followed, or altogether forfaken. Contrariwise, seeing Alcibiades had a trim entertainment, and a very good grace with him. and could fashion himself in all Companies, it was no marvel if his well doing were gloriously commended, and himself much honoured and beloved of the People, considering that some faults he did, were oftentimes taken for matters of fport, and toys of pleasure. And this was the cause, that though many times he did great hurt to the Commonwealth, yet they did oft make him their General, and trusted him with the charge of the whole City. Where Martins suing for an Office of honour, that was due to him, for the fundry good fervices he had done to the State, was notwithstanding repulsed, and put by. Thus do we fee, that they to whom the one did hurt, had no power to hate him : and the other that honoured his vertue, had no liking to love his person. Martins also did never any great exploit, being General of his Countrey-men, but when he was General of their Enemies against his natural Countrey: whereas Alcibiades, being both a private person, and a General, did notable service unto the ATHENIANS. By reason whereof, Alcibiades wheresover he was present, had the upper Acibiates and hand ever of his Accusers, even as he would himself, and their Accusations took no place against him. Gotolanuslove unless it were in his absence. Where Martin being present, was condemned by the ROMANS: and unto their in his person murdered and slain by the VALSACE Rue have I cannot but they be under a well and Country. in his person murdered and slain by the Volsces. But here I cannot say they have done well, nor justly, albeit himself gave them some colour to do it, when he openly denied the ROMAN Ambassadors Peace, which afterwards he privately granted, at the request of women. So by this deed of his, he took not away the enmity that was between both People : but leaving War still between them, he made the VOISCES (of whom he was General) to lose the opportunity of noble Victory. Where

indeed he should (if he had done as he ought) have withdrawn his Army with their counsell and confent, that had reposed so great affiance in him, in making him their General : if he had made that ac-

count of them, as their good will towards him did in duty bind him. Or elfe, if he did not care for

the VOLSCES in the enterprize of this War, but had onely procured it of intent to be revenged, and

afterwards to leave it off when his anger was blown over : yet he had no reason for the love of his Mo-

ther to pardon his Countrey, but rather he should in pardoning his Countrey, have spared his Mother,

because his Mother and Wife were Members of the Body of his Countrey and City, which he did be-

fiege. For in that he uncourteoully rejected all the publick Petitions, requests of Ambassadors, intrea-

ties of the Bishops and Priests, to gratifie onely the request of his Mother with his departure : that was

no act fo much to honour his Mother with, as to dishonour his Countrey by, the which was preserved

for the pity and intercession of a Woman, and not for the love of it self, as if it had not been worthy of

it. And fo was this departure a grace (to fay truly) very odious and cruel, and deferved no thanks of

either party, to him that did it. For he withdrew his Army, not at the request of the ROMANS, a-

gainst whom he made War: nor with their consent, at whose charge the War was made. And of all

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THE COMPARISON OF ALCIBIADES with MARTIUS CORIOLANUS.



The acts done by both.

OW that we have written all the Deeds of worthy memory, done by either of them both, we may prefently difcern, that in matters of War the one hath not greatly exceeded the other. For both of them in their charge, were alike hardy and valiant for their persons, as also wise and politick in the Wars: unless they will fay, that Alcibiades was the better Captain, as he that had foughten more Battles with his Enemies, both by Sea and Land, than ever Coriolanus had done, and had always the Victory of his Enemies. For otherwife, in this they were much alike: that where they were both present and had charge and

power to command, all things prospered notably, and with good success on the part they were of; and also when they took the contrary side, they made the first have the worst every way. Now for matters of Government, the Noble men and honest Citizens did hate Aleibiades manner of rule in the Commonweal, as of a man most dissolute, and given to flattery: because he ever studied by all device he could, to curry favour with the common People. So did the ROMANS malice also Coriolanus Government, for that it was too arrogant, proud, and tyrannical: whereby neither the one nor theother was to be commended. Norwithstanding he is left to be blamed, that seeketh to please and gratific his common People, than he that despifeth and disdaineth them; and therefore offereth them wrong and injury, because he would not seem to flatter them, to win the more Authority. For as it is an evil thing to flatter the common People to win credit: even so is it besides dishonesty, and injustice also, to attain to credit and authority, for one to make himfelf terrible to the People, by offering them wrong The manners and violence. It is true that Martius was ever counted an honelt natured man, plain, and fimple, with out art or cunning: but Alcibiades meerly contrary; for he was fine, fubril, and deceitfull. And the and Curiolanus greatest fault they ever burdened Aleibiades for, was his malice and deceit, wherewith he abused the Ambassadors of the LACED. MONIANS, and that he was a let that Peace was not concluded, as Thucydides reporteth. Now, though by this act he fuddenly brought the City of ATHENS into Wars, yet he brought it thereby to be of greater power, and more fearful to the Enemies, by making alliance with the Mantineans and the Argives, who by Alcibiades practife entred into League with the ATHENIANS. And Martim, as Dionysim the Historiographer writeth : did by crait and deceit bring the ROMANS into Wars against the Volsces, causing the Volsces maliciously and wrongfully to be suspected, that went to Rome to see the Games plaid. But the cause why he did it, made the fact so much more soul and wicked; for it was not done for any civil dilfention, nor for any jealousie and contention in matters of Government as Alcibiades did: but onely following his cholerick mood, that would be pleafed with nothing, as Dion faid, he would needs trouble and turmoil the most part of ITALY, and so being angry with his Countrey, he destroyed many other Towns and Cities that could not help it, nor do withall. This is true alfo, that Alcibiades spite and malice did work great mischief and misery to his Countrey; but when he faw they repented them of the injury they had done him, he came to himself, and did withdraw his Army. Another time also, when they had banished Alcibiades, he would not yet

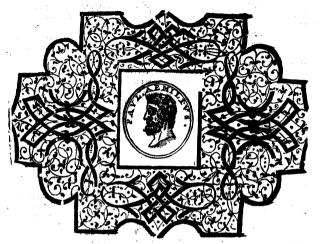
ALCIBIADES and CORIOLANUS. 204

his misfortune and iff hap, the aufterity of his nature, and his haughty obstinate mind, was the onely tus menortune and in trap, the ameerity of mentature, and me manging continue mina, was the onety cause: the which of it self being hatefull to the World, when it is joined with ambition, it groweth then much more churliff, fierce and intolerable. For men that have that fault in nature, are not affable to the People, feening thereby as though they made no estimation or regard of the People : and yet on the other fide, if the People should not give them bonour and reverence, they would straight take on the vallet line, it in forn, and little care for the matter. For fo did Metellus, Arifides and Epaminondus, all used this manner: not to feek the good will of the common People by flattery and diffinulation: which was indeed, because they despited that which the people could give or take away. Yet would they not was muceu, because the purpose and the proper country fines, or that they banished be offended with their Citizens, when they were americal, and set at any fines, or that they banished oc outcomen when there is a which they were among and net at any mines, or that they before, fo foon as them, or gave them any other repulfe: but they loved them as well as they did before, fo foon as they shewed any token of repentance, and that they were forry for the wrong they had done them, and were eafily made friends again with them, after they were reflored from their banishment. For he that distant to make much of the People, and to have their favour, should much more foom to feek to be revenged when he is repulfed. For, to take a repulfe and denial of honour fo inwardly to the heart, De revenigen when he is repulsed. Put, to take a repulse and united to be included a did not discometh of no other caule, but that he did too earnefully defire it. Therefore Alcibiades did not discometh of no other caule, but that he did too earnefully defire it. cometi of no other came, but that he may not camenty unite it. Intercore 22 instrumer, and not all-femble at all, that he was not very glad to fee himfelf honoured, and forry to be rejected and denied any honour; but alfohe fought all the means he could to make himfelf beloved of those amongst whom he lived. Whereas Marins flourness and haughty flomack, did flay him from making much of those ne lived. Whereas Dearthus acommens and hauging monisons, and may min from maning much of toole that might advance and honour him: and yet this ambition made him gnaw himfelf for fpite and anger, when he faw he was defpited. And this is all that reasonably may be reproved in him: for otherwise which the law lie was helphase. Allow hims as and that a continuous may be acquired in that it is one of the behaved no good commendable vertues and qualities. For his temperance, and clean hands from taking of Bribes and Money, he may be compared with the most perfect, vertuous, and honest men of all GREECE: but not with Alibiades, who was undoubtedly always too licentious and loofely given, and had too small regard of the duty of Honesty.

rable abstinence from Bribes.

THE LIFE OF

PAULUS EMYLIUS.



Anno Mundi. 3760.

Ant. Christ.



HEN I first began to write these Lives, my intent was to profit other : but fince continuing and going on, I have much profited my felf by looking into these Histories, as if I looked into a glass, to frame and fashion my life to the mould and pattern of these vertuous Noble men. For running over their manners in this fort, and feeking also to describe their Lives: methinks I am still conver-fant and familiar with them, and do as it were ledge them with me, one after another. And when I come to perufe their Histories, and to weigh the vertues

and qualities they have had, and what fingularity each of them possessed: and to chuse and cull out the chiefest things of note in them, and their best speeches and doings most worthy of memory : then I cry out :

O gods, can there be more passing pleasure in the world?

Or is there any thing of more force, to teach man civil manners, and a ruled life, or to reform the vice in man? Democritus the Philospher writeth, that we should pray we might ever see happy Images and Signs in the air, and that the good which is meet and proper to our nature, may rather come to us, than that is evil and unfortunate: prefuppoling a false opinion and Doctrine in Philosophy, which allurethmen to infinite superstitions: That there are good and bad Images flying in the air, which give a good or ill impression unto men, and encline men to vice, or to vertue. But as for me, by continual reading of ancient Histories, and gathering these Lives together which now I leave before you, and by keeping always in mind the acts of the most noble, vertuous, and best given men of former age, and worthy memory: I do teach and prepare my felf to shake off and banish from me all lewd and difhonest conditions, if by chance the company and conversation of them whose company. I keep, and must of necessity haunt, do acquaint me with some unhappy or ungracious touch. This is easie unto me, that do dispose my mind, being quiet and not troubled with any passion, unto the deep consideration of so many noble examples. As I do present unto you now in this Volume, the Lives of Timoleon the Co-RINTHIAN, and of Paulus Amylius the ROMAN, who had not onely a good and upright mind with them, but were also fortunate and happy, in all the matters they both did take in hand. So as you shall hardly judge, when you have read over their Lives, whether wildom or good fortune brought them to atchieve to such honourable Acts and Exploits as they did. Many (and the most part of Historiographers) do write, that the House and Family of the Amylians in ROME, was alwaies of the most The House of ancient of the Nobility, which they call Patricians. Some Writers affirm also, that the first of that the Amylians House that gave Name to all the Posterity after, was Marcus, the Son of Pythagoras the wife, came of Pywhom King Numa for the sweetness and pleasant grace of his tongue, surnamed Marcus Annylius: thisgory Son,

HE

and those specially affirm it, that say King Numa was Pythagoras Scholar. Howsoever it was, the the Battle of Cannes.

Emylia the Scipio the

lius.

The Philosoof Religion.

of Wars.

moft part of this Family that obtained Honour and Estimation for their Vertue, were ever fortu-Lucius Paulus nate also in all their doings, saving onely Lucius Paulus onely, who died in the Battle of Can-NES. But his misfortune doth bear manifest testimony of his wildom and valiancy together, Confident NES, But his misiorum wou to the his fellow Consul that would needs join Battle ; and to do as he did, saving that he sled not as the other, who being the first procurer of the Battle, was the first that ran away: where he to the contrary, to his power did what he could to let him, and did flick by it, and fought it valiantly to the last gasp. This Amylia lest 2 Daughter behind him called Amylia, which was married unto Scipio the Great: and a Son, Paulus Amylius, being the same man whose Life we presently treat Lucius Army of. His youth fortunately fell out in a flourishing time of glory and honour, through the fundry list married to Vertues of many great and noble Perfons living in those days, among whomhe had made his name famous also: and it was not by that ordinary art and course, which the best esteemed young men of that age did take and follow. For he did not use to plead private mens Causes in Law, neither would The vertues of creep into mens favour by fawning upon any of them; though he faw it a common practile, and Pullet Army policy of men, to feek the Peoples favour and good wills by fuch means. Moreover, he refuled not that common course which other took, for that it was contrary to his nature, or that he could not frame with either of both, if he had been so distiposed, but he rather sought to win reputation on by his honesty, his valianmess, and upright dealing, as choosing that the better way than elther of the other two, infomuch as in marvellous short time he passed all those that were of his Pantus Amy age. The first Office of Honour he fued for, was the Office of Adilu, in which fuit he was preferred before twelve other that fued for the felf-fame Office : who were men of no small quality, for they all came afterwards to be Confuls. After this, he was cholen to be one of the number of the Priefts, whom the ROMANS call Augures: who have the charge of all the Divinations and Sooth-fayings, in telling of things to come by flying of Birds, and figns in the air. He was fo carefull, and took fuch pains to understand how the ROMANS did use the same, and with such diligence fought the observation of the ancient Religion of the ROMANS in all holy matters: that where that Priesthood was before efteemed but a Title of Honour, and defired for the name onely, he brought it to pass, that it was the most honourable Science, and best reputed of in ROME: wherein he confirmed the Philosophers opinion, that Religion is the knowledg how to serve God, For when he did any thing belonging to his Office of PrieRhood, he did it with great experience, judgement and diligence, leaving all other thoughts, and without omitting any ancient Ceremony, or adding to any new; contending oftentimes with his companions, in things which leemed light, and Panhar diligent of annual company declaring unto them, that though we do prefume the gods are easie to be pacified, and that they readily pardon all faults and scapes committed by negligence, yet if it were no more monwealth even in triflet, but for respect of Commonwealths sake, they should not slightly nor carelesty diffemble or pass over faults committed in those matters: For no man (faith he) at the first that committeeth any fault, doth alone trouble the state of the Commonwealth: but withall, we must think he leaveth the grounds of Civil Government, that is not as carefull to keep the Institutions of small matters, as The Discipline also of the great. So was he also a severe Captain, and strict observer of all Martial Discipline, not feeking to win the Souldiers love by flattery, when he was General in the Field, as many did in that time: neither corrupting them for a fecond charge, by shewing bimself gende and courteous in the time: neither corrupting them for a fecond charge, by shewing bimself gende and courteous in the time; nuto those that served under him: but himself did orderly shew them the very Rules and Precepts of the Discipline of Wars, even as a Pricelt that should express the names and Ceremonies of fome holy Sacrifice, wherein were danger to omit any part or parcel. Howbeir, being terrible to execute the Law of Arms upon rebellious and disobedient Souldiers, he kept up thereby the state of the Commonweal the better : judging to overcome the Enemy by force, was but an accessary as a man may term it, in respect of well training and ordering his Citizens by good Discipline. While the ROMANS were in Wars against King Antiochus surnamed the Great, in the South parts, all the chiefest Captains of ROME being employed that ways, there fell out another in the neck of that, Peulus Emy- in the West parts towards Spain, where they were up in Arms. Thinher they sent Amylins list fent Prz- Przetor, not with fix Axes as the other Przetors had born before them, but with twelve: fo that untor into Spain. der the name of Prator, he had the Authority and Dignity of a Conful. He twice overcame the bar-Amylius skill barous People in main Battle, and flew thirty thouland of them, and got this Victory through his tun to enoote place and time great skill and wildom, in chufing the advantage of place and time, to fight with his Enemies, even as they passed over a River: which easily gave his Souldiers the Victory. Moreover, he took there two hundred and fifty Cities, all which did open, and gladly receive him in. So, leaving all that Countrey quiet and in good peace, and having received their Fealty by Oath made between his hands, be returned again to ROME, not inriched the value of a Drachma more than before. For then he took little regard to his expences, he fpent fo frankly, neither was his Purfe his Mafter, though his Revenue was not great to bear it out, as it appeared to the World after his death, for all that he had was Scipio the fe-cond and Fa-little enough to fatific his Wives Joynter. His first Wife was Papyria, the Daughter of a Noble cond and 14. Conful Papyrius Masso, and after they had lived a long time together, he was divorced from her, were the Sors notwithstanding he had goodly Children by her. For by her he had that famous Scipio the fecond, and of Paulas A. Fabius Maximus. The just cause of the Divorce between them, appeared not to us in writing milius, by Pa but methinks the Tale that is told concerning the separation of a certain Marriage is true: That a certain ROMAN having forfaken his Wife, her friends fell out with him, and asked him, What

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fault dost thou find in her? is she not honest of her body? is she not fair? doth she not bring thee goodly Children? but he putting forth his foot, shewed them his Shoe, and answered them : is A pretty Tale not this a goodly Shoe? is not it finely made? and is it not new? yet I dare fay there is never a one of a Roman of you can tell where it wringeth me. For to fay truly, great and open faults are commonly occasions to make Husbands put away their Wives: but yet oftentimes houshold words run to between them (proceeding of crooked Conditions, or of diversity of Natures, which strangers are not privy unto) that in process of time they do beget such a strange alteration of love and minds in them, as one house can no longer hold them. So Amylim, having put away Papyria his first Wife, he married another that brought him two Sons, which he brought up with himself in his House, and gave his two first Sons (to wit, Scipio the second, and Fabius Maximus) in adoption to two of the Noblest and richest Families of the City of ROME. The elder of the twain, unto Fabius Maximus, he that was five times Conful, and the younger unto the House of the Cornelians, whom the Son of the great Scipio the African did adopt, being his Coufin-german, and named him Scivio. Concerning his Daughters, the Son of Cato married the one, and Elius Tubero the other, The vertue of who was a marvellous honest man, and did more nobly maintain himself in his poverty, than any Elius Tubero other ROMAN: for they were fixteen persons all of one name, and of the House of the Alians, hispoverty and very near akin one to the other, who had all but one little House in the City, and a small Farm quiet life. in the Countrey, wherewith they entertained themselves, and lived all together in one House, with their Wives, and many little Children. Amongst their Wives, one of them was the Daughter of Paulus Amylius, after he had been twice Conful, and had triumphed twice, not being ashamed of her Husbands poverty, but wondring at his Vertue that made him poor. Whereas Brethren and Innaturality Kinfmen, as the World goeth now, if they dwell not far affunder, and in other Countries, not one among that near another, and that Rivers part them not, or Walls divide their Lands, leaving great wasts between them; they are never quiet, but still in quarrell one with another. Goodly examples doth this Story lay before the wife, and well advised Readers, to learn thereby how to frame their life. and wifely to behave themselves. Now Emylius being chosen Conful, went to make War with . Emylius the LIGURIANS, who dwelled in the ALPES, and which otherwise are called LIGUSTINES Conful, These are very valiant and warlike men, and were very good Souldiers at that time, by reason of their continual Wars against the ROMANS, whose near neighbours they were. For they dwelt in the furthest part of ITALY, that bordereth upon the great ALPES, and the row of ALPES, whereof the foot joyneth to the Thuscan Sea, and pointeth towards Africk, and are mingled with the Gauls and Spaniards, neighbours unto the Sea Coast : who scowring all the Mediterranian Sea at that time, unto the straight of Hercules pillars, did with their little light Pinnaces of Pirates, let all the Traffick and entercourse of Merchandize, Amylius being gone to feek them in their Country, they tarried his coming with an Army of forty thousand men: nevertheless, though he had but eight thousand men in all, and that they were five to one of his, yet he gave the onfet upon them, and overthrew them, and drave them into their Cities. Then he fent to offer them peace, for the ROMANS would not altogether destroy the LIGURIANS, because their Countrey was as a Rampier or Bulwark against the invasion of the GAULS, who lay lurking for Emplius oopportunity and occasion to invade ITALY: whereupon these LIGURIANS yielded themselves vercometh the unto him, and put all their Forts and Ships into his hands. Amylius delivered unto them their Ligarians. Holds again, without other hurt done unto them, faving that he razed the Walls of their Fortifications; howbeit he took all their Ships from them, leaving them little Boats of three Oars onely, and no greater; and fet all the Prisoners at liberty they had taken, both by Sea and by Land, as well ROMANS as other, which were a marvellous number. These were all the notable acts he did worthy memory, in the first year of his Consulship. Afterwards he oftentimes shewed himself very delirous to be Conful again, and did put forth himself to sue for it: but when he was denied it, he never after made fute for it again, but gave himfelf onely to fludy Divine things, and to fee his Children vertuously brought up, not onely in the ROMAN Tongue which himself was taught, but also a little more curiously in the GREEK Tongue. For he did not onely retain Grammarians, Rhetoricians, and Logicians, but also Painters, Gravers of Images, Riders of Horses, and Hunts of GREECE about his Children: and he himself also (if no matters of Commonwealth troubled him) was ever with them in the School when they were at their Books, and also when they otherwise did exercise themselves. For he loved his Children as much or more than any other ROMAN. Now concerning Inc cowar the state of the Commonwealth, the ROMANS were at Wars with King Perfeus, and they much Romans in blamed the Captains they had fent thither before, for that for lack of skill and courage, they had fo spain. cowardly behaved themselves, as their Enemies laughed them to scorn: and they received more hurt of them, than they did unto the King. For not long before, they had driven King Antiochus beyond Mount Taurus, and made him forfake the rest of Asia, and had shut him up within the Borders of SYRIA, who was glad that he had bought that Countrey with fifteen thousand Talents, which he paid for a Fine. A little before also, they had overcome Philip King of MACEDON in THESSALY, and had delivered the GRECIANS from the bondage of the MACEDONIANS. And moreover, having overcome Hannibal (unto whom no Prince nor King that ever was in the World was comparable, either for his power or valiantness) they thought this too great a dishonour to them, that this War they had against King Perfeus, should hold so long of even hand with them, as if he had been an Enemy equal with the People of ROME: confidering also that they fought not against them, but with the refuse and scattered People of the overthrown Army his Father had lost before,

King of Mace-

fon King of Macedon. Philip King of

> Philips Armoury.

The death of King Philip.

King Perfeus maketh War with the Ro-Publius Licinius Conful overthrown by Perfeus.

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But Antigonus Dothen gave him the absolute name of a King, and furnamed him Doson, to say, the Giver: for he promifed much and gave little. After him raigned Philip, who in his green youth gave more hope of himself, than any other of the Kings before: infomuch as they thought that one day he would reflore MACEDON her ancient Fame and Glory, and that he alone would pluck down the pride and power of the ROMANS, who role against all the World. But after that he had lost a great Bartle by Time Battle, and was overthrown by Time Quintus Flaminius near unto the City of Scotusa, then he began to quakefor fear, and to leave all to the mercy of the ROMANS; thinking he escaminist, at the Ped good cheap, for any light Ransome or Tribute the Romans should impose upon him. Yet City of constant afterwards coming to understand himself, he grew to disdain it much, thinking that to raign preparation for through the favour of the ROMANS, was but to make himself a Slave, to feek to live in plea-War in Mase- fure at his eafe, and not for a valiant and noble Prince born. Whereupon he fet all his mind to fludy the Difcipline of Wars, and made his preparation as wifely and closely as possibly he could. For he left all his Towns along the Sea Coast, and standing upon any High-ways, without any fortification at all, and in manner defolate without People, to the end there might appear no occasion of doubt or miftruft in him: and in the mean time, in the high Countries of his Realm far from great beaten ways, he levyed a great number of men of War, and replenished his Towns and strong Holds that lay featteringly abroad, with Armour and Weapon, Money and Men, providing for War, which he kept as fecretly as he could. For he had Provision of Armour in his Armoury, to arm thirry thousand men, and eight million bushels of Corn fasely lockt up in his Forts and stronger places, and ready Money, as much as would ferve to entertain ten thouland strangers in pay, to defend his Countrey for the space of ten years. But before he could bring that to pass he had purposed, he died for grief and sorrow, after he knew he had unjuftly put Demetrisu the best of his Sons to death, upon the falle accufation of the worst, that was Perseus: who as he did inherit the Kingdom of his Father by fuccession, so did he also inherit his Fathers malice against the ROMANS. Bur he had no shoulders to bear so heavy a burden, and especially being as he was, a man of so vile and wicked nature: for among many lewd and naughry conditions he had, he was extream covetous and miferable. They fay also, that he was not legitimate, because Philips wife had taken him from treamcovetous Gnathainia (a Taylors Wife born at Arcos) immediately after he was born, and did adopt the Child to behers. And some think that this was the chiefest cause why he practised to put Demetrius to death, fearing left his lawfull Son would feek occasion to prove him a Bastard. Norwithflanding, fimple though he was, and of vile and base nature, he found the strength of his Kingdom so great, that he was contented to take upon him to make War against the ROMANS, which he maintained a long time, and fought against their Consuls, that were their Generals, and repulsed great Armies of theirs both by Sea and Land, and overcame fome. As Publius Licinius among other, the first that invaded MACEDON, was overthrown by him in a Battle of Horfemen, where he flew at that time two thouland five hundred good men of his, and took fix hundred Prisoners. And their Army by Sea, riding at anchor before the City of Orem, he did fuddenly fet upon, and took twenty great hips of burden, and all that was in them, and funk the rest, which were all loaden with Cotn: and took of all forts besides, about 54 Foysts and Galliots of fility Oars apiece. The second Consul and General he fought withall, was Hoftilius, whom he repulsed, attempting by force to invade Mactout of Maccdon DON by way of the City of ELUMIA. Another time again, when he entred in by stealth upon the Coast of Thessaly, he offered him Bartle, but the other durft not abide it. And as though this War troubled himnothing at all, and that he had cared little for the ROMANS, he went and fought a Battle in the mean time with the DARDANIANS, where he flew ten thousand of those barbarous People, and brought away a marvellous spoil. Moreover he procured the Nation of the Gauls dwelling upon the River of Danuty, which they call Baffarna (men very warlike, and excellent good Gastrdwelling Horsemen) and did practise with the ILLYRIANS also by means of their King Gentists, to make upon the River them join with him in this War: so that there ran a rumour, that for Money he had gotten those of Danubr. GAULS to come down into ITALY, from the high Countrey of GAUL all along the Adriatick Sea. The ROMANS being advertised of these news, thought the time served not now to dispose their Offices in Wars any more by grace and favour unto those that sued for them: but contrariwile, that they should call some Nobleman that were very skilfull and a wife Captain, and could discreetly govern and perform things of great charge: as Paulus Emylius, a man well frepped on in years, being threefcore years old, and yet of good power, by reason of the lufty young men his Sons, and Sons in Law, befides a great number of his friends and Kinsfolk. So all that bare great authority, did all together with one confent counsel him to obey the People, which called him to the Confulfhip. At the beginning indeed he delayed the People much that came to importune him, and utterly denied them: PAULUS ÆMYLIUS.

faying, he was no meet man neither to defire, nor yet to take upon him any charge. Howbeit in the

end, feeing the people did urge it upon him, by knocking continually at his gates, and calling him aloud in the streets, willing him to come into the Market-place, and perceiving they were angry with him, because he refused it, he was content to be perswaded. And when he stood among them that sued for the Confulship, the people thought straight that he stood not there so much for defire of the Office. as for that he put them in hope of affured victory, and happy success of this begun War : so great was their love towards him, and the good hope they had of him, that they chose him Confull again Anyling thethe second time. Wherefore so soon as he was chosen, they would not proceed to drawing of Lots sen Conful the the fecond time. Wherefore to loon as he was choich, they would not protect to trawing of Loos fecond time, according to their cufforn, which of the two Confuls thould happen to go into MacEDON: but fecond time, according to their cufforn, which of the two Confuls thould happen to go into MacEDON: but presently with a full and whole consent of them all, they gave him the whole charge of the Wars of of the Wars of MACEDON. So being Confull now, and appointed to make War upon King Perfeus, all the Macedon, people did honourably accompany him home unto his house: where a little Girle (a Daughter of his) called Tertia, being yet an infant, came weeping unto her Father. He making much of her, Good luck asked her why she wept : The poor Girle answered, colling him about the neck, and kissing him, pronounced by Alas Father, wot you what ? our Perseus is dead. She meant it by a little Whelp so called, which Girle. was her play-fellow. In good hour my Girle, faid he, I like the fign well. Thus did Cicero the Orator report of it in his book of Divinations. The ROMANS, had a cuftom at that time, that fuch as were elected Confulls (after that they were openly proclaimed) should make an Oration of thanks unto the people, for the honour and favour they had shewed him. The people then (according to the cuftom) being gathered together to hear Amylius speak, he made this Oration unto them : "That the first time he sued to be Consull, was in respect of himself, standing at that Paulus Amy-"time in need of fuch honour : now he offered himself the second time unto it, for the good love lius Oration "he bare unto them, who flood in need of a Generall, wherefore he thought himself nothing of thanks to "bound nor beholding unto them now. And if they did think also this War might be better when he was "followed by any other then by himself, he would presently with all his heart resign the place. Consul, obser-"Furthermore, if they had any trust or confidence in him, that they thought him a man sufficient to ving the cu-"discharge it : then that they would not speak nor meddle in any matter that concerned his duty, stom. "and the Office of a General, faving onely, that they would be diligent (without any words) to "do whatsoever he commanded, and should be necessary for the War and service they took " in hand. For if every man would be a Commander, as they had been heretofore, of those by whom " they should be commanded; then the world would more laugh them to scorn in this service, then " ever before had been accustomed. These words made the ROMANS very obedient to him, and perceiving good hope to come, being all of them very glad that they had refused those ambitious flatterers that fued for the charge, and had given it unto a man, that durft boldly and frankly tell them the troth. Mark how the ROMANS by yeelding unto reason and vertue, came to command all See what fruit other, and to make themselves the mightiest people of the world. Now that Paulus Amylius set by obedience ting forward to this War, had wind at will, and fair passage to bring him to his journeys end, I and reason. impute it to good fortune, that fo quickly and fafely conveyed him to his Camp. But for the reft of his exploits he did in all his War, part of them being performed by his own hardiness, other by his wildom and good counsell, other by the diligence of his friends in ferving him with good will other by his own resolute constancy and courage in extreamest danger, and last, by his marvellous skill in determining at an instant what was to be done, I cannot attribute any notable act or worthy fervice unto this his good fortune they talk of fo much, as they may do in other Captains doings: unless they will say peradventure, that Perseus covetousness and misery was Emylius good fortune: Perseus covefor his milerable fear of spending Money , was the onely cause and destruction of the whole Realm of touriest and MACEDON , which was in good state and hope of continuing in prosperity. For there came down into milery, was the the Countrey of MACEDON at King Perfeus request, ten thousand Bastarna a Horse-back, and as ma- destruction of ny Footmen to them, who always joyned with them in battel, all mercenary Souldiers, depending up-his Realm of on pay and entertainment of Wars, as men that could not plow, nor fow, nor traffick merchandizes Macedon. by fea, nor skill of grazing to gain their living with : and to be short, that had no other occupation or Bastarne. merchandizes but to serve in the Wars, and to overcome those with whom they fought. Further- mercenary more, when they came to incamp and lodge in the MEDICA, near to the MACEDONIANS, who people. faw them so goodly great men, and so well trained and exercised in handling all kind of Weapons, so brave and lusty in words and threats against their Enemies : they began to pluck up their hearts and to look big, imagining that the ROMANS would never abide them, but would be afraid to look them in the face, and onely to fee their march, it was so terrible and fearfull. But Perfeus after he had encouraged his men in this fort, and had put them in fuch a hope and jollity, when this barbarous supply came to ask him a thousand Crowns in hand for every Captain, he was so damped and Note what

a straight account unto them of his charges in this War, against whom he made it. And notwithstand-

troubled withall in his mind, casting up the sum it came to, that his onely covetoulness and milery became of Permade him return them back, and refuse their service : not as one that meant to fight with the Ro- sens busbandry MANS, but rather to spare his Treasure, and to be a husband for them, as if he should have given up

ing also his Enemies did teach him what he had to do, considering that besides all other their warlike furniture and munition, they had no less then a hundred thouland fighting men lying in Camp to- Jemplius gether, ready to execute the Confulls commandment : yet he taking upon him to refift fo puissant Army against an Army and to maintain the Warm which found his Ferfett, was a an Army, and to maintain the Wars, which forced his Enemies to be at extream charge in entertaining such multirudes of men, more then needed : hardly would depart with his Gold and Sil- fand men.

with 4000 Horfemen. and 42000 Footmen.

Æmylius adhis Souldiers.

The Original of 9prings.

Fountains compared to Womens breafts.

ver, but kept it safe locked up in his Treasury, as if he had been asraid to touch it, and had been NET, JUL REPL A JAIL TOLKER OF AN AND A STATE OF THE ROBBE TACE OF the Kings of LYDIA and none of his. And he did not shew that he came of the noble race of the Kings of LYDIA and PHOENICIA, who gloried to be rich: but shewed how by inheritance of bloud he chalenged some part of the vertue of Philip, and of Alexander, who both because they effected to buy Victory with Money, not Money with Victory, did many notable things, and thereby conquered the want money, not make your states, and time, that it was not Philip, but his Gold and Silworld. Hereof came the common faying in old time, that it was not Philip, but his Gold and Silworld. ver that won the Cities of GREECE. And Alexander when he went to conquer the INDIES, feeing the Macedonians carry with them all the wealth of Persia, which made his Camp very heavy, and flow to march: he himself first of all set fire on his own Carriage that conveyed all his necessaries, and perswaded other to do the like, that they might march more lightly and eafily on the journey. But Persess contrarily would not spend any part of his Goods to lave himfelf, his Children and Realm, but rather yeelded to be led Prisoner in Triumph with a great Ranform, to flew the ROMANS how good a husband he had been for them. For he did not onely fend away the Gauls without giving them pay as he had promifed, but moreover having persena away me Galles willione giving main pay as in these Wars, for the sum of three hundred swaded Gentius King of ILLYRIA to take his part in these Wars, for the sum of three hundred Gentus King Talents which he had promited to furnish him with ; he caused the Money to be told , and put up in of the inspirator laterns while the man promined to receive it. Whereupon Gentiss thinking himself fure of the aided Perseur bags by those whom Gentiss fent to receive it. Perfeur double Money promifed, committed a fond and foul part : for he stayed the Ambassadours the ROMANS dealing with fent unto him, and committed them to prison. This part being come to Perfess ears, he thought King Genius. now he needed not hire him with Money to be an Enemy to the ROMANS, confidering he had waded fo far, as that he had already done, was as a manifest fign of his ill will towards them; and that it was too late to look back and repent him, now that his foul part had plunged him into King Gentius certain Wars, for an uncertain hope. So did he abuse the unfortunate King, and defrauded him of the three hundred Talents he had promifed him. And worfe then this, shortly after he fuffered Lucius Ancisse the ROMANS Przetor, whom they fent against him with an Army, to pluck King Gentius, his Wife and Children out of his Kingdom, and to carry them Priloners with the foot of the him. Now when Emylius was arrived in MacEDON, to make War against such an Enemy, mount of man he made no manner of reckoning of his person, but of the great preparation and power he had. For in one Camp he had four thousand Horsemen, and no less then forty thousand Footmen, with the which Army he had planted himself along the sea side, by the soot of the Mount Olympus, in a place unpossible to be approached: and there he had so well fortified all the straights and passages unto him with fortifications of wood, that he thought himself to lie safe out of all danger, and imagined to dally with Amylius, and by tract of time to eat him out with charge. Asimplises in the mean feason lay not idle, but occupied his wits throughly, and left no means unattempted, to put something in proof. And perceiving that his Souldiers by overmuch licentious liberty (wherein by fufferance they lived before) were angry with delaying and lying fill, and that they did bufily occupy themselves in the Generals office, saying this, and such a thing would be done that is not done : he took them up roundly, and commanded them they should meddle no more too curioully in matters that pertained not to them, and that they should take care for nothing elfe, but to fee their Armour and Weapon ready to ferre valiantly, and to use their Swords after the ROMANS fashion, when their General should appoint and command them. Wherefore, to make them more carefull to look to themselves, he commanded those that watched, should have no Spears nor Pikes, because they should be more wakefull, having no long Weapon to refift the Enemy, if they were affaulted. The greatest trouble his Army had, was lack of fresh Water, because the Water that ran to the Sea, was very little, and marvellous foul by the Sea side. But Emplius considering they were at the foot of the Mount Olympus (which is of a marvellous height, and full of Wood withall) conjectured, feeing the Trees to fresh and green, that there should be some little prety Springs among them, which ran under the ground. So he made them dig many holes and Wells along the Mountain, which were straight filled with fair Water, being pent within ground before for lack of breaking open the heads, which then ran down in streams, and met together in fundry places. And yet fome do deny, that there is any meeting of Waters with in the ground, from whence the Springs do come: and they fay, that running out of the earth as they do, it is not for that the Water breaketh out by any violence, or openeth in any place, as meeting together in one place of long time: but that it ingendreth and rifeth at the fame time and place where it runnethnor, turning the substance into Water, which is a moist vapour, thickned and made cold by the coldness of the earth, and so becometh a stream and runneth down. For (say they) as Womens breafts are not always full of Milk (as Milk-pansare; that continually keep Milk) but do of themselves convert the nutriment Women take into Milk, and after cometh forth at their nipples, even so the Springs and watery places of the earth, from whence the Fountains come, have no meetings of hidden Waters, nor hollow places to capable readily to deliver Water from them, as one would draw it out of a Pump or Ciftern, from to many Brooks, and deep Rivers : but by their naurall coldness and moisture, they wax thick, and put forth the vapour and air so strong, that they turn it into Water. And this is the reason why the places where they dig and open the earth, do put forth more abundance of Water by opening the ground : like as Womens breafts do give more Milk when they are most drawn and suckt, because in a fort they do better feed the vapour within them, and convert it thereby into a running humour. Where to the contrary, those parts of the earth that are not digged, nor have no vent outward, are the more unable, and less meet to ingender Water

PAULUS EMYLIUS having not that provocation and course to run, that causeth the bringing forth of moisture. Yet

fuch as maintain this opinion, do give them occasion that love argument, to contrary them thus; Then we may fay by like reason also, that in the bodies of beafts there is no bloud long before, and that it ingendreth upon a sudden,, when they are hurt, by transferring of some spirit or flesh that readily changeth into some running liquor. And moreover, they are consuted by the common experience of those mine-men, that dig in the mines for mettall, or that undermine Castles to win them: who when they dig any great depth, do many times meet in the bowels of the earth with running Rivers, the water whereof is not ingendred by little and little, as of necessity it should be, if it were true, that upon the prefent opening of the ground, the humour should immediately be created, but it falleth vehemently all at one time. And we see oftentimes, that in cutting thorow a Mountain or Rock, fuddenly there runneth out a great quantity of water. And thus much for this matter. Now to return to our History again. Emylius lay there a convenient time, and stirred not : and it is faid there were never feen two fo great Armies one so near to the other, and to be so quiet. In the end, casting many things with himself, and devising fundry practises, he was informed of another way to enter into MACEDON, through the Countrey of PERRÆBIA, over against the Temple called Pythion, and the Rock upon which it is built, where there lay no Garison : which gave him better hope to pass that way, for that it was not kept, then that he feared the narrowness and hardness of the way unto it. So, he brake the matter of his counsel. Thereupon Scipio called Nasica (the Son adopted Scipio Nasica, of that great Scipio the African, who became afterwards a great man, and was Prefident of the and Fatins Senate or Councell) was the first man that offered himself to lead them, whom it would please him to Maximus, offer fend to take that paffage, and to affault their Enemies behind. The fecond was Fabius Maximus, the to take the eldeft Son of Amylius, who being but a very young man, role notwithstanding, and offered himself Straights, wery willingly. Amylim was very glad of their ofters, and gave them not to many men as Polybim writeth, but so many as Nasica himself declareth in a Letter of his he wrote to a King, where he reporteth all the story of this journey. There were I hree thousand ITALIANS, leavied in ITALY, by the confederates of the ROMAN'S, who were not of the ROMAN Legions, and in the left wing about Five thousand. Besides those, Nasica took also One hundred and twenty men at Arms, and about Two hundred CRETANS and THRACIANS stringled together, of those Harpalus had sent thither. With this number Nafica departed from the Camp, and took his way toward the fea fide. and lodged by the Temple of Hercules, as if he determined to do this feat by fea, to environ the Camp of the Enemies behind. But when the Souldiers had supped, and that it was dark night, he made the Captains of every Band privy to his enterprise, and so marched all night a contrary way from the fea, untill at length they came under the Temple of Pythion, where he lodged to reft the Soulfrom the lea, until at rengen uncy came moves the source of the mount olympus is above ten furlongs high, as The height of

Olympus;

Olympus mount is just, by measure made with line. Twelve hundred seventy paces trod, as measure can assign. The measure being made, right o're against the place, Whereas Apollo's Temple stands, ybuils with stately grace. Even from the levell plot, of that Same Countries plain, Unto the top which all on high, doth on the hill remain. And To Xenagor as the Son of Eumelus, In olden days by measure, made, the same did find for us: And did engrave it here in writing for to fee;

When as he took his Lately large (Apollo god) of thee.
Yet the Geometricians say that there is no Mountain higher, nor Sea deeper, then the length of ten furlongs : fo that I think this Xenagoras (in my opinion) did not take his measure at adventure, and by guels, but by true rules of the Art and instruments Geometrical. There Natica refted all night. King Perfeus perceiving in the mean time that Amylim ftirred not from the place where he lay, mistrusting nothing his practise, and the coming of Masica, who was at liand; until fuch time as a Traytor of CRETE (flealing from Nasica) did reveal unto him the pretended practife, as also the ROMAN's compassing of him about : he wondred much at these news, howbeit he removed not his Camp from the place he lay in , but dispatched one of his Captains called Milon, with Ten thousand Strangers, and Two thousand MACEDONIANS: and straightly commanded him with all the possible speed he could, to get the top of the hill before them. Polybins faith, that the ROMANS came and gave them an alarm, when they were fleeping : Bur Nasica writeth, that there was a marvellous sharp and terrible Battel on the top of the Mountain : and faid plainly, that a THRACIAN Souldier coming towards him, he threw his Dart at him, and hitting him right in the breaft, flew him stark dead ; and having repulsed their Enemies, Nashea won Milon their Captain shamefully running away in his Coat without Armour or Weapon, he followed the straights him without any danger, and so went down to the valley, with the fafety of all his Company. of Macedon. This conflict fortuning thus Perfeus railed his Camp in great haste from the place where he was, and being disappointed of his hope, he retired in great fear, as one at his wits end, and not knowing how to determine. Yet was he constrained either to stay, and incamp before the City of PYDNE, there to take the hazard of Battel, or else to divide his Army into his Cities and strong holds, and to receive the Wars within his own Countrey, the which being once crept in, could never be driven out again, without great mirder and bloudshed. Hereupon his friends did counsel him, to

ty of Pylne.

Æfon and Leucus.

> ving charge upon the ene-The skill and forefight of a wise Captain.

The eclipse of The superfiition of the Romans when the Moon is eclipfed.

The cause of an ecliple of the Moon.

skirmish.

Romans in

chuse rather the fortune of battel : alledging unto him, that he was the stronger in men a great way, chuie rather the fortune of outer: aneuging unto that, that he was the fatonger in men a great way, and that the MACEDONIANS would fight luftily with all the courage they could, confidering that they fought for the fafety of their Wives and Children, and also in the presence of their King, who thould both fee every mans doing, and fight himself in person also for them. The King moved by Perfeurpitched these persuastions, determined to venture the chance of battel. So he pitched his Camp and viewed the fituation of the places all about, and divided the Companies amongst his Captains, purposing the mutation of the place and about, and divided the Companies amongst the profession of Police.

The place and Countrey was the place and Countrey was the police of Police. fuch, as being all champion, there was a goodly valley to range a battel of Footmen in, and little prety hills also one depending upon another, which were very commodious for Archers, naked men, and fuch as were lightly armed, to retire themselves being diffrested, and also to environ their enemies behind. There were two small Rivers also, Afon and Leness that ran through the same, the which though they were not very deep, being about the latter end of Summer, yet they would an only the ROMANS notwithflanding. Now when Amyline was joyned with Nafica, he marched on ftraight in battel ray towards his enemies. But perceiving afar off their battel marched in very good order, and the great multitude of men placed in the fame: he wondred to behold it, and fuddenly frayed his Army, confidering with himfelf what he had to do. Then the young Captains having charge under him, defirous to fight it our prefently, went unto him to pray him to give the onlet, but Nafica specially above the reft, having good hope in the former good luck he had at his Emplier an- first encounter. Amylise smiling, answered him: So would I do if I were as young as thou; But fwer to scipio the fundry Victories I have won herecofore, having raught me by experience the faults the vanquish-Najac, for gl- ed do commit, do forbid me to go fo hotly to work (before my Souldiers have reflect, which did return but now) to affault an Army fer in fuch order of battel. When he had answered him thus, he commanded the first Bands that were now in view of the Enemies, should embattel themfelves, flewing a countenance to the Enemy as though they would fight; and that those in the rereward should lodge in the mean time, and fortifie the Camp: So, bringing the foremost men to be hindmost, by changing from man to man, before the Enemies were aware of it; he had broken his battel by little and little, and lodged his men, fortified within the Camp without any tumult or noile, and the enemies never perceiving it. But when night came, and every man had supped, as they were going to fleep and take their rest; the Moon which was at the full, and of a great height, began to darken and to change into many forts of colours, loting her light, untill fuch time as the vanished away, and was eclipfed alrogether. Then the ROMAN's began to make a noise with Basons and Pans, as their fashion is to do in such a chance, thinking by this sound to call her again, and to make her come to her light, lifting up many Torches lighted and firebrands in to the air. The MACEDONIAN'S on the other fide did no fuch matter within the Camp, but were altogether stricken with an horrible fear ; and there ran a whileering rumour through the people, that this fign in the element fignified the eclipse of the King. For Emylius was not ignorant of the divertities of the eclipfes, and he had heard fay the caufe is, by reason that the Moon making her ordinary course about the world (after certain revolutions of time) doth come to enter mo the round shadow of the earth, within the which she remaineth hidden, untill such time as having past the dark region of the shadow, the cometh asterwards to recover her light which the Moon had recovered her former brightness again, he facrificed eleven Calves. And the next morning also by the break of day, making farrifice to Hercules, he could never have any figns or tokens that promifed him good luck, in facrificing twenty Oxen one after another : but at the one and twentieth he had figns that promifed him victory, to he defended himfelf. Where fore, after he had vowed a folemp facrifice of an hundred Oxen to Hercules, and also Games of prizes at the Weapons, he commanded his Captains to put their men in readiness to fight; and fo sought to win time, tarrying till the Sun came about in the afternoon towards the Welt, to the end that the ROMANS which were turned towards the Eaft, should not have it in their faces when they were fighting. In the mean time, he reposed himself in his Tent, which was all open behind towards the fide that looked into the valley, where the Camp of his Enemies lay. When it grew towards night, to make the Enemies fet upon his men, some say he used this policy. He made a Horse be driven towards them without a bridle, and certain ROMANS followed Enyliur poli- him, as they would have taken him again: and this was the cause of procuring the skirmish. O ther fay, that the THRACIANS serving under the charge of Captain Alexander, did set upon certain forragers of the ROMANS, that brought forrage into the Camp: out of the which, from hundred of the LIGURIANS ran fuddenly to the refere, and relief coming still from both Armies, at the laft the main battel followed after. Wherefore Emplis like a wile General forfeeing by the danger of this skirmish, and the stirring of both Camps, what the fury of the bar tel would come to : came out of his Tent , and passing by the Bands did encourage them , and prayed them to flick to it like men. In the mean time, Nafica thrufting himfelf into the place where the skirmift was hotteft, perceived the Army of the Enemies marching in battel ready to joyn. The first that marched in the vaward were the THRACIANS, who feemed terribe to look upon, as he writeth himself: for they were mighty made men, and carried marvellous bright the Maccdo rook upon, as new mean manch: for they were armed with Greaves, and their thighs with Tales, and their thighs with Tales, and their thighs with Tales, and their thigh with Tales, and the tales, and tales, and tales, and the tales, and tales, their Coats were black, and marched shaking heavy Halberds upon their shoulders. Next uno there THRAGIANS, there followed them all the other strangers and Souldiers whom the King

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PAULUS ÆMYLIUS.

had hired, diverfly armed and fet forth : for they were people of fundry Nations gathered together. among whom the PAONIANS were mingled. The third fquadron was of MACEDONIANS, and all of them chosen men, as well for the flower of their youth, as for the valiantness of their persons : and they were all in goodly gilt armours, and brave purple cassocks upon them, spick and fpan new, And at their backs came after them, the old bands to shew themselves out of the Camp with Targets of Copper, that made all the Plain to shine with the brightness of their Steel and Copper. And all the Hills and Mountains thereabouts did ring again like an Echo, with the cry and noise of so many fighting men, one encouraging another. In this order they marched so fiercely with fo great heart-burning, and fuch fwiftness; that the first which were slain at the incounter, fell dead two furlongs from the Camp of the ROMANS. The charge being given and The battel the battel begun, Amylius gallopping to the vaward of the Battel, perceived that the Captains betweet Perof the MACEDONIANS which were in the first ranks, had already thrust their Pikes into the Ro-MAN'S Targets, fo as they could not come near them with their Swords; and that the other MACEDONIANS carrying their Targets behind them, had now plucked them before them, and did base their Pikes all at one time, and made a violent thrust into the Targets of the ROMANS. Which when he had confidered, and of what strength and force his wall and rank of Targets was, one joyning to near another, and what a terrour it was to fee a front of a battel with fo many armed Pikes and steel heads : he was more afraid and amazed withall, then with any fight he ever faw before, nevertheless he could wisely diffemble it at that time. And so passing by the companies of his Horsemen, without either Curaces or Helmet upon his head, he shewed a noble cheerfull countenance unto them that fought. But on the contrary fide, Perfeus the King of MACEDON, as Polybius writeth, Perfeus goeth fo foon as the battel was begun, withdrew himself, and got into the City of PyDNE, under pretence to go to do facrifice unto Hercules : who doth not accept the faint facrifice of Cowards, neither doth receive their Prayers, because they be unreasonable. For it is no reason, that he that shooteth not should hit the white : nor that he should win the victory, that bideth not the battel; neither that he should have any good, that doth nothing towards it : nor that a naughty man should be fortunate and prosper. The gods did favour Amylius prayers, because he prayed for victory with his by labour no: Sword in his hand, and fighting did call to them for aid. Howbeit there is one Postdonius a Writer, by sloth. who faith he was in that time, and moreover that he was at the Battel : and he hath written an Hiflory containing many Books of the Acts of King Perfeus; where he faith, That it was not for faint heart, nor under colour to facrifice unto Hercules, that Perfeus went from the Battel, but because he had a ftrip of an Horse one the thigh the day before: who though he could not very well help himself, and that all his friends sought to perswade him not to go to the Battel, yet he caused one of his Horses to be brought to him notwithstanding (which he commonly used to ride up and down on) and taking his back, rode into the Battel unarmed, where an infinite number of Darts were thrown at him from both fides. And among those, he had a blow with a Dart that hurt him fomewhat, but it was overthwart, and not with the point, and did hit him on the left fide glancing wife, with fuch a force, that it rent his coat, and rafed his skin underneath, fo as it left a mark behind a long time after: And this is all that Posidonius writeth to defend and excuse Perseus. The Ro-MANS having their hands full, and being staied by the battel of the MACEDONIANS that they satius a Capcould make no breach into them; there was a Captain of the Pelignians called Salius, who tain of the took the Enfign of his Band, and cast it among the prease of his enemies. Then all the Pelignians NIANS fer upon them, with a marvellous force and tury in that place : for all ITALIANS think figurand threw it too great a shame and dishonour for Souldiers to lose or for lake their Ensign. Thus was there it among the marvellous force of both fide used in that place; for the PELIGNIANS proved to cut the MACE- enemies. DONIANS Pikes with their Swords, or elfe to make them give back with their great Targets, or to make a breach into them, and to take their Pikes with their hands. But the MACEDONIANS to the contrary holding their Pikes fast with both hands, ran them through that came near unto them, fo that neither Target nor Corflet could hold out the force and violence of the push of their Pikes, infomuch as they turned up the heels of the Pelignians and Thracians, who like desperate beasts without reason, shutting in themselves among their enemies, ran wilfully upon their own deaths, and their first rank were flain every man of them. Thereupon those that were behind, gave back a little, but fled not turning their backs, and onely retired giving back towards the Mountain Olocrus. Amylius feeing that (as Posidonius writeth) rent his arming coat from his back for anger, because that some of his men gave back : other durst not front the battel of the MACEDONIANS, which was fo strongly imbattelled on every fide and so mured in with a wall of Pikes prefenting their armed heads on every fide a man could come, that it was impossible to break into them, no not so much as come near them onely. Yet notwithstanding, because the field was not altogether plain and even, the battel that was large in the front, could not always keep that wall, continuing their Targets close one to another, but they were driven of necessity to break and open in many places, as it happeneth oft in great battels, according to the great force of the Souldiers : that in one place they thrust forward, and in another they give back, and leave a hole. Wherefore Amylius suddenly taking the vantage of this occasion, divided his men into small companies, and commanded them they should quickly thrust in between their enemies, and occupy the places they faw void in the front of their enemies, and that they should fet on them in that fort,

and not with one whole continuall charge, but occupying them here and there with divers companies

in fundry places. Emylius gave this charge unto the private Captains of every Band and their

PAULUS ÆMYLIUS. Lieutenants, and the Captains also gave the like charge unto their Souldiers that could skilfully execute their commandment. For they went prefently into those parts where they saw the places open, cute their communities. For they make open, and being once entred in among them, fome gave charge upon the flanks of the MACEDONIANS, where they were all naked and unarmed : other fet upon them behind, fo that the Arength of all the where they were an market sine market in keeping close together) being opened in this fort, was corps of the battel (which conflitted in keeping close together) ftraight overthrown. Furthermore, when they came to fight man for man, or a few against a few, the Macedonians with their little thort Swords, came to strike upon the great Shields of the ROMANS, which were very strong, and covered all their bodies down to the foot. And they ROMANS, WHICH WERE VELY MEDIS, and DOCKER to the blows of the firong heavy fwords of the to the contrary, were driven of necessity to receive the blows of the firong heavy fwords of the ROMANS, upon their light weak Targets, fo that what with their heaviness, and vehement force wherewith the blows lighted upon them, there was no Target nor Corflet, but they paffed it torce wherewith the prows figured apparatually and the no long refiftance, whereupon they through, and ran them in : by reason whereof they could make no long refiftance, whereupon they through, and ran them in : by reason whereon they come make no long reintance, whereupon they turned their backs and ran away. But when they came to the fquadron of the old beaten Souldiers of the MACEDONIANS, there was the cruelleft fight and most desperate service, where they say of the MACEDONIANS, there was the created again and more despatate service, where they say that Marcin Cato (Son of great Cato, and Son in law of Emyline) shewing all the valunties in his person that a noble mind could possibly perform, lost his Sword which fell out of his ners in his perion that a noor minute come points, periodic, not his several which it out of the hand. But he like a young man of noble courage, that had been valiantly brought up in all discipline, nano. Due the line a young man of mone courage, that had been variantly of origin up in an uncipline, and knew how to follow the fteps of his Father (the nobleft person that ever man faw) was to shew then his valour and worthiness, and thought it more honour for him there to die, then livingto then his valour and worthheirs, and though it more honour for him there to the, then hynge fuffer his enemies to enjoy any spoil of his. So, by and by he ran into the ROMAN Army, to find out some of his friends, whom he told what had befallen him, and prayed them to help him to recover his Sword, whereto they agreed. And being a good company of lufty valiant Souldiers together, they rushed straight among their enemies, at the place where he brought them, and so did fer upon them with such force and sury, that they made a lane through the midst of them, and with great flanghter and spilling of bloud, even by plain force, they cleared the way still before them. Now when the place was voided, they fought for the Sword, and in the end found it with great ado, amongst a heap of other Swords and dead bodies, whereat they rejoyced marvellously. Then singing a long of victory, they went again more fiercely then before to give a charge upon their enemies, who were not yet broken afunder: untill fuch time as at the length, the three thousand chosen MACEDONIAN'S fighting valiantly even to the last man, and never for faking their ranks, were all flain in the place. After whose overthrow, there was a great flaughter of other also that fled, so that all the valley and foot of the mountains thereabouts was covered with dead bodies. The next day after the battel, when the Romans did pass over the River Lenem, they found it running all bloudy. For it is faid there were sain at this field of Perseum men above five and twenty thought and of the ROMANS side, as Postdonius saith, not above sixtore; or as Nasica writers, but fourfcore onely. And for so great an overthrow, it is reported it was wonderfull quickly done and executed : for they began to fight about three of the clock in the after-noon, and had won the victory before four, and all the reft of the day they followed their enemies in chafe, an hundred and twenty furlongs from the place where the battel was fought, fo that it was very late, and far forth night, before they returned again into the Camp. So fuch as returned, were received with marvellous great joy of their Pages, that went out with Links and Torches lighted, to bring their Masters into their Tents, where their men had made great bonefires, and decked them up with Crowns and Garlands of Laurel, faving the Generals Tent onely; who was very heavy, for that of his two Sons he brought with him to the wars, the younger could not be found, which he loved best of the twain, because he saw he was of a better nature then the rest of his brethren. For even then, being new crept our of the shell as it were, he was marvellous valiant and hardy, and defired honour wonderfully. Now Emyline thought he had been cast away, fearing left for lack of experience in the wars, and through the rathnels of his youth, he had put himself too far in fight amongst the prease of the enemies. Hereupon the Camp heard straight what sorrow Emylius was in, and how grievoully he took it. The ROMANS being fet at supper, rose from their meat, and with Torch-light some ran to Amyline Tent, other went out of the Camp to seek him among the dead bodies, if they might know him : so all the Camp was full of forrow and mourning, the valleys and hills all about did ring again with the cries of those that called Scipio aloud. For even from his childhood he had a natural gift in him, of all the rare and fingular parts required in a Captain and wife Governour of the Commonweal, above all the young nem of his time. At the laft, when they were out of all hope of his coming again, he happily returned from the chafe of his enemies, with two or three of his familiars onely, all bloudied with new bloud (like a fwift running Greyhound fleshed with the bloud of the Hare) having pursued very far for joy of the victory. It is that Scipio which afterwards destroyed both the Cities of CAR-THAGE and Numantium, who was the greatest man of war and valiantest Captain of the Ro-MANS in his time, and of the greatest authority and reputation among them. Thus fortune deferring till another time the execution of her fpite, which she did bear to so noble an exploit, suffered cEmplius for that time, to take his full pleasure of that noble victory. And as for Perfess, he field first from the City of PYDNE, unto the City of Pella, with his horsemen, which were in manner all faved. Whereupon the footmen that faved themselves by flying, meeting them by the way, called

them Traitors, Cowards, and Villains, and worfe then that, they turned them off their Horsebacks,

and fought it out luftily with them. Perfem feeing that, and fearing left this mutiny might turn to

The valiantnefs of Mar-

ctory of Per-

The battel fought and won in one

The valiant-

Perfeus fled Fella.

PAULUS ÆMYLIUS.

light on his neck, he turned his horse out of the High-way, and pulled off his Purple coat, and carried it before him, and took his Diadem in his hand, fearing to be known thereby, and that he might the more eafily speak with his friends by the way, he lighted on foot, and led his Horse in his hand. But fuch as were about him, one made as though he would mend the latcher of his shoe, another feemed to water his Horse, another as though he would drink; fo that one dragging after another in this fort, they all left him at the laft, and ran their way, not fearing the enemies fury fo much as their Kings cruelty: who being grieved with his misfortune, fought to lay the fault of the overthrow upon all other but himself. Now he being come into the City of Pella by night, Eucline and Eu- Time and dudam, two of his Treasurers came unto him, and speaking boldly (but out of time) presumed to tell ty to be obserhim the great fault he had committed, and to counfell him what he should do. The King was so mo-ved to the ved with their prefumption, that with his own hands he stabled his Dagger in them both, and slew Death, the inthem out right. But after this fact, all his fervants and friends refused him, and there onely tarried dignation of with him but Evander CRETAN, Archedamus ETOLIAN, and Neo BOEOTIAN. And as for the Prince. the mean Souldiers, there were none that followed him but the CRETANS, and yet it was not for The coverousthe good will they did bear him, but for the love of his gold and filver, as Bees that keep their nefs of the hives for love of the Honey : for he carried with him a great Treasure, and gave them leave to spoil certain Plate and veffels of gold and filver, to the value of fifty Talents. But first of all when he was come into the City of AMPHIPOLIS, and afterwards into the City of ALEPSE, and that the fear was well blown over, he returned again to his old humour which was born and bred with him, and that was avarice and mifery: for he complained unto those that were about him, that he Mifers whine had unwares given to the Souldiers of CRETA, his Plate and veffel of gold to be spoiled, being for their goods those which in old time belonged unto Alexander the Great : and prayed them with tears in his eves that had the Plate, they would be contented to change it for ready Money. Now fuch as knew his nature, found ftraight this was but a fraud and a CRETAN lie, to deceive the CRETANS with: but those that trusted him, and did restore again the Plate they had, did lose it every jot, for he never payed them peny for it. So he got of his friends the value of thirty Talents, which his enemies foon after did take from him. And with that fum he went into the Isle of SAMOTHRACIA, where he took the fanctuary and priviledge of the Temple of Castor and Pollux. They say, that the MACEDONIANS of long continuance did naturally love their Kings: but then feeing all their hope and expectation broken, their hearts failed them, and broke withall. For they came and fubmit. The Macedoted themselves to Amyliu, and made him Lord of the whole Realm of MACEDON, in two days: nians submit themselves to and this doth feem to confirm their words, who impute all Amylism doings unto his good fortune. Amylism And furely, the marvellous fortune he happened on in the City AMPHIPOLIS, doth confirm it much, which a man cannot afcribe otherwise, but to the speciall grace of the gods. For one day beginning to do facrifice, lightning fell from Heaven, and fet all the wood on fire upon the Altar, and fanctified the facrifice. But yet the miracle of his tame is more to be wondred at. For four daies after Wonders, Perfess had loft the battell, and that the City of PELLA was taken, as the people of ROME were at the Lifts or shew-place, seeing Horses run for Games : suddenly there arose a rumour at the en- News brought tring into the Lifts where the Games were, that Anylim had won a great battel of King Per- to Rome out of fem, and had conquered all MACEDON. This news was rife straight in every mans mouth, and four days, of there followed upon it a marvellous joy and great cheer in every corner, with shouts and clapping Emplies viof hands, that continued all the day through the City of ROME. Afterwards they made diligent en- cory there: quiry, how this rumour first came up, but no certain authour could be known, and every man faid and no man they heard it spoken: so as in the end it came to nothing, and passed away in that sort for a time. knew t But shortly after, there came Letters, and certain news, that made them wonder more then before, from whence the meffenger came that reported the first news of it, which could be devised by no naturall means, and yet proved true afterwards. We do read also of a battel that was fought in ITALY, near unto the River of SAGRA, whereof news was brought the very fame day unto PE-LOPONNESUS. And of another also in like manner that was fought in ASIA against the MEDES, before the City of MYCALA: the news whereof came the fame day unto the Campof the GRE-CIANS, lying before the City of PLATOES. And in that great journey where the ROMANS overthrew the Tarquins, and the Army of the LATINES : immediately after the battel was won, they faw two goodly young men come newly from the Camp, who brought news of the victory to ROME, and they judged they were Caftor and Pollux. The first man that spake to them in the marketplace before the fountain, where they watered their Horses being all of a white foam, told them, that he wondered how they could so quickly bring these news. And they laughing came to him, and took him foftly by the beard with both their hands, and even in the market-place his hair being black before, was prefently turned yellow. This miracle made them beleeve the report the man made, who ever after was called Another bus, as you would fay, bearded as yellow as gold. Another like mat- Another bus ter that happened in our time maketh all such news credible : For when Antonius rebelled against the why so called. Emperour Domitian, the City of Rome was in a marvellous perplexity, because they looked for great wars towards GERMANIE. But in this fear there grew a fudden rumour of victory, and it went currantly through ROME, that Antonius himself was slain, and all his Army overthrown, and not a man left alive. This rumour was fo rife, that many of the chiefest men of ROME beleeved ir, and did facrifice thereupon unto their gods, giving them thanks for the victory. But when the matter came to fifting, who was the first authour of the rumour, no man could tell : for one put it

over still to another, and it died so in the end amongst the people, as in a bottomless matter, for

Cn. Odivius

The miferable ftate Perfeus was brought unto, by the craft and fubtilty of a Cre-

King Perfeus veeldeth himfelf in Samothracia, unto Cn. Officius.

> Perfeus unprincely behaviour unto Æmylius. Æmylius Oration unto Perfeut pri-

> > Æmylius Oration touching fortune and her unconstancy.

they could never boult out any certain ground of it: but even as it came flying into Rome, so went it flying away again, no man could tell how. Notwithstanding Domitian holding on his journey to make this War, met with Pofts that brought him Letters of the certain victory: and remembring the rumour of the victory that ran before in ROME, he found it true, that it was on the very fame day the victory was gotten; and the diffance between ROME and the place where the field was won, was above twenty thousand furlongs off. Every man in our time knoweth this to be true. But again to our History. Cn. Ollavim, Lieutenant of the Army of Amylim by sea, came to anker under to our rintory. Ln. Ulasurm, here he would not take Perfem by force out of the Sanctuary where the Isle of Sanothracta, where he would not take Perfem by Amylins the Isle of Samotheracia, wherene would not seek a support and Pollux: but he did befrege him in Lieutenant by he was, for the reverence he did bear unto the gods Castor and Pollux: but he did befrege him in nor flie by see out of the Island. Yet he had secretly practised ne was, for the reverence in an orange min in or flie by fea out of the Island. Yet he had fecretly practifed fuch fort, as he could not scape him, nor flie by fea out of the Island. with one Oreander a Cretan, that had a Brigantine, and was at a price with him for a lum of Mowill one Uroanut; a CRE LAN, man was a replacement of a minor Money to convey him away by night: But the CRETAN ferved him a right CRETANS trick: For ney to convey min away by night into his veffel, all the Kings treasure of gold and filver, he sent when he had taken a sound of the next night following to come into the Peer by the Temple of Ceres, with his Wife, his Children and Servants, where indeed was no possibility to take shipping; but the next night following he hoifed fail, and got him away. It was a pitifull thing that Perfeus was driven to do and fuffer at that time. For he came down in the night by ropes, out of a little ftraight window upon the walls, and not onely himself, but his Wife and little babes, who never knew before what flying and hardness meant. And yet he fetched a more grievous bitter figh, when one told him on the Peer, that he saw Organdes the CRETAN under sail in the main seas. Then day beginning to break, and feeing himfelf void of all hope, he ran with his Wife for life to the wall, to recover the fanctuary again, before the ROMANS that faw him could overtake him. And as for his Children, he had given them himfelf into the hands of one lon, whom before he had marvelloully loved, and who did then traiteroully betray him: for he delivered his Children unto the ROMANS. Which part was one of the chiefest causes that drave him (as a beast that will follow her little ones being taken from her) to yeeld himself into their hands that had his Children. Now he had a special confidence in Scipio Nasica, and therefore he asked for him when he came to yeeld himself: but it was answered him, that he was not there. Then he began to lament his hard and milerable fortune every way. And in the end, confidering how necessity enforced him, he yielded himself into the hands of Cnem Oftwine; wherein he shewed plainly, that he had another vice in him more unmanly and vile, then avarice; that was, a faint heart, and fear to die. But hereby he deprived himfelf of others pity and compassion towards him, being that onely thing which fortune cannot deny and take from the afflicted, and specially from them that have a noble heart. For he made requeft they would bring him unto the General Amyliu, who role from his chair when he faw him come, and went to meet him with his friends, the water standing in his eyes, to meet a great King, by fortune of war and by the will of the gods, fallen into that most lamentable state. But he to the contrary, unmanly, and shamefully behaved limitelf. For he fell down at his seer, and embraced his knees, and uttered such uncomely speech and vile requests, as Amylius self could not abide to hear them : but knitting his browes against him , being heartily offended , he spake thus unto him "Alas poor man, Why doft thou discharge fortune of this fault, where thou mightest "juftly charge and accuse her of thy discharge, doing things, for the which every one judgeth thou "half deferred thy prefent mifery, and art unworthy also of thy former honour? Why doft thou defame my victory, and blemish the glory of my doings, shewing thy self so base a man, as my "honour is not great to overcome to unworthy an enemy? The ROMANS have ever efteemed "magnanimity, even in their greatest enemies ; but dastardlines, though it be fortunate, yet it is "hated of every body. Norwithstanding, he took him up; and taking him by the hand, gave him into the cultody of Alim Tubero. Then Amylim went into his Tent; and carried his Sons and Sons in law with him, and other men of quality, and specially the younger fort. And being set down, he continued a great space very pensive with himself, not speaking a word; infomuch that all the standers by wondered much at the matter. In the end be began to enter into discourse and talk of fortune, and the unconflancy of these worldly things, and said unto them: "Is there any man "living, my friends, who having fortune at will, should therefore boast and glory in the prosperity "of his doings, for that he had conquered a Countrey, City or Realm: and not rather to fear the "unconstancy of fortune? who laying before our eyes, and all those that profess arms at this pre-"fent, so notable an example of the common frailty of men, doth plainly teach us to think, that "there is nothing conftant or perdurable in this world. For when is it that men may think them-" selves affured, considering that when they have overcome others, then are they driven to mistrust "fortune most, and to mingle fear and mistrust, with joy of victory: if they will wisely consider the "common course of fatall destiny that altereth daily, sometime favouring one, otherwhile throwing "down another? You see, that in an hours space we have trodden under our feet the house of " Mexander the Great: who hath been the mightest and most redoubted Prince of the world. You "fee a King that not long fince was followed and accompanied, with many thousand Souldiers of "Horfemen and Footmen, brought at this prefent into such miterable extremity, that he is inforced "to receive his meat and drink daily at the hands of his enemies. Should we have any better hope "then, that Fortune will always favour our doings, more then the doth now his at this prefent? "no out of doubt. Therefore digefting this matter well, you young men I say, be not too brag nor " roolish proud of this conquest and noble victory; but think what may happen hereafter, marking

to what end fortune will turn the envy of this our present prosperity. Such were Anylius words to these young men as it is reported, bridling by these and such like perswasions, the lustv bravery of this youth, even as with the bit and bridle of reason. Afterwards he put his Army into Amylius hogarilons to refresh them; and went himself in person in the mean time to visit GREECE, ma- nourable proking it an honourable progress, and also a commendable. For as he passed through the Cities, he gress in Greece relieved the people, reformed the government of their State, and ever gave them fome gift or prefent. Unto some he gave Corn, which King Persen had gathered for the Wars : and unto other he gave Oyls, meeting with fo great store of provision, that he rather lacked people to give it unto. to receive it at his hands, then wanting to give, there was fo much. As he paffed by the City of Del-PHOS, he faw there a great Pillar, four fquare, of white ftone, which they had fet up, to put King Perfess image of gold upon it. Whereupon he commanded them to fet up his in that place, faying: It was reason the conquered should give place unto the Conquerours. And being in the City of OLYMPIA, visiting the Temple of Jupiter Olympia, he spake this openly, which ever since hath been remembred: that Phidias had rightly made Jupiter, as Homer had described him. Afterwards when the ten Ambassadours were arrived that were sent from ROME to establish with him the Realm of MACEDON, he redelivered the MACEDONIANS their Countrey and Towns again, to live Employ fetat liberty, according to their Laws, paying yearly to the ROMANS for Tribute, a hundred Ta-teth Macedon lents : where before they were wont to pay unto their Kings ten times as much. And he made Plays at a flay. and Games of all forts, and did celebrate fumptuous Sacrifices unto the gods. He kept open Court to all comers, and made noble Feafts, and defrayed the whole charge thereof, with the Treasure King Perfess had gathered together, sparing for no cost. But through his care and foresight, there was a speciall good order taken, every man so courteously received and welcomed, and so orderly marshalled at the Table according to their estate and calling, that the GRECIAN'S wondred to see him so carefull in matters of sport and pleasure: and that he took as great pains in his own person. to fee that fmall matters should be ordered as they ought, as he took regard for discharge of more weighty causes. But this was a marvellous pleasure to him, to see that among such sumptuous sights prepared to shew pleasure to the persons invited, no sight nor stately shew did so delight them, as to enjoy the fight and company of his person. So he told them, that seemed to wonder at his diligence and care in these matters : that to order a feast well , required as great judgement and discretion , as Emplius to feta battel : to make the one fearfull to the enemies, and the other acceptable to his friends, words about But men esteemed his bounty and magnanimity for his best vertue and quality. For he did not onely the care and refuse to see the Kings wonderfull treasure of Gold and Silver, but caused it to be told and delivered good order at to the custody of the Treasurers, to carry to the coffers of store in Rome : and onely suffered his . Emvisive Sons that were learned, to take the Books of the Kings Library. When he did reward the Soul- abstinence: diers for their valiant service in this battel, he gave his Son in law Alina Tubero a Cup, weighing five Talents. It is the fame Tubero we told you of before, who lived with fixteen other of his Kin all in one house, and of the onely revenue they had of a little Farm in the Countrey. Some say, that that Cup was the first piece of Plate that ever came into the house of the Alyans; and yet it came for honour and reward of vertue: but before that time, neither themselves, nor their Wives, would ever have, or wear any Gold or Silver. After he had very well ordered and disposed all things, at the last he took leave of the GRECIANS, and counselled the MACEDONIANS to remember the liberty the ROMANS had given them, and that they should be carefull to keep it, by their good government and concord together. Then he departed from them, and took his journey towards the Countrey of EPYRUS, having received Committion from the Senate of ROME, to fuffer his Souldiers who had done fervice in the Battel, and overthrow of King Perfess, to spoil all the Cities of that Countrey. Wherefore that he might surprise them on a sudden, and that they should mistrust nothing, he sent to all the Cities that they should send him by a certain day, ten of the chiefest men of every City. Who when they were come, he commanded them to go and bring him by fuch a day, all the Gold and Silver they had within their Cities, as well in their private houfes, as in their Temples and Churches, and gave unto every one of them a Captain and Garifon with them, as if it had been onely to have received and fearched for the Gold and Silver he demanded. But when the day appointed was come, the Souldiers in divers places (and all at one time) Æmylius cruel fer upon their enemies, and did rifle and spoil them of that they had, and made them also pay ran- act in spoiling fom every man : fo as by this policy, they were taken and made flaves in one day, a hundred and of Epiria. fifty thousand persons, and threescore and ten Cities spoiled and sacked every one; and yet when they came to divide the spoil of this generall destruction of a whole Realm by the poll, it came not to every Souldiers part, above eleven filver Drachmes apiece : Which made every one to wonder greatly, and to fear also the terrour of the Wars, to see the wealth and riches of so great a Realm. to mount to so little for every mans share. When Amylius had done this fact against his own Amylius took nature, which was very gentle and courteous, he went unto the lea fide to the City of ORICA, and fhip at the Cithere embarked with his Army bound for IT ALY. Where when he was arrived, he went up the ty of Orca, and River of Tyber against the stream, in King Perseu chief Galley, which had fixteen oars on a returned into fide, richly fet out with the Armour of the Prisoners, rich clothes of purple colour, and other such Italy. spoils of the Enemies: so that the ROMANS running out of ROME in multitudes of people to fee his Galley, and going fide by fide by her as they rowed foftly, Anyling took as great pleafure in it, as in any open Games or Feafts, or Triumph that had been shewed indeed. But when the Soul-

diers faw, that the Gold and Silver of King Perfess Treasure was not divided amongst them according

unto Æmylius

Contention about Æmjlius Triumph.

Servilius Oration for the furtherance of

unto promite, and they had a great deal less then they looked for, they were marvellously offenunto pronnie, and incy had a great dear test than they bonded to they durft not speak it openly, ded, and inwardly grudged Amylius in their hearts. Nevertheless they durft not speak it openly, but did accuse him, that he had been too straight unto them in this war: and therefore they did they no great defire nor forwardness, to procure him the honour of Triumph. Which Serving Galba understanding, that had been an old enemy of his, notwithstanding he had the charge of a Servin Galba thousand men under him in this War: he like an envious viper told the people, that Envlim had not deferved the honour of Triumph, and fowed feditious words against him among the Souldiers, to aggravate their ill will the more against him. Moreover he craved a day of the Tribunes of the to aggravate their in win the mote against than anoteoned the travel away or the resources of the people, to have respit to bring forth such matters as they determined to object against him: saying, people, to nave reign to oring total had made a same acteriance to object against min; laying, the time then was far spent, the Sun being but four hours high, and that it would require longer time and leisure. The Tribunes made him answer, that he should speak then what he had to fay against him, or otherwise they would not grant him audience. Hereupon he began to make a long Oration in his dispraise, full of railing words, and spent all the rest of the day in that railing Oration. Afterwards when night came on , the Tribunes brake up the Affembly , and the next morning the Souldiers being encouraged by Galba's Oration, and having confedered together, did. flock about Galbs in the mount of the Capitol, where the Tribunes had given warning they would keep their affembly. Now being broad day, Amylius Triumph was referred to the most number of voices of the people, and the first Tribe flatly did deny his Triumph. The Senate, and the residue of the people hearing that, were very forry to fee they did Amyliss fo open wrong and injury. of the people maning man, which is, but feemed to be very forry, howbeit they fought no redress. The Lords of the Senate cried out upon them, and faid, it was too much shame; and exhorted one another to bridle the infolency and boldness of those Souldiers, who would grow in the end to such another to british the importance and commit all mischief and wickedness, if betimes they were not looked to and prevented, feeing they did fo openly stand against their General, feeking to deprive tooked to and prevented, recting they and to openly mand against their Octional, recking to deprive him of the honour of his Triumph and Victory. So they affembled a good company of them together, and went up to the Capitol, and prayed the Tribunes they would fray to take the voices of the people, untill they had acquainted them with fuch needfull matter as they had to open unto them, The Tribunes granted to it, and filence was made. There Marcus Servilius, who had been Conful, and had fought three and twenty combats of life and death in his own parfon, and had always flain and not rought three and twenty standard him man for man; role up, and foake in favour of Amylina as many of his enemies as challenged him man for man; in this matter: "I know now (faid he) better then before, how noble and worthy a Captain " Paulus Amylius is, who hath archieved such glory and honourable victory, with so dishonou-"rable and disobedient Souldiers. And I can but wonder that the people not long fince rejoyced and "made great account of the Victories and Triumphs won upon the ILLYRIANS and other Nations " of A FRICK and that now they should for spite envy his glory! (doing what lyeth in them to him-"der) to bring a MACEDONIAN King alive in a Triumph, and to shew the glory and greatness of "King Philip and Alexander the Great, subdued by the ROMANS force and power, "What reason " have ye, that not long fince, upon a flying rumour that Amylius had won the battel against Per-"sem, you straight made factifice to the gods with great joy, praying them that you might be winted the soft the truth thereof: and now that the person himself whom ye made General is returned." "home, and doth deliver you most assured victory, you do frustrate the Gods most solemn thanks "and honour due to them, and do deprive your felves also of your wonted glory in such a case : as if "you were afraid to fee the greatnels of your prosperity, or that you meant to pardon a King, your "llave and prisoner. And yet of the two, you have more reason to binder the Triumph, as pittying the "King, then envying your Captain. But the malice of the wicked, through your patience is grown "to fuch an infolent audacity and boldness, that we see men present here before us, which never went "from the smoke of the chimney, nor carried away any blows in the field, being crammed at "home like Women and house-Doves; and yet they are so impudent and shameless, as they dare "prefume unreverently to your faces, to prate of the office and duty of a General of an Army, and of the defert of Triumph, before you I fay, who by experience of many a fore cur and wound upon "your bodies in the Wars, have learned to know a good and valiant. Captain, from a vile and "cowardly person. And speaking these words, he cast open his Gown, and shewed before them all the infinite fears and cutshe had received upon his breaft: and then turning him behind, shewed all fuch places as were not fit to be feen openly, and fo turned himself again to: Galba, and faid unto him : "Thou mockeft me for that I shew thee : but I rejoyce before my Countreymen and "Citizens, that for ferving my Countrey night and day on horse-back, I have these wounds upon "me which thou feeft. Now get thee about thy bufiness and receive their voices; and I will come "after, noting them that are naughty and unthankfull Cirizens, who like to be foothed with flattery, "and not flourly commanded, as behoved a General in the War. These words so reined the hardheaded Souldiers with the curb of reason, that all the other Tribes agreed in one; and granted *Emplise Triumph: the order and folemnity whereof was performed in this fort. First, the people having fetup fundry scaffolds, as well in the Lists and field called Circos by the LATINS, where the Games and common running of Horses and Chariots are made, as also about the market-place, A notable deand in other streets of the City, in the which the shew of the Triumph should pass: they all prefcription of fented themselves in their best Gowns to see the magnificence and state thereof. All the Temples Emylius of the gods also were set wide open, hanged full of Garlands of Flowers, and all perfumed within: Triumph. and there were fet through all the quarters of the City, numbers of Sergeants and other Officers

holding Tipstaves in their hands to order the stragling people, and to keep them up in corners and Lanes ends, that they should not pefter the Streets, and hinder the Triumph. Furthermore the fight of this Triumph was to continue three days, whereof the first was scant sufficient to see the passing by of the Images, Tables, Pictures, and Statues of wonderfull bigness, all won and gotten of their Enemies, and drawn in the shew upon two hundred and fifty Chariots. The second day, there was carried upon a number of Carts, all the fairest and richest Armour of the MACEDONIANS, as well of Copper, as also of Iron and Steel, all glistring bright, being newly surbushed, and artificially laid in order (and yet in fuch fort, as if they had been cast in heaps one upon another, without taking any care otherwise for the ordering and laying of them) fair Burganets upon Targets : Habergious, or Brigantines and Corflets, upon Graves: round Targets of the CRETANS, and Javelins of the THRACIANS, and Arrows amongst the armed Pikes: all this Armour and carriage, being bound one to another fo trimly (neither being too loofe, nor too ftraight) that one hitting against another, as they drew them upon the Carts through the City, they made fuch a found and noise, as it was fearfull to hear it : fo that the onely fight of these spoils of the captives being overcome, made the fight fo much more terrible to behold : after these Carts loden with Armour , there followed three thousand Men, which carried the ready Money in seven hundred and fifty Veffels, which weighed about three Talents apiece, and every one of them were carried by four men : and there were other that carried great Bolls of Silver, Cups and Goblets fashioned like pitchers, and other Potsto drink in , goodly to behold , as well for their bigness , as for their great and singular imbossed works about them. The third day early in the morning the Trumpets began to found and fet forwards, founding no march nor sweet note, to beautifie the Triumph withall : but they blew out the brave alarum, the found at an affault, to give the Souldiers courage for to fight. After them followed fixicore goodly fat Oxen, having all their horns gilt, and Garlands of Flowers and Nosegaies about their heads, and there went by them certain young men, with aprons of needle-work, girt about their middle, who led them to the Sacrifice, and young boys with them also, that carried goodly Basons of Gold and Silver, to cast and sprinkle the bloud of the Sacrifice about. And after these, followed those that carried all Coyns of Gold divided by Basons and Vessels, and every one of them weighing three Talents, as they did before, that carried the great holy Cup, which Emylius had caused to be made of massie Gold, set full of precious Stones, weighing the weight of ten Talents, to make an Offering unto the gods. And next unto them went other that carried Plate, made and wrought after antick fashion, and notable Cups of the ancient Kings of MACEDON: as the Cup called Antigonus, and another Seleucus: and to be short, all the whole cubboord of Plate of Gold and Silver of King Perseus. And next them came the Chariot of his Armour, in the which was all King Perfeus harnels, and his royall Band (they call a Diadem) upon his Armour. And a little space between them, followed next the Perfeus Chil-Kings Children, whom they led Prisoners, with the train of their School-masters and other Officers, dren. and their fervants, weeping and lamenting: who held up their hands to the people that looked upon them, and taught the Kings young Children to do the like, to ask mercy and grace at the peoples hands. There were three pretty little Children, two Sons and a Daughter amongst them, whose tender years and lack of understanding, made them (poor fouls) they could not feel their present misery, which made the people so much the more to pity them, when they saw the poor little infants, that knew not the change of their fortune : so that for the compassion they had of them, they almost let the Father pass without looking upon him. Many peoples hearts did melt for very pity, that the tears ran down their cheeks, fo as this fight brought both pleasure and forrow together to the lookers on, untill they were past and gone a good way out of fighr. King Perseus the Father, followed after his King Perseus. Children and their train, and he was cloathed in a black Gown, wearing a pair of Slippers on his feet after his countrey manner. He shewed by his countenance his troubled mind, opprest with forrow of his most misferable state and fortune. He was followed with his Kinsfolks, his familiar friends, his Officers and houshold fervants, their faces disfigured by blubbering, shewing to the world by their lamenting tears, and forrowfull eyes cast upon their unfortunate Master, how much they forrowed and bewailed his most hard and cruel fortune, little accounting of their own misery. The voice goeth, that Perfeus fent unto Amylius to intreat him, that he should not be led through Amylius the City in the shew and fight of the Triumph. But Amylius mocking (as he deserved) his cowardly scorneth Pcrfaint heart, answered: As for that, it was before, and is now in him, to do if he will. Meaning to let fens cowardhim understand thereby, that he might rather chuse to die, then living to receive such open Thame. Howbeit his heart would not ferve him, he was fo cowardly, and made fo effeminate, by a certain vain hope he knew not what, that he was contented to make one among his own spoils. After all this, there followed four hundred princely Crowns of Gold, which the Cities and Towns of GREECE had purposely sent by their Ambassadours unto Amylius, to honour his Victory : and Crowns of next unto them, he came himself in his Chariot triumphing, which was passing sumptuously set forth Gold centures and adorned. It was a noble sight to behold: and yet the person of himself onely was worth the Emplies by looking on, without all that great pomp and magnificence. For he was apparelled in a purple Gown the Cities of branched with gold, and carried in his right hand a Laurel bough, as all his Army did besides : the Greece. which being divided by Bands and Companies, followed the triumphing Chariot of their Captain, some of the Souldiers singing Songs of Victory, which the ROMANS use to sing in like Triumphs, mingling them with merry pleasant toys, rejoycing at their Captain. Other of them also did sing Songs of Triumph, in the honour and praise of Amylius noble Conquest and Victory. He was openly praised, bleffed and honoured of every body, and neither hated nor envied of honest men:

year that Hirtin and Panla were comins, which was about the regulating of the first was so Zu. Victory, the gulfus and Antinius. And yet Anglius had one singular good guit in him: that though the People People payed did greatly love and honour htm., yet he ever took part with the Senate and Nobility, and did never no mere sub-

by word or deed any thing in favour of the People, to flatter or please them, but in matters concer- fidie.

ning Government, he did ever lean to the Nobility and good men. And this did Appius afterwards

caff in his Sons teeth , Scipio Africanus. For both of them being two of the chiefest men of their

time, and contending together for the Office of Cenfor: Appine had about him to favour his fute,

all the Senate and Nobility, as of ancient time the Family of the Appians had ever held on their part. And Scipio Africanus, though he was a great man of himself, yet he was at all times favoured and be-

loved of the common People. Whereupon when Appins faw him come into the Market-place, fol-

PAULUS ÆMYLIUS.

faving the ordinary use of some god, whose prosperity is always to lessen or cut off some part of taying the ordinary uncor toute goat, whose property is always to tener or cut on tome part of mans exceeding propertity and felicity, mingling with mans life the fenfe and feeling of good and evil mans exceeding property and century, imaging with mans include the came and recting or good and evil together: because that no living person should pass all his time of life, without some adversity or together: together: Declare that no fiving faith) should onely think themselves happy, to whom fortune hath equally forted the good with the evil. And this I speak, because Amylius had four Sons, two of the which he gave in adoption unto the families of Scipio and of Fabius, as we have faid before: the which he gave in anoprior that the same with the same and two other which he had by his fecond Wife, he brought up with him in his own house, and were great adversity

Oration in his

death of his

and two other which it has been had being fourteen years of age five days before his both yet very young: of the which the one died, being fourteen years of age five days before his Fathers Triumph: and the other died also three days after the pomp of Triumph at twelve years rathers around a man and the control of age. When this forrowfull chance had befallen him, every one in ROME did pity him in their of age. bearts: but fortunes spine and cruelty did more grieve and fear them, to see her little regard towards him, to put into a house of Triumph (full of honour and glory, and of facrifices and joy) such a pitifull mourning, and mingling of forrows and lamentations of death, amongst such Songs of Tria punum mountains. Notwithstanding this, Amylins taking things like a wife man, thought that he umpn and victory. Procuming and magnanimity, againft the Sword and Pike of the enemy: but alike was not onerly to the commancy and magnituding, against the order and the or the circum; but alike also against all adversity and enmity of spiteful fortune. So he wisely weighed and considered his arro against an automy and an arrow in a single frequency and finding his misfortune counterpoiled with felicity, and his private griefs cut off with common joy, he gave no place to his forrows and mischancny, and its private grains and an arrangement page in the fraction in the first success, neither blemifted any way the dignity of his Triumph and victory. For when he had buried the eldeft of his two last Sons, he left not to make his triumphant entry, as you have heard before. And his fecond Son also being deceased after his Triumph, he caused the people to affemble, and in face of the whole City he made an Oration, not like a discomfitted man, but like one rather that did comfort his forrowfull Countreymen for his mifchance. He told them, "That concerning mens matrore ins fortowall Countrymen to the author things above, he ever feared Fortune, midtruffing her "ters, never any thing did fear him: but for things above, he ever feared Fortune, midtruffing her "change and inconftancy, and specially in the last War, doubting for so great prosperity as could the country of the country "be wished, to be payed home with an after intollerable adversity and finisher chance. For as I went trouble for the "(faid he) I paffed over the gulf of the Adriatick Sea, from BRINDES unto CORFU in one "day : and from thence in five days after, I arrived in the City of DELPHOS, where I did facrifice "any: and from the transfer of the fame, "and the fame, "and the fame, "and the fame, "and the fame, "Mackdon. And after I had done the Sacrifice, and due Ceremonies for purifying of the fame, "Mackdon. "I prefently began to follow the purpose and cause of my coming; so as in sitteen days after I "made an honourable end of all those Wars. But yet, mistrusting Fortune always, seeing the "prosperous course of my affairs, and considering that there were no other enemies, nor dangers I receded to fear: I feared forely fhe would change at my return, when I should be upon the Sea, "bringing home to goodly and victorious an Army, with to many spoils, and to many Princes and "Kings taken prisoners. And yet when I was faiely arrived in the Haven, and seeing all the City at "my return full of joy, and of feafts and Sacrifices, I still suspected Forume, knowing the manner "well enough, that the useth not to gratifie men so franckly, nor to grant them so great things clear-"ly, without fome certain spark of envy waiting on them. Neither did my mind being ftill occu-"pied in fear of some thing to happen to the Commonwealth, shake off this fear behind me : but "that I faw this home-milhap and mifery lighted upon me, enforcing me with mine own hands in "these holy days of my Triumph, to bury my two young Sons one after another, which I onely "brought up with me, for the succession of my Name and house. Wherefore me thinks now I may "fay, I am out of all danger, at the leaft touching my chiefeft and greatest missortune; and do begin to "flablish my self with this affured hope, that this good fortune henceforth shall remain with is "evermore, without fear of other unlucky or finister chance. For the hath sufficiently countervailed "the favourable Victory she gave you, with the envious milhap wherewith she hath plagued both me "and mine: shewing the Conquerer and Triumpher, as noble an example of mans milery and weak-"ness, as the party conquered, that had been led in Triumph: laving that Perfess yet conquered as "he is, hath this comfort left him, to fee his Children living, and that the Conquerour Amylim hath "loft his. And this was the fum of Emylism noble Oration he made unto the people of ROME, proceeding of a noble and honourable disposed mind. And though it pitied him in his heart to see the strange chance of King Perseus fortune, and that he heartily desired to help him, and to do him good : yet be could never obtain other grace for him, but onely to remove him from the common prison (which the ROMANS call Career) into a more cleanly and sweeter house: where being ftraightly guarded and looked unto, he killed himself by abstinence from mear, as the most part of Historiographers do write. Yet some Writers tell a marvellous strange rale, and manner of his death. A strange kind For they fay the Souldiers that guarded him, kept him from sleep, watching him streightly when fleep took him, and would not fuffer him to flut his eye-lids onely (upon malice they did bear him, because they could not otherwise hurt him) keeping him awake by sorce, not suffering him to take reft: untill such time as nature being forced to give over, he gave up the ghost. Two of his Sons died also: but the third called Alexander, became an excellent Turner and Joyner, and was learned, and could speak the ROMAN tongue very well, and did write it so trimly, that afterwas realized, and could plean the Acoust rougher very wen, and did wifely and differently behave himfelf wards he was Chancellour to the Magistrates of ROME, and did wifely and differently behave himfelf in his Office. Furthermore they do add to this goodly conquert of the Realm of MACEDON, in his Conference and the that Anyliss conquered another special good thing, that made him marvellously well liked of the common people: that is, that he brought so much Gold and Silver unto the Treasury store of ROM,

of death.

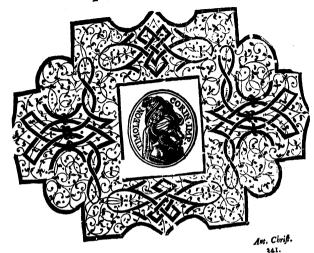
Perfeus Sons.

The end of Paulus Æmylius Life.

Paulus Amylius Conditions and Life.

lowed with men of fmall quality and base condition, that had been Slaves before, but otherwise could skilially handle fuch practifes, bring the People together, and by opportunity of cries and loud voyces (if need were) obtain what they would in the Affemblies of the City : he spake out aloud, and said : O Paulus Amilius, now haft thou good cause to fight and mourn in thy grave where thou lieft (if the dead do know what we do here on Earth Jin 100 Amylim a common Serjeant, and Licinim a pratling Fellow, how they bring thy Son unro the Dignity of a Cenfor. And as for Scipio, he was always beloved of the common People, because he did favour them in all things. But Anylius also, although he took ever the Noblement part, he was not therefore the less beloved of the common People then those that always flattered them; doing all things as the People would, to please them: which the common People did witness, as well by other Honours and Offices they offered him, as in the Dignity of the Cenfor which they gave him. For it was the holieft Office of all other at that Amplius chotime, and of greatest Power and Authority, specially for inquiry and reformation of every mans life fen Cenfor. and manners. For he that was Cenfor, had Authority to put any Senator off the Council, and fo The Office degrade him, if he did not worthily behave himfelf according to his Place and Calling; and might and authority. name and declare any one of the Senate, whom he thought to be most honest, and fittest for the of the Cenfor. place again. Moreover, they might by their Authority, take from licentious young men, their Horse which was kept at the charge of the Common-weal. Furthermore, they be the Sessions of the People, and the Muster-masters, keeping Books of the number of persons at every mustering. So there appeared numbred in the Register-book Emylius made then of them, three hundred seven and thirty thousand , four hundred and two and fifty men , and Marcus Emylius Lepidas named Prefident of the Senate, who had that honour four times before, and did put off the Council three Senators that were but mean men. And the like mean and moderation he and his companion Marti-26 Philippus kept, upon view and Muster taken of the ROMAN Horsmen. And after he had ordered and disposed the greatest matters of his Charge and Office, he fell fick of a Disease that at the Amyllus fickbeginning feemed very dangerous, but in the end there was no other danger, faving that it was a lin- nefs. gring Difease, and hard to cure. So, following the counsell of Physicians, who willed him to go to a City in ITALY called VELIA, he took Sea and went thither, and continued there a long time, Emyliasredwelling in pleasant houses upon the Sea side, quietly and out of all noise. But during this time of his moved from Rome, and absence, the ROMANS wished for him many a time and often. And when they were gathered to dwelt in the gether in the Theaters, to fee the Playes and Sports, they cried out divers times for him: whereby City of Pelis, they shewed that they had a great defire to see him again. Time being come about, when they used to make a folemn yearly Sacrifice, and Amylius finding himself also in very good perfect health: he returned again to ROME, where he made Sacrifice with the other Priefts, all the People of ROME gathered about him, rejoycing much to fee him. The next day after, he made another particular Sacrifice, to give thanks unto the gods for recovery of hishealth. After the Sacrifice was ended, he went home to his house, and sate him down to dinner; he suddenly fell into a raving (without any The death of perseverance of sickness spied in him before, or any change or alteration in him) and his wits went Amylius in from him, in fuch fort, that he died within three days after, lacking no necessary thing that an earthly Rome. man could have, to make him happy in this World. For he was even honoured at his Funerals, and Amylius Fuhis vertue was adorned with many goodly glorious Ornaments, neither of Gold, Silver, nor Ivory, nerals, nor with other fuch fumptuousness or magnificence of Apparell, but with the love and good will of the People, all of them confessing his vertue and well-doing : and this did not onely his naturall Countreymen perform in memory of him, but his very Enemies also. For all those that met in ROME by chance at that time, that were either come out of Spain, from Genua, or out of Macedon, all those that were young and strong, did willingly put themselves under the Cossin where his Body lay, to help to carry him: and the old men followed his Body to accompany the fame, calling Amylim the Benefactor, Saviour, and Father of their Countrey. For he did not onely intreat them gently, and graciously, whom he had subdued : but all his life time he was ever ready to pleasure them : and to fet forwards their Caufes, even as they had been his Confederates, very Friends, and near Kinsmen. The Inventory of all his Goods after his death, did scant amount unto the sum Amytius of three hundred threefcore and ten thousand Silver Drachmas, which his two Sons did inherit. Goods what But Scipio being the younger, left all his right unto his elder Brother Fabius, because he was adopted they came to. into a very rich House, Which was the House of the great Scipio Africanu. Such they lay was THE

THE LIFE OF TIMOLEO N.



Ann. Mund. 3607.

The flate of the Syracufians before Timoleens coming.

Efore Timoleon was fent into SICILE, thus flood the ftate of the SYRAcustans. After that Dios had driven out the Tyrant Diosifius, he himself after was slain immediately by Treason; and those that aided him to reftore the SYRACUSIANS to their liberty, fell out, and were at diffention among themselves. By reason whereof, the City of Syracu-SA changing continually new Tyrants, was fo troubled and turmoyled with all forts of evils, that it was left in manner defolate, and without inhabitants. The rest of SICILE in like case was utterly destroyed, and no Cities in manner left standing, by reason of the long Wars; and those few that remained, were most inhabited of forraign Souldiers and stranfew that remained, were most inhabited of forraign Souldiers and stranfew that remained,

gers (a company of loofe men gathered together that took pay of no Prince nor City) all the Dominion of the long things and the look pay of no Prince nor City). gers (a company or none men gamerea together mat took pay of no remee not City) and the fame being eafily usurped, and as easile to change their Lord. Informed, Dionysian the Tyrant, ten years after Dim had driven him out of SICILE, having gathered a certain number of Souldiers together again, and through their help driven out Nifem, that reigned at that time in SURRELES EDUCATE again, and unrough their neith university. The recovered the Realm again, and made himself King. So, if he was strangely surreless to feel again. expuled by a small power out of the greatest Kingdom that ever was in the World . likewish more firangely recovered it again, being banished and very poor, making himself King over them, who before had driven him out.

Thus were the Inhabitants of the City compelled to serve this Iyrant; who befides that of his own nature was neither courteous nor civill, he was now grown to be far more dogged and cruell, by reafon of the extream milery and misfortune he had indured. Letter, Tyrant But the nobleft Citizens repaired unto Icetes, who at that time as Lord ruled the City of the Leonic of the Icetes, Tyrant But the nobleft Citizens repaired unto Icetes, who at that time as Lord ruled the City of the Leonic of the Icetes, and the Icetes of the Icetes TINES, and they chose him for their Generall in these Wars: not for that he was any thing better then the open Tyrants, but because they had no other to repair unto at that time: and they trusted him best, for that he was born (as themselves) within the City of SYRACUSA, and because of the head man of the search had again the Toronto of the head man of the search had again the Toronto of the head man of the search had again to the trust of the head man of the search had again to the trust of the search had again to the search had aga cause also he had men of War about him, to make head against the Tyrant. But in the meantine, the CARTHAGINIANS came down into SICILE with a great Army, and invaded the Contrey. The SYRACUSIANS being afraid of them, determined to fend Ambaffadours into GREECE unto the CORINTHIANS, to pray aid of them against the barbarous People, having better hope of them, then of any other of the GRECIANS. And that not altogether because they were line ally defeended from them, and that they had received in times paft many pleasures at their hands: but also for that they knew that CORINTH was a City, that in all ages and times did ever love Lines of Vines. berry and hate Tyrants, and that had always made their greateft Wars, not for ambition of Kingdoms, nor of coverous defires to conquer and rule, but onely to defend and maintain the Life berry of the GRECIANS. But Icetes in another contrary fort, took upon him to be General,

with a mind to make himself King of SYRACUSA. For he had secretly practifed with the CAR-THAGINIANS, and openly norwithflanding, in words he commended the counfell and determination of the SYRACUSIANS, and fent Ambaffadours from himfelf also with theirs, unto PELO-PONNESUS: not that he was defirous any aid should come from them to SYRACUSA, but because he hoped if the CORINTHIAN'S refused to fend them aid (as it was very likely they would for the Wars and troubles that were in GREECE) that he might more casily turn all over to the CARTHAGINIANS, and use them as his friends, to aid him aginst the SYRAC U SIANS. Or the Tyrant Diony fime. And that this was his full purpole and intent, it appeared plainly foon after. Now when their Ambaffadours arrived at CORINTH, and had delivered their Meffage, the CORINTHI-ANS, who had ever been carefull to defend such Cities as had fought unto them, and specially SY-RACUSA: very willingly determined in Council to fend them aid, and the rather for that they werein good peace at that time, having Wars with none of the GRECIANS. So their onely ftay refted upon choosing of a Generall to lead their Army. Now as the Magistrates and Governours of the City were naming such Citizens, as willingly offered their service, defirous to advance themselves, there stept up a mean Commoner who named Timoleon, Timodemso Son, a man that until that time wasnever called on for fervice, neither looked for any fuch preferment. And truly it is to be thought it By what voice was the fecret working of the gods, that directed the thought of this mean Commoner to name Ti- Timoleon came moleon: whose election Fortune favoured very much, and joyned to his valiantness and vertues marvellous good fuccels in all his doings afterwards. This Timoleon was born of Noble Parents both by Father and Mother: his Father was called Timodemne, and his Mother Demareta. He was naturally in-Timoleons Pa-Father and Mother: nis rather was taked 1 members and was always gentle and courteous to all men, remage and clined to love his Countrey and Commonweal: and was always gentle and courteous to all men, manners. faving that he mortally hated Tyrants and wicked men. Furthermore, Nature had framed his body apr for Wars and for pains: he was wife in his greenest youth, in all things he took in hand, and in tor wars and tot panis. The had an elder Brother called Timophanes, who was nothing Timophanes Tiins age in incondition; for he was a rash hair-braind man, and had a greedy desire to raign, being put into his head by a company of mean men, that bare him in hand they were his friends, and ther, what he ing put into his nead by a company of dicar many man bare faith in man they were his friends, and there by certain Souldiers gathered together, which he had always about him. And because he was very was, hot and forward in Wars, his Citizens took him for a notable Captain, and a man of good fervice, and therefore oftentimes they gave him charge of men. And therein Timoleon did help him much to hide the faults he committed, or at the leaft made them feen less, and lighter then they were, still increasing that small good gift that Nature brought forth in him. As in a Battell the CORINTHI-ANS had againft the ARGIVES and the CLEONEIANS, Timoleon ferved as a private Souldier amongst the Footmen : and Timophanes his Brother, having charge of the Horsemen, was in great danger to be caft away, if present help had not been. For his Horse being hurt, threw him on the ground in the midft of his Enemies: whereupon part of those that were about him, were afraid and ground in the man of the state of and those that remained with him, being few in number, and Timoleon save having many Enemies to fight withall, did hardly withstand their force and charge. But his Brother his Brothers Timoleon seeing him in such instant danger afar off, ran with all speed possible to help him, and clap-life. ping his Target before his Brother Tim: phanes, that lay on the ground, receiving many wounds on his The Cerinibibody with Sword and Arrows, with great difficulty he repulled the Enemies, and faved his own and ansentertained body with Sword and Arrows, with great cumcultry he repunes the Ententies, and tayed in sown and four hundred his Brothers life. Now the CORINT HIAN'S fearing the like matter to come that before had happen firangers, and pened unto them, which was, to lofe their City through default of their friends help, they relolved made Timobbiin Council, to entertain in pay continually four hundred Souldiers that were strangers, whom they nes Captain in Council, to entertain in pay continuary our humated shader state of the trust reposed in of them to assigned over to Timophanes charge: who, abandoning all honesty and regard of the trust reposed in keep their keep their him, did presently practise all the ways he could to make himself Lord of the City: and having put City. divers of the chiefest Citizens to death without order of Law, in the end he openly proclaimed himself Timophanes King. Timoleon being very forry for this, and thinking his Brothers wickedness would be the very high-cruelty and uway to his fall and destruction, fought first to win him with all the good words and perswations he surpation of could, to leave his ambitious defire to reign, and to feek to falve (as near as might be) his hard the Kingdom. dealing with the Citizens. Timophanes fet light by his Brothers perswasions, and would give no ear unto them. Thereupon Timoleon then went to one Afehilus his friend , and Brother unto Timophanes Wife, and to one Satyrus a Soothfayer (as Theopompus the Historiographes calleth him, and Ephorm calleth him Orthagoras) with whom he came again another time unto his Brother : and they three coming to him, inftantly befought him to believe good counfell, and to leave the Kingdom. Timophanes at the first did but laugh them to scorn, and sported at their perswasions : but afterwards he waxed hor, and grew into great choler with them. Timoleon feeing that; went a little afide, and covering his face fell a weeping: and in the mean feafon, the other two drawing out their Swords, flew Timophanes in the place. This murder was straight blown abroad through the City, and the Timobhines better fort did greatly commend the noble mind and hate Timoleon bare against the Tyrant : consi- slain by his dering that he being of a gentle nature, and loving to his Kin, did notwithstanding regard the be- Brothers pronefit of his Countrey, before the naturall affection of his Brother, and preferred Duty and Justice, curement before Nature and Kindred. For, before he had faved his Brothers life, fighting for the defence of his Countrey: and now in feeking to make himself King and to rule the same, he made him to be slain. Such then as milliked popular Government and liberty, and always followed the Nobility, they fet a good face on the matter, as though they had been glad of the Tyrants death : yet still reproving Timoleon for the horrible murder he had committed against his Brother, declaring how detestable it was both to the gods and men; they so handled him, that it grieved him to the heart he had done it.

be honest and conflant.

Icetes Tyrant of Leontines a Traytor.

> A fign hap-pened to Timoleon.

Timoleon took Ship towards Sicile. A burning Torch appea-Element unto

But when it was told him that his Mother took it marvellous ill, and that she pronounced horrible Curses against him, and gave out terrible words of him, he went unto her in hope to comfort her: howbeit the could never abide to fee him, but always that her door against him. Thenhe being wounded to the heart with forrow, took a conceit fuddenly, to kill himfelf by abstaining from meat but his friends would never for lake him in this despair, and urged him to far by intreaty and perfuafion, that they compelled him to eat. Thereupon he reloved thenceforth to give himself over to a folitary life in the Countrey, feeluding himfelf from all company and dealings: lo as at the beginning, he did not onely refule to repair unto the City, and all accels of company, but wandring up and down in most folitary places, confumed himself and his time with melancholy. And thus up and down in most ioniary praces, comband influence and the war including and independents are lightly carried away (by praife or dispraise) if they be we ice, that counters and judgements are appeared in themselves. And therefore not shored up with rule of Reason and Philosophy, and rest consounded in themselves. And therefore it is very requifite and necessary, that not onely the act be good and honest of it fell, but that the refoliation thereof be also constant, and not subject unto change: to the end we may do all things confiderately; left we be like unto lickerous mouthed men, who as they defire meats with a greedy apperite, and after are foon weary, disliking the same: even so do we suddenly repent our actions grounded upon a weak imagination, of the honefty that moved us thereunto. For repentance maketh the act naught which before was good. But determination, grounded upon certain knowledge and truth of reason, doth never change, although the matter enterprised, have not always happy success, And therefore Phocion the ATHENIAN having registred (as much as in him lay) certain things which the Generall Leosthenes did, and which contrary to his mind took good effect: and perceiving the Athenians did open Sacrifice unto the gods, to give them thanks for the same, and much rejoyce at the Victory they had obtained : I would have rejoyced too (faid he) if I had done this: but so would I not for any thing, but I had given the countell. And after that fort, but more Ariffides grave sharply, did Arifides LOCKIAN (a very friend and companion of Plato) answer Diansfius the elder, Tyrant of Syracus A: who asked his good will to marry one of his Daughters. I had rather fee my Daughter dead (faid he) then married unto a Tyrant. And within a certain time after, the Tyrant put all his Sons to death: and then he asked him in derition to grieve him the more, If he were still of his former opinion, for the marrying of his Daughter. I am very forry (faidh) with all my heart for that which thou haft done: but yet I do not repent me of that I have faid. That peradventure proceedeth of a more perfect, vertue, But to return again unto Timoleon. Whether that inward forrow ftruck him to the heart for the death of his Brother Timophanes, or that shame did fo abath him, as he durft not abide his Mother, twenty years after he did never any notable or Timoleon cho- famous act. And therefore, when he was named to be Generall of the aid that should be sent into SICILE, the People having willingly chofen and accepted of him: Teleclides, who was chief Governour at that time in the City of CORINTH, standing upon his feet before the People, spake unto Timoleon, and did exhort him to behave himself like an bonest man, and valiant Captain in this charge. For, faid he, if that you handle your felf well, we will think you have killed a Tyrant: but if you order your felf otherwife then well, we will judge you have killed your Brother. Now Timoton being busie in levying of men, and preparing himself, Letters came to the Co-RINTHIANS from Iceres, whereby plainly appeared, that Iceres had carried two faces in one hood, and that he was become a Traytor. For he had no fooner dispatched his Ambassadours unto them, but he straight took the GARTHAGINIANS part, and dealt openly for them, intending to drive out Dionjim, and to make himself King of Syracusa. But fearing left the Corns-THIANS would fend aid before he had wrought his feat, he wrote again unto the CORINTHI-ANS, fending them word, that they should not need now to put themselves to any charge or danger for coming into Sicile, and specially, because the Carthaginians were very angry, and did also lye in wait in the way as they should come, with a great Fleet of Ships to meet with their Army: and that for himself; because he saw they tarried long, he had made league and aminy with them, against the Tyrant Dienssia. When they had read his Letters, if any of the CORIN-THIANS were before but coldly affected to this journey, choler did then fo warm them against lees, that they frankly granted Timoleon what he would ask, and did help to furnish him to fet him out. When the Ships were ready rigged, and that the Souldiers were furnished of all things necessary for their departure, the Nuns of the goddels Proferpina, faid they faw a Vision in their Dream, and that the goddesse Geres and Proserpina did appear unto them, apparelled like Travellers to take 2 journey: and told them, that they would go with Timoleon into SICILE. Upon this Speech onely, the CORINTHIANS rigged a Galley, they called, the Galley of Ceres and Proferpina: and Timoleon himself before he would take the Seas, went into the City of DELPHOS, where he made Sacrifice unto Apollo. And as he entred into the Sanctuary where the Answers of the Oracle are made, there happened a wonderfull fign unto him. For amongst the Vows and Offerings that are hanged up upon the Walls of the Sanctuary, there fell a Band directly upon Timoleons head, imbroidered all about with Crowns of Victory: so that it feemed Apollo fent him already crowned, before he had fet out one foot towards the journey. He took Ship, and failed with feven Galleys of CORINTH, two of CORPHUE, and ten the LEUCADIANS did fet out. When he was launced out into the main 'ea, having a frank gale of wind and large, he thought in the night that the Element did open, and that out of the same there came a marvellous great bright light over his Ship, and it was much like to a Torch burning, when they shew the Ceremonies of the holy Mysteries. This Torch did accompany and guide them all their Voyage, and in the end it vanished away, and seemed to fall down upon the Coaft of ITALY, where the Ship-mafters had determined to arrive. The wife mens opinions being asked what this might fignific, they answered: That this wonderfull fight did betoken the Dream the Nuns of the goddess Ceres dreamed , and that the goddesses favouring his lourney, had shewed them the way, by sending of this Light from Heaven : because that the lile of Si-CILE is confecrated unto the goddess Proferpina; and specially for that they report her ravishment was in that Isle, and that the whole Realm was assigned unto her for her Joynter, at the day of her Marriage. Thus did this Celeftiall fign of the gods both incourage those that went this Journey; and deliver them also affured hope, who failed with all speed possible they could, untill such time as having croffed the Seas, they arrived upon the Coast of ITALES. But when they came thither the news they understood from SICILE, put Timoleon in great perplexity, and did marvellously difcourage the Souldiers he brought with him: for Icetes having overthrown the Battell of the Tyrant Dion fine, and possessed the greatest part of the City of Syracusa, he did besiege him within the Castle, and within that part of the City which is called the Isle, where he had pent him up, and inclosed him in with Walls round about. And in the mean time he had prayed the CARTHAGI- geth Disciplins. NIANS, that they would be carefull to keep Timoleon from landing in SICILE, to the end that by preventing that aid, they might eafily divide SICILE between them, and no man to lett them. The CARTHAGINIANS following his request, fent twenty of their Galleys unto RHEGIO. amongst which Iceres Ambassadours were fent unto Timoleon, with testimony of his doings : for they were fair flattering words to cloak his wicked intent he purposed. For they willed Timeleon Leges fendesh that he should go himself alone (if he thought good) unto Icetes, to counsell him, and to accom. Ambassade urs pany him in all his doings, which were now fo far onwards in good towardness, as he had almost unto Timoleon. ended them all. Furthermore, they did also perswade him, that he should fend back his Ships and Souldiers to CORINTH again, confidering that the War was now brought to good pals, and that the CARTHAGINIANS would in no case that his men should pass into Sicile, and that they were determined to fight with them, if they made any force to enter. So the CORIN-THIANS at their arrivall into the City of RHEGIO, finding there these Ambassadours, and seeing the Fleet of the CARTHAGINIANS Ships , which did ride at Anker not far off from them : it spited them on the one side, to see they were thus mocked and abused by Iceres. For every one of them were marvellous angry with him, and were greatly afeard also for the poor SICILI-ANS, whom too plainly they faw left a prey unto Icetes for reward of his Treason, and to the CARTHAGINIANS for recompence of the tyranny which they suffered him to establish. So, on the other fide, they thought it impossible to conquer the Ships of the CARTHAGINIANS. which did lye in wait for them, and fo near unto them, confidering they were twice as many in number as they : and as hard for them to subdue the Army also that was in the hands of Icetes in SICILE, confidering that they were not come to him, but onely for the maintenance of the Wars. Norwithstanding Timoleon spake very courteoully unto those Ambassadours, and Captains of the Timoleon cras-CARTHAGINIANS Ships, letting them understand that he would do as much as they would tier then the have him: and to fay truly, if he would have done otherwise, he could have won nothing by it. Carthaginians. Neverthelesshedefired for his discharge, they would say that openly, in the presence of the People of RREGIO (being a City of GREECE, friend and common to both parties) which they had Rhogio a City fpoken to him in fecret: and that done, he would depart incontinently, alledging that it ftood him of Greece. very much upon for the fafety of his discharge, and that they themselves also should more faithfully keep that they had promifed unto him touching the SYRACUSIANS, when they had agreed upon it, and promised it before all the People of RHEGIO, who should be witness of it. Now all this was but a fetch and policy delivered by him to shadow his departure, which the Captains and Governours of RHEGIO did favour, and feem to help him in: because they wished SI-CILE should fall into the hands of the CORINTHIANS, and feared much to have the barbarous People for their Neighbours. For this cause they commanded a generall Assembly of all the People, during which time, they caused the Gates of the City to be shut; giving it out, that it was because the Citizens should not go about any other matters in the mean time. Then when all the People were affembled, they began to make long Orations without concluding any matter: the one leaving always to the other a like matter to talk of , to the end they might win time , untill the Galleys of the Corinthians were departed. And staying the Carthaginians also in this Affembly, they miftrusted nothing, because they faw Timoleca present: who made a countenance, as though he would rife to fay fomething. But in the mean time, fome one did fecretly advertise Timoleon, that the other Galleys were under Sayl and gone away, and that there was but one Galley left, which tarried for him in the Haven. Thereupon he fuddenly ftole away through the preas, with the help of the RHBGIANS, being about the Chair where the Ora- Timuleon lantions were made: and trudging quickly to the Haven, he imbarked incontinently, and hoifed sail defined in State of the Chair where the Ora- Timuleon landing with the Chair where the Ora- Timuleon landing were made: and trudging quickly to the Haven, he imbarked incontinently, and hoifed sail defined in State of the Chair where the Ora- Timuleon landing with the Or also. And when he had overtaken his Fleet, they went all safe together to land at the City of ic. TAUROMENION, which is in Sicile: there they were very well received by Andromachus, Andromachus who long time before had fent for them, for he governed this City as if he had been Lord thereof, the Father of He was the Father of Timess the Historiographer, and honestest man of all those that did bear rule Historiograat that time in SICILE. For he did rule his Citizens in all Justice and Equity, and did always pher, Goverthew himself an open Enemy to Tyrants. And following his affection therein, he lent his City nour of the

at that time unto Timoleon, to gather People together, and perswaded his Citizens to enter into City of Tanleague with the CORINTHIANS, and to aid them, to deliver SICILE from bondage, and to romenion.

nians Ambalfadour did hand.

restore it again to liberty. But the Captains of the CARTHAGINIANS that were in RHEGIO, Tenore it again to morety. Due the Capitains of the Caribagic when they knew that Timoleon was under Sail and gone, after that the Affembly of the Council when they knew that I imposed was much out and gone, and the Anchony of the Council was broken up, they were ready to their fingers for fpight to fee themselves thus finely mocked and deceived. The RHEGIANS on the other fide, were merry at the matter, to fee how the PHOENICIANS fformed at it, that they had fuch a fine part played them. Howbeit in the end, they determined to fend an Ambaffadour unto T Auromenton, in one of their Galleys. This Amof Turomenian they determined to fend an Ambanaaour unto 1 Aurone in one of their Gaueys. In Sambana but fend and barbaroully unto Andromachus, and in a choler: and laft of all, he bardromachus the palmand but first the palm of his hand, then the back of his hand, and did threaten him that his thewed him first the palm of his hand, then the back of his hand, and did threaten him that his back of his hand and did threaten him that his back of his hand and did threaten him that his back of his hand and did threaten him that his hand and did threaten him that his hand and him the him that his him that him the him that his him that him the him that his him the him that him the him that him the him that him that him the him that him that him the him that him that him the him the him the him that him the h City involue octo turned at him, and did turn his hand up and down as the Ambaffadour had done, and commanded him that he should get him going, and that with all speed out of his City, if he would not fee the Keel of his Galley turned upward. Icetes now understanding of Timoleons cowould not see the rect of the County function of Galleys unto the CARTHAGINIANS. Then ming, and being afraid, sent for a great number of Galleys unto the CARTHAGINIANS. Then the Syracusians began to despair utterly when they saw their Haven full of the Carthagi-NIANS Galleys, the best part of their City kept by Icetes, and the Castle by the Tyrant Dionysim. And on the other fide, that Timoleon was not yet come but to a little corner of SICILE, having no more but the little Cityof TAUROMENION, with a small power, and less hope: because there was not above a thousand Footmen in all, to jurnish these Wars, neither provision of Victuals, was not above a moutaine rounding in an analysis and pay them. Befides also, that the other Cities of Sic: Le did nothing trust him. But by reason of the violent Exportions they had of late suffered, or SICILE and nothing that many they hated all Captains and Leaders of men of War to the death, and specially for the treachery of Calippu and Pharax, whereof the one was an ATHENIAN, and the other a LACEDEMO. NIAN. Both of them faid they came to fet SICILE at liberty, and to drive out the Tyrans; and yer nevertheless, they had done so much hurr unto the poor Sicilians, that the misery and yes nevertureres, they had fuffered under the Tyrants, seemed all to be gold unto them, in respect of that which thefe Captains had made them to abide. And they did think them more happy, that may write under captains and make the poke of fervitude: then those which they faw reflored had willingly submitted themselves unto the yoke of fervitude: and fet at liberty. Therefore perfuading themselves, that this CORINTHIAN would be no beand ict at interty. I deterior personnel of the personnel of the other than been before, but supposing they were the self-same former ter unto them, then the other had been before, but supposing they were the self-same former erafis, and alluring baits of good hope and fair words, which they had tafted of before, to draw them to accept new Tyrants: they did fore suspect it, and reject all the Corinthians persuafions. Saving the ADRANITANS onely, whole little City being conferrated to the god Adrawas (and greatly honoured and reverenced through all SICILE) was then in differntion one against another: informuch as one part of them took part with Icutes, and the CARTHAGINIANS, and anount: muomen as one party management that both the one and the other, making all the potter fent unto Timokon. So it fortuned that both the one and the other, making all the potter fent unto Timokon. The god Afible speed they could, who should come first, arrived both in manner at one self-time. Icus drinus. had about five thousand Souldiers. Timoleon had not in all above twelve hundred men, with which he departed to go towards the City of ADRANUS, diffant from TAUROMENION about three hundred and fourty Furlongs. For the first days Journey he went no great way, but lodged betimes: but the next morning he marched very hashily, and had marvellous ill way. When night was come, and day light flut in, he had news that I ceter did but newly arrive before ADRANUS, where he encamped. When the private Captains underflood his, they caused the Vaward to stay, where he encamped. When the private captains inscribed him, they cauted the yaward to tay, to cat and repose a little, that they might be the lustier, and the stronger to fight. But Timoleon did see still forwards, and prayed them not to stay, but to go on with all the speedhey motion and net term torwards, and prayed ment not to may, but to go on which an die specially could possible, that they might take their Enders out of order (asit was likely they should) be singly but newly arrived, and troubled with making their Cabbins, and preparing for Supper. Therefore, the could be supported by the could b with as he spake these words, he took his Target on his arm, and marched himself the foremof man, as bravely and couragiously as if he had gone to a most assured Victory. The Soulders timelemoverfeeing him march with that life, they followed at his heels with like courage. So they had not here letter letter letter letter, and pating thirty Furlongs to go, which when they had overcome, they ftraight fet upon their Ent. mies, whom they found all out of order, and began to flie, fo foon as they faw they were upon their backs before they were aware. By this means there were not above three hundred man flain, and twice as many more taken Priloners, and so their whole Camp was possessed. Then that yeld unto the ADRANITANS opening their Gates, yeelded unto Timoleon, declaring unto him with great fear, and no less wonder, how at the very time when he gave Charge upon the Enemics, the Doors of the Temple of their god opened of themselves, and that the Javelin which the Image of their god did hold in hishand, did shake at the very end where the iron head was, and how all his face was feen to fweat. This (in my opinion) did not onely fignifie the Victory he had got Timoleon. ten at that time, but all the notable Exploits he did afterwards, unto the which, this first Encounter ter gave a happy beginning. For immediately after, many Cities sent unto Timoleon, to joynin league with him. And Mameress the Tyrant of CATANA, a Souldier, and very full of Money, did also seek his Friendship. Furthermore, Dionysius the Tyrant of Syrac us a, being weary to follow hope any longer, and finding himfelf in manner forced unto it by long continuance of siegs, made no more reckoning of Iceres, when he knew that he was to thamefully overthrown. And contrariwife, much efteeming Timoleon, valiantness, he sent to advertise him, that he was contento yeeld himself and the Castle into the hands of the CORINTHIAMS. Timolton being glad of this good hap unlooked for , fent Enclides and Telemachus , two Captains of the CORINTHIANS,

rant of Catana. deth himfelf

to take possession of the Castle, with four hundred men, not all at a time, nor openly (for it was impossible, the Enemies lying in wait in the Haven) but by small Companies, and by stealth . he conveyed them all into the Caftle, fo the Souldiers possessed the Caftle, and the Tyrants Palace with all the Moveables and Munition of War within the same. There were a great number of Horse of Service, great store of staves and Weapons offensive of all forts, and Engines of Battery to shoot far off, and fundry other Weapons of defence, that had been gathered together of long time, to arm threefcore and ten thouland men. Moreover, befides all this, there were two thouland Souldiers , whom with all the other things rehearfed , Dionyfine delivered up into the hands of Timoleon : and he himself, with his Money and a few of his friends, went his way by Sea, Iceres not knowing it, and so came to Timoleons Camp. This was the first time that ever they saw Dionysius a private man, in base and mean estate. And yet within few days after, Timoleon sent him from thence Dionvisus the note CORENTH in a Ship, with little flore of Money; who was born and brought up in the Trantof Str greatest and most famous Tyranny and Kingdom, conquered by force, that ever was in the World: racusation to and which himself had kept by the space of ten years after the death of his Father. Since Dion Corinth. drave him out, he had been marvellously turmoyled in Wars, by the space of twelve years: in which time, although he had done much mischief, yet he had suffered a great deal more. For he faw the death of his Sons when they were men grown, and able to serve and carry Armour. He The miseries faw his Daughters ravished by force, and defloured of their Virginity. He saw his own Sister (who and calamities was also his Wise) first of all shamed, and exceed his his with the greatest villanies of Dionyshar and most vile parts done unto her, that his Enemies could devise : and afterwards horribly murdered the Tyrant. with her Children, and their bodies in the end thrown into the Sea, as we have more amply declared in the Life of Dian. Now when Dianglins was arrived in the City of CORINTH, every GRE- Dianglins CIAN was wonderfull defirous to go fee him, and to talk with him. And fome went thither very Corinth. glad of his overthrow, as if they had troden him down with their feet, whom Fortune had overthrown , so bitterly did they hate him. Other pitying him in their hearts to see so great change did behold him as it were with a certain compassion, considering what great power, secret and Divine Causes have over mens weakness and frailty, and those things that daily pass over our heads. For the World then, did never bring forth any Work of Nature, or of mans hand to The inconwonderfull, as was this of Fortune: who made the World fee a man, that before was in manner flancy of for-Lord and King of all SICILE, fit then commonly in the City of CORINTH, talking with a Vi- tune. Ctualer, or fitting a wholeday in a Perfumers Shop, or commonly drinking in some Cellar or Tavern; or to brawl and fcold in the midst of the streets, with common Whores in the face of the World, or elfe to teach common Minstrels in every Lane and Alley, and to dispute with them with the best reason he had, about the harmony and musick of the Songs they sang in Theaters. Now fome fay he did this, because he knew not else how he should drive the time away, for that indeed he was of a base mind, and an effeminate person, given over to all dishonest lusts and desires. Other are of opinion, he did it to be the less regarded, for fear lest the CORINTHIANS should have him in jealoufie and fuspicion, imagining that he did take the change and state of his life in grievous part, and that he should yet look back, hoping for a time to recover his state again : and that for this cause he did it, and of purpose seigned many things against his Nature, and seeming to be a ftark Idiot, to fee him do those things he did. Some notwithstanding have gathered together certain of his Answers, which do teffishe that he did not all these things of a base brutish mind, but to fit himself onely to his present misery and missortune. For when he came to Leucades, Notable favan ancient City built by the CORINTHIANS, as was also the City of Syracusa, he told the ings of Diony. Inhabitants of the fame, that he was like to young Boys that had done a fault: for as they flie from fau Syramian. their Fathers, being ashamed to come to their fight, and are gladder to be with their Brethren: even so is it with me, said he: for it would please me better to dwell here with you, then to go to Co-RINTH our head City. Another time, being at CORINTH, a stranger was very busy with him (knowing how familiar Dionylius was with learned men and Philosophers, while he reigned in SYRACUSA) and asked him in the end in derision: what benefit he got by Plato's wisdom and knowledge? He answered him again : How thinkest thou, hath it done me no good, when thou The benefit of feest me bear so patiently this change of Fortune? Aristoxensu a Musitian, and other, asking him Philosophy. what oftence Plaso had done unto him : he answered , That Tyrants state is ever unfortunate , and subject to many evils: but yet no evill in their state was comparable to this; that none of all those nate they take to be their most familiars , dare once tell them truly any thing : and that through their This agreeth fault, he left Plato's company. Another time there cometh a pleasant fellow to him, and thinking with Afops to mock him finely, as he entred into his Chamber, he shook his Gown, as the manner is words to solon, when they come to Tyrants, to shew that they have no Weapons under their Gowns. But Diony-him coming fins encountred him as pleafantly, faying to him: Do that when thou goest hence, to see if thou to Princes to haft ftoln nothing. And again , Philip King of MACEDON , at his table one day descending please them, into talk of Songs, Verse, and Tragedies, which Dionysine his Father had made, making as though not to come he wondred at them, how possibly he could have leisure to do them; he answered him very trially, See Solons and to good purpose: He did them even at such times (quoth he) as you and I, and other great Life, and his Lords whom they reckon happy, are disposed to be drunk, and play the Fools. Now for Plato, he Answer to never faw Dionyfins at CORINTH. But Diogenes Sinopian , the first time that ever he met with Dio- JEfop ny sim, faid unto him: O, how unworthy art thou of this state! Diony sim stayed suddenly and replyed: Truly I thank thee (Diogenes) that thou hast compassion of my misery. Why, said Diogenes

Diagrams fay- again: Dost thou think I pity thee? nay it spireth me rather, to see such a Slave as thou (worthy Diogenes tayagain: Doit moutmink 1 pity tinee, may it spiretti tine 1 ainer, 10 fee fuel a stay as thou (worthy
ing to Diosipto die in the wicked flate of a Tyrant like thy Father) to live in fuch feeting and idle life, as thou is the Tyrant leadeft amongst us. When I came to compare these words of Diogenes, with Philissen words the Hi-

TIMOLEON.

Timolcons pro-

at Adranus.

The Treason discovered to

Timoleon by one of the Souldiers.

full work of Fortune.

> a great Army to Syracufa.

Roriographer, bewaiting the hard fortune of the Daughters of the LEPTINES, faying that they were brought from the top of all worldly felicity, honour and goods (whereof tyrannicall flate aboundeth) unto a bafe, private and humble life: methinks they are the proper lamentations of a woman, that forroweth for the lofs of her Boxes of painting Colours, or for her Purple Gowns, or for other fuch pretty fine trims of Gold, as women use to wear. So, methinks these things I have intermingled concerning Dionysius, are not impertinent to the description of our Lives, neither are they troublefome or unprofitable to the hearers, unless they have other hafty business to lett or trouble them. But now if the Tyrant Diony sim wretched state seem strange, Timoleons prosperity then was no leis wonderfull. For within fifty days after he had fet foot in SICILE, he had the Caftle of Syra-CUSA in his possession, and sent Dionysius as an exile to CORINTH. This did set the CORIN-THIANS in fuch a joility, that they fent him a supply of two thousand Footmen, and two hundred Horfmen, which were appointed to land in ITALY, in the Countrey of the Thursans. And perceiving that they could not possibly go from thence into SICILE, because the CARTHAGINIANS kept the Seas with a great many of Ships, and that thereby they were compelled to fay for berans kept the Seas with a great many of ter opportunity: in the mean time they bestowed their leisure in doing a notable good act. For the THURIANS being in Wars at that time with the BRUTIANS, they did put their City into their hands, which they kept very faithfully and friendly, as it had been their own native Countrey. Icees all this while did befiege the Caftle of Syracus A, preventing all he could possible, that there should come no Corn by Sca unto the Corinthians that kept within the Caftle: and he had hired two ftrange Souldiers, which he fent unto the City of ADRANUS, to kill Timoleon by Treason, who kept no guard about his person, and continued amongst the ADRANITANS, mistrusting nothing in the World, for the truit and confidence he had in the fafeguard of the god of the ADRANITANS. These Souldiers being sent to do this murther, were by chance informed that Timoleon should one day do Sacrifice unto this god. So upon this, they came into the Temple, having Daggers under their Gowns, and by little and little thrust in through the prease, that they got at the length hard to the Altar. But at the prefent time as one incouraged another to dispatch the matter, a third person they thought not of, gave one of the two a great cut in the head with his Sword, that he fell to the ground. The man that had hurt him thus, fled flraight upon it, withhis Sword drawn in his hand, and revered the top of a high Rock.

The other Souldier that came with him, and that was not hurt, got hold of a corner of the Altar, and belought pardon of Timolson, and told him he would discover the Treason practiced against him. Timoteon thereupon pardoned him. Then he told him how his Companion that was flain, and himfelf, were both hired, and fent to kill him. In the mean time, they brought him also that had taken the Rock, who cried out aloud, He had done no more then he fhould do: for he had killed him that had flain his own Father before, in the City of Leonti-NES. And to justific this to be true, certain that stood by did affirm it was so indeed. Whereat they wondred greatly to confider the marvellous working of Fortune, how the doth bring one thing to pass by means of another, and gathereth all things together, how far afunder foever they be, and linkeththem together, though they feem to be clean contrary one to another, with no manner of likeness or conjunction between them, making the end of the one, to be the beginning of another. The CORINTHIANS examining this matter throughly, gave him that flew the Solidier with his Sword, a Crown of the value of ten Minas, because that by means of his just and the word of the solidier with his Sword. ger, he had done good fervice to the god that had preferved Timoleon. And furthermore, this good hap did not onely ferve the prefent turn, but was to good purpole ever after. For those that faw it, were put in better hope, and had thenceforth more care and regard unto Timoleons person, because he was a holy man one that loved the gods, and that was purposely sent to deliver SICILE from captivity. But Icetes having miffed his first purpole, and feeing numbers daily drawn to Timoleons devotion, he was mad with himself , that having fo great an Army of the CARTHA-had been ashamed of his fact, and had used their friendship by stealth. So he sent thereupon for Letts bringeth Mago their Generall, with all his Fleet. Mago at his request brought an huge Army to see to. Mag a Car of a hundred and fifty Sail, which occupied and covered all the Haven: and afterwards landed threeor a nunared and nity sail, which occupied and covered an ine stance. and appearance interthaginin with feore thousand men, whom he lodged every man within the City of Syracusa. Then every
a great Army man imagined the time was now come, which old men had threatned SICILE with many years before, and that continually: that one day it should be conquered, and inhabited by the barbarous People. For in all the Wars the CARTHAGINIANS ever had before in the Countrey of SIGILE, they could never come to take the City of Syracusa; and then through Icetes Treason, who had received them, they were feen encamped there. On the other fide, the CORINTHIANS that were within the Cattle, found themselves in great diffress, because their Victuals waxed scant, and the Harmannian for Aminhala har ven was fo straightly kept. Moreover, they were driven to be armed continually to defend the Walls, which the Enemies battered, and affaulted in fundry places, with all kinds of Engines of battery, and fundry forts of devided Inftruments and inventions to take Cities: by reason whereof, they were compelled also to divide themselves into many Companies. Nevertheles, Timoleon without, gave them all the aid he could possible: fending them Corn from CATANA, in little Fisher-boats and fmall Crayers, which got into the Castle many times, but specially in stormy and foul weather,

passing by the Galleys of the barbarous People, that lay scattering one from another, dispersed abroad by tempest, and great billows of the Sea. But Mago and Jeeres finding this, determined to go take the City of CATANA, from whence those of the Caftle of SYRACUSA were victualled : and taking with them the best Souldiers of all their Army, they departed from SYRACUSA, and failed towards CATANA. Now in the mean space , Lean CORINTHIAN , Captain of all Leon Captain and failed towards CATANA. Now in the mean space of Leon CORINIHAN, Captain of an those that were within the Caffle, perceiving the Enemiss within the City, kept but stender Ward thins within made a sudden Salley out upon them, and taking them unawares, slew a great number at the first the Castle. Charge, and drave away the other. So by this occasion he wan a quarter of the City, which they Leon wan call ACRADINA, and was the best part of the City, that had received least hurt. For the City of Acradina, SYRACUSA feemeth to be built of many Towns joyned together. So having found there great plenty of Corn, Gold and Silver, he would not forfake that Quarter no more, nor return again into the Caftle : but fortifying with all diligence the compass and precinct of the fame, and joyning it unto the Castle with certain Fortifications he built up in haste, he determined to keep both the one and the other. Now were Mago and Iceres very near unto CATANA, when a Post overtook them, purpolely fent from Syracusa unto them, who brought them news, that the Acra-DINA was taken. Whereat they both wondred, and returned back again with all speed possible (having failed of their purpose they pretended) to keep that they had yet left in their hands. Now for that matter, it is yet a question, whether we should impute it unto wisdom and valiancy, or unto good fortune: but the thing I will tell you now, in my opinion, is altogether to be ascribed unto Fortune. And this it is: The two thousand Footmen and two hundred Horsemen of the Corinthi-Contention of ANS, that remained in the City of the THURIANS, partly for fear of the Galleys of the CAR Fortune and THAGINIANS, that lay in wait for them as they should pass, Hanno being their Admirall: and valiancy, partly also for that the Sea was very rough and high many dayes together, and was always in storm and tempest: in the end, they ventured to go through the Countrey of the BRUTIANS, and partly with their good will (but rather by force) they got through , and recovered the City of RHEGIO, the Sea being marvellous high and rough. Hanno the Admirall of the CARTHAGINIANS, looking no more then for their paffage, thought with himself that he had devised a marvellous fine policy , to deceive the Enemies. Thereupon he willed all his men to pur Garlands of Flowers of Tri- The strategem umph upon their heads, and therewithall also made them dress up, and set forth his Galleys, with of Hanno the Targets, Corflets, and Brigantines, after the GRECIANS fashion. So in this bravery he returned Admirall of back again, fayling towards Syracusa, and came in with force of Oars, rowing under the Ca- the Carthagiftles fide of Syracusa, with great laughing and clapping of hands, crying out aloud to them that nians. were in the Castle, that he had overthrown their aid which came from CORINTH, as they thought to pals by the Coast of ITALY into SICILE; flattering himself, that this did much discourage those that were belieged. But whilest he sported thus with this fond device, the two thousand Co-RINTHIANS being arrived through the Countrey of the CRUTIANS in the City of RHEGIO, perceiving the Coast clear, and that the passage by Sea was not kept, and that the raging Seas were by miracle (as it were) made of purpose calm for them ; they took Sea forthwith in such Fisherboats and Paffengers as they found ready, in the which they went into SICILE, in fuch good fafety, as they drew their Horse (holding them by the rains) alongst their Boats with them. When they were all passed over, Timoleon having received them, went immediately to take MESSINA, and marching thence in Battell ray , took his way towards Syracusa, trufting better to his good Fortune, then to his Porce he had: for his whole number in all were not above four thousand fighting men. Notwithstanding, Mago hearing of his coming, quaked for fear, and doubted the more upon this occasion. About Syracus a are certain Marshes, that receive great quantity of sweet fresh Water, as well of Fountains and Springs, as also of little runnings, Brooks, Lakes, and Rivers, which run that ways towards the Sea : and therefore there are great store of Eeles in that place, and the fishing is great there at all times, but specially for such as delight to take Eoles. Whereupon the GRECIANS that took pay on both fides, when they had leifure, and that all was quiet between them, they intended fishing. Now, they being all Countreymen, and of one Language, had no private quarrell one with another : but when time was to fight, they did their duties, and in time of peace also frequented familiarly together, and one spake with another, and specially when they were busie fishing for Eels : saying, that they marvelled at the situation of the goodly places thereabouts, and that they ftood fo pleafantly and commodious upon the Sea fide. So one of the Souldiers that ferved under the CORINTHIANS chanced to fay unto them: Is it possible that you that be GRECIANS born, and have so goodly a City of your own, and full of so many goodly Commodities that ye will give it up unto these barbarous People, the CARTHA-GINIANS, and most cruell murderers of the World? where you should rather wish that there were many Siciles betwirt them and Greece. Have ye so little consideration or judgement to think, that they have affembled an Army out of all AFRICK, unto Hercules Pillars, and to the Sea ATLANTICK, to come hither to fight to stablish Icetes tyranny? who, if he had been a wife and skilfull Captain, would not have cast out his Ancestors and Founders, to bring into his Countrey the ancient Enemies of the same : but might have received such Honour and Authority of the CORINTHIANS and Timoleca, as he could reasonably have defired, and that with all their favour and good will. The Souldiers that heard this Tale, reported it again in their Camp: infomuch they made Mago suspect there was Treason in hand, and so sought some colour to be gone. But hereupon, notwithstanding that Iceres prayed him all he could to tarry, declaring unto him how much

TIMOLEO N.

Anapus ft.

neth the City of Syracufa.

throweth the

they were stronger then their Enemies, and that Timoleon did rather prevail by his hardines and they were irronger then their rinemes, and that I implement the prevention has been and returned with finance good fortune, then exceed him in number of men; yet he holfed Saile, and returned with finance Migglorfaketh enough into AFRICK, letting flip the Conquest of SICILE out of his hands without any fight of Auguordakein enough into Africk, ietting nip nie Conquere of Sicile Durve gas name wintour any ngur of Sicile upon fu- reason or cause at all. The next day after he was gone, Timoleon presented, Battell before the City, specie of Irea. Some upon us reason or cause at all. The next day after ne was gone, a most one presence assume occurs one Cary, specific or free-when the Grectans and he understood that the Carranginians when the Grectans and he understood that the Carranginians and in design from when the GRECIANS and he undergrouping the Care parentians agencient, and that they faw the Haven rid of all the Ships; and then began to jet at Mago: cowardingts, and in derition naw the rawen rise or an time ships; and then began to jet at 1924go 5; cowarnings, and in derifion proclaimed in the City, that they would give him a good reward, that could, bring them news, which have been a formed by prociaimed in the City, that they would give him a good reward, that could bring their news, which the the Army of the CARTHAGINIANS were fled. But for all this, letter was bent to fight, ther the Army of the CARTHAGINIANS were near out for an uns, 15550 was been to fight, and would not leave the Spoil he had gotten, but defend the Quarters of the City, he had policiled, and would not leave the Spoul ne had gotten, our determine the Charles on the Cary ne had pointed, at the Swords point, trufting to the strength and fination of the places, which were hardly to be apactine swords point, truiting to the ittengin and mutation of the places, which were natury to oc approached. Timoleon perceiving that, divided his Army, and he with one part, thereof did fet upon proacned. A moleon perceiving mar, anymoru ins army, and the which was the hardeft to approach, and did frand upon the River of Anapus; then he appointed another part of his Army to affault all at one time, the fide of ACARDINA, whereof appointed another part of his Army to anault all at one tune, the lide of ALCARDINA, whereof I find CORINTHIAN had the leading. The third part of his Army that came last from CORINTH, which Disarrehus and Demaratus led, he appointed to affault the Quarter called Epipoles. Thus, which Distrems and Demaration is a product to another consists cancer Epipoles. 1 just affault being given on all fides at one time, Icetes. Bands of men were broken, and ran their way. anaunt penng given on an nurs at one time, secres mains of men were crossed, and rantimer way, Now that the City was thus won by affault, and come fo fuddenly to the hands of Timoleon, and trow marine city was thus won by analit, and come to moderny to the names of 1 motion, and the Enemies being field, it is good reason we ascribe it to the valiantness of the Souldiers, and the Captains great wildom. But where there was not one Corinthian flain nor hurt in this af-Captains great windom. Dut where there was not one Cortici nation ham nor nurt in this alfault, fure methinks herein it was onely the work and deed of Fortune, that did favour and protect fauit, ture meminis herein at was onery me work and deed of rottune, that did rayour and protect Timoleon, to contend against his valiantness: to the end that those which should hereaster hear of influence, to contenu against his variabilities; to six charties which insolute nereatter near of his doings, should have more occasion to wonder at his good hap, then to praise and commend his his doings, the six of the nis doings, mount have more occanon to wonder at his group hap, then to prane and commend his valiantness. For the fame of this great Exploit, did in few days not onely run through all IT ALY, valiantnels. For the tame of this great Exploit, that in the ways not onerly run intrough an ETALY, but also through all GREECE. Infomuch as the CORINTHIANS (who could fear believe their put ano inrough an ORECE. Informed as the CORENTIALAND (who come name ornere mer mere passed with fafery into SICILE) understood withall that they were fastely arrived there, and had gotten the Victory of their Enemies: fo prosperous was their Journey, and Fortune so specdily did favour his noble acts. Timolog having now the Castle of Syracus a in his hands, did not only use layour and more also a smooth of maring now the castle of the beauty and frately building thereof, but avoiding follow Dion. For he spared not the Castle for the beauty and frately building thereof, but avoiding rounow Dion. For the sparce has the Calife for the beauty and statisty observations, our avoiding the full form that caused Dion furft to be accused, and lastly to be slain, he caused it to be proclaimed Timologn over- by Trumpet, that any Syracustan whatfoever, thould come with crows of Iron and mattocks, to help to dig down and overthrow the Fort of the Tyrants. There was not a man in all the to help to the down and overthrow the roll of the lylams. Incre was not a man in all the City of Syracusa, but went thither ftraight, and thought that Proclamation and day to be a City of SYRACUSA, but went infiner straight, and inought that Proclamation and day to be a most happy beginning of the recovery of their liberty. So they did not onely overthrow the Casile, but the Palace also, and the Tombs: and generally all that served in any respect for the memory of Timoleon made any of the Tyrants. And having cleared the place in few days, and made all plain, Timoleon at the And having cleared the place in the ways, and make any of the lyrants. And having cleared the place in the ways, and made an plant, 2 smoton at the system and 200 flut of the Citizens, made Council-halls, and places of Juffice to be built there; and did by this means pular Govern. Syracuja a po- fute of the Citizens, made Council-halls, and places of juttice to be built inere; and und by this incan plant Government, and did suppress all tyrannicall Power. Now, when ment.

The miterable he saw he had won a City that had 10 Inhabitants, which Wars before had confumed, and fear of the miterable he saw he had won a City that had 10 Inhabitants, which was before had confumed, and fear of the miterable he saw he had won a City that had 10 Inhabitants, which was before had confumed, and fear of the miterable he saw he had won a City that had 10 Inhabitants, which was before had confumed, and fear of the miterable he saw he had won a City that had 10 Inhabitants. The milerable me naw ne naw won a Chymar naw no annaonamb, which wars octore naw communed, and tear of strike tyranny had emptied, to as grafs grew to high and rank in the great Market-place of Syracusa, as they grazed their Horfes there, and the Horfe-keepers lay down by them on the grafs as they as mey grazed their frontes there, and the fronte-neepers tay down by their on the grais as mey fed; and that all the Cities, a few excepted, were full of red Deer and wild Bores, fo that men given to delight in hunting shaving leifure, might find Game many times within the Suburbs and Townto dengin in mining, maying renute, might into Game many times within the Southers and Town-dirches, hard by the Walls: and that fuch as dwelt in Castles and strong Holds in the Country, would not leave them, to come and dwell in Cities, by reason they were all grown so frout, and did fo hate and detert Affemblies of Council, Orations, and order of Government, where fo many Tyrath shad reigned. Timoless thereupon feeing this defolation, and also fo few Syracusian's bond that the defolation of the state of t that had eleaped, thought good, and all his Captains, to write to the CORINTHIANS to fend People out of Greece to inhabit the City of Syracus a again. For otherwise the Country would grow barren and unprofitable, if the ground were not ploughed. Befides, that they looked would grow barren and unpromable, it me ground were not prougated.

would grow barren and unpromable, it me ground were not prougated.

would grow barren and unpromable, it me ground were not prougated.

also for great Wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had being also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had being also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had being also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had being also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had being also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had being also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had being also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had being also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had being also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had being also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had being also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had being also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had being also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had been also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had been also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had been also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had been also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the carthaginians had been also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the carthaginians had been also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the carthaginians had been also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the carthaginians had been also for great wars out of AFRICK: being advertised that the cart up the body of Maso their Generall upon a Cross, (who had sain himself for that he could not any tweens depart from the dilhonour laid to his charge) and that they did leavy another great mighty Army, to return again the next year following, to make Wars in Scotte. These Letters of Timolom being brought unto CORINTH, and the Ambaffadours of SYRACUSA, being arrived with them allo, who befought the People to take care and protection over their poor City, and that they would once again be Founders of the same: the CORINTHIANS did not greedily defire to be Lords of 6 goodly and great a City, but first proclaimed by the Trumpet in all the Assemblies, solemn Feasts, and comthe Circ of Susanness and American having defroyed the Tyranny that was in the City of Syracus A, and driven out the Tyrants, did call the Syracus Ans that were builties out of their Courses have a state of the state of the state of their courses have a state of the state of t gitives out of their Countrey home again, and all other SICILIANS that liked to come and dwell there, to enjoy all freedom and liberty, with promile to make just and equal division of the Lands them the one to have account as the other. Moreover, they feet our Dolle and Moreover. among them, the one to have as much as the other. Moreover, they fent our Ports and Meffengers among them, the one to have as much as the other, moreover, they sent our rotes and members into Asia, and into all the Illands where they understood the banished SyraCusians remained, but the contract of the same statement of the same statem performed and interest them to come to CORINTH, and that the CORINTHIANS would give them Periwaue and inited them to come to Corinth, and that the Corinthians would give that Ships, Captains, and means to conduct them fafely unto Syracusa, at their own proper collaboration of the City of Corinth received every mans most noble that the contraction of the City of Corinthians are the city of Corinthians. prasse and bleffing, as well for delivering SICILE in that fort from the bondage of Tyrans,

TIMOLEON.

as also for keeping it out of the hands of the barbarous People, and restoring the naturall Synta-CUSIANS and SICILIANS, to their home and Countrey again, Nevertheless, such SICILI-ANS as repaired to CORINTH upon this Proclamation (themselves being but a small number to inhabit the Countrey) belought the CORINTHIANS to joyn to them fome other Inhabitants as well of CORINTH it felt, as out of the rest of GREECE : the which was performed. For they gathered together about ten thousand persons, whom they shipped and sent to SYRACUSA. Where there were already a great number of other come unto Timoleon, as well out of SICILE it felf, as out of ITALY befides: fo that the whole number (as Athania writeth) came to threefcore terr, as out of International House of the City thousand perfons. Amongst them he divided the whole Countrey, and fold them Houses of the City The Corinthiumto the value of a thousand Talents. And because he would leave the old Syracusians able an repleusshed to recover their own, and make the poor People by this means to have Money in common, to defray the common charge of the City, as also their expences in time of Wars: the Statues or Ima-racusa with ges were fold, and the People by most voyces did condemn them: for they were solemnly indicted, threefcore accused and arraigned, as if they had been men alive to be condemned. And it is reported that the thousand SYRACUSIANS did referve the Statue of Gelon, an ancient Tyrant of their City, honouring his memory because of a great Victory he had won of the CARTHAGINIANS, near the City of HIMERA: and condemned all the rest to be taken away out of every corner of the City, and to be fold. Thus began the City of Syracusa to replenish again, and by little and little to recover it felf, many People coming thither from all parts to dwell there. Thereupon Timoleon thought to fet all the other Cities at liberty also, and utterly to root out all the Tyrams of SICILE : and to obtain his purpose, he went to make Wars with them at their own doors. The first he went against was Icetes, whom he compelled to forfake the League of the CARTHAGINIANS, and to promife alfo that he would raze all the Fortreffeshe kept, and to live like a private man within the City of the Le-ONTINES. Laptines in like manner, that was Tyrant of the City of Apollonia, and of many Laptines, Tyrant of the City of Apollonia, and of many transfer of dealers. other little Villages thereabouts, when he faw himfelf in danger to be taken by force, did yeeld himfelf: Whereupon Timoleon faved his life, and fent him unto CORINTH: thinking it honourable for Timoleon. his Country, that the other GRECIANS should see the Tyrants of Sicile in their chief City of fame, living meanly and poorly like banished People. When he had brought this to pass, he returneth forthwith to Syracus a about the stablishment of the Common-weal, affisting Cophalus and Dionylism, two notable men fent from CORINTH to reform the Laws, and to help them to stablish the goodliest Ordinances for their Common-weal. And now in the mean time, because the Souldiers had a mind to get fomething of their Enemies, and to avoid idleness, he fent them out abroad into a Countrey subject to the CARTHAGINIANS, under the charge of Dimarchus and Demaratus: where they made many little Towns rebell against the barbarous People, and did nor onely live in all abundance of wealth, but they gathered Money together also to maintain the Wars: The CARTHAGINIANS on the other fide, while they were busie about thesematters, came down into LyLIBEA, with an Army of threefcore and ten thousand men, two hundred Galleys, and a thoufand other Ships and Veffels that carried Engineer of battery, Carts, Victuals, Munition, and other neceffary Provision for a Camp, intending to make sporting Wars no more, but at once to drive all the GRECIANS again quite out of SICILE. For indeed it was an able Army to overcome all the SICILIANS, if they had been whole of themselves, and not divided. Now they being advertised that the SICILIANS had invaded their Countrey, they went towards them in great tury led by Afthat the Army drubal and Amilear, Generals of the Army. This news was straight brought to SYRACUSA, and Ships of drubal and Amilear, Generals of the Afmy. This news was traight brought to 37 KACUSA, the Carthagiand the Inhabitants were so stricken with fear of the report of their Army: that being a marvellous great number of them within the City, scant three thousand of them had the hearts to arm them- Timolon, Af-felves, and to go to the Field with Timoleon. Now the strangers that took pay, were not above four druhal and Athousand in all: and of them, a thousand of their hearts failed, and left him in mid-way, and returned militar being home again: faying, that Timoleon was out of his wits, and more rash then his years required, to Generals. undertake with five thousand Footmen, and a thousand Horse, to go against threescore and ten thoufand men; and befides, to carry that small force he had to defend himself withall, eight great days journey from Syracusa : fo that if it chanced they were compelled to flie, they had no place Timoleon went whither they might retire themselves unto with fafety, nor man that would take care to bury them, with fix thouwhen they were flain. Nevertheless, Timoleon was glad he had that proof of them, before he fand men a came to Battell. Moreover, having encouraged those that remained with him, he made them march gainst the Carwith speed towards the River of CRIMESUS; where he understood he should meet with the CARTHAGINIANS. So getting up upon a little hill, from whence he might fee the Camp of Crimcfus ft. the Enemies on the other fide: by chance certain Moils fell upon his Army, loaden with smallage. The Souldiers took a conceit at the first upon fight of it, and thought it was a token of ill luck : be- Smallage an ill cause it is a manner we use, to hang Garlands of this Herb about the Tombs of the dead. Hereof fign came the common Proverb they use to speak , when one lieth a passing in his bed : He lacketh but Proverb. Smallage: as much to fay, he is but a dead man. But Timoleon to draw them from this foolith Superstition and discourage they took, staid the Army: and when he had used certain perswasions unto them, according to the time, his leifure, and occasion, he told them that the Garland of it felf came to offer them Victory before hand. For, faid he, the CORINTHIANS do crown them that win the ISTMIAN Games (which are celebrated in their Countrey) with Garlands of Smallage. And at that time also even in the folemn ISTMIAN Games, they used the Garland of Smal- Garlands of lage for reward and token of Victory: and arthis present it is also used in the Games of NEMEA. Smallage.

Timolcon githazinians as they came over the River

Timolcons or-

tempelt of thunder, lightning, rain, hail , full in the Carthagi-

And it is but lately taken up, that they have used branches of Pine Apple-trees in the ISTMIAN Games: When Timoleon had thus encouraged his men, as you have heard before; he first of all took of this Smallage, and made himself a Garland, and put it on his head; and after him the Captains or this surange, and make unincer a containe, and made themselves the like. The Soothsayers in like and all the Souldiers also took of the same, and made themselves the like. The Soothsayers in like manner at the very fame time, perceived two Eagles flying towards them: the one of them holding mainter as the very rame time, percent through and through, and the other as she flew, gave a tera Snake in her talents, which she pierced through and through, a snake in ner taients, while the post-tained by Souldiers, who did then all together with one voyce rible cry. So they shewed them both unto the Souldiers, who did then all together with one voyce call upon the gods for help. Now this fortuned about the beginning of Summer, and towards the latter end of May, the Sun drawing towards the folftice of Summer: when there arole a great mift out of the River, that covered all the fields over, fo as they could not fee the Enemies Camp, but onely heard a marvellous confused noise of mens voyces, as it had come from a great Army : and rifing up to the top of the hill, they laid their Targets down on the ground to take a little breath: and the Sun having drawn and fucked up all the moilt vapours of the mift unto the top of the hills, the air began to be fo thick, that the tops of the mountains were all covered over with clouds: and contrarily, the Valley underneath was all clear and fair, that they might eafly fee the River of CRIMESUS, and the Enemies also, how they passed it over in this fort. First, they had put their the cractron the Carthagi- Carts of War foremost, which were very horly armed and well appointed. Next unto them there followed ten thousand Footmen, armed with white Targets upon their armes: whom they seeing asar off fo well appointed, they conjectured by their flately march and goodly order, that they were the Carthaginians themselves. After them, divers other Nations followed confusedly one with another, and fo they thronged over with great difforder. There Timeleon confidering the River gave him opportunity to take them before they were half past over, and to fet upon what number he would: after he had shewed his men with his finger, how the Battell of their Enemies was divided in two parts by means of the River, some of them being already passed over, and the other to pass: he commanded Demaratus with his Horsemen to give a Charge on the Vaward, to keep them from putting themselves in order of Battell. And himself coming down the hill also with all his Footmen into the Valley, he gave to the SICILIANS the two Wings of his Battell, mingling with them fome frangers that served under thim: and placed with himself in the midst, the Syracusans with all the choife and best liked strangers. So he tarried not long to joyn, when he saw the small good his Horfemen did. For he perceived they could not come to give a lufty Charge upon the Bartell of the Carthagintans, because they were paled in with these armed Carts, that ran here and there before them: whereupon they were compelled to wheel about continually (unless they would have pur themselves in danger to have been utterly overthrown) and in their returns to give venure of charge, by urns on their Enemies. Wherefore Timoleon taking his Target on his arm, Timoleonsmar-cried out aloud to his Footmen, to follow him couragiously, and to fear nothing. Those that head his voyce, thought it more then the voyce of a man, whether the fury of his defire to fight did fo ms voyce, mought a more men the voyce of a man, whenever the lary of his active to high and to frain it beyond ordinary course, or that some god (as many thought it then) did firetechnis voyce to cry out to loud and fenfibly. His Souldiers anilwered him again with the like voyce: and prayed him to lead them without longer delay. Then he made his Horlemen understand, that they should draw on the one fide from the Carts, and that they should charge the Carthaginians on the Flanks: and after he did fet the foremost rank of his Battell, Target to Target against the Enemies, commandding the Trumpets withall to found. Thus with great fury he went to give a charge upon them, who valiantly received the first Charge, their bodies being armed with good iron Corfelets, and their beads with faire Murrions of Copper, besides the great Targets they had also, which did easily receive the force of their Darts, and the thruft of the Pike. But when they came to handle their Swords, where agility was more requisite then force: a fearfull tempest of thunder, and flashing lightning withall, came from the Mountains. After that came dark thick clouds also (gathered together from the top of the Hills) and fell upon the Valley where the Battell was fought, with a marvellous extrain shower of rain, fierce violent winds, and hail withall. All this Tempest was upon the GRECI-ANS backs, and full before the barbarous People, beating on their faces, and did blindfold their eyes, and continually tormented them with the rain that came full upon them with the wind, and the lightnings to oft Hashing amongst them, that one understood not another of them. Which did marvelloufly trouble them, and specially those that were but fresh-water Souldiers, by reason of the terrible thunder-claps, and the noise the boysterous wind and hail made upon their Harness: for that made them they could not hear the order of their Captains. Moreover, the dirt did as much they fought. annoy the CARTHAGINIANS, because they were not nimble in their Armour, but heavily armed, as we have told you: and besides that also, when the plaits of their Coats were through wer with water, they did load and hinder them for much the more, that they could not fight with anyease. This flood the GRECIANS to great purpose, to throw them down the easier. Thus when they were tumbling in the dirt with their beavy Armour, up they could rife no more. Furthermore, the River of CRIMESUS being rifen high through the great rage of waters, and also for the multitude of People that paffed over it, did overflow the Valley all about : which being full of Ditches, many ny Caves, and hollow places, it was ftraight all drowned over, and filled with many running ftream, that ran overthwart the Field without any certain channell. The CARTHAGINIANS being compaffed all about with these waters, they could hardly get the way out of it. So as in the end they being overcome with the ftorm that still did beat upon them, and the GRECIANS laving flain of their men at the first onset, to the number of four hundred of their choisest men,

TIMOLEO N.

who made the first front of their battle: all the rest of their Army turned their backs immediately and fled for life. Infomuch as some of them being followed very near, were put to the sword in the midst of the Valley: other, holding one another hard by the arms together, in the midst of the River as they paffed over, were carried down the stream and drowned with the swiftness and violence of the River. But the greatest number thinking by footmanship to recover the hills thereabouts, Timoleons Viwere overtaken by them that were light armed, and put to the fword every man. They say, that of ctory of the ten thousand which were slain in this Battle, three thousand of them were natural Citizens of CAR- Caribaginians. THAGE, which was a very forrowfull and grievous loss to the City: for they were of the nobleft, the richest, the lustiest and valiantest men of all CARTHAGE. For there is no Chronicle that mentioneth any former Wars at any time before, where there died so many of CARTHAGE at one Field and Battle, as were flain at that present time. For before that time, they did always entertain the FYBIANS, the SPANIARDS, and the NOMADES in all their Wars: fo as when they lost any Battle, the loss lighted not on them, but the strangers paid for it. The men of account also that were flain, were eafily known by their spoils. For they that spoiled them, stood nor trifling about getting of Copper and Iron together, because they found Gold and Silver enough. For the Battle being won, the GRECIANS paffed over the River, and took the Camp of the barbarous people, with all their carriages and baggage. And as for the Prifoners, the Souldiers stole many of them away. and fent them going: but of them that came to light in the common division of the spoil, they were about five thousand men, and two hundred Carts of War that were taken besides. Oh, it was a noble fight to behold the Tent of Timoleon the Generall, how they environed it all about with heaps of spoils of every fort: among which there were a thousand brave Corcelets gilt and graven with marvellous curious works, and they brought thither with them also ten thousand Targets. So the Conquerors being but a small number, to take the spoil of a multitude that were flain, they filled their Purses even to the top. Yet were they three days about it, and in the end, the third day after the Battle, they fet up a mark or token of their Victory. Then Timoleon fent unto CORINTH, with the news of this overthrow, the fairest Armour that were gotten in the spoil: because he would make his Countrey and native City spoken of and commended through the world, above all the other Chies of GREECE. For that at CORINTH onely, their chief Temples were fet forth and adorned, not with the spoils of the GRECIANS, nor Offerings gotten by spilling the blood of their own Nation and Countrey, (which to fay truly, are unpleasant memories,) but with the spoils taken from the barbarous people their Enemies, with inscriptions witnessing the valiancy and justice of those also, who by Victory had obtained them. That is to wir, that the Co-RINTHIANS and their Captain Timoleon (having delivered the GRECIANS dwelling in SI-CILE, from the bondage of the CARTHAGINIANS) had given those Offerings unto the gods, to give thanks for their Victory. That done, Timoleon leaving the strangers he had in pay, in their Countrey subject to the CARTHAGINIANS, to spoil and destroy it, he returned with the rest of his Army unto Syra cusa: where at his first coming home, he banished the thousand Souldiers that had Timpleon has forfaken him in his journey, with express charge that they should depart the City before Sun set. So nisheth the these thousand cowardly and mutinous Souldiers passed over into ITALY, where, under promise of thousand traithe contrary, they were all unfortunately slain by the BRUTIANS: such was the justice of the terous Souldigods to pay the just reward of their Treason. Afterwards, Mamereus the Tyrant of Catana, and cite. Icetes (whether it was for the envy they did bear to Timoleons famous deeds, or for that they were afraid of him) perceiving Tyrants could look for no peace at his hands: they made league with the CARTHAGINIANS, and wrote unto them that they should send another Army and Captain suddenly, if they would not utterly bedriven out of SICILE. The CARTHAGINIANS fent Gifco thi- Gifco fent from ther with threescore and ten fail, who at his first coming took a certain number of GRECIAN Carthage with Souldiers into pay, which were the first the CARTHAGINIANS everyteained in their fervice, for cite. they never gave them pay untill that prefent time, when they thought them to be men invincible, and the best Souldiers of the World. Moreover the inhabitants of the territory of Massina, having Mellina tifeth made a secret conspiracy among themselves, did slay four hundred men that Timoleon had sent unto against Timothem : and in the Territories subject unto the CARTHAGINIANS, near unto the place they called teon. HIERES, there was another ambush laid for Enthimus LEUCADIAN, so as himself and all his Souldiers were cut in pieces. Howbeit the loss of them made Timoleons doings notwithstanding more fortunate: for they were even those that had forcibly entred the Temple of Apollo in the City of DEL-PHOS, with Philodemus the PHOCIAN, and with Onomarchus, who were partakers of their facriledge. Moreover, they were loose people and abjects, that were abhorred of every body, who vagabondlike wandred up and down the Countrey of PELOPONNESUS, when Timoleon for lack of other was glad to take them up. And when they came into SICILE, they always overcame in all Battles they fought, whilst they were in his company. But in the end, when the fury of Wars was pacified, Timoleon fending them about some special service to the aid of some of his, they were cast away every man of them: and not all together, but at diverstimes. So as it seemed that Gods justice, in favour of Timoleon, did feperate them from the rest, when he was determined to plague them for their wicked deferts, fearing left good men should suffer hurt by punishing of the evil. And so was the grace and good will of the gods wonderfull towards Timoleon, not onely in matters against him, but in those things that prospered well with him. Notwithstanding, the common people of Syracusa took the jefting words and writings of the Tyrants against them, in marvellous evil part. For Mamercus amongst other, thinking well of himself, because he could make Verses and Tragedies,

having in certain Battles gotten the better hand of the strangers which the SYRACUSIANS gave pay unto, he gloried very much. And when he offered up the Targets he had gotten of them, in the Temples of the gods, he fet up also these cutting Verses, in deristion of them that were variquished:

Mamereus verfes, Tyrant of Catana.

With Bucklers pot-lid like, which of no value were, With a nuclei possessing, some of or richly trimmed here, And gorgeously with gold, and the with Ivory, With purple colours finely wrought, and deckt with Ebony. These things done, Timeleon led his Army before the City of CALAUREA, and Iceres therewhile

Calauria a City of Sicile.

Damirius fl. Strife among Timolcons Captains for paffing over the River.

entred the confines of the Syracustans with a main Army, and carried away a marvellous great spoil : and after he had done great hurt, and spoiled the Countrey, he returned back again, and GIRAL HOLL AND ALL AND bout him. Timoteon fuffered him to passby, but followed him afterwards with his Horse-men and lightest armed Foot-men. Icetes understanding that, passed over the River called Damitrias, and fo staid on the other side as though he would fight, trusting to the switt running of the River, and the to train on the other time as mough the words 1810; containing to the time training of the factory and the height of the banks on either fide of the fame. Now the Captains of Timoleons Bands fell out marvelloully amongst themselves, striving for honour of this service, which was cause of delaying the battle. For none would willingly come behind, but every man defired to lead the vaward, for honour to begin the charge: fo as they could not agree for their going over, one thrufting another to get before his com-

the ftrife.

panion. Wherefore Timoleon fell to drawing of Lots, which of them thould pals over first, and took pamon. Wherefore 1 supplement and coaft them all within the lap of his cloak: fo rolling them together, a Ring of every one of them, and caft them all within the lap of his cloak: Lots to pathe by chance he pluckt one at the first, whereon was graven the marks and tokens of a Triumph. The young Captains feeing that, gave a shout of joy, and without tarrying drawing of other Lots, they began every man to pals the River as quickly as they could, and to fet upon the Enemies as fuddenly. But they being not able to abide their force, ran their ways, and were fain to cast their armour away to make more hafte: howbeit there were a thousand of them lay dead in the field. And within few days Timilion taketh Icertand

European and the General of his Horteman who were delivered into his boad by the boad keth Iceres and arres, 1 1000 to 1000 reasoning instating to the Cary of the Laborat Laboration access arrest mere, with his Soa Eupolemus, and the General of his Horfemen, who were delivered into his hands by his own Soul-Eupstemus IIIs Son alive, and diers. So lettes and his Son were put to death, like Trayrors and Tyrants: and fo was Euthydemus did put them also, who though he was a valiant Souldier, had no better mercy shewed him, than the Father and the Son, because they did burthen him with certain injurious words he spake against the CORINTHIANS. For they fay, that when the CORINTHIANS came first out of their Countrey into SICILE, to make Warsagainst the Tyrants: that he making an Oration before the LEONTINES, said amongst other things, that they should not need to be afraid, if The Women of Corinth were come out of their Countrey. Thus we see, that men do rather suffer hurt, than put up injurious words: and do pardon their Enemies, though they revenge by deeds, because they can do no less. But as for injurious words they seem

to proceed of a deadly hate, and of a cankred malice. Furthermore, when Timoleon was returned again to Syracusa, the Syracusians arraigned the Wives of Iceres, and his Son, and their Dughand Children ters: who being arraigned, were also condemned to die by the judgement of the people. Of all theads put to death. Timoleon did, this of all other (in my opinion) was the fouleft deed; for if he had lifted, he might have

Mamercus 0vercome in battle. Abolus fl. thaglnians. Lycus fl.

Citizens, who would be revenged of them, for the injuries that were done to Dion, after he had driven The cruelty of his cities with marking the control of the cruelty of his cities with a called Arate, the Wife of Dion, to be call into the Se, Inter trueny of his Sifter Aristomacke, and his Son that was yet a fucking Child, as we have written in another place Dion and his. in the Life of Dion. That done, he went to CATANA against Mamercus, who tarried for him by the River Abolus, where Mamereus was overthrown in Battle, and above two thousand men slain, the greatest part whereof were the CARTHAGINIANS, whom Gifco had sent for his relief. Afterwards he granted Peace to the CARTHAGINIANS, upon earnest fuit made to him, with condition, that they should keep on the other side of the River of Lycus, and that it should be lawfull for any of the inhabitants there that would, to come and dwell in the territory of the Syracowith the Car SIANS, and to bring away with them their goods, their Wives and Children: and furthermore, that from thenceforth the CARTHAGINIANS should renounce all League, Consederacy and Alliance with the Tyrants. Whereupon Mamercus having no hope of good fuccess in his doings, he would go into ITALY, to thir up the Lucanians against Timoleon and the Syracu SIANS. But they that were in his company, returned back again with their Gallies in the midway: Catana yielded and when they were returned into SICILE, they delivered up the City of CATANA into the hands unant Time of Timoleon, fo as Mamere us was constrained to fave himself, and to fly into MESSINA, to Hippon the Tyrant thereof. But Timoleon followed him, and befreged the City both by Sea and by Land. Whereat Hippon quaked for fear, and thought to fly by taking of Ship, but he was taken staring. And the MESSINIANS having him in their hands, made all the Children come from the School to the Theatre, to fee one of the goodlieft fights that they could devife: to wit, to fee the Tyran rant of Mcffina. punished, who was openly whipped, and afterwards put to death. Now for Mamercus, he did yield himfelf unto Timoleon, to be judged by the SYRACUSIANS, fo that Timoleon might not be his accuser. So he was brought unto Syracusa, where he attempted to make an Oration to the People, which he had premeditated long before. But feeing that the People cryed out and make a great noise, because they would not hear him, and that there was no likelihood they would

faved the poor Women from death. But he passed not for them, and so left them to the wrath of the

pardon him: he ran overthwart the Theatre, and knocked his head as hard as he could drive upon one of the degrees whereon they fate there to fee their sports, thinking to have dashed out his brains, and have rid himself suddenly out of his pain. But he was not happy to die so, for he was taken straight being yet alive, and put to death as Thieves and Murderers are. Thus did Timoleon root all Tyrants Mamerius the out of SICILE, and made an end of all Wars there. And whereas he found the whole Ille, wild; favage, and hated of the natural Countrey men and inhabitants of the fame, for the extream calamities and miseries they suffered, he brought it to be so civil, and so much defired of strangers, that they came Timoleon quifar and near to dwell there, where the natural inhabitants of the Countrey fell before, were glad to fly cteth all sinte and forfake it. For AGRIGENTUM and GELA, two great Cities, did witness this, which after the Wars of the ATHENIANS, had been utterly for faken and destroyed by the CARTHAGINIANS, and werethen inhabited again: the one, by Megellin and Pheriftus, two Captains that came from ELEA: and the other by Gorgos, who came from the Isle of CBO. And as near as they could, they gathered again together the first ancient Citizens and inhabitants of the fame : whom Timoleon did not onely affure of peace and fafety to live there, to fettle them quietly together : but willingly did help them befides, with all other things necessary, to his uttermost mean and ability, for which they loved and honoured him as their Father and Founder. And this his good love and tayour was common also to all other people of Sicile whatfoever. So that in all Sicile there was no truce taken in Wars, nor Laws established, nor Lands divided, nor institution of any policy or government thought good or available. if Timoleons device had not been in it, as chief director of such matters: which gave him a fingular grace to be acceptable to the gods, and generally to be beloved of all men. For in those days, there were other famous men in GREECE, that did marvellous great things: amongst whom were Timoleon comthele, Timothem, Agesslam, Pelopidas and Epaminondas: which Epaminondas, Timoteon sought to pared with the follow in all things, as near as he could, above any of them all. But in all the actions of these other in Greece, great Captains, their glory was always mingled with violence, pain and labour : fo as fome of them have been touched with reproach, and other with repentance. Whereas contrariwife, in all Timoleans doings (that onely excepted which he was forced to do to his Brother) there was nothing but they might with troth (as Timans faid) proclaim the faying of Sophocles :

O mighty gods of heaven, what Venus Stately dame, Or Cupid, (God) bave thus yout, their hands unto the fame ?

And like as Antimachus verses, and Dionysius painting, both COLOPHONIANS, are full of sinews and ftrength, and yet at this prefent we fee they are things greatly laboured and made with much pain : and that contrariwise in Nichomachus tables, and Homers verses, besides the passing workmanship and fingular grace in them, a man findeth at the first fight, that they were easily made, and without great pain. Even so in like manner, whosoever will compare the painfull bloudy Wars and Battles of Epaminondas and Agefilaus, with the Wars of Timoleon, in the which befides equity and justice, there is also greatease and quietness: he shall find, weighing things indifferently, that they have not been Fortunes doings simply, but that they came of a most noble and fortunate courage. Yet he himself Timoleonatertdoth wifely impute it unto his good hap and favourable fortune. For in his Letters he wrote unto his buteth his familiar friendsat Corinth, and in some other Orations he made to the people of Syracusa, good success he spake it many times, that he thanked the almighty gods, that it had pleased them to save and deliver unto Fortune. SICILE from bondage by his means and service, and to give him the honour and dignity of the name. And having builded a Temple in his house, he dedicated it unto Fortune, and furthermore did confecrate his whole house unto her. For he dwelt in a house the Syracus I ans kept for him, and Timpleon dwelgave him in recompence of the good service he had done them in the Wars, with a marvellous fair leth still with pleasant house in the Countrey also, where he kept most when he was at leisure. For he never after re- the Syracustans turned unto CORINTH again, but fent for his Wife and Children to come thither, and never dealt afterwards with those troubles that fell out amongst the GRECIANS, neither did make himself to be envied of the Citizens (a milchief that most Governours and Captains do fall into through their unfatiable defire of honour and authority) but lived all the reft of his life after in Sicile, rejoycing for the great good he had done, and specially to see so many Cities and thousands of people happy by his means. But because it is an ordinary matter, and of necessity (as Simonides faith,) Simoniles saythat not onely all Larks have a tuft upon their heads, but also that in all Cities there be accusers, ing. where the people rule: there were two of those at Syracusa, that continually made Orations to the people, who did accuse Timoleon, the one called Laphystius, and the other Demanetus. So this Laphystiss appointing Timoleon a certain day to come and answer to his acculation before the people, thinking to convince him: the Citizens began to mutiny, and would not in any case fuffer the day of adjournment to take place. But Timoleon did pacific them, declaring unto them that he had taken all the extream pains and labour he had done, and had passed so many dangers, because every Citizen and inhabitant of Syracusa, might frankly use the liberty of their Laws. And another time Demanetus, in open affembly of the people, reproving many things Timoleon did when he was General: Timoleon answered never a word, but onely said unto the people, that he thanked the gods they had granted him the thing he had so requested of them in his prayers, which was, that he might once fee the Syracusians have full power and liberty to fay what they would. Now Timoleons Timoleon in all mens opinion, had done the noblest acts that ever GRECIAN Captain did in his time, great praise, and had alone deferved the fame and glory of all the noble exploits, which the Rhetoricians with all their eloquent Orations perswaded the GRECIANS unto, in the open affemblies, and common

Feats and Plays of GREECE, out of the which Fortune delivered him fafe and found before the trouble of the civil Wars, that followed foon after : and moreover he made a great proof of his valiancy nie of the tivit wars, that ioniowed monator and more than the property and knowledg in Wars, against the barbarous people and Tyranis, and had shewed himself also a just and knowledg in wars, against the balance proper and the Grecians. And furthermore, seeing and mercifull man unto all his friends, and generally to all the Grecians. he won the most part of all his Victories and Triumphs, without the shedding of any one rear of his men, or that any of them mourned by his means, and also rid all SICIDE of all the miseries and calamili, or that any or that time, in less than eight years space: he being now grown old, his sight first bemuce reigning at that the first state of the lock is altogether. This happed, not through any cause or graning a mere to ran min, morely and a color a anogeness. A manageness, nor mayors any came or occasion of fickness that came unto him, nor that Fortune had casually done-him this injury: but it was Timoleon in his

in my opinion, a difease inheritable to him by his Parents, which by time came to lay hold on him also. For the voice went, that many of his kin in like case had also lost their fight, which by little and little rot the voice went, the limit, or many Wars he had against Mamercus and Hippon, 28 he was in his Camp at MY LLES, there came a white foot in his eyes, that dimmed his fight formewhat: fo that every man perceived that he should lose his fight altogether. Notwithstanding that, he did not raise his fiege, but continued his enterprize, until he took both the Tyrants at last: and to foon as he returned to Syrac us A again, he did 'put himself out of his office of General, praying the Citizens to accept that he had already done, the rather because things were brought to fo good pass, as they themselves could defire. Now, that he patiently took this misfortune to be blind altogether, peradventure men may fomewhat marvell at it: but this much

The great ho- more is to be wondred at, that the SYRA CUSAN's after he was blind, did fo much honour him, and acthe great not more is to be womanted at, man the or a contract the state with this oft, and brought frangement the Syra- knowledg the good he had done them, that they went themselves to visit him oft, and brought frangement. cofin did Ti ers (that were travellers) to his house in the City, and also in the Countrey, to make them see their beers (mar were traveuers) to mis nome in the Cary, and ano in the Committee, to make them be-nefactor, rejoycing and thinking themselves happy, that he had chosen to end his life with them, and that for this cause he had delpised the glorious return that was prepared for him in Gradiers, for the moleon being

great and happy victories he had won in SICILE. But amongst many other things the STRACUSANS did, and ordained to bonour him with, this of all other me thinketh was the chiefett; that they made a uni, and ordanica to notice man wan, this of an other me unincent was the effected and tot against their own perpetual Law, so of as they should have Wars against forreign People, and not against their own Countrey men, that they should chuse a Corinthian for their General. It was a goodly thing alfo to fee how they did honour him in the affemblies of sheir Council. For if any trifling matter fell in question among them, they dispatched it of themselves: but if it were a thing that required great counfell and advice, they caused Timoleon to be sent for. So he was brought through the Market-place in his Litter, into the Theatre, where all the affembly of the people was, and carried in even so in his Litter as he fate; and then the people did all falure him with one voice, and he whem in like case. And af-

ter he had pauled a while, to hear the praifes and bleffings the whole affembly gave him, they did propound the matter doubtfull to him, and he delivered his opinion upon the fame: which being passed by the voices of the people, his fervants carried him back again in his Litter through the Theatre, and the Citizens did wait on him a little way with cries of joy, and clapping of hands: and that done, they did repair to dispatch common causes by themselves, as they did before. So his old age being thus entertained with fuch honour, and with the love and good will of every man, as of a common Father to them

all: in the end a fickness took him by the back, whereof he died. So the SYRACUSANS had a certain Timpleons Futime appointed them to prepare for his Funerals, and their neighbours also thereabours to come unto it. By reason whereof his Funeral was so much more honourably performed in all things, and specially for that the people, appointed the noblest young Gentlemen of the City to carry his Coffin upon their shoulders, richly surnished and see forth, whereon his body lay, and so did convey him through the place, where the Pallace and Castle of the Tyrant Dionysia had been, which then was razed to the

ground. There accompanied his body also many thousands of people, all crowned with garlands of Howers, and apparelled in their best apparell; so as it feemed it had been the procession of tone folem Feaft, and all their words were praifings and bleflings of the dead, with tears running down their cheeks, which was a good testimony of the entire good will and love they did bear him, and that they did not this as men that were glad to be discharged of the honour they did him, neither for that it was

fo ordained : but for the just forrow and grief they took for his death, and for very hearty good love they did bear him. And laftly, the Coffin being put upon the flack of wood where it should be burnt.

Demetriss one of the Heraulds that had the loudest voice, proclaimed the Decree that was ordained by the people, the effect whereof was this: The people of Syracusa hath ordained, that this prefer

body of Timoleon Corinthian, the Son of Timodemus, should be buried at the charges of the the System and Commonweal, unto the furn of two hundred Minas, and hath honoured his memory with Plays and for the memory of Timoleon. Gaunes of Mulick, with running of Horfes, and with other exercifes of the body, which shall be celebrated yearly on the day of his death for evermore: and this, because he did drive the Tyrants out of

SICILE, for that he overcame the barbarous people, and because he replenished many great Cities with inhabitants again, which the Wars had left defolate and uninhabited; and laftly, for that he had reftored the SICILIANS again to their liberty, and to live after their own Laws. And afterwards, his Tomb was built in the Market-place, about the which a certain time after, they builded certain Closfters and Galleries to exercife the youth in, with exercise of their bodies; and the place so walled in,

was called Timoleontium: and fo long as they did observe the Laws and civil policy he established a mongst them, they lived long time in great and continual prosperity.

The End of Timoleons Life.

THE COMPARISON OF PAULUS EMYLIUS with TIMOLEON.



Ith these two men were such as the Historiographers have described them to be: it is certain, that comparing one with the other, we shall find no great odds or difference between them. For first of all, the Wars they made, have been against The comparigreat and famous Enemies : the one against the MACEDONIANS, and the other fon of Timoleagainst the CARTHAGINIANS, and both their Victories very notable. For on and Paulus the one of them conquered the Realm of MACEDON, which he took from the Emplies for feventh King that reigned by fuccession from the Father to the Son, fince the time of the great Antigonus; and the other drave all the Tyrants out of Sicile, and

restored the whole Isle and Cities therein, unto their former liberty. Unless some will alledge perhaps that there was this difference between them, that Amylius fought against King Perfeus, when he had all his power whole and entire, and had fought with the ROMANS many times before, and had the better of them in all conflicts: where Timoleon fet upon Dionysius, when he was in greatest despair, and in manner-interly cast away. On the contrary fide, it may be objected for Timoleon, that he overcame many Tyrants, and a mighty great Army of the CARTHAGINIANS, with a very small number of men, and yet men of all forts : not as Amylius with a great Army of well trained and expert Souldiers in Wars, but with men gathered together at adventure of all forts, being mercenary hirelings, and men fighting for pay, loole people, and unruly in wars, that would do but what they lifted. For where the goodly deeds are like, and the means unequal; there we must confess that the praise is due unto the General. Both the one and the other kept their hands clean from corruption, in the charge which they took upon them. But it seemeth that "Amylius came so fashioned and prepared, by the good civil Law, and morall discipline of his Countrey: and that Timoleon came rawly thither, and afterwards fashioned himself to be that he was. And this is to be proved: for that all the ROMANS in that time were so civilly brought up, and exceeded all other in straight keeping the Laws of their Countrey. Where to the contrary, there was not one of the Captains of the GRECIANS that came then, or were fent into Sicile, but fell straight to corruption, when he had put his foot into Sici-LE, Dion onely excepted : and yet they had a certain suspition of him, that he aspired to the Kingdom, and imagined in his head to stablish a certain Empire at Syracusa, like unto that of Laceda-MON. Times the Historiographer writeth, that the SYRACUSANS fent Gilippus with shame back again into his Countrey, for his unfatiable greedy covetousness, and for his great thefts and bribes taken in his charge. Divers other have also written the great treasons and falshoods Pharax SPARTAN, and Calippus Athenian did commit, both of them feeking to make themselves Lords of Syracusa, and yet what men are they, and what means had they to have such a foolish vain hope and fancy in their heads? confidering that the one did follow and ferve Dionyfius, after he was driven out of SYRACUSA: and the other also was but a private Captain of a band of Footmen, of those that came with Dion. Timoleon in contrary manner was sent to be General of the SYRACUSANS, upon their great instance and fuir. And he having no need to feek or hunt after it, but onely to keep the power and authority they did willingly put into his hands: fo foon as he had destroyed and overthrown all such as would unjustly usurgshe Government, he did immediately of his own good will, frankly refign up his Office and charge. And sure, so is this a notable thing to be commended, and esteemed in Paulus Enylius: who having conquered to great and rich a Realm, he never encreated his goods the value of one arthing, neither did see nor handle any Money at all, although the was very liberal, and gave large. The wonder-ly unto others. I mean not in speaking this to upbraid or detect Timoleon, for that he accepted of Emplian a fair House the Syracus ans gave him in the City, and a goodly Mannor also in the Countrey: from bribes.

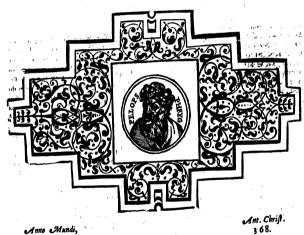
Timoleons Tomb built in the Market-

nera's

Not to take Gifts, commended for a

for in such cases there is no dishonesty in receiving, but yer it is greater honesty to resule then to take. But that vertue is most rare and singular, where we see they will receive nor take nothing, though they have juftly deferved it. And if it be fo, that the body is stronger and better compounded, which best abideth change of parching heat, and nipping cold : and that the mind is much more stronger and stable, that swelleth not up with pride of prosperity, nor droopeth for forrow in advertity. Then it applies that swelleth not up with pride of prosperity, nor droopeth for forrow in advertity. Then it applies vertue was so much more perfect, in that he shewed himself of no less grave Pampitur con- and constant a mind, in the patience he endured for his loss and forrow happened unto him, (losing at stancy far exceedeth Timo one time in manner both his Children) then he had done before, in all his Triumph and greatest Felicity. Where Timoleon to the contrary, having done a worthy act against his Brother, could with no reason suppress the grief and sorrow he felt : but overcome with bitter grief and repentance, continued the space of twenty years together, and never durst once onely shew his face again in the Marketplace, nor deal any more in matters of the Commonweal. Truly, for a man to beware to do evil, and to flun from evil, it is a very good and comely thing: fo also to be forry, and afraid of every reproach, and ill opinion of the world, it sheweth a simpleness of nature, and a good and well disposed mind, but no manly courage.

THE LIFE OF PELOPIDAS.



To be too bold and venturous is not good.



3580.

ATO the elder, answered certain on a time, that marvellously commended a bold, a venturous, and desperate man for the Wars: That there was great oddes, to efteem manhood fo much, and life so little. And furely it was wifely spoken of him. The report goeth, that King Antigonus gave pay to a Souldier among other, that was very hardy and venturous, but he had a naughty fickly body. The King asked him one day, What he ailed to be so pale and evil coloured? The Souldier told him, he had a secret Disease upon him, that he might not tell him with reverence. The King hearing him fay fo, commanded his Phyfitians and Surgeons to look to him, and if he were curable, that they should heal him with all possible speed: and so

they did. After the Souldier had his health again, he would venture no more fo desperately in the wars, as he did before. Infomuch as King Antigonus felf perceiving his flackness in drawing back, rebuked him, and faid unto him: That he wondred to fee so great a change and alteration in him. The Souldier never shrinking at the matter, told him the troth plainly: Your self, and it please your The answer of Majesty, is cause of my cowardlines now, by healing of my Disease, that made my life loathlome to me. Much like were a Sybaritans words, touching the life and manner of the Laci-DEMONIANS: That it was no marvell they had fuch a defire to die in the Wars, Divers opini- feeing they did it to tid themselves of their troubles, and most milerable and straight ons of life and life. But we must not wonder though the SYBARITANS, being womanish men, altogether given death. to pleasure, did so think: that those men hared their lives, who seared not death, for the defire they

had to do good, and good will they had to do their duty. Which was contrary in the LACEDEMO-NIANS: for they were of opinion, that to live and die willingly, was a vertue: as thele funeral Verfes do witness:

> The dead which here do rest, did not in life esteem; . That life or death were (of themselves) or good or badto deem, But even as life did end, or death wai brought to paf, Sa life or death, was good or bad; this their opinion was.

And indeed to fly death is no thame, fo it proceed not of a cowardly heart; neither to delire death And inacces to my season and contempt of life. This is the reason why Homer saith, the vais commencative, it is to with that and containing to harde. The Law-makers among the GRECIANS, cities do punish do ever punish him that casts away his Target, but never him that casteth away his Sword or Lance, him that cast-For every man must first think to desend himself, before he seek to hurt his Enemy, and specially such eth away his as have the whole state of a Realm in their hands, and be Generals of the stell, For if the compari. Target. fon be true, that Iphichates the ATHENIAN Captain made, that in an Army of men, the Light-hotel-partition of a men refemble the hands, the men of Arms the feet, the battle of footmen the stomach and breast, the Army of men, Captain, the head of a mans body: it feemeth then that the venturous Captain putting himself in danger without cause, is not onely careles of his own life, but also of all theirs whose lives depend upon his safety. And contrarily, he being carefull of his own person, cannot but be carefull of his Souldiers that ferve under him. Therefore Califoratidal a LACEDAMONIAN Captain, and a worthy man o. A Lieutenant therwise, did unwisely answer a Soothsquer that bad him take heed to himself; for the figure and tokens of an Army must be careof the Sacrifices did threaten his death. SPARTA, faid be, standeth not upon one man alone. It is true, full to save that to fight by Sea or by Land, man for man, Callier atidas was but one man of himself; but as himself.

Captain or Lieurenant General; the had the whole power and force of the Army in his person: For he was not a man alone, when so many mens lives were lost with him. Now old Antigonus was of a contrary mind: for he being ready to give battle by Sea, about the Isle of ANDROS, made a better answer to one that faid unto him; his Enemies had more Ships than himself. For how many Ships then doft thou reckon my felf, faid he? Therein he did wifely to make great account of the worthiness of a General, specially when it is joined with hardiness and experience: For the chiefest point of service, is to fave him that faveth all other. For when Chares on a time shewed the ATHENIANS openly. the fundry wounds and curs he had received upon his body, and this Target also thrust through with the tunaty wounds and this is that the history of the standard of the mind. For whea I did be- Timesbess fayfiege the City of Samos, I was affiained to fee a Dart thrown from the Walls, light hard by me, ing for that I shewed my selfa rash young man, and more venturous than became a General of so great an Army. For when it standeth much upon the whole Army, and that it is necessary the General thereof do put himself in danger: then he should put himself forward, and occupy both hands and body without respect, not regarding their words that say, A good and wife Captain should die for age, or at the leaft, old. But where there is a small honour to be won by very good success, and contrariwise much loss and destruction by great missortune : no man of wildom or judgment would wish a General to fight as a private Souldier, to hazard the lofs of a General. I thought good therefore to make this Preface before the Lives of Pelopida and of Marcellus, both which were worthy men, and died otherwise than they should. For they were both valiant Souldiers in the Field, and did both of them honour their Countrey with famous Victories, and specially against great and dreadfull Encmies. For the one was the first (as they say) that overthrew Hannibal, who was never overcome by any before. And the other alfo overcame the LACEDEMONIANS in battle, that ruled all GREECE Pelopids and at that time both by Sea and by Land. Yet they both carelelly loft their lives, by venturing too bold-Marcelus loft ly, when their Countrey stood in greatest need of such men and Captains as they were. This is the both their lives ly, when then Countrey thood in greatest need of such men and captains as they were. I mis is the by too much caule why we following the refemblance that was between them, have compared their Lives together, venturing. Pelopidus; the Son of Hippocliss, came of the noblest houses of the City of THEBES, as Epa- Pelopidus flock minondas did. He being brought up in great wealth, his Father left him Heir of all his Lands and and liberality. Goods, being but a young man. So he straight shewed himself willing to do good, with his Money, to those that needed help, and were worthy : to let the world see, that his Money was not his Master. For as Arifforle faith of these rich men, the most part of them do not use their Goods for extream co- Arifforles fav. vetousnels: other again do abuse them, as being given to overmuch pleasures. So rich men become ing of rich men flaves all their lifetime, fome to pleasure, other to profit. Now, all Pelopidas other friends would be beholding to him, and take very thankfully his courtefie and liberality towards them: but Epaminondas could never be brought to take any thing at his hands. Howbeir Pelopidas, self followed Epaminondas manner: for he took a pride and pleasure to go simply apparelled, to sare meanly, to labour willingly, and to make Wars openly as he did. He was even fuch another, as Euripides the Poet described Capaneus to be, when he said of him;

He rich and mealthy was, yes was he therewithall No wight that purchas'd worldly hate, nor infolent at all.

For he would have been ashamed, that the poorest man of the City of THERES, should have worn meaner apparel upon his back than himself. As for Epaminondas, his poverty was not dainty to him, because his Parents were ever poor, and yet for all that he passed it over more easily by study of Philosophy, which he gave himself unto, and for that from his youth he liked to lead a

the Nobility, ney fought secretly by treason to have them killed. To do this fear, they lent

tain of the Laccdamonians. Ifmeni se death. Peloridas. Pherenicus, and Androclidas banished

the Lacedame.

fpare life without excess. Where Pelopidus matched in a noble house, and married highly, and had two Children by his Wife: nevertheless he had no mind to keep or encrease his Goods the more for that, but gave himfelf altogether to ferve the Commonweal as long as he lived. By reason whereor his wealth decayed, and his best friends grew angry with him, telling him that be did not well to make no more reckoning of a thing that was so necessary, as to have Goods. And he answered them: Indeed they are necessary I do confess, but yet for such a one as this poor, lame and blind man that stand-Pelopidus fayeth by. They both were alike born to all verme, faving that Pelopidus took most pleasure in exing for the neeth by. They both were alike born to all verme, faving that Pelopidus took most pleasure in exeth by. They both were alike born to all verme, faving that Pelopidus took most pleasure in exeth by. They both were alike born to all verme, faving that Pelopidus took most pleasure in the
exercise of his wit and learning. So as the
ethics of the pelopidus took most pleasure in the exercise of his wit and learning. So as the pastime each of them took when they were at leisure was, that the one delighted to wrastle and to hunt, and liked any kind of exercife of his body; and the other to hear, to study, and always to The perfect friendship betwite Pelpidar
find Esamison and that moft wan them honour and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and that moft wan them honour and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and that moft wan them honour and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and that moft wan them honour and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and that moft wan them honour and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and that moft wan them honour and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and that moft wan them honour and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and that moft wan them honour and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and that moft wan them honour and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and that moft wan them honour and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and that moft wan them honour and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and that moft wan them honour and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and that moft wan them honour and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and that moft wan them honour and estimation in the world, they were onely commended to the world of the tween them untill their deaths: having been joined together in fo many Battles, Wars, charges of Armies, and otherwife in matters of State and Government. For if a man will confider, and look into the doings of Arift des, Themistocles, and Cimon, of Pericles, Nicia, and Alcibiades, how full of diffentions, envies and fuspitions they were one against another, in governing the Commonweal: and again will confider the love, honour and kindness, that continued always betwixt Pelopidas and Epaminondas: no doubt they will say these two are more worthy to be called Brethren in War (as they fay) and companions in government, than any of them we have named before, whose care and study was always rather to overcome one another, than to overcome their Enemies; and the onely cause thereof was their Vertue. For their acts shewed they did not feek glory, nor riches for themselves (the coverousnels whereof doth always breed quarrels The true cause and envy) but both of them from the beginning fell one in love with another, with a great kindnels and estimation of themselves, to see their Countrey flourish, and grow to great honour through their fervice, and in their time: and fo they reckoned all the good exploits both of the one and the other, that tended to that end, as their own. The most part of Writers think, this great and earnest love the one did bear to another, did grow first between them in a journey they made together unto MANTINEA, to aid the LACEDEMONIANS, that were at that time Confederates of the THEBANS. For they being both fet in battle ray, one hard by another among the Footmen, against the ARCADIANS that frood before them : it fortuned that the point of the battle of the LACEDEMONIANS in the which they were, gave back, and many of them ran away. But they determining to die rather than to fly, ffood close together, and fought with the Enemies that came upon them, untill fuch time as Pelopidas being hurt in feven places before, fell down at the laft upon a heap of dead bodies, as well of their own Souldiers as of their Enemies, even one upon another. Then Epaminondas thinking he had been flain, stept notwithstanding before him to defend his body and armour, and he alone fought against many, being willing to die rather than to forsake Pelapidas lying amongst the dead bodies: untill himself being thrust into the breast with a Pike, and fore cut on his arm with a Sword, was even ready to give over, when Agefipolis (King of the LACEDEMONIANS) came with the other point of the battle in happy hour, who faved both their lives past all hope. Now after this Battle, the LACED'EMONIANS both in words and deeds did courteoully intreat the THEBANS as their friends and confederates. Notwithstanding in truth they began to sear the power and great courage of that City, and specially the faction and affociates I menias and Androclidas had fet up, whereof Pelopidas also was a companion: because they thought it was popular, and inclined much to defire liberty. Whereupon Archias, Leontidas, and Philip, all three great wealthy men of the City of THEBES, and milliking to be equall with other Citizens, did periwade Phebidas, a Captain of the LACEDEMONIANS, that going and coming through the Countrey of BOEOTIA with an Army, he would one day affay to take the Caftle of THEBES called CAD-Calle of The MEA, and driving those out of the City that would resist him, he would put the government of the State into the hands of a few of the Nobleft persons, who would be at the devotion of the La-CEDEMONIANS, and obey them in all things. Phabidas brought it to pais, and did work his feat before the THEBANS miltrufted any thing, upon a holy day called THESMOPORIA. After he had won the Caftle, he apprehended Ifmenias, and fent him to LACEDAMON, where shortly after they put him to death, Pelopidas, Pherenicus, and Androclidas, with many others faved themfelves by flying, and were banished THEBES by found of Trumpet. Epaminondas tarried still in THEBES, and no man touched him, for they made finall account of him, because he was altogether given to his book: and though his good will had ferved him to have done fome feat, his poverty made him unable to do anything. The LACEDEMONIANS understanding of the taking of the from Thebes. Castle, did straight put Phebidas out of his charge, and ser a fine of a hundred thousand Drachmes upon his head: but yet they kept still the Castle of CADMEA in their hands with a great Garrison. All the other Cities and People of GREECE did wonder much at it, that they should allow the fact, and punish notwithfunding the doer. So the Thebans having loft their ancient liberty, and being made subject by both these, Archia and Leoniidas, so as all hope was taken from them Lesstidas, Go- ever to wind out of this tyranny, or at any time to overthrow it, feeing it was maintained and defended by the LACEDEMONIANS, and that they could not possibly take from them all the feigniory and dominion they had throughout GREECE, as well by Sea as by Land: Leonisdas and his followers notwithstanding, when they understood that they who were banished from THEBES,

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certain men unknown to ATHENS, who by treason flew Androclidat, howben they milled the killing of the other. Furthermore the LACEDEMONIANS WIGHTE to the ATHENTANS, that Androclidas they should not receive such as were banished from THEBES, nor that they should seven them. but drive them out of their City, as those which by their Allies were justly proclaimed common enemies. The ATHENIANS, notwithstanding, being men always trivity given, and inclined in nature to humanity, as being born, and bred up withall, and very defirous besides to requite the THEBANS courtefie, who had been the chiefest means and doers in restoring again the The thankfull. popular state and government at ATHENS: they would by no means offer the Thebans nets of the Attention unany such injury, seeing they had stablished a Law and Decree, that if any ATHENTAN passing to the Technis. too and fro through the Countrey of BOEOTTA, did bear armor against the thirty Tyrams, that were Governors and oppressors of the Liberry of ATHENS, there should no Boeb TIAN feem to fee, or know any thing thereof. In the mean time Pelopidas, though he were of the younger fort, did procure still every one that was banished, to seek the liberty of his Country, and open- Petapidas ly made an Oration to them all, declaring that it were not onely a cowardly part, that all of a wick liberty of the ked offence to the gods, if they would fuffer their Country to remain fo in continual bon-Thebana. dage, and strangers to inhabit it with a Garrison, to make them subject to the yoke: and they in the mean time to be contented to fave themselves, to live delitately and idly at ATHEMS, to fludy to do what shall please the ATHENIANS to command them, and to be assault of the Orators, and those which through eloquence can perswade the common people to do what they Therefore he perswaded them that they should hazard all, being a matter of so great weight, and take example of Thrafybulus noble courage and hardiness; who departing from THERES, did drive out the Tyrants that oppressed ATHENS: and even so, we departing from ATHENS, should feek to deliver There's alsolisom bondage. When he had by these perswateons drawn them to his opinion, they fecretly lint unto their friends that remained Rill in THE-BES, to let them understand their mind and determination : who all liked very well of their purpole. Infomuch as Charon that was the chiefest man among them, promited to lend them his house to affemble in. Philidas also found means to be Secretary to Philip and Archids. who were Governours and Captains of the City at that tittle for the LACEDENO WIANS. Examinondas on the other fide making no snew of any thing, had of long time practifed to flirth the courage of the young men of THEBES. For when they were at any Games or exercises of body, he would ever procure them to wreftle with the LACEDEMONIANS. And after he faw them rejoice when they had cast them, and that they were the firringer: he would chide them, and tell them they might be ashamed, for lack of courage to suffer the LACEDEMONIANS to hold their notes to the grindstone, that were nothing like to them in strength. Now, the confe- Conspiracy aderates appointed a day certain to break the ice of their pretended enterprize, and agreed that gainft the La-Pherenicus, with other that were banished, should tarry at the Village of THRIASTUM, and for the Liberty that they should fend the valiantest and lustiest young men before, to give the venture to enter the of Thebes, City: adding this therewithall, that if the Enemies fortuned to furprize them, all the other of the confpiracy jointly together, should be ready to give order, that their Fathers, Mothers and Children should lack nothing necessary for them. Pelopidas was the first man that offered himself to undertake the enterprize : and after him Melon, Damoelidas and Theopompus, all three, men of the greatest houses of THEBES, who laved marvellously together, and for no respect would ever of-

fend one another, although from the beginning there was ever entitlation among them for honour

their coming, and they themselves went on their journey, casting little short cloaks upon them, and

taking Hounds with them, and Hunters staves in their hands, because their enterprize should not

be mistrusted by those that met them on the way, and that they should think them Hunters up

and down the fields for their pleasure. So, when the messengers they sent, came to the Ciry,

and had told Charon that they were coming, he never shrank from his word, though the danger

towards was great, but like a front and honest man did abide by his promise made, and told

him they should be most heartily welcome to his house. But another man casted Hipposthenidas,

very honest otherwise, and one that loved his Countrey and the preservation thereof, and a good

friend of those also that were banished : fainting straight upon the sudden report of these news,

his maind was troubled, and his heart failed him so, as his nose fell a bleeding, to think upon

the greatness of the instant danger he was like to fall into, having never cast before with him-

self, how by this enterprize they should put all the Empire of the LACEDEMONIANS in hazard

of utter destruction, and lay a Plot besides to overthrow all their Communical and State: by lay-

ing all their hope upon a few banished men, hardly able to wade through with their enterprize. Whereupon to foon as he was come home, he secretly dispatched a Messenger, one of his fa-

miliar friends, unto Melon and Pelopidar, to will them they thould defer their enterprize for bet-

ter opportunity, and so to return back again to ATHENS. Chliden was the man he sent of

this meffage, who prefently went home to his house; and taking his Horse out of the stable, bad

his Wife fetch him the Bridle quickly. The Bridle being not readily to be found, the told him, the

had lent it out to one of their neighbours. Then they fell a chiding rogether about it, and at length

and glory, by firiving who should exceed other in vertue and validationels. Now they were twelve Charon kept of them, who taking leave of the reft, sent a Foot-post before to Charon, to advertise him of danger of life. PELOPIDAS.

apparell.

Philidas Secretary to the Tyrants.

brake out to foul words, and lastly his Wife fell a curfing of him, and prayed the gods he might have ill luck in his journey, and those that fent him. Chliden having from the most part of the day chiding and brawling with his Wife about the Bridle, and furthermore milliking the tokens of his Wives curfing and banning of him: he determined not to go afoot out of the doors on that errand, and to went about fome other business. Thus had this noble enterprize in manner been altogether dashed before it was fully begun. Now those that were in Pelopidas company, changed apparell with the countrey men, because they would not be known, and did divide meth unto
Theber difgui- themselves for that they would not come into the City all together, but at divers gates, being recer august the first time it was a marvellous wind and great frow, and the weather was fo boifterous, that every man got him within doors: which fell out happily for the Conspirators, that they were not known when they came into the City. So their Friends and Confederates within the City, received them as they came, and brought them to Charons house; where were assembled togegether, with those that were banished, eight and forty persons onely. Now for the Tyrants, thus flood the matter with them. Philidas their Secretary was of the confpiracy, as we have told you before, and he knew all the Practife. Wherefore he had long before foleranly bidden Archias and his company, to supper to his house, that very night, to be merry together, and had promised to entertain them with Women to accompany them withall: of purpose, that when they had in their full cups, and were in the midft of all their pleasure, the Conspirators might then use them as they would. So they being fet at table, before they were fped of their cups, one came to them, and told them truly of the Treason (not the particularities, neither as a thing certain, but of a rumour onely that ran abroad in the Town:) that the banished men were hidden in Charons house. Philidas would have passed the matter over. Howbeit Archias would needs send one of his Guard straight Pelopidas dan- for Charon, to command him: to come to him prefently. It was within night, and Pelopidas and his company prepared themselves to work their feat, being armed every man, and their Swords in their hands, when upon a studen they heard one knock at the gate. And one of the house running straight to the gate, came back again afraid, to tell them that it was one of Archias Guard that came for Charon, to come immediately to the Governours. Then were they in doubt that that came for Charon, to come innucuately to the Governours. After were they in doubt that their practife was difcovered, and that they were all caft away, before they could make any proof of their valiantness: norwithfranding, they were all of opinion, that Charon flouid obey the melage, and that he flouid prefent, himself before the Governours, to take away all suspicion from them. Charen of himfelf was a flout man, very constant and resolute in danger for his own perfon : yet it grieved him much at that time, for fear the Confederates should suspect him he had bewrayed them, if fo many honest Citizens whom he had lent his house unto, should unfortunately milearry. Therefore before he went out of his house, he went into his Wives chamber, to steh his Son, that was a goodly boy, but strong as any boy of his age could be: so he brought him to Pelopidas, and prayed him, if he understood he had betrayed them any way, or otherwise had fought their hurt, they should then use his Son as an enemy, without any compassion towards him. When the Confederates faw the good zeal and true noble mind of Charon, they all fell a weeping, and were angry with him, that he should think any of them so faint hearted or timerous, for any danger could come to them, that they should suspect or accuse him for any thing; and therewithall they prayed him, not to leave the Boy with them, but rather to convey him into some place out of the Tyranis danger, where he might be brought up, that one day he might be revenged of the wrong and injury they had done to them, and to their Countrey. Charon answered them, he would not take him away, and that he faw no life nor health more happy for him, then to die with his Father without infamy, and with so many honest men his friends. So after he had belought the gods to prosper them, and had encouraged and embraced every one of the Consederators one after another: he went to the Gogernours, and studied by the way so to frame his words and countenance, as though he should feem to think of any thing elfe, than of that he purposed to do. When he came to Philidas door that made the Feaft, Archias and Philidas himself came unto him, and asked him, Charon, What are they (faid they) that are come into the City, and hidden in some house, with certain Citizens, that do accompany them? Charon was somewhat abashed at the first, and asked them again: What men be they? Who are they that hide them in the City? But when he perceived that Archias could tell nothing of certainty, then he thought straight that fome man had informed them that was not privy to the practife, but had heard something of it. Thereupon he willed them to take heed it was no false alarm, to make them afraid: nevertheles (faid he) I will enquire further of it; for at all adventure it is good to be circumfeed in fuch a cale to be fure. Philidas answered him, he said truly : and so he brought Archias back again into the Hall, where he made him drink deeper than before, still entertaining the company with hope of the Womens coming. Charon returning home again, found all the Confederates ready to attempt their enterprize, not as men that reckoned of their lives, nor that had hope to prevail: but as those that were determined to die valiantly, and to fell their lives dearly. Now he touly told unto Pelapidas onely, what was faid unto him : and the reft, he told that Archias had fent for him to fpeak Archiss Bishop with him of other matters. The florm of the former danger was scant blown over, but Forume of Albert, be- fent them another: for immediately upon talk had with Charon at the first, came a Messenger from ATHENS, that brought a Letter to the same Archias, written by the Bishop of ATHENS at that time, called Archias, also as himself, and was his old host and friend: wherein he wrote not of fimple conjecture, nor furmifed fulpition, but the plain confpiracy in every degree, as after-

Archise in 2 Letter.

wards it fell out. So the Messenger was brought to Archias that was drunk, and delivering him the Letter, he faid unto him : Sir, he that fendeth you this Letter, ftraightly charged me to tell you, that you should presently read the contents thereof, because it is a matter of great importance. that you mount precently read to Weighty matters to morrow. So he took the Letter and put it Weighty maters to morrow. up, and then fell again to his tale he had begun with Philidas. But ever after, the GRECIANS, Weighty matmade this a common Proverb among them, Weighty matters to morrow. Now when the Con-Proverb spirators spied their time to go about their business, they divided themselves in two companies: Pelopidas and Damoclidas went with one company, to fet upon Leontidas and Hypates, because Pelopidas killthey dwelt near together : Charon and Melon with the reft went against Archias and Philip, be- eth the Tyrant ing difguised in Womens apparell they had put upon their privy coates, and wearing garlands of Pine apple and Fir-trees on their heads, they covered all their faces. So when they came to shew themselves at the Hall door where the banket was made, they that were in the Hall at the first fight, thinking they had been the Women they looked for, began to shout and make great noise for joy. But when the Conspirators cast their eyes round about the Hall to know those that were at the Table, they drew out their Swords, and fet upon Archias and Philip overthwart the Table: then they shewed themselves what they were. Then Philidas bad his guests he had bidden to the banket with them, that they should not stir, for they should have no hurt : fo some of them sate still. but the greatest number of them would needs from the board, to desend their Governours, Howbeit because they were drunk that they knew not what they did, they were soon slain with them. Now Pelopidas enterprize was not fo easie : For they went against Leontidas, that was a fober discreet man, and withall hardy of his hands: and they found he was gone to bed, his doors were shut up, and they knocked long before any man came to the door. At the length one of his men that heard them rap so hard, with much ado came to open the door : but he had no sooner thrust back the bolt of the door, and began to open it, but they pushed it from them with such a force upon him altogether, that they laid him on the ground, and went straight to his Masters Chamber. Leontidas hearing the noise of them that ran up to him in such haste, presently mistrufed the matter: and leaping out of his bed, took his Sword in his hand, but did forget to put out the Lamps that burned in his chamber all night; for if they had been out, they might eafily have hurt one another in the dark. But the Lamps giving clear light in the Chamber, he went to the Chamber door, and gave Cephisodorus the first man that pressed to enterupon him, such a blow with his Sword, that he dropped down dead at his feet. Having flain the first man, he dealt with the fecond that came after him, and that was Pelopidas. The fight went hard between them two. both for that the Chamber door was very straight, as also for that Cephisodorus body lying on the ground, did choak the coming in at the Chamber. Notwithstanding, Pelopidas overcame him in the end, and flew him: and went from thence with his Company straight to Hypates house, where they got in, as they did unto Leontidas house before. But Hypates knew presently what in was, and thought to fave himself in his neighbours houses. Howbeit the Conspirators followed him fo hard, that they cut him off before he could recover their houses. Then they gathered together, and joyned with Melons company, and fent immediately with all possible speed to A-THENS, to the banished THEBANS there, and cryed through the City, Liberty, liberty, arming The Liberty of those Citizens that came to them with the armour and spoils of their Enemies, that were hanged the Thebane up in common vaults, and Armourers shops about Charons house, which they brake open, or cau-restored, fed to be opened by force. On the other fide, Epaminondas and Gorgidas, came to joyn with them, with a company of young men and honest old men well appointed, whom they had gathered together. Hereupon the whole City was straight in an uproar and tumult, and every house was full of lights, one running to another to know what the matter was. Nevertheless the people did not yet affemble together, but every one being amazed, musing at this stir, not understanding the troth, stayed till day came on, that they might call a Council. But truly herein methinks the Captains of the Garrison of the LACEDEMONIANS were greatly in fault, that they did not ftir betimes, and fet upon them incontinently: confidering there was fifteen hundred Souldiers, besides a great number of Citizens that would have come, one after another to take their parts. But the great noise they heard made them afraid, and to feelights in every mans house, and the people running up and down the streets in great multitudes too and fro: whereupon they stirred not, but onely kept them within the Castle of CADMEA. The next morning by break of day, came the other banished THEBANS from ATHENS, very well armed, and all the people of THEBES drew together in Counsell. Thither did Epaminondas and Gorgidas bring Pelopidas and his conforts, and prefented them before the people, compassed about with Priests and the professed of the City, offering them Crowns to put upon their heads, and they prayed the assembly of the Citizens, that they would help their gods and their Countrey. All the people that were prefent when they faw them, arole up and stood on their feet, and with great shouts and clapping of hands received them, as their faviours, that had delivered their Countrey from bondage, and restored them again to Liberty: and thereupon before them all, even in the Market-place, by the whole voice and confent of the people, they chose Pelopidas, Melon and Charon, Governours and Captains of BOEOTIA. Pelopidas then immediately made them beliege the Castle of CADMEA about, with Pelopidas retrenches and force of Wood, doing all he could possible to win it, and to expulse the Laced. MONIANS, before any supply or aid came to them from SPARTA. So he did, and prevented by compositiit so suddenly, that the Garison being departed out of the Castle by composition, as they returned on.

towards

DIES, where Phebydas himself (that had before taken the Castle of CADMEA) was slain a-

in any pitched Field, nor fer Battell, where they had their whole Army together : but they were light

Rodes, and Skirmishes properly laid of purpose, where sometime flying, sometime driving them again,

they bickered very oft, and put them to the worst. But the Battell of TEGYRA, which was but a

ceived two Enligns of Footmen of theirs to keep it. Pelopidas being advertised one day, that the

Garison of ORCHOMENE was gone abroad to make a rode into the Countrey of the LOCRIDES,

hoping he should find ORCHOMENE without Garison, he marched thither with his holy Band,

and certain number of Horsemen. But when he drew near the City, he had intelligence there was

another Garison coming from Sparta to supply the place of the Garison that was abroad: where-

upon he returned back again by the City of TEGYRA, for he could have passed no other way, but

to have turned down by the foot of the Mountain. For all the Valley that lay between both,

was drowned with overflowing of the River of Melas, which even from his very head carrieth

it hath. Not far from these Marishes standeth the Temple of Apollo TECIRIAN, where was an

Oracle in old time, but left off arthis day, and had never long continuance, but onely untill the time

of the Wars of the MEDES, when Echecrates was Master and chief Priest there. And some hold

opinion, that Apollo was born there: for they call the next Mountain to it DELOS, at the foot

whereof the Marishes of the River of MELAS do end, and behind the Temple are two goodly

Springs, from whence cometh great abundance of good sweet water : whereof the one of them is

called to this day the Palm, and the other the Olive. And some fay also, that the goddess Latona

translated to immortall gods, as are Hercules and Bacchus, that turough the excellency of their vertue, did put off Mortality, and took immortality upon them : but we rather takehim for one of those that never had beginning nor generation, at the least if those things be to be credited.

which so many grave and ancient Writers have left in Writing to us, touching so great and holy things.

The THEBANS returning back from ORCHOMENE, and the LACEDEMONIANS on the other fide returning also from LOCRIDE both at one time, they fortuned both Armies to meet

about the City of TEGYRA. Now to foon as the THEBANS had discovered the LACEDE-

MONIANS passing the straight, one of them ran suddenly to Pelopidas, and told him: Sir, we are

fallen into the hands of the LACEDEMONIANS. Nay, are not they rather fallen into ours, an-

fwered Pelopidas again? With these words he commanded his Horsemen that were in the Rereward,

to come before, and fet upon them: and himself in the mean time put his Footmen immediately

into a pretty Squadron close together, being in all not above three hundred men, hoping when he

should come to give charge with his Battell, he should make a lane through the Enemies, though they

were the greater number. For the LACED.EMONIANS divided themselves in two Companies,

and every Company, as Ephorus writeth, had five hundred men : and as Callistenes said, seven hun-

dred. Polybius and divers other Authours fay, they were nine hundred men. So Theopompus and

Gorgoleon, the Captain of the LACEDEMONIANS, luftily marched against the THEBANS:

and it fell out so, that the first Charge was given, where the Chiestains or Generals were of either

they faw Pelopidas meant not to take the passage they offered him, and that he came on still with

his men to fet upon those that were yet in Battell ray, and slew all them that stood before him : then

they turned tail, and took them to their legs. Howbeit the Thebans did not chase them far,

fearing the ORCHOMENIANS who were not far from them, and the new Garison besides, that

were come from LACEDEMON not long before. And this was the cause they were content that

they had overcome them by force, and had passed through their Army in despight of them, and

broken and overthrown them. So when he had fet up marks of Triumph, and spoiled their slain

Enemies, they returned home again, glad men for their obtained Victory. For in all the Wars the LACEDEMONIANS ever made, as well with the GRECIANS as with the barbarous Peo-

ple also, there was never Chronicle mentioned at any time, that their Enemies being so few, did

overcome them that were fo many, nor that they were overcome also by any number equall in

Battell. Wereupon they grew so couragious and terrible, that no man durst once abide them:

nians.

PELOPIDAS.

towards LACEDEMONIA, they found Cleombrotus King of SPARTA in the Countrey of ME-GARA, coming towards them with a great Army to help them. Afterwards, of the three Captains which had charge of their Garrison that lay at THEBES, the SPARTANS condemned two of them to death: Hermippidus and Arciffus were prefently executed : and the third Captain Dyfacridas, they fet fo grievous a Fine on his head, that he went out of PELOPO NMESUS. This enterprize being attempted, and executed with the like valiantness, and the same danger and trouble, that Tirasibulus practife was, when he delivered ATHENS from the slavery of the thirty Governours and Tyrants; and having the like fortune and happy end, the GRECIANS termed it Coufin-german to Thrafibulus act. And indeed it were a hard matter to find two other fuch, befides them two, that with fo few men overcame their Enemies, being many mo in number than themselves, or that with so small help did overcome those that were of so great force, or that performed their enterprize with their onely valiance and wildom, and were cause besides of so great blefling and benefit to their Countrey, as Pelopidas and Thrasibulus attempt was. But the great change and alteration of the State afterwards, did make their acts far more noble and famous. For the War that overthrew the majefty of SPARTA, and that took away all the Seigniory and rule of the LACEDEMONIANS both by Sea and by Land, began the very fame night, when Pelopidas himself making the twelfth person, and entring into a private house, tarecopidas overthrew the king neither City nor Castle, nor strong hold (to tell truly by figurative speech) did break and cut in funder, the links and chains that linked straight together, and strengthened the LACED. Seigniory of the Lacedamo-MONIANS whole Empire and Monarchy over all GREECE: who untill that present time were thought fo strong, as no possibility could break or funder them. Now the LACEDE-MONIANS fortuning atterwards to invade the Countrey of BOEOTIA with a mighty Army, the ATHENIANS trembling for fear of their great power, did utterly leave to protect them, and renounced the League and alliance they had made before with them. And moreover they did straightly profecute Law against those, that were accused to take part with the BOEOTIANS: whereof fome of them were put to death, other were banished from ATHENS, and the rest condemned in great sums of Money. To be short, every man faid the THEBANS were but undone, confidering they had no help, and were beloved besides of none. At that present time it sell out Pelopidas and Gorgidas were Generals over all BOROTIA for that year, who deviling to throw Pelopilis poli. a bone betwirt the ATHENIANS and the LACEDEMONIANS again, to make them fquare, they Prioritis politured this policy. There was a Captain of the LACED & MONIANS called Sphodriae, a valiant man, cy to make the cy to make the distribution of the state of small capacity, and vainly given, having a certain fond ambition and humour, perdibentantall but else of small capacity, and vainly given, having a certain fond ambition and humour perdibentantal but else of small capacity, and vainly given, having a certain fond ambition and humour, perdibentantal but else of small capacity, and vainly given, having a certain fond ambition and humour, perdibentantal but else of small capacity, and vainly given, having a certain fond ambition and multiply and the state of t that had a mind to revolt from the THEBANS. Pelopidas of himself fent a Merchant (a very friend of his) unto Sphodrias with a great fum of Money from him, and certain perswa-fions withall, which prevailed more than the Money, wishing him to attempt some greater matter, and to feek to win the haven of PIREA; a thing foon won, if he came to affault it on the fudden; and the rather, for that the ATHENIANS miffrust nothing, neither keep watch nor ward there. Moreover that he might affure himself, nothing could be better welcome to the Lords of LACED. EMONIA, then to make them Lords of the City of ATHENS also. And again, that the THEBANS being at deadly feud with the ATHENIANS, for that they had betrayed and forfaken them in their need, would not aid nor fuccour them in any respect. Sphodrias giving too light ear to this vain perswasion, took the Souldiers he had with him, and marching away by night entred the Realm of ATTICA, and went on to the City of ELEUSIN: but when he came this ther, his Souldiers were afraid, and would go no further. So his purpose being discovered, he was forced to return back to Thespies, having raifed fuch a War to the LACEDEMONIANS, as fell out to be of no small importance to them, nor easie to be pacified. For after that time, the A-THENIANS fought League and amity again with the THEBANS, and did aid them very lovingly: and moreover, putting themselves to Sea, they failed up and down, procuring and drawing to their League all fuch as were willing to rebell against the LACEDEMONIANS; and the THE-EANS befides, had many pretty skirmishes with the LACEDÆMONIANS in the mean time, in their own Countrey of BOEOTIA. It istrue they came to no great Battles, but yet it was such a great learning and continual training of them in martial discipline, as the THEBANS still encreased in courage and valianmels, and waxed stronger and better Souldiers, for by those skirmishs they grew not onely expert Souldiers, but waxed more skilfull in using their weapons, than before As we read, that Antalcidas a SPART AN faid one day to King Agefilans, coming home fore hurt sying to King from Boeotia: Surely the Thebans have given you a worthy reward, for teaching them to be Souldiers against their wills. But to say truly, Agesilaus was not their Master to teach them to make Wars, but they were the good and wife Leaders of the THEBANS, who like good Woodmen

in chufing their Game, could kilfully chufe both time and place to give their Enemies Battle, and

make them retire again with fafety, after they had been fleshed, giving them a little taste of the fruits

and commodity of Victory: but among them, Pelopidas was he that deferved most honour. For fince the first time they gave him charge of men of War, they never failed, but chose him conti-

sually every year, either Captain of the holy Band, or Governour of BOEOTIA to long as he

lived : fo that Pelopidas onely did the most things in this War. The LACEDAMONIANS were overthrown in fundry journies, that they were diffressed by the Cities of PLATEES and of THES-

The Thebans exercife in arms.

mong other. Another great Power of theirs also was overthrown near to the City of Tana- The Victory GRA, where Panthoidas Governour of the fame, was also slain. Now all these Victories, though of the Theorem they much encouraged the hearts of the Conquerours, and made them hardy: yet did they not thereby against the altogether conquer the minds of the vanquished. For the LACEDÆMONIANS were not overcome Luccla monians

flourish and proof to the Journey of Leuctres, wan Pelopidas great honour : for he had no Pelopidas companion to challenge any part of his Glory and Victory, neither did he leave his Enemies any lawfull excufe, to shadow or cover their overthrow. For he spied all occasion he might possible, how at the Esteel of to take the City of ORCHOMENE, that took part with the LACEDEMONIANS, and had re- Togyta.

ever fuch a breadth with it, as it maketh the Marishes navigable, so as it is unpassable for any shallow Melss. ft.

was not brought to bed between two Trees, but between these two Springs. For Mount Proum to bed between was not prougat to be a between the wild Bore came of a fudden that flighted her. And the Tale that two Springs, is told of the Serpent Pytho, and of the Giant Tytim, do both confirm it, that Apollo was born called the in the same place. I pass over many other conjectures confirming the same, for that we do not be. Palm and the seve in our Countrey, that Apollo is among the number of those, who from mortall men have been Olive.

fide, with great fury on either part, fo as both the Generals of the LACEDÆMONIANS which fet upon Pelopidas together, were slain. They being slain, and all that were about them being ei- Pelopidas Vither hurt or killed in the Field : the reft of the Army was fo amazed, that they divided in two, and etory. made a lane on either fide, for the THEBANS to pass through them if they would. But when

The first institution of the holy Band.

for their onely Fame did so terrific their Enemies that came to fight against them, that they thought with no equal force to be able to perform as much as they had done. But this Battell of TEGYRA was the first that made both them and the other GRECIANS know, that it was not the River of EUROTAS alone, nor the Valley that lieth between the Rivers of CNACION, and of BABYCE, that breedeth the valiant and hardy fighting men : but that it is in all places else, where they learn young men to be afhamed of diffhonest and vile things, and to venture their lives for honest causes, fearing more dishonourable reproach, then honourable danger. These are the People most to be feared, and are most terrible also to their Enemies. And for the holy Band we mentioned before, it are most terrible and to be is faid Gorgidas was the first erector of the same. They were three hundred chosen men entertained rible and to be by the State, and they alwaies kept within the Castle of CADMEA, and the Band was called the Towns Band : for at that time, and specially in that part of GREECE, they called the Castles and great Holds in Cities, the Towns. Other fay it was a Band of Footmen that were in love one with another. And therefore Pammenes pleasant words are noted, saying, that Nestor could not skill to fet an Army in Battell ray, seeing he gave the GRECIANS counsell, in the lliades of Homer, that they should set them in Battell ray, every Countrey and Tribe by themselves:

That by affections, force and links of kindly love:

The one might alwaies help at hand, that other do behove.

gainft their Enemies.

Men loring For, faid he; one friend should rather be fet by another that loves together: because in danger, men together, light commonly do little regard their Countrevenen, or such as are of their Tribe. But men that do love commonly do little regard their Countreymen, or fuch as are of their Tribe. But men that do love

Platoes Caying

Iolaus love.

The goddess Harmonia.

one another, can never be broken nor overcome ; for the paffion of love that entertaineth each others affection, for affections fake, doth keep them from for faking one another. And those that are beloved, being ashamed to do any vile and dishonest thing before those that love them, for very love will flick one by another to the death. And fure the reason is good, if it be true that lovers do indeed more regard them they love, though they be absent, then other that be present. As appeareth by the example of him, that being striken down to the ground, his Enemy lifting up his Sword to kill him, he prayed him he would give him his deaths wound before, left his friend that loved him, feeing a wound on his back, should be ashamed of him. It is reported also, that Iolaus being beloved of Hercules, did help and accompany him in all his Labours and Quarrels. Whereupon Aristotle writeth, that unto his time, such as loved heartily together, became sworn Brethren one to another, upon Iolaus Tomb. And therefore methinks it is likely, that this Band was first called the holy Band, by the self-same reason that Plato calleth a lover, a divine friend by Godsappointment. It is written also, that this Band was never broken, nor overthrown before the Battell of CHERONEA. After that Battell, Philip taking view of the slain bodies, he stayed in that place where the four hundred men of that Band lay dead on the ground, one hard by another, and all of them flain and thruft through with Pikes on their breafts, whereat he wondred much: and being told him that it was the Lovers Band, he fell a weeping for pity, saying : Wo be to them that think these men did, or suffered any evil or dishonest thing. And to be short, the misfortune of Laim, that was flain by his own Brother O Edipm, was not the first original cause of this custom, that the Thebans began to be in love one with another, as the Poets write: but they were their first Law makers, who perceiving them to be a stout and fierce Nation on nature, they fought even from their youth to make them gentle and civil, and therefore in all their actions both of sport and earnest, they continually acquainted them with playing of the Flute, being highly efteemed of them in those days. They brought in the use also to make love in the midst of their youllfull Sports and Exercises of their bodies, to frame the young mens manners, and to bring them to a civil life. And therefore they had reason that gave the goddess Harmonia to the THEBANS, for Defendor and Patroness of their City, who was begotten (as they say) between Mars and Venus. For that giveth us to understand, that where force and warlike courage is joyned with grace, to win and perswade, all things by this union and accord are brought to a goodly, profitable, and most perfect Government. Now, to return again to the matter of this holy Band of the THEBANS, Gorgidas dividing it in the former Ranks, and placing it all along the Front of the Battell of the Footmen, it did not appear what they were able to do of themselves, for that he brought them not all into one Body: so as thereby they might see what service the whole Company could do being together, confidering that it was divided and mingled amongst many other, that were a great deal of lefs value then themselves. But Pelopidas that had made good proofe of their valiantness before, when they fought about him of themselves, without others by them, at TEGYRA: would never after divide nor feparate them one from the other, but keeping them together as one entire Body that had all his Members, he would alwaies begin with them to give a Charge in his most dangerous Battels. For, as we see in running of Coaches at Games, that Horses being tied all together in a Front, do run saster and stronger then they do when they are loofe, and put to it alone: and not for that they being many together, do break through the air better, but for that the contention and envy between them to over-run one another, doth indeed fet their hearts and itomachs on fire. Even so he thought, that valiant men giving one another a defire and envy to do well, should have the more courage, and would be of greater force, when they fought one in anothers fight. But the LACEDEMONIANS afterwards being at peace and league with all the other GRECIANS, proclaimed open Wars against the THEBANS onely : and King Cleombrotus went to invade them with an Army of ten thousand Footmen, and a thouland Horsemen. Whereupon the THEBANS were not onely in the like danger they stood in

before to lose their liberty; but the LACEDEMONIANS did openly threaten they would utterly destroy them for ever : so that all the Countrey of BOBOTIA stood in greater fear then ever they did before. And one day as Pelopidas went out of his House to go to the Wars, his Wife bringing him to the doors to take her leave of him, weeping, the prayed him heartily to look well to him-felf. But heanfwered her again: My good Wife, it is for private Souldiers to be carefull of them. Pelopidas felves. but not for Captains: for they must have an eye to fave others lives. And when he came to Princely Asithe Camp, he found the Captains and the Lieutenants of the Army, in fundry opinions : and he lwer. was the first that agreed with Epaminondas opinion, who thought it best they should give Battell to the Enemies. Pelopidas at that time was neither Governour of BOEOTIA, nor Generall of the Army, but onely Captain of the holy Band : notwithstanding they had great affiance in him, and gave him great Authority in Counsell concerning their affairs : such as became a man that had made To good teltimony of his natural love and affection to his Countrey, as he had done. Now being determined in Counsell, that they should give the Enemies Battell, they all mustered together in the Valley of LEUCTRES, where he had a Vision in his Dream, that troubled him very much. In that Valley there are the Tombs of the Daughters of one Scedafus, which by reason of the place. they call the LEUCTRIDES, for that they were buried there, after they had been defiled and ravilhed by certain Guests of the SPARTANS that lay in their House, travelling that way. This act being so horrible and wicked, the poor Father of these defiled Virgins, could neither have justice nor revenge of the LACEDEMONIANS, and therefore after he had banned and curfed the LACEDE-MONIANS with most horrible and execrable railings and curses as might be possible, he killed himfelf upon the Graves of his Daughters. The LACEDAMONIANS had many fundry Oracles, Pro- See what phecies, and Signs of the gods to warn them, to take heed of the wrath of the Leuctrides: low where ju howbeit every man understood not the fignification of this Prophecy, but were deceived by the equi-fice is denied. vocation of the name. For there was a little Town in the Countrey of LACONIA, standing upon the Sea fide, called LEUCTRUM : and in ARCADIA also by the City of MEGALIPOLIS, there was another Town called by the same name. This misfortune chanced long before the Battell of LEUCTRES: but then Pelopidas dreaming in his Tent, thought he faw in a Vision the Daughters of Scedafus weeping about their Graves, and curfing the LACEDEMONIANS ; and that he faw their Father also, commanding him to facrifice a red Maidento his Daughters, if they would obtain the Victory. This commandment at the first, seemed very cruel and wicked: whereupon when he arose, he went to the Prognosticators, and Generals of the Army, and told them his Dream. So Dream and fome of them faid, this was no matter to be lightly passed over, but to be considered of, alledging Vision in the many examples in the like cases. As of Menecius the Son of Creon in old time, and of Macarea Fields of Leuthe Daughter of Hercules. And yet of latter memory, the wife Pherecydes, whom the LACEDE. Hres. MONIANS flew, and whose skin their Kings do keep at this day, by commandment of an Oracle. And Leonidas, who following a Prophecy of the gods, did as it were facrifice himself, for the fafety of GREECE. And furthermore, the young boys which Themistocles did facrifice to Bacchus Omeftes (to fay, eating raw flesh) before the Battell of SALAMINA. And all these Sacrifices were acceptable to the gods, as the Victories following did plainly thew. In contrary manner also King Agefilans, coming from those very places, from whence King Agamemnon came in the time of the Agefilans Wars of Troin, and going also against the same Enemies, dreamed one night in the City of Au-Decam. LIDE, he saw the goddes Diana, asking him his Daughter for Sacrifice. But he tenderly loving her, would by no means perform it; and thereupon was compelled to break off his Journey before he had executed his Enterprize, and departed with small honour. Other to the contrary stood to it flourly, and faid, it was not to be done. For, fo cruell, abominable, and brutish a Sacrifice, could flourly, and faid, it was not to be done. For, to cruell, abominable, and pruting a sacrince, could not be acceptable to any of the gods, nor to any god, better or mightier then ours: confidering that concerning the concerning that the sacring of the gods. they be no impressions in the air, nor Gianes that rule the World, but the onely mighty and eter-God. nall God, Father of gods and men. And to beleeve that either gods or demi-gods do delight in murder, or shedding of mans bloud, it is a meer mockery and folly. But admit it were so, they were no more to be regarded therein, then those that have no power at all : for it is a manifest token of a wicked spirit, when they have such damnable horrible desires in them, and specially if they abide fill with them. Now the Generals and Heads of the Army of the THEBANS being of fun-Gods providry opinions, and Pelopidas being more afraid then before, by reason of their disagreement: a dence and sudyoung Mare-colt, or Filly, breaking by chance from other Mares, running and flinging through den aid the Camp, came to stay right against them. Then every man began to look upon her, and to mark what a fair Filly it was, and red coloured every where, and what a pride she took with her felf to hear her own neighing. Theocrains then the Soothsayer being amongst them, did behold her, and knew straight what the Filly meant, and so cried out forthwith : O happy Pelopidas, lo here is the Sacrifice thou lookest for, seek no other Virgin for thy Sacrifice, but take this that God himself doth send thee. When Theoristus had faid to, they took the Filly, and laid The Filly her upon the Tomb of Scedafus Daughters, and put Garlands of Flowers about her, as they han flat a and dled other Sacrifices : and then after the Prayers made to the gods , they did facrifice her with great tactificed. joy, and told Pelopidas Vision in his Dream the night before through all the Camp, and the Sacrifice they had made also according to the fignification thereof. Moreover when they came to joyn Battel F. Epaminondas being Generall, drew all his Army on the left hand, because he would bring the right Wing of the Enemies Army (where they had placed the naturall SPARTANS) further from the other GRECIANS their Friends and Allies, that were fet in the other Wing of their Battell :

PELOPID AS.

King of the Lacedamonians

that he coming with his whole Power together to give a Charge upon Chombrotus their King (being in a corner by himfelf) might be diffressed or overthrown. The Enemies sinding Pelopidus in-

tent, began to change their order, and having men enough, meant to thrust out their right Wing

and running in great fury with his Squadron of three hundred men, he fet upon Cleombrotus before

he could disorder his men to put forth the right Wing, and joyn them together again. And so he

found the LACEDEMONIANS not yet fetled in their Ranks, and brake them in this difafter,

at length to compals in Epaminondas. But Pelopidas in the mean time fuddenly prevented them,

The Battel at Leudres. The cause of the overthrow of the Lacedemonians.

Pelopidas and E.p.aminon.las Victory at the Battel of

Pelopidus and Epaminondas journey into being both Governours of Baotia.

refigning up of Offices at the years end.

Pelopilas and Epiminondis went over the thousand men.

thrufting one in anothers place to put themselves again in order : notwithstanding the LACEDA-MONIANS of all other men were the onely Captains and most expert Souldiers in Martiall Discipline, as men to trained and practifed, that no fudden altering, of form or order in their Ranks, could either trouble or disorder them. For they were men so trained, that they could turn head or side upon any fudden occasion offered, and could fight and order themselves in Battell every way alike. So Epaninondas going to give the onset upon them alone, with the whole force of his Battell together, not tarrying for others: and Pelopidus also with an incredible courage and readiness, presenting himfelt in Battell before them, did put them into fuch a terrible fear, that they clean forgot their skill in fighting, and their wonted courage failed them. For they cowardly turned their backs, and there were more LACEDEMONIANS flain at that day, then ever were before in any former Battell. Pelopidas therefore, being neither Governour of BOEOTIA, nor Generall of all the Army, but onely Captain of the holy Band : did notwithstanding win as much Honour and Glory of this Victory, as Epaminondas, that was Governour of BOEOTIA, and Generall of all the Army. Indeed alterwards they were both Governours of BOEOTIA together, when they invaded the Countrey of PELOPONNESUS: where they made most part of the Cities and People rebell against the LACEDEMONIANS, and take their part, as the ELIANS, the ARGIVES, and all AR-CADIA, and the best part of LACONIA felt: notwithstanding it was in the heart of Winter, and in the shortest days of the year, and towards the latter end also of the last Moneth of their years Authority and Rule, having not many days to continue in Office, being forced to leave at Theber, for their Authority, upon pain of death if they did reitife, unto other Officers new chosen, the beginning of the next Moneth following. Whereupon their other companions, and Governours also of the Countrey of BOEOTIA, what for fear to incur the danger of the Law, as also to avoid the trouble to lie in Camp in the sharpest of Winter: they did urge and perswade them to bring the Armyback again into their Countrey. But Pelopidas was the first that yeelded to Epaminondas opinion, and wan the other THEBANES also to consent unto it, to be contented to be led by them, to give affault to the City felf of Sparta. So, through their perswasions they passed over the River of Eurotas, and took many little Towns of the LACEDEMONIANS, and wafted and destroyed all the Countrey to the Sea fide, leading under their Ensigns an Army of threefcore and ten thouland fighting men, and all GRECIANS, the THEBANES not making up the 70224 with 70 twelfth part of them. Now, the honour and great reputation of these two persons, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, brought their friends and confederates, that they followed them, without any refolution of Counfell or publick order, and never opened their mouths againft them, but willingly marched under their conduction. And in my opinion, truly methinks it is the first and chiefest point in the Law of Nature, that he that is weak, not able to defend himfelf, should lean to one that is ftrong, and able to defend both. Even much like to fresh-water Souldiers, and raw Sea-men, that lying at Sea in calm weather, and in fafe Harbour, are as lufty and brag with the Mafters and Boat-Swains as may be : but let a little ftornt of weather come upon them fuddenly, and that they be in any danger, then they look on the Masters, hoping for no life but at their hands. And even in like manner the ELIANS and ARGIVES, who though in all Affemblies of Counfell they would ever jar and strive with the THEBANES, for Honour and Superiority in the Army : yet when any Battell came to be fought, wherein they faw there was danger, then their Peacocks bravery was gone, and they were glad to obey their Generalls commandment. In this Journey they brought all the Cities of the Province of ARCADIA to be in League with them, and took all the Countrey of MESSENIA from the LACEDEMONIANS, which they peaceably enjoyed : and called home again all the ancient Inhabitants of the fame, and reftored them to their Countrey, and replenished the City of ITHOME. Then returning afterwards into their Countrey by the City of CENCHREES, they overthrew the ATHENIANS that came to trouble them, in entring into the Straight of Peloponnesus, supposing to have stopped their passage. Thus was the valiantness of these two worthy men greatly commended and honoured of every body, for so many notable Exploits and Victories as they had won, and their marvellous good fuccels, greatly wondered at. But as their Glory and renown increased abroad, so did their Country mens malice and envy increase against them at home : who had prepared such a welcome home for them, as was to bad and vile for to honourable Service as they had done. For Epaminonau and Pelopidas both, at their return were accused of Treason. For there was a speciall Law at The-BES, that commanded all such as should happen to be Governours of BOEOTIA, to resign their Office immediately to the new Officers elect, at the beginning of the first Moneth of the year, which in BOEOTIA they call BOUGATION; and they had kept it four whole Moneths above their term appointed, in which time they had done all that we have spoken of before, as well in the Province of MESSENIA and of ARCADIA, as also in the Countrey of LACONIA. Pelopidae was the first of the two that was called in by Protes, therefore he stood in the greater danger:

The ingratitude of the Thebans towards Pelopidis and Ep4minontas The Law Bon-

howbeit in the end, they were both discharged again. As for Epaminondas; he took his Accusation and the attempt of his Enemies (whereby they fought to have cast them both away) quietly Esaminendas enough: judging, that patience to those that deal in State and Government, is a great shew of patience. force and magnanimity. But Pelopidas being of a hotter nature, and more cholerick, and fet on be-Pelopidas confides by some of his friends, did take this occasion to be revenged. Meneclidas the Orator was one democh Meof those that came into Charons house with Pelopidas and Melon: but notwithstanding the THE-naclilas a sedi-BAN'S did nothing honour him, as they did the reft. He taking this ill at their hands, being martious Onator vellous eloquent of speech, but vicioully given otherwaies, and a man of a vile and mischievous named accuser. ture : did fondly abuse his Eloquence, fallly accusing those that were his betters, in honesty and credit. And not being contented with this first accusation, he practised so commonly, that he put &paminondas one year from being Governour of BOEOTIA, which he fued for : and moreover, he was ever against him in all matters of State he took in hand. But he could never bring Pelopidas out of favour with the People: and therefore he fought to make debate betwixt him and Charon, For it is the common trick of all spightfull persons, who when they cannot be thought so honest The practice men, as those whom they envy, to go about to prove that they are not so honest and meet men, as of frightfull those whom they preser and commend. So, in all his Orations he made to the People, he continuement. ally extolled and commended Charons noble Acts and Victories, and specially that Victory above other, which the THEBANS won before the Journey of LEUCTRES, in a Skirmish of Horsemen, that was before the City of PLATERS, he having charge of the fame : of the which he would leave his memory. Androclides a Cyzicenian and Painter, was at a price with the THEBANS to paint them fome other Battel in a Table, and he did draw this Work in the City thersdid paint felf of Thebans to but as he was in hand withall, the rebellion of the Thebans fell out against and fee forth the LACEDEMONIANS, and War followed on the neck of that, whereupon the Painter for- their Battels, fook THEBES, leaving his Work in a manner done and perfect. The THEBANS kept this Table by them, and this Meneclidas moved the People they would hang it up in some Temple of publick place, with an Inscription upon it, saying thus: This was Charons Victory; of purpose to deface and obscure the Glory of Pelopidas and of Epaminondas. Too vain and fond was his ambition, to fet before so many noble Battels and Victories, one simple overthrow of Charon, in the which Gerandas, one of the meanest Gentlemen of all SPARTA was slain, and forty other with him: and this was all he did. Pelopidas misliked Meneclidas motion, maintaining that it was directly against the Laws of THEBES, which did expresly forbid, that no private person should be honoured with the Title of common Victory, but willed the Glory thereof should be attributed to all the People generally. Indeed Pelopidas in his Orations did greatly praise and commend Charon, notwithstanding he made open proof, how Meneclidas was an envious and spightfull detractor, and a naughty wicked man, oftentimes asking the THEBANS, if they themselves were worthy of no honour? so as in the end he caused Menectidas to be condemned in a great sum of Money, But he finding himself unable to pay it, being so great a sum, practised afterwards to alter the whole State and Government. I thought good to dilate this at large, because methinks it doth fomewhat declare Pelopidas nature and manners, what they were. Now about that time Alexander Alexander the the Tyran: of PHERES, was at open Wars with many People of THESSALY, and did use all Tyrant of policy he could, to bring them all to his obedience. Whereupon the free Cities fent their Ambassa. Phores. dours unto THEBES, to pray them to fend them a Captain with an Army to aid them. Then Pelopidas seeing Epaminondas occupied about the Wars of Peloponnesus, did offer himself to the THESSALIAN Ambassadours, being loth to drown his experience and sufficiency in Wars, with unprofitable and tedious idleness, knowing that in those parts where Epaminondas lay, there needed no other Captain. Now when he came with his Army into THESSALY, the City of Larissa yeelded prefently unto him : where the Tyrant Alexander came to meet with Lariffa City. him, and to pray him to treat a Peace betwist him and the THESSALIANS. Pelopidas attempting to bring it to pass, seeking instead of a Tyrant to make him a gentle, just, and lawfull, Governour of THESSALY. But when he faw no perswasions could take place with the Tyrant, and that he grew more stubborn and untractable, and would not hear reason : and moreover, that he heard many grievous complaints of his great cruclties, and how they accused him to be a marvellous diffolute and unruly person in all his doings, and extreamly covetous besides : then he began to speak roundly to him, and to handle them roughly. But the Tyrant thereupon stole away secretly from him, and sled with his Guard and Souldiers about him. So Pelopidas leaving the THESSALIANS out of all fear and danger of the Tyrant, and furthermore in good peace and amity one with the other, he went into MACEDON: where Ptolomy made War at that time with Alexander, being King of MACEDON, they both having fent for him to hear and determine the quarrel betwixt them, and so to help him that had the right, against him that did the wrong. So when he came thither, he pacified them both, and restored the banished men of either side, to their Lands and Goods again. For affirrance of Peace, he took the Kings Brother Philip of Matein Hostage, whose name was Philip, and thirty other Children of the Noblest mens Sons of MA- don delivered in rounge, whose name was roung, and unity out cannot be Grecians see, that the Refer Heliag CEDON, whom he brought away with him to THIBES, to let the Grecians see, that the Refer Peloplas. putation of the THEBANS Power stretched far, and the Renown also of their manner of Government and Justice. It is the same Philip, that made War afterwards with the GRECIANS, to take their Liberty from them, howbeit being but a Boy at that time, he was brought up at THERES in Pammenes house. And this is the cause, why some thought Philip did follow Epaminondas manner:

and it might be peradventure, he did learn of him to be quick and ready in the Wars, which was indeed but a piece of Epaminondas vertue. But as for the continency, justice, magnanimity, and elemency, which were the speciall points that made Epaminondas of great same: Philip could neither by nature, education, or fludy, ever attain unto. The THESSALIANS having fent afterwards to Theres, to complain of Alexander the Tyrant of Pheres, that did again molest and trouble the free Cities of THESSALY, Pelopidas was fent thither Ambaffadour with Ismenias, carrying no Power with him from THEBES, little thinking he should have needed to have made Wars: whereupon he was compelled to take men of the Countrey felf, upon the inftant necessity offered. At the very fame time also, all MACEDON was up in Arms: for Prolomy had flain the King, and ulurped the Kingdom, and the servants and friends of the dead King called upon Pelopidas for aid, who defiring to come even upon the fact, and having brought no men of War out of his own Countrey with him, did prefently leavy certain men where he was, and fo marched forward with them against Ptolomy. Now Ptolomy when both their Powers mer, did corrupt the Souldiers Pelopidas had brought, with Money to take his part. But notwithstanding this policy he had practifed, yet he was afraid of the Name onely, and greatness of Pelopidas Reputation: wherefore he went neu, yet ne was an and the name of the nam ing of him, he made promife, and bound it by Oath, that he would keep the Realm for the Brethren of the dead King, and that he would take all those for his friends or Enemies, whom the THE-EANS did either love or hate. As for affurance of his promife, he gave him his Son Philoxenus in hoftage, and fifty other of his friends, all the which Pelopidus fent unto THEBES. But in the mean time, being marvelloufly offended with the Treason of the Souldiers against him, understanding the most part of their Goods, their Wives and Children, were in the City of PHARSALE, he thought if he could win that, it were a marvellous good way for him to be revenged of the treachery of the Souldiers against him : whereupon he leavied certain THESSALIANS, and went to that City. Pelopidas was no sooner come thither, but Alexander the Tyrant arrived also with his Army. Pelopidas supposing he had come to justifie himself, clearing the complaints of the Thes-SALIANS made against him: went to him, though he knew him to be a very wicked man, and one that delighted in murder and shedding of bloud. Nevertheless, he hoped he durst not have attempted any thing against him, for the Authority and Seigniories sake of THEBES, by whom he was Pelopidatishen fent thither, as also for his own Reputation. But the Tyrant seeing him slenderly accompanied, and Pelopidatishen without Train of Souldiers, took him Prisoner, and wan the City of Pharsale at that prethe Tyrant A- fent time. But this act of his put his Subjects in a great fear, who feeing him commit fo shamefull a deed againft all equity, did think straight he meant to spareno man, but would use men, and all things else that came in his hands, like a desperate man, and one that reckoned himself cast away. lexan.ler at But when the THEBANS understood this news, they were marvellous forry, and straight sent an Pharfale. Army thither, appointing other Captains then Epaminondas: because then they had some misliking of him. Alexander the Tyrant having brought Pelopidas in the mean time to PHERES, did suffer any man that would at the first to come to fee him, and speak with him : supposing his imprisonment had killed his heart, and had made him very humble. But when he was told the contrary, how Pelopidas did comfort the Citizens of PHERES, and willed them to be of good chear, telling them the hour was now come, that the Tyrant should smart for all the mischiefs he had done; and that he Pelopidas fent him word to his face, he had no reason to hang and put his poor Citizens daily to death as he did, with fundry kinds of cruell torments, who had in nothing offended him; and did let him alone, knowing that if ever he got out of his hands, he would be revenged of him. The Tyrant wondring ar this great flomack of his, and at his marvellous conflancy, fearing nothing: asked what he meant to long for hasty death? Pelopidas being told what he faid, answered him again : Marry, said he, because thou shouldst die the sooner, being more odious to the gods and men, then yet thou art. Aster this answer, the Tyrant would never suffer any man to come and speak with him again. But Thebe the Wife Thebe, that was the Daughter of the Tyrant Jason deceased, and Wife at that time of Alexander of Alexander, the Tyrant, hearing report of Pelopidus noble mind and courage by his Keepers: she had a marvellous desire to see him, and to speak with him. Bur when she came to see him, like a Woman she could not at the first discern the greatness of his noble heart, and excellent hidden vertue, finding him in such misery : yer conjecturing by exterior shew, noting his simple Apparell, his hairs and beard grown very long, and how poorly he was ferved, and worfe enterrained: the thought with her self his case was to be pitted, and that he was in no state meet for the glory of his Name; wherewith she fell a weeping for compassion. Pelopidas, that knew not what she was, began to muse at the first, but when it was told him she was Jasons Daughter, then he courteously shuted her for her Father Jasons sake, who while he lived was his very good friend. So Thebe said unto him : My Lord Pelopidas, I pity thy poor Lady and Wife. Truly 10 do I pity thee, quoth Pelopidas again to her: that thou being no Priloner, canst abide such a wicked Alexander. This answer tickled Thebe at the heart, who with great impatience did bear the cruelry, violence, and villany of the Tyrant her Husband : that befides all other infamous acts of his deteftable life, committed Sodomy with her youngest Brother. So she oft visiting Pelopidas, and boldly making her moan to him, telling him closely all the injuries her Husband offered her : through Pelopidas talk with her , by little

and little the grew to abbor him, and to conceive a hate in heart against him, defiring revenge on him.

But now the Captains of the THEBANS that were fent to deliver Pelopidas, being entred into

THESSALY with their Army: whether it was through default of ignorance, or their milhap: they

returned home with shame, and did nothing. Whereupon the THEBANES at their return home condemned them every man in the sum of ten thousand Drachmes, and sent Epaminondas thither again with another Army: at whose coming, all Thessaly rose incontinently for the reputation Epiminonlas of fo great a (aptain. And his fortune was fo good, that he had in a manner utterly overthrown fent into Thefthe whole State of the Tyrant: his friends and Captains were so much afraid, and his Subjects on the fally with an other fide fo well disposed to rebell, and marvellous glad for the hope they had, quickly to see the Ty-Aimy. rant have his deferved hire, for all his former wicked deeds he had committed. Notwithstanding, Epaminondas preferring the delivery and fafety of Pelopidas, before the confideration of his own Honour and Glory, and fearing lest Alexander feeing himself in danger to be turned out of all he had, falling into despair like a bedlem Beast, would bend all his desperation and fury against Pelopidas; he drew these Wars out in length, compassing him round about, but not fiercely setting upon him. with colour to prepare his way the better by delaying still, thereby to soften the cruel mind of this Tyrant, going on in this gentle fort, and partly to cut his comb and extream pride, but specially to preferve Pelopidas from the danger and cruelly of his beaftly rage. For he knew right well he was a cruel man, and one that never regarded reason, nor justice in any fort, confidering how he made fome men to be buried alive, and others to be put in the skins of Bears and wild Bores, and then to The brutish fet Hounds upon them to tear them in pieces, or else himself for his pastime would kill them, with cruelty of Ashooting or throwing of Darts at them, And in the Cities of MELIBEA and of Scotusa, both lexander the of them being in league and friendship with him, he spying time one day when the Citizens were as-Tyrant. fembled in Council together, fuddenly compaffed them in with his Guard and Souldiers, and put them every one to the Sword, even the little Children. And he confecrated the Dart also wherewith he had slain his own Uncle Polyphron, and having put Garlands upon it, he did facrifice to it, as to a god, and called it Tychon, as one would fay, happy killer. And another time being in a Theatre, where the Tragedy of Troades in Euripides was played, he went out of the Theatre, and fent word to the Players notwithstanding, that they should go on with their Play, as if he had been still among them: faying that he came not away for any milliking he had of them or of the Play, but because he was ashamed his People should see him weep, to see the miseries of Hecuba and Andromacha played: and that they never faw him pity the death of any one man, of so many of the Citizens as he had caufed to be flain. The guilty conscience therefore of this cruel and Heathen Tyrant, did make him tremble at the onely name and reputation of Epaminondas: and as the common Proverb faith:

He let his wings down fall, not much unlike the Cock,

Which doth refuse the pit prepar'd, and list not bide the shock,
So he sent straight unto Epaminondas to excuse himself. But Epaminondas would in no wise suffer the THEBANS, through his means, to make League with fuch an Helhound : onely he yeelded to abstinence of Arms for thirty days, upon delivery of Pelopidas and Ismenias into his hands, with Epiminondas whom he straight returned into THEBES. Now the THEBANS being advertised that the LA- delivered Pelo-CEDEMONIANS and the ATHENIANS did fend Ambassadours to Arraxerxes the mighty King pidas out of of PERSIA, to make League with him: they fent to him Pelopidas for them also, being wisely con- Artiscrees sidered of them to send a man of such Fame and Reputation. For Pelopidas passing first through King of Persia, Countries subject to the King of Persia, his Fame was such where he came, that the Peoples talk Pelopidas sent was onely of him. For the report of the famous Battels he had won of the LACEDAMONIANS, Ambuffadour was not onely carried into the next Regions and Countreys of Asia: but fince the first news of the Persa. Journey of LEUCTRES was brought thither, Pelopidas having after that won Victory upon Victory, his estimation grew so great, as it was blown abroad through the World, even to the highest and furthest parts of the East Countreys. And when he came to the King of PERSIA'S Court, the Princes, great Lords, and Captains of Persia that faw him, had him in great admiration, faying : Lo this is he that conquered the LACED. EMONIANS, and took all their Seigniory and Authority from them, both by Sea and by Land, and drave the SPARTANS beyond the River of EUROTAS, and from Mount TAUGETUM, who not long before made Wars with the great King of Persia, being led under their King Agesilans, even in the midst of Asia, for the Realms of Suse, and of ECBATANE. So King Artaxerxes felf was very glad of his coming, and prai- Pelopidas of Suse, and of ECBATANE. So King Artaxerxes lelt was very giau or ins coming, and praifed him above them all, and made his estimation greater then it was before, by his great and honourared of the King ble entertaining of him, meaning thereby to return the honour to himfelf again : because men of Perfix. should think that the most famous men of the World came to honour him, and to fee his Court, as estreeming both him and his greatness, the onely happiness of the World. But when he had seen his face, and heard him speak, and perceived that his words were much greater then the ATHENI-ANS, and plainer then the LACED EMONIANS: he then was further in love with him then before, and without difguifing, he did honour and favour him above all the other Ambaffadours, who found that he made more estimation of him, then of them all. Notwithstanding, he seemed to bear greater good will unto Antalcidas LACEDEMONIAN, then to any other of the GRECIANS : for that one day being at the Table, he took a Garland of Flowers from his own head, and washed it in perfuming water, and fent it unto him. Indeed he did not use Pelopidas with that open familiarity, yet did he fend him the goodlieft and richeft Prefents he could devife, and granted him besides all his requests he made unto him : which were, that all the People of GREECE should be free : that the City and Countrey of MESSINA should be inhabited again : and that the Citizens of THEBES by their Succeffours should be taken, as ancient friends and Allies of the Kings of Persia. So when he had received these Answers, he returned home again, and would by no means accept any

feth the great halfadour for the Athenians, put to death for taking great gifs of the King of

of the great Presents the King had offered him : which caused the other Ambassadours of the Gre-Pelapidas refu- CIANS to be fo ill welcome home to their Cities. For among other, Timagoras was accused to the ATHENIANS, and condemned to die, and was executed: which if they did in respect of the great Presents he had taken of the King, truly they had reason, and it was worthily done of them. For he Attaxers:. took not onely Gold and Silver enough, as much as they would give him: but received a very rich Bed also, and Persian Chamberlains to make and dress it up, as if no Grecian Servants of his could have ferved that turn. Moreover, he received fourfcore milch Kine to the Pail, and Neatheards to keep them, having need of Cowes Milke belike, to heal a Difease that fell upon him : and would needs be carried in a Litter upon mens arms from the Kings Court, unto the Mediserraneum Sea, the King rewarded them for their pains that carried him, with four Talents. Yet it feemed the Gifts he took did not offend the ATHENIANS fo much, confidering that Epicrates (a Drudge or Tankerd-bearer) did not onely confess before the People, how he had taken Gifts of the King of Persia : but faid furthermore, that he would have a Law made, that in flead of the nine Officers they did yearly choose to rule the whole City, they should choose nine of the poorest and meaneft Citizens, and fend them Ambassadours unto the King of Persia, that they might return home rich men with Gifts. The People laughed to hear him, but yet were they very angry the THEBANS had obtained all that they had demanded : and confidering that Pelopidas elimation and worthiness did more prevail and take better effect, then all the Orations the other could make, and specially to a Prince that fought always to entertain those GRECIANS, which were of greatest force and power in the Wars. This Ambassage did greatly increase every mans love and good will unto Pelopidas, because of the replenishing again of Messina with Inhabitants, and infranchizing and fetting at liberty of all the other Grecians. But the Tyrant Alexander of PHERE'S, returning again to his old accustomed cruelty, and having destroyed many Cities of THESSALY, and placed his Garifons through all the Countrey of the PHTHIOTES, ACHAI-ANS, and MAGNESIANS: the Cities being advertised of Pelopidas return again to Thebes, they fent Ambassadours immediately to THEBES, to pray them to fend them an Army, and namely Pelopidas for Captain, to deliver them from the milerable bondage of the Tyrant. The The-BANES willingly granted them, and put all things in readiness very suddenly. But Pelopidas being ready to fet forward in his journey, there fell a fudden Eclipse of the Sun, so as at noon day it was very dark in Thebbs. Pelopidas feeing every man afraid of this Eclipfe above, he would not compell the People to depart with this fear, nor with fo ill hope to hazard the loss of seven thoufand THEBANS, being all billed to go this journey : but notwithstanding, he put himself alone cond Journey into the Thessalians hands, with three hundred Horlemen of ftrangers that were glad to ferve Tyrant Alexwith him, with whom he took his Journey against the Soothsayers minds, and against the good will ander of Pheof all his Crizens, who thought this Eclipse did threaten the death of some great person like himfelf. But Pelopidas though he needed no four to be revenged upon the Tyrant Alexander, being The Eclipse of by nature hot, and defirous of himfelf to revenge the spight and villany he had offered him : yet he the Sun made had a further hope to find the Tyrantshoule divided against himself, by the former talk he had with the Thebans his Wife Thebe, in time of his imprisonment there. Nevertheless, the Fame and Reputation of the Journey undertaken, did wonderfully increase his noble courage, and the rather because he was desirous (all he could) the GRECIANS should see, that at the very same time when the LACEDA-MONIANS did fend Governours and Captains to Dionysius the Tyrant of SICILE, to ferve and aid him, and that the ATHENIANS as hirelings took pay of the Tyrant Alexander of PHERES, in whole honour they had fet up a Statue of Brals in their City, as unto their Saviour : the The-BANS onely at the felf-fame time took Arms against them, to deliver those whom the Tyrants oppressed, and sought to root out all tyrannicall Government over the GRECIANS. So when he came to the City of PHARSALE, and had gathered his Army together, he went prefently to the Field to meet with the Tyrant. Alexander perceiving Pelopidas had very few THEBANS about him, and that he had twice fo many THESSALIANS with him, then the other had: hewent unio the Temple of THETIS, to meet with Pelopidas. There one telling Pelopidas, that Alexander was coming against him with a great Power, Pelopidas answered him straight, All the better, we shall kill by the People of Thebes, unto the more. Now in the midft of the Valley, there are certain round Hills of a pretty height, which the Tyrant A- they commonly call the Dogs head : they both strived which of their Footmen should first get those Hills. Pelopidas having a great number of Horfemen, and good men at Arms in the Field, fent them before to give charge upon the Enemies, that prefied to win the vantage of the place : and having overthrown them, they followed the chase all the Valley over. But in the mean time Alexander having his Footmen by, marched forwards and got the Hills, because the THESSALIANS that were further off, came too late : notwithstanding when they came to the Hills, they fought forcibly to climbe them up, being very high and fleep: but Alexander coming down the Hill, gave charge upon them to their disadvantage, and slew the first that gave the attempt to get up against the Hill: and the refidue being fore hurt, retired again without their purpofe. Pelopidas feeing that, founded the Retreat for the Horsemen that followed the chase, to repair to the Standard, and commanded them they should set upon the Footmen of the Enemies that were in Battel ray : and he himfelf ran to help those that fought to win the Hills. So he took his Target on his arm, and passing through the Rereward, he got to the foremost Ranks: to whom, the fight of his person did

To redouble their force and courage, that the Enemies themselves thought it had been a fresh supply of new mens hearts, and other bodies then theirs with whom they had fought before, that came thus

lexander.

against the

afraid.

luftily to fet again upon them. And yet they did abide two or three onfets. Howbeit in the end perceiving those men did still more fiercely force to get up the Hill, and moreover, how their Horsemen were come in from the chase : they gave way, and left them the place, retiring back by little and little. Then Pelopidan having won the Hills, flayed on the top of them, viewing the Army of his Enemies, which were not yet returned from their flying, but waved up and down in great diforder. And there he looked all about, to fee if he could spie out Alexander: and at the length he found him out amongst others, in the right Wing of his Battel, fetting his men again in order, and incouraging of them. After he had fet eye on him, it was no holding of him back, his heart fo rose against him upon fight of him, that giving place to wrath, he neither regarded his person, nor the intent of his Tourney, but returning far before his men, he cryed with a loud voice to the Tyrant, and challenged the Combate of him. The Tyrant would not abide him, nor come out to fight with him, but fled, and hid himfelf amongst his Souldiers. But for his Souldiers, the first that thought to set upon Pelopidas, was slain by him, and many left dead in the Field. The residue standing fourly to it, and close together, did pass his Curaces through with their long Pikes, and thrust him into the breaft. The THESSALIANS feeing him thus fore handled and diffrested, for pity sake came running from the top of those Hills, to the place where Pelopidas was, to help him. But even canner tunning from the top of the territory people as they came, he tell down dead before them. Then did they together with their Horiemen fo fiercely people. fer upon them, that they made the whole Battel of the Enemies to flie; and following them in chale flain, a great way from that place, they covered the Valley with dead bodies, for they flew above three thousand men. It is no marvell, if the Thebans that were at Pelopidas death, took it very heavily, and lamented bitterly : calling him their Father, their Saviour and Mafter, as one that had taught them the worthiest things that might be learned of any. But the THESSALIANS, and other friends and Confederates also of the City of THEBES, besides their exceeding in setting out . their common Proclamations and Edicts in praise of his memory, and doing him all the honour that could be due to the most rare and excellent person that ever was : they did yet more shew their love and affection towards him, by their passing great forrow and mourning they made for him. For it is The great lafaid, that they that were at the Battel, did not put off their Armour, nor unbridle their Horfes, nor mentation and would dress their wounds, hearing tell of his death, before they went first and saw his body, not yet mourning for cold with fighting, laying great heaps of the Enemies Spoils about it, as if he could have told what Pelopidas death they had done : nor before they had clipped off their own hairs, and the hairs of their Horfes, in token of forrow. And many of them also, when they were come into their Tents and Pavillions, would neither have fire, eat, nor drink : and all in the Camp were full of forrow and mourning, as if they had not won a notable Victory, but had been overthrown and made subject by the Tyrant. Afterwards when the news of his death was spread through all the Countrey, the Magifrates of every City through which Pelopidas body was conveyed, went to receive it very honourably, accompanied with all the young men, the Priests and children carrying Tokens and Crowns of Triumph, and other Ornaments of Gold; and when his Funerall day was come, and that his body should be carried to be buried, the oldest and the noblest persons of the THESSALIANS went unto the THEBANS, and prayed them that they might have the burying of him: and one among them being the mouth of the reft, spake in this manner to the THEBANS. "My Lords of THEBES, The Otation "our good beloved Friends and Confederates, we onely crave this good furn at your hands, where of the The flat-"in you shall much honour us, and in our great calamity somewhat also comfort us. For we shall and to the The-" never more accompany. Pelopidas alive, nor require his honourable deferts to us, that he shall ever bane. "know them. But if it please you to let us handle his body with our hands, and that we may bury "him, and fet forth his Obsequies, we will imagine then at the least, that you do think that which "we our felves do certainly beleeve : That we THESSALIANS, not you THEBANS, have re-"ceived the greater loss of both. For you have lost indeed a worthy Captain, and we have not "onely received the like lofs with you, but the hope also of recovering our Liberty. For how dare "we again fend to you for another Captain, when we cannot redeliver you Pelopidas? The THE-BANS hearing their Petition, granted their defire: and in mine opinion, no Funerals could be done with greater Pomp and Honour, then the THESSALIANS performed his, being men that reckon not Dignity, Magnificence, and Pomp, to confift in Ornaments of Ivory, nor of Purple : as Philistin doth serit out, who praiseth to the Moon the burying of Dionysins the Tyrant of MYRACUSA, which was the end of his Tyranny, as a fumptuous conclusion of a stately | ragedy. And Alexander the Great, at the death of Ephessian, did not onely cliphis Horse hairs and Mules, but plucked down manner of also the Battlements of the Walls of the City: because it should appear, that the very Walls them- forow of Afelves did mourn for his death, shewing that deformity in stead of their former beauty. But all such lexander the things are done onely by force and compulsion, upon the Lords commandments, which do but rattle Great, for the up envy against their memory for whom they are done, and harred of them that are against their with death of E-conftrained to do the thing they milliked: and are no just proofs of honour nor good will, but rabegins. ther vain shews of barbarous pomp and pride in him, that disposeth his Authority and plenty of Goods, in trifling toys not to be defired. Where contrariwife it plainly appeareth, that a private man dying in a foraign Countrey, by reason should be accounted most happy of all other creatures, Pelogidas hapthat having neither his Wife, Kin, nor his Children by him, he should be conveyed to his Funerals, pinels. accompanied with fuch multitudes of crowned People and number of Cities, envying one another, who should most honour the Funerals, as being unrequested, and least of all compelled. For faith Efor saying of Flope, The death of a happy man is not grievous, but most blessed, seeing it bringeth all good mens the happiness

Death a blef-

doings to happiness, and leaveth Fortune to her fickle change, and sporting pleasure. But in my judgement a LACEDEMONIAN spake better, when he said to Diagorns an old man, that had himfelf in old time gotten victory in the Games Olympicall, and had feen belides his own Children, and his Childrens Children (both Sons and Daughters) crowned with Victories also in the felffame Games : O Diagoras, die presently, else thou shalt never come to Heaven, But these Victo-Alexander the

Pheres was the that was flain by his Wite.

Pheres flain by his Wife.

ries of the Olympicall and Pythian Games, who over should put them all together, are not to be compared with one of the Battels onely, that Pelopidas had fought and won: having spent the most part of his time in great Calling and Dignity, and laftly ended the fame, being Governour of Bos-OTIA the third time (which was the highest Office of State in all his Countrey) when he had destroyed the Tyrants that kept the THEBANS in bondage, and was also slain himself, valiantly fighting for the recovery of the THESSALIANS Liberty. But as Pelopidas death was grievous to the Thebans Friends and Confederates: fo fell it out very profitable for them. For the Therevenged Pelsenan hearing of Pelopidas death, did not delay revenge, but fent an Army forthwith of feven pidas death.

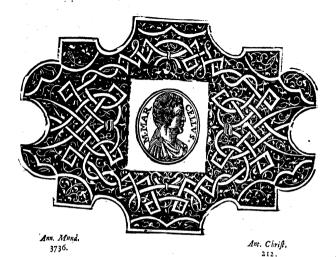
thouland Footmen, and feven hundred Horfemen, under the conduct of Maleiras and of Diagnos. They finding Alexanders Army overthrown, and that he had loft the most part of his strength, did compell him to give up the THESSALIANS Towns he kept by force against them, and to fet the MAGNETIANS, the PHTHIOTES, and the ACHAIANS at liberty, withdrawing his Garifons he had placed in their strong Holds: and therewithall to swear, that from thenceforth he would march under the Thebans, against any Enemy they should lead him, or command him to go against. So the Thebans were pacified upon these Conditions. Now will I tell you how the gods plagued him soon after for Pelopidas death, who (as we have told you before) had pretily inftructed Thebe his Wife, that the should not fear the outward appearance nor power of his Tyranny, although she were environed with Souldiers of banished men, whom the Tyrant entertained to guard his person. Her self on the other side, fearing his salshood, as also hating his cruelty, conspired her Husbands death with her three Brethren, Tifiphonus, Pytholaus, and Lycophron, and executed her Conspiracy after this sort. The Tyrans Palace where he lay, was straightly guarded every where with Souldiers, who nightly watched his person: but their Bed-chamber which they commonly used with southerrs, who ingury watered its person; southern been handed with they commonly one to lie in, was in the op of all his Palace, where they kept a Dog tied at the Chamber door, to give warning, which was a terrible Dog, and knew nome but the Tyrant and his Wife, and his Keeper that gave him meat. Now when Thebe purposed to work her seat, she locked up her three Brethren a whole day near unto their Bed-chamber. So when night was come, and being bed time, the went her felf alone according to her manner, into Alexanders Chamber : and finding him afterp, the ftole out ftraight again, and bade the Keeper of the Dog to carry the Dog away, for her Husband was dispoled to take rest, and would have no noise. There was no way to get up to this Chamber but by a Ladder, which she let down : and fearing left her Brethren should make a noife, the had covered the Ladder-staves with wooll before the let it fall down. When the had gotten them up with their Swords, and had fer them before the door, she went first her felf into the Chamber, and took away the Tyrans Sword that hung at his Beds head, and shewed it them as a token given them that he was afteep. When it came to the pinch to do the deed, these young men were a fixed, and their hearts began to fail them. But she took on with them, and called them cowardly Boys, that would not fland to it when it came to the point; and withall fware in her rage, that the would go wake the Tyrant, and open all the Treason to him. So partly for shame, and partly for sear, the compelled them to come in, and to frep to the Bed, her felf holding a Lamp to light them. The one of them took him by the feet, and bound them hard: another caught him by the hair of his head, and pulled him backward : and the third thrust him through with his Sword. So by chance he died sooner then he should have done, and otherwife then his wicked life deserved, for the manner of his death, So Alexander was the first Tyrant that was ever slain by the Treason of his Wife, whose body was most villanoully and despightfully used after his death. For when the Townsmen of PHERES had drawn him through the City in the mire and dirt, they cast him out at the length to the Doge to devour.

The end of Pelopidas Life.

cipent of

THE

THELIFEOF MARCELLUS.



Arcus Claudius that was five times Confull at ROME, was the Son (as Marcellus they fay) of another Marcus : and as Posidonius writeth, he was the first Kinted. of his House surnamed Marcellus, as who would say, a martiall and warlike man by nature. For he was cunning at Weapons, skilfull in Wars, strong and lufty of body, hardy, and naturally given to fight. Yet was he no quarreller, nor shewed his great courage, but in Wars against the Enemy : otherwise he Marcellus conwas very gentle, and fair conditioned. He loved Learning, and delighted in the ditions,

Greek Tongue, and much efteemed them that could speak it. For he himself was so troubled in matters of State, that he could not study and follow it, as he defired to have done. For if God (as Homer faith) did ever make men

To use their youth in Wars, and Battels sierce and fell, Till crooked age came creeping on, such feats for to expell.

They were the nobleft and chiefeft men of ROME at that time. For in their youth, they fought with the CARTHAGINIANS in Sicile : in their middle age, against the Gauls, to keep them from the winning of all ITALY : and again in their old age , against Hannibal and the CARTHA-GINIANS. For their age was no priviledge for them to be dispensed with, in the service of their The Romans Wars, as it was elfe for common Citizens: but they were both for their Nobility, as also for their troubled with valiantness and experience in Wars. driven to take charge of the Armies delivered them by the Se. Wars. valiantness and experience in Wars, driven to take charge of the Armies delivered them by the Senate and People. Now for Marcellus, there was no Battell could make him give ground being prachied in all Fights : but yet he was more valiant in private Combate man for man , then in any other Fight. Therefore he never refused Enemy that did challenge him, but slew all those in the Field that called him to combate. In Siglie he faved his Brother Offacilism life, being overthrown in a Skir-Missellist faved mith: for with his Shield he covered his Brothers body, and flew them that came to kill him. These his Brother ovaliant parts of him, being but a young man, were rewarded by the Generals under whom he served, dadition. with many (rowns, and warlike honours, ufually bestowed upon valiant Souldiers. Marcellus in-Marcellus chocreasing full his valiantness and good service, was by the People chosen Ædylis, as of the number sen Ædslis and of those that were the worthiest men, and most honourable : and the Priests did create him Augure, Augure, which is a kind of Priefthood at ROME', having Authority by Law, to confider and observe the flying of Birds, to divine and prognosticate things thereupon. But in the year of his Office of Ædile, he was forced against his will to accuse Capitolinus, his Brother in Citics with him. For he being a rash and dissolute man of life, sell in dishonest love with his Collegues Son Marcellus, that Marcellus accubare his own name: who being a goodly young Gentleman, and newly come to mans state, was as sethe aptivitinate well thought of, and taken of every man for his manhood and good qualities, as any way for his

nians twenty two years toge-The Wars of the Gauls. Geffates mercinary Gauls.

> A Law to ex-The Romans did fear the Wars of the Gauls. Men and Women buried alive.

Flaminius and P. Furius Confuls. News brought to Rome, of ftrange things feen in Roma-

Flaminius 0-Gauls in

beauty and personage. The first time Capitolinus moved this dishonesty to him, he did of himself peauty and periodage.

The without any other privity: but when he faw he came again to tempt repulse his shamelels offer, without any other privity: him the fecond time, he straight revealed it to his Father. Marcellus his Father being marvellously offended withall (as he had good cause) went and accused Capitolinus before the Senate. Capitolinus one nature without (as he many exceptions and feigned excuses, to keep him from appearing, and in the end he appealed to the Tribunes of the People : but they declared plainly they would not receive his Appeal, nortake any knowledge of the matter. At the length he was forced to answer the matter before the Senate, and denied flatly that he attempted ever any fuch thing, because there were no Witneffes to prove it against him. Whereupon the Senate thought good to fend for young Marcellus, who coming before them, both bluthed and wept together. The Senate feeing fhametaftnels in him, mingled with tears, and a malice that could not be pacified: without feeking other proof, they took it a clear case, and so condemned Capitolinus presently in a great sum of Money, which Marcelis a ciear case, and to consenion, to lerve at Sacrifices, and to did confectate them to the fervice of the gods. Now when the ROMANS had ended their first War against the CARTHAGINIand Wars with ANS, which held them fully the space of two and twenty years: immediately after that, they began a new War against the Gauls. For the Insuerians, being a People derived from gan a new war against the Got of the Mountains of the Alpes on Italy fide, being the Galls, and dwelling at the foot of the Mountains of the Alpes on Italy fide, being able to make a good Power of themselves, did notwithstanding pray aid of the other GAULS inhabiting on the other fide of the Mountains : and they caused the Gessates, mercenary People and hirelings to them that would give Pay, to bring great numbers with them. Truly methinks it was a marvellous matter, and wonderfull good hap for the ROMANS, that this War of the Gauls came not upon them, while they were at wars with the CARTHAGINIANS : and that the Gaus alfo had lien quiet all that while (as if they had purpofely fworn to fet upon the Conquerors) expe-Ring fill an end between them, and then to fet upon the Conquerors, when they had nothing to fay to any other. Yet the fituation of their Countrey did trouble the ROMANS much, because they were lo near Neighbours unto them, and had Wars as it were at their own doors. And so did the ancient reputation of the Gauls somewhat appaul the ROMANS, whom, as it should seen, they did fear more then any other Nation whatfoever : because Rome had been taken before by the GAULS. Since which time a Law was made, that Priefts and Ecclefiasticall persons should be difpenced with from going to the Wars, unless the Gauls did rife against them. The preparation they made for this War at that time, did plainly shew the fear they had then of the GAUIS. For it is thought, that never before nor fince, there were fo many naturall ROMANS affembled aftical persons together in Field, as were then at that present. Moreover, the new-come cruelty they used in their from the Wars. Sacrifices, doth record this to be true. For before they never used any strange manner in their Sacrifice, or barbarous fashion, but were favourable in their opinions about the Ceremonies of Religion, and agreeable to the GRECIANS touching the fervice of the gods. But then they were compelled to obey certain Oracles and ancient Prophecies they found written in Sibyls Books: and they buried two Grecians alive in the Ox-Market, a Man and a Woman, and likewife two Gauls, a Man and a Woman. Unto them they do yet continue certain fecret Anniverfaries in November, that are not to be feen of every body. The ROMANS in their first Battels of this War, were of ten overcome, and did overcome : but these Battels , were to little purpose for ending of the Wars. In the year that C. Quintim Flaminim, and P. Furim Philowere Confuls, and fent with great Armies to make War upon the Insubrians, People subject to the State of MILLANE, news were brought to ROME, there was a River feen in the Countrey of ROMANIA, red as bloud, and three Moons also at the very same time in the City of RIMINI. Furthermore, the Priests and Soothfayers that had observed and confidered the tokens and fignifications of Birds on that day, when these two were chosen Consuls: they told plainly there was errour in their election, and that they were directly chosen against all figns and tokens of the Birds. Thereupon the Senate wrote immediately to the Camp to them, and willed them to come home to depose themselves of their Consulship, before they did attempt any thing as Confuls against the Enemies. The Confull Flaminium received the Letters in time : but because he was ready to give Battel, he would not open them, before he had first overthrown his Enemies, and spoiled their Countrey, as indeed he did. But when he was come back to ROME again, and had brought marvellous great Spoils with him, the People for all that would not go out to meet him, because he did not presently obey the Letters they wrote unto him, nor returned upon it as they commanded him, but contemptiously, without any regard of their pleasure, followed his own tantalie : whereupon they had almost flatly denied him the honour of Triumph. For his Triumph was no fooner ended, but they compelled him to give over his Confulfhip, and made him The great Re- a private man with his companion. The ROMANS therein were fo religiously bent, as they would all things should be referred unto the gods good grace and pleasure, and would suffer none to contemn the observations and prognosticating of the Sooth-sayers, nor their ancient uses and customs, for any prosperity and selicity that could happen. For they thought it more necessary and profitable, for benefit of the Common-weal, that the Senate and Magistrates should reverence the Ceremonis and Service of the gods, then that they should overcome their Enemies in Battel. As for example, Tiberius Sympronius, a man as much honoured and efteemed of the ROMANS for his justice and valiantness, as any other of his time, being one year Confull, did nominate and elect two other for Confuls the year following, Scipio Nafica, and Caim Martim. Thefe two being entred into their Confulfhip, and lent from HOME also to their severall Provinces appointed them by lot: Semproniss

by chance took certain little Books in his hand, where were briefly written the rules apperraining to the Ceremonies of publick facrifice : and reading in them, he found a certain ordinance he never An ordinance heard before. And this it was: That if a Magistrate were set in any Tent or hired House without the for publick is City, to behold and observe the Prognostications of Birds, and that upon any sudden occasion he crifice, were driven to come again into the City, before the Birds had given any certain figns : the fecond sime when he returned again to end his observations, there was no remedy, but he must leave his Tent or first hired House, and rake another, and begin new observations again. Tiberius unterly ignorant of this ordinance before, had kept his observations twice in one self House, and had chosen there Nafica and Martins, Confuls to fuceted him. But when he knew he had offended, he told the Senate of it : who would not let flip fo little a fault, but wrote to the new Confuls, and they straight left their Provinces, and returned again to ROME, willingly refigning up their Offices. That was a prety while after. Again also, about the very present time we write of now, there were two Priests of Noble Houses (and Noble persons also), the one called Cornelius, and the other Cetheus, both which were degraded of their Priefshood; because they had not given the intrails of the facrificed Beast in order as they should have done ... Quintus Sulpitius in like manner, was degraded of his Bishopprick, because his Mitter which the FLAMINS do wear, fell off his Head in his facrificing. Minutius being Dictator also, and having chosen Caiu Flaminiu Generall of the Horsemen: because they heard the noise of a Rat at the Election of Flaminius; they were both put out of their authority and other chosen in their place. Now, though they were thus precise even in trifles, it was not by reafon of any superfition mingled with their Religion : but because they would not break any jot of the Ancient Institutions and Ceremonies of their Countrey. But to our story again. Flaminius being deprived of his Confulship, Marcellus was created Conful in his place, by the regents at that time called Interreges, Marcellus being inflitted in his Office, choic Comes Cornelius for his companion : Marcellus and and they say, that the GAULS being inclined to peace, and the Senate of ROME also willing to Greux Cornetihearken to peace, Marcellus did ftir upthe People, and made them defire war. Notwithfranding, they concluded peace at that time : but the Gauls Gessates immediately after renewed the Wars The Gauls again. For there came over the mountains of the Alpes, thirty thousand of them, and they Gessure make again. For there came over the mountains may more in number then themselves. Now, they was with joyned with the Insubrians, which were many more in number then themselves. Now, they was with Rome, and joyned whitthe Insuperior went incontinently to lay fiege to the City of Acernes, that stan came over the ded upon the River of Po : and during the fiege; King Britomarki taking Ten thousand Gessa- Alper. TES with him, went and destroyed all the Countrey above the Po. Marcellus hearing that, lest Accres, a City with his companion Cneus Cornelius; all the Armed Footmen, and the third part of the Horfemen, upon the Riin his Camp by ACERRES : and he himself with the residue of the Horsemen, and fix hundred verof Pe. Footmen light Armed, marched towards the Enemy, travelling night and day, until he met with Ten thousand Gessates, near unto a village of Gaul on this fide the mountains, called CLA- Clafidium, a STIDIUM, which was subject not long before to the ROMANS. So he had no leasure to take village on rest, nor to restress his men a little : for the Barbarous People knew straight he was come, and took this side the him for no better then by and by overcome, because he had so sew Footmen. And sor his Horse-mountains, men the GAULS made no reckoning of them : for besides themselves are very good men at Arms, and excell all other in that fight, yet were their number of Horsemen far above Marcellus. Therefore they straight marched towards him in a marvellous fury, and with thundring shouts, as if they would have devoured them at their coming, Britomarus their King advanced himself before all his company. Marcellus fearing to be compaffed in behind, being fo final! a number : he put out the wings of his Horsemen as much as he could, to have the Countrey at large, so that his two wings were very slender, untill he came near his Enemies. And being ready to gallop towards the Enemy, it fortuned his Horse being asraid with the noise of his Enemies, turned about, and carried Marcellus back again in spite of his teeth. But he fearing the ROMANS superstition, in taking this for an evil token, and that they would take a conceit upon the same : plucking the bridle with his left hand, turned his Horse head again upon the Enemy, and then he worshipped the Sun, as though he had not turned his Horse by chance, but purposely for that cause. For it is the ROMAN'S manner to turn The manner of about fo, when they do honour their gods. So when they began to joyn Battell he made a vow to the Romans Jupiter Ferencian, to offer him up the goodlieft spoils of the Enemies, if he did overcome. The King when they of the GAULS feeing him at that inftant, imagined by the marks and tokens he faw, that he should worship. be the Generall of his Enemies : So he fet spurs to his Horse , and gallopped towards him from all his company, giving him defiance, and challenged him, shaking his staff in his hand. He was the good- The combate liest person and strongest man of all the GAULS, and his Armour was all gilt and silvered, and so set on Horsebick lieft person and strongest man of all the GAULS, and his Armour was an gut and inverse, and in her forth with sundry works and Colours, that it shined as the Sun. Marcellus on the other side having between Sundry King of with sundry works and Colours, that it shined as the Sun. Marcellus on the other side having between King. viewed all the Army of his Enemies throughout, and perceiving none fo richly Armed as the King, merut King of viewed all the Army of his Enemies throughout, and perceiving none fo richly Armed as the King, the Gault, and thought fraight it was against him, that he had made his Prayer and vow to Jupiter. Then he put Marcellus. his Horse in full career against him, and came with such a force and sury to him, that he pierced Marcellus slew his Armour with his staff, and overthrew him, but yet he killed him not dead : whereupon he fud. King Britond. denly redoubled two or three strokes besides upon him, and so slew him right out. Then he rus a Classifili-lighted from his Horse, and taking the dead Kings Armour in his hand, he list up his eyes to hea. ven , and faid : O Jupiter Fereirian , thou that dost from heaven behold and direct all martiall Prayer unto feats and Captains deeds : thy felf I call to witness, that I am the third ROMAN Captain, Jupiter Fere. that being Generall of the Army, have flain with my own hands, The King and Generall of the irian. Enemies : and I promise here to thee, to offer thee up the richest spoils of mine Enemies, so thy

The Gauls overcome by Marcellus.

Marcellus wan the City of Millaine.

Marcellus Triumph.

Spolis Opima what they be-

. That is about thirty Crowns.

godhead will vouchfase to grant us the like good fortune in all this War besides. His prayer gouncau will routine to be the ROMANS ran in among the Horfemen and Footmen of the Gauls, one being unparted from another : and Fortune did fo favour them; that they wan a paffing Victory, in fuch a strange and wonderfull manner, as was incredible. For it was never seen paning victory, in activations and the state of the Horsemen did overthrow so great a number of men of Arms and Pootmen ranged together. Now when Marcellan had fain the greater number of them, and roomen rangen together. I had gotten their fpoils and all their baggage, he returned again to his Companion Cnew Cornelsus, whom he found making Wars unfortunately with the Gaules, before the greatest and most populous City they had, called MILLAINE, which the Gauls on this side the Mountains take for their chief City, and from whence all other had their first originall. Whereupon they did all their possible endeavour to defend it, and did as ftraightly besiege the Consul Cornelim, as he did them. Now when Marcellus was come to the Camp again, the GESSATES understanding that their King Britomarus was slain in the bastell, returned back again into their countrey, and the City of MILLAINE was taken. After that all the other Cities thereabouts yeelded of themfelves, without force of fiege, and the Gauls wholly fublished themselves and all that they had to the mercy of the ROMANS, who granted them Peace upon easie conditions. For these famous Victories, the Senate of ROME gave all the honour of Triumph unto Marcellus onely, and that was as wonderfull and worthy a fight, as any that ever past before him : what for the infinite that was as wonderful and worthy a light, as any that was as also for the exceeding fumptuoulnes fpoils, and the number of great men taken Prifoners, as also for the exceeding fumptuoulnes and fattely flew thereof. But the goodlieft fight of all for the retrenes, was to behold Mariellas and fattely flew thereof. But the goodlieft fight of all for the retrenes, was to behold Mariellas and fattely flew thereof. But the goodlieft fight of the barbarous King, to offer up to Jupiter Ferefelf, carrying on his fhoulders the whole food of the Manuscian Assistance and the united by tert, carrying on ins mountain the whole from of the balactors amig, to oner up to Japher Fert-trian. For he had cut down a goodly young Oke of the Mountain, fitraight; and shortup very long, which he had trimmed up in form of Triumph, hanging all the armed pieces he had won of the King, very orderly round about it. Then when all the shew of his Triumph was past, he himself took the Oke upon his shoulders, and got up upon his Triumphant Chariot, and so marched thorow the City, carrying thele figns thereupon: which was the nobleft, and honourableft flew of the whole Triumph. His Army followed after the Chariot, finging Verfes and Songs of Victory, in praise of the gods and their Captain : and when he had passed through the whole City, and was come to the Temple of Jupiter called Feretrian, there he fet up this young Oke and token of Triumph. This Marcellus is the third and last ROMAN Captain, to whom happened this honour Murchunofter in our age. For the first man that ever offered up to Jupicor the spoils of the Generall of their Enemies, was King Romulus, who wan the like spoils of Acran King of the CENINIANS. The second rich spoils.
The three per- was Cornelius Cossus, who sew Tolumnius General of the Thuscans. And the third was Mar-Ine three per- cellus, who flew with his own hands Britomarus King of the GAULS: and after him, no man ed up Spolis 0- ever fince could obtain the like good fortune. The god to whom these manner of spoils are con-Pint in Rome: fecrated thus, is called Jupiter Feretrian, fo termed as some write, because they do carry this token of Triumph to him, following the derivation of this Greek word, Fetin, which fignifieth to carry: Collus.

Marcellus, Fu- for in those former times, many Greek words were mingled with the Latin. Other affirm it is piter Fereirian one of the furnames of Jupiter, fignifying as much as lightning : for Ferire in the Latin tongue figwhy to called niffeth to strike. And some say also, in Wars it is properly to hurt or kill with his own hands : for the ROMANS do use at this day when they give a charge upon their Enemies in battell, or that they have them in chace flying, to cry, incouraging one another, Feri, Feri, which is as much as, kill, kill. And the spoils taken from the Enemies also, are generally called Spolia : but those which Lieuce nant generall, or Generals, do take from the Generalls of their Enemies, when they have flain them, they are called particularly, Spolia opima. Yet fome hold opinion that King Nama Pompilius mentioning the rich spoils, or Spolia Opima, in his Commentaries, speaketh of the first, the fecond, and the third : and commandeth that the first spoils which are won, should be consecrated to Jupiter Fererrian : the second unto Mars : and the third unto Quirinus. And that they should give to him that had won the first spoils, three hundred * Asses, the second, two hundred : and the third a hundred. But notwithstanding, the best opinion, and usuall taking of Spolia Opima, referreth them to be the first spoils won in a foughten field, and those which the Lieutenant of an Army, or a Generall doth take from the Generall of the Enemies, after he hath flain him with his own hands. And thus much for the declaration of this matter. Furthermore, the ROMANS were to joyfull of this Victory, and of their good success in this war, that they caused a massile cup of Gold to be made of the spoil they had gotten, weighing a hundred Pound weight, which they fent to offer up in the Temple of Apullo Pythias, in the City of DELPHOS in token of thanks: and they made liberall division besides of the spoils unto their friends and confederates, and fent a great part of it unto Hieron King of SYRACUSA, who was their confederates. rate. Not long after Hammbal being entred ITALY. Marcellus was fent with an Army by fea, into SICILE. And after the great overthrow was given at the battell of CANNES, wherein there with an Army, died to many thousand ROMANS, and that very few of them faved themselves by flying into the City of CANNUSIUM: they looked that Hannibal having overcome the flower of all the ROMANS youth, and their greatest force, would not fail to come straight to ROME. Wherefore Marcellus furft fent fifteen hundred of his men by fea, to help to defend ROME : and having afterwards received commandment from the Senate, he came to Cannusium, where he took fuch as were fled thither for fuccour after the battell, and so brought them out of the field, to defend the Countrey. Now the ROMAN'S having lost the most part of all their best Captains, in

divers fundry Battells before : of all those that remained, Fabius Maximus was the onely able and reputed man for commendation of his honesty and wisdom, yet they misliked of him notwithftanding, for a timerous man, and of no courage, as a man too full of doubts and confiderations, and loth to put any thing in hazard : faying, he was a good Captain to defend, but not to offend the Fnemy. Whereupon they thought good to joyn Marcellus lively youth and courage, with Fabius feminine fear and wildom : and therefore fome years they chose them both Consulls together, or else they sent one of them as Consull, and the other as Proconsull, each in his turn, to the Countrey where they had Wars. And for proof hereof Posidonius writeth, that the ROMANS at that Posidonius time called Fabius Maximus their Target, and Marcellus their Sword. Therefore Hannibal himself words of Fafaid, he feared Fabius Maximus as his Governour, and Marcellus as his Enemy : because the one kept bius and Marhim from hurting of others, and the other did hurt to himself. Immediately after this great Victory cellur. at CANNES, Hannibals Souldiers became so bold, so careless and disordered, that they kept the Field without fear of any thing, and dispersed themselves far from their Camp: wherefore Marcellus fetting upon those straglers, he slew them every man, and so by little and little did still lessen the power and strength of his Enemy. Afterwards he aided the Cities of BIZANTIUM and of NOLA, and stablished the true devotion and love of the BIZANTINES towards the ROMANS : from thence he went to NOLA, and found great fedition there betwirt the Senate and the People, because the Senate could not keep the People in obedience, but they would needs take Hannibals part. The Cause nate could not keep the People in obedience, but they would needs take **Irannibats** part. The Came of the Peoples flubborness grew, by occasion of a Gentleman of the City called **Bandius**, a noble **Lucius Bandius**, a noble of Nola, a vili-Gentleman to the People, and a valiant man of his hands. This Bandius having fought valiantly at ant man. the Battell of CANNES, after he had flain many a CARTHAGINIAN, was himself in the end ftricken down, and found lying among the dead bodies, fore wounded and mangled : whereupon Hannibal greatly commending his valiantness, did not onely let him go without Ransom, but also gave him rich Gifts, and made him his Host and Friend. Hereupon Bandius at his coming home, to require Hannibals honour and courtefie, became one of those that most favoured Hannihome, to require rannows moved and content, some part. Notwithstanding this, Marcellus gen-bal, and most perswaded the people of NoLA to take his part. Notwithstanding this, Marcellus genthinking it too great a fin against the gods, to put a man to death that had made so great proof tleness. of his valiantness, and had served with the ROMANS in their greatest Wars and extremest danger, and who besides the goodness of his nature, had a marvellous gift also to win mens good wills by his great courtefie : when this Bandius came one day to do his duty to him, Marcellus of purpose asked him what he was, though he had known him long before, onely to take occasion to talk with him. The other answered him, his Name was Lucius Bandius. Then Marcellus feeming to be marvellous glad, and to wonder at him faid: And art thou that Bandius they speak so much of at ROME, whom they say did so notable service in person at the Battell of CAN-NES, and never forfook Paulus Amylius the Confull, but received fo many wounds upon his body in defence of him? Bandius answered, that he was the man, and therewith shewed him many wounds he had upon his body. Marcellus then replied: Alas, thou that carrieft fuch notable marks of thy unfeigned love towards us, what didft thou mean, that thou cameft not straight again unto us? art thou perswaded we are so miserable and unthankfull, that we will not worthily reward the vertue and valiantness of our friends, whom our Enemies selves do honour? After Marcellus had used this courteous speech unto him, and had embraced him, he gave him a goodly Horse for service in the Wars, and five hundred Drachnues of silver besides. So after that time Bandius did ever take Marcellus part, and always followed him, being very faithfull to him, and Reward made shewed himself very severe and earnest to accuse them that took Hannibals part in the City: Banding a true which were many in number, and had conspired among themselves, that the first time the Ro- subject. MANS should go into the Field to skirmish with the Enemies, they would shut the gates after them, and take the spoil of all their Carriages. Marcellus being informed of this Treason, did set his Men in battell ray within the City, hard by the gates, and behind them he placed all the Sumpters and Carriage in good order : besides that, he made proclamation by Trumpet, that no Citizen upon pain of death should approach the Walls. This occasion drew Hannibal to come hard to the City, feeing no watch upon the Walls, and made him the bolder to come in dijorder, imagining there had been some Mutiny or sedition within, between the Noble men and the People. But in the mean time, Marcellus fet open the gate being hard by, and fallying out upon the fudden with the best men of Arms he had, he gave a charge upon Hannibal in the vaward. Immediately Marcellus after came out his Footmen at another gate, running straight upon Hannibal, with a wonderfull Victory of cry and shour: so as Hannibal to withstand them, was driven to divide his men into two Companies. Hannibal at But as he was dividing of them, fuddenly a third gate opened upon them, from whence all the re- Nota. fidue of the ROMANS issued out, who fet upon the CARTHAGINIANS on every side, they being marvelloufly amazed to be fo fuddenly fet on, which they looked not for : fo having their hands full with those that came first upon them, being scant able to defend themselves against them, and feeing this new and last charge also, they were forced to retire. This was the first time, that ever Hannibals Souldiers began to give place to the ROMANS, who drave them back unto their Camp; and flew a great number of them, and did hurt divers of them befides. For some write there were flain of the CARTHAGINIANS at that conflict, above five thousand, and of the ROMANS there died not past five hundred men. But Titus Livius doth not set out the overthrow To great, and yet confesseth that Marcellus wan great honour by it, and that it made the ROMANS marvellous valiant again; after so many and sundry Battels as they had lost one after another: for

Marcellus the third time Confull fent into Sicile.

> The feverity of the Romans to cowardly fouldiers.

> > Cowards de-

Hippocrates the Syracufians.

then they were perfuaded that they fought not with an Enemy altogether invincible, but that he might fometime also, as well as themselves, receive both loss and hurt. Therefore, one of the Confulls dying about that time, the people caufed Marcellast to be fent for, and placed him in his room: and in spite of the Senate they deferred all deputation untill his return from the Camp. Marcellus came no fooner to ROME, but he was chosen Consull in the dead mans room, by all the voices of the People. Norwithstanding, when they went to choose him, it thundered marvellously: which the Priests and Augures took for an ill roken, but yet they, durft not openly speak against his election, because they seared the people. Howbeit Marcellus of himself did willingly give up his Confulfhip, and yet was it no exception to him for his fervice in the Wars; for they created Marcellar pro- him Proconfull, and fent him again to the Camp at Nola, where he did feverely punish such as took Hannibals part : who being advertised thereof, came thither with all possible speed to help them : and even at his first coming he offered Marcellus Battell, which he refused at that time, Nevertheless he took his time, when Hannibal had sent the best part of his Army to forage, as meaning to fight no more Battells : and then he fet upon him, having given his Footmen long Pikes, such as they use in fight upon the Sea, and taught them also, how to hurt the Enemy afar off , keeping them fill in their hands. But the CARTHAGINIANS having no skill of their Pikes, and fighting with short Javelins in their hands, did strike down right blowes: which was the cause, that they being set upon by the ROMANS, were driven to turn their backs, and flie Certain Spani- before them. So there were five thousand of the CARTHAGINIANS left dead in the field, four certain spans - Elephants flain, and two taken alive: and furthermore, three days after the Battell, there came militari twol- three hundred Horsemen, some of them SPANIARDS, and other Numidians, that submitted themselves to the ROMANS. Never came there such a missortune before to Hannibal: who had of long time kept together in love and amity, an Army affembled of fundry barbarous Nations and people. Howbeit these three hundred continued ever after faithfull to the end, both to Marcellin, and to all other Lieutenants and Generals of the ROMANS. Shortly after, Marcellus being again chofen Confull the third time, went into SICILE. For Hannibals profeerous fuccefs and Victories, had fo incouraged the CARTHAGINIANS, as they fought again to conquer this Illand: and specially because that after the death of Hieronimus the Tyrant, there rose some tumult at Sy-RAGUSA. Upon which occasion the ROMANS had fent an Army thither before, and a Prator called Appres : at whose hands Marcellus having received the Army, a great number of the Ro-MANS became humble futers to him, to pray him to aid them in their calamity, which was this: Of those that scaped from the Battell of CANNES, some saved themselves by flying, other were taken Prisoners, of which there was such a number, as it appeared that ROME had not people enough left onely to keep the walls. Nevertheless those few that remained, their hearts were fo great, that they would never redeem the Prifoners, which Hannibal was contented to deliver them upon fmall ransom, but made a Decree they should not be redeemed; and so suffered some of them to be killed, others to be fold for flaves out of ITALY. And moreover, those that faved themselves by flying, they sent straight into SICILE : commanding they should not set a foot again in ITALY, whileft they had Wars with Hannibal. These were the men that came altogether, and sell down at Marcellus feet, fo foon as he arrived in SIGILE, and humbly belought him, to appoint them to serve under some Ensign, that they might fight to do their Countrey honour and service: promifing him with tears running down their cheeks, that their faithfull fervice then should witness for them, that the overthrow they had at CANNES, fell upon them rather by misfortune, then through lack of courage. Whereupon Marcellus having compassion on them, wrote to the Senate in their favour, and prayed them that they would grant him licence to supply the bands of his Army, as they diminished, with those poor Romans his Countreymen. Many reafons passed too and fro, against this sute : nevertheless it was concluded in the end by the Senate, that the Commonwealth made no reckoning of the service of faint-hearted men like Women: wherefore if Marcellus thought good of their service, yet it should not be lawfull for him to give them any Crowns or rewards of Honour, for any notable fervice foever they did, as all Generals are wont to give to honeft men that ferve valiantly. This Order of the Senate milliked Marcellus very much, who at his return home out of Sicile, made his complaint in open Senate, and told them they did him manifest wrong, to deny him that favour, that having done the Commonwealth such faithfull service divers times, as he had done, he might not restore so many poor ROMANS to their Honour again. Now when Marcellus was in SICILE, he received great hurts and injuries by Hippocrates General of the SYRACUSIANS : who, to pleasure the CARTHAGINIANS, and by their means to make himself chief Lord of SYRACUSA, did put many ROMAN Citizens to death. Whereupon Marcellus went and laid fiege to the City of the LEONTINES, and when he had taken it by affault, he hurt never a Townsman, nor naturall Citzen of the same : but such Traitors as he found there, who had fled from his Camp, and yeelded to the Enemies, them he caused to be whipped, and then hanged. But noswithstanding, Hippecrates had caused it to be bruited at Syracusa, that Marcellus had put all the LEONTINES to the fword, not sparing little Children: and afterwards Hippocrates coming thither on the fudden, in the fear and garboil of this false bruit, he easily took the City. Marcellus hearing Hippocrates had taken SYRACUSA, left forthwith the LEONTINES, and went with his whole Army and camped hard by Syracusa: and fent his Ambaffadours to tell the Syracu-SIANS truly, what he had done in the City of the LEONTINES, and quite contrary to that they

were informed of. Howbeit that prevailed not, for they beleeved not Marcellus, because Hippocra-Marcellus beses being thestronger, had won the City. Whereupon he began then to approach the Walls, and fiegeth Syrato affault in every quarter, as well by Sea as by Land. Appin took charge of them that gave affault by Land. Marcellus himself with threescore Gallies of five Oars at every bank, well armed, and full of all forts of Artillery and Fire-works, did affault by Sea, and rowed hard to the Wall, having made a great Engine, and device of Battery, upon eight Gallies chained together, to batter the Wall: trufting in the great multitude of his Engines of Battery, and to all fuch necessary provision as he had for Wars, as also in his own reputation. But Archimedes made light account of all his de-Archimedes a vices, as indeed they were nothing comparable to the Engines himself had invented : and yet notable Mawere not his own such, as himself did reckon of, to shew singularity of work and device. For thematician, those he had made, were but his recreations of Geometry, and things done to pass the time with, at the request of King Hieron : who had prayed him to call to mind a little his Geometricall speculation, and to apply it to things corporall and sensible, and to make the reason of it demonstrative and plain, to the understanding of the common people by experiment, and to the benefit and commodity of use. For this inventive art to frame Instruments and Engines (which are called mechanicall, or organicall, fo highly commended and effeemed of all forts of people) were first fet forth by Architai and by Endoxin, partly to beautifie a little the science of Geometry by this fineness, and partly to prove and confirm by materiall examples and fensible inftruments, Endoxus, facertain Geometricall conclusions, whereof a man cannot find out the conceivable demonstrations whose tions, by enforced reasons and proofs. As that conclusion which instructeth one to search out maticians. two lines mean proportionall, which cannot be proved by reason demonstrative : and yet notwithstanding is a principle and an accepted ground, for many things which are contained in the art of portraiture. Both of them have fashioned it to the workmanship of certain Instruments, called Mefolabes or Mefographes, which serve to find these mean lines proportionall, by draw- Why Plato reing certain curve lines, and overthwart and oblike sections. But after that, Plato was offended proved Eudoxwith them, and maintained against them, that they did utterly corrupt and disgrace the worthi. It and Archive nels and excellency of Geometry, making it to descend from things not comprehensible, and without body, unto things fensible and materiall, and to bring it to a palpable substance, where the vile and base handy-work of man is to be employed : since that time I say, handy crast, or the art of Engines, came to be separated from Geometry, and being long time disposed by the Philosophers, it came to be one of the warlike arts. But Archimedes having told King Hieron, his Kinfman and very Friend, that it was possible to remove as great a weight as he would, with as little strength as he lifted to put to it : and boasting himself thus (as they report of him) and trusting to the force of his reasons, wherewith he proved this conclusion, that if there were another Globe of earth, he was able to remove this of ours, and pass it over to the other : King Hieron wondring to hear him, required him to put this device in execution, and to make him fee by experience, some great and heavy weight removed by little force. So Archimedes caught hold with a Hook of fome great and heavy weight removed by little force. So Arthumeaes taught flow with a riook of one of the greatest Carects of Hulkes of the King, (that to draw it to the shore out of the water, rewish an Enquired a marvellous number of people to go about it, and was hardly to be done so) and put a gine drew one great number of men more into her, then her ordinary burthen : and he himself fitting alone at of the greatest his ease afar off, without any straining at all, drawing the end of an Engine with many wheels and hulks Hieron pullies, fair and foftly with his hand, made it come as gently and smoothly to him, as it had flo- the King had, ted in the Sea. The King wondring to fee that fight, and knowing by proof the greatness of his art : he prayed him to make him some Engines , both to affault and defend in all manner of sieges and affaults. So Archimedes made him many Engines, but King Hieron never occupied any of them, because he raigned the most part of his time in peace, without any Wars. But this provision and munition of Engines, ferved the Syracusians turn marvelloully at that time : and not onely the provision of the Engines ready made, but also the Engineer and Workmaster himself that had invented them. Now the Syracustan's feeing themselves affaulted by the Romans, both by Sea and by Land, were marvellously perplexed, and could not tell what to fay, they were so afraid: imagining it was impossible for them to withstand so great an Army. But when Archimedes The wenderfell to handlehis Engines, and to fet them at Liberty, there flew in the air infinite kinds of fhot, and full force of marvellous great stones, with an incredible noise and force on the sudden, upon the Footmen Archimedes

that gave affault by Sea, some were sunk with long pieces of Timber like unto the Yards of ships,

whereto they fasten their fayls, which were fuddenly blown over the Walls with force of these En-

gines into their Gallies, and so sunk them by their over great weight. Other being hoised up by

the Proces with hands of Iron, and Hooks made like Cranes bills, plunged their Poups into the

Sea. Other being taken up with certain Engines fastened within, one contrary to the other, made them turn in the air like a Whirlegig, and so cast them upon the Rocks by the Town walls, and

splitted them all to fitters, to the great spoil and murther of the Persons that were within them.

And fometines the Ships and Gallies were lift clean out of the Water, that it was a fearfull thing

to fee them hang and turn in the air as they did : untill that casting their Men within them over the Hatches, some here, some there, by this terrible turning, they came in the end to be emp-

ty, and to break against the Walls, or else to fall into the Sea again, when their Engines lest their

that came to affault the City by Land, bearing down and tearing in pieces all those which came Marcellas siege against them, or in what place soever they lighted, no earthly body being able to resist the violence of syracus. of fo heavy a weight : fo that all their ranks were marvellously disordered. And as for the Gallies

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Marcellus. Sambuca.

hold. Now for Marcellu Engine, which he brought against the Walls, upon a Bridge made of Gallies joyned together: that was called Sambuca, by reason of the fashion ir had like to an instrument of mulick of the fame name, which is a Harp. The fame being yet a good pretty way off from the Walls, there fell a great stone upon it sent from the Walls, weighing ten Talents: then a fecond after that, and a third one after that, the which falling all into this Engine with fuch a thunder and terrible tempest, brake the foundation of the Engine, and tore all the Bridge of the Gallies joyned together in pieces, that fuftained it. So that Marcellus being amazed withall, not knowing well what it meant, was glad to retire quickly, and fent to make his Trumpet found to retreat to those that gave affault by Land. Hereupon they fate in counsell to determine what was to be done, and they refolved, that the next morning before day they should approach the Walls if it were polfible : because that Archimedes Engines , which were very fitting and hard wound up , should by this means fend all the force and fury of their stones and shot over their heads, and that near hand also he could do no good with them, for that they had not the scope of their levell and carriage they should have. But Archimedes had prevented this device by long preparation before, having made provision of Engines for far and near, the levell and carriage whereof was proportioned for all distances : their shot short, their Arrows not very long, many holes and arches in the Walls one hard by another, where there were store of Crosbows to kill near at hand, fer in fuch places, as the Enemies could not fee them without. Wherefore, when the ROMANS thought to approach, thinking they had been fafe and clofe, and no man faw them: it amazed them all when they were received again with infinite shor, and stricken to the ground with stones that fell upon their heads like lead : (for there was no part of all the Walls, from whence they had not the like shot.) Whereupon they were forced again to retire from the Walls. And yet when they were further off from them, the Arrows, stones, and other kind of shor, that flew in every place among them, killed a great number of them, scattered far from thence: so that many of them were flain and fore wounded, and divers of their Ships splitted, and they not once able to be revenged, nor to hurt their Entmies, because Archimedes had placed his Engines very closely behind the Walls, and not upon the Walls in fight of the Enemy. So that it appeared the gods fought against the ROMANS, they were to slain and wounded, and yet they could not tell how, nor by whom. Notwithstanding, Marcellus escaped with life, fafe from hurt, and mocking his Mercellus won- Workmasters and Engineers he had in his Camp, he said unto them : What shall we not leave to other country with this Briarian Engineer and Geometrician here? who fitting still upon the Wharle dred at Archi. medici Engines. in sporting manner hath with shame overthrown our Navy, and exceeded all the sabulous humdred hands of the Giants, discharging at one instant so many shot among us? For indeed, all the relidue of the Syracusians, were as the body and members of Archimedes preparation : and he himself was the onely creature that moved and did all, all Weapons else being quiet, and his Engines onely occupied, to affault and defend. At the length Marcellus feeing his men thus afraid, as if they did but fee the end of a Rope, or any piece of Timber upon the Wall, they ran away, crying out, that Archimedes was letting loofe fome of his Engines upon them : he would no more approach the Walls, nor give affault, determining to fee if he could win it by long fiege. Not-withstanding, Archimedes had such a great mind, and was so profoundly learned, having hidden in him the onely treasure and secrets of Geometricall inventions, as he would never fer forth any Book how to make all these warlike Engines, which wan him at that time the same and glory, not of mans knowledge . but rather of divine wisdom. But he esteeming all kind of handicraft and invention to make Engines, and generally all manner of Sciences bringing common commodity by the use of them, to be but vile, beggery, and mercenary dross: employed his wit and study onely to write things, the beauty and subtilty whereof, were not mingled any thing at all with necessity. For all that he bath written, are Geometricall propositions, which are without comparison of any other writings whatsoever : because the subject whereof they treat, doth appear by demonstration, the matter giving them the grace and the greatness, and the demonftration proving it to exquifitely, with wonderfull reason and facility, as it is not repugnable. For in all Geometry are not to be found more profound and difficult matters written, in more plain and simple tearms, and by more easie principles, then those which he hath invented. Now fome do impute this, to the sharpness of his wit and understanding, which was a natural gut in him: other do refer it to the extream pains he took, which made these things come so eafily from him, that they feemed as if they had been no trouble to him at all. For no man living of himself can devise the demonstration of his Propositions, what pains soever he take to seek it : and yet straight so soon as he cometh to declare and open it, every man then imagineth with himself he could have found it out well enough, he can then so plainly make demonstration of the thing he meaneth to shew. And therefore that methinks is like enough to be true, which they write of him : that he was so ravished and drunk with the sweet enticements of this Syren, which as it were lay continually with him, as he forgot his meat and drink, and was careless otherwise of himself, that oftentimes his servants got him against his will to the Baths, to wash and annoint him : and yet being there , he would ever be drawing out of the Geometrical figures , even in the very imbers of the chimney. And while they were annointing of him with Oyls and fweet favours, with his finger he did draw lines upon his naked body : to far was he taken from himfelf, and brought into an extaine or trance, with the delight he had in the fludy of Geometry, being gavified with the love of the Mufes. But among many notable things he devased, it appeareth,

Achimedes

Archimedes profoundly learned.

that they most esteemed the demonstration of the proportion between the Cylinder (to wit, the Archimelerderound column) and the sphere or globe contained in the same : for he prayed his Kinsmen and monitration Friends, that after his death they would put a Cylinder upon his Tomb, containing a maffie of the Cylinsphere, with an inscription of the proportion, whereof the continent exceedeth the thing conrained. So Archimedes being as you have heard, did as much as lay in him, both to fave himself and Syracus A from taking. But now again to Marcellus. Marcellus during the fiege at Syra- Marcellus Vi-CUSA, wan the City of MEGARES in SICILE, one of the ancienteft Cities in all the Illand : and he Gories in took besides, the Camp of Hoppocrases, lying by ACILES, where he slew above 8000 men, surpri- State. fing them upon the sudden, even as they were preparing to lodge, and to fortific their Camp. Then he overcame a great part of the Champion Countrey of SICILE, and made the Cities to rebell that took the CARTHAGINIANS part : and in all the Battels he fought, he ever overcame them that durft bid him Battell. It chanced afterwards, that he took a LACEDEMONIAN Captain pri- Danippus & Lafoner, called Danippus: even as he came out of Syracusa by Sea. The Syracus I and definous columnian to redeem him, sehr to him to pray he might be ransomed. They made many parlies about his Capain tarantom, and drew out this practife to divers meetings : untill Marcellus had taken good marks kengiloner. of a certain Tower, that had no great watch fet upon it, and into the which he might fecretly convey a certain number of men, the Wall of the City in that place being no very hard thing to scale. Therefore when he had given good guess by estimation at the height of that Tower, by often approaching to it, having parlied many a time hard by it : he provided skaling Ladders, and took the opportunity of a Feast which the Syracusians solemnized in the honour of Diana, on which day they gave themselves to all feasting, sporting and plays. So he took not onely the Tower, Marcellus winbut filled all the Walls round about with armed men before day, and brake open the main gate and neth Syracufa. entry of the City called Hexapile. And as the SYRACUSIANS began to ftir, perceiving the RO-MANS on the Walls, Marcellus made his men found their Trumpets on every fide. Whereupon the Syracusians were so afraid and amazed, that they began to fly, thinking all the City besides had been taken, where indeed the greatest and strongest part of the City called ACRADINA, Acraliac, was not yet touched: because it is walled in round about, and separated from the rest of the City, which is divided into two other parts, the one called the new City, and the other Fortune. The two parts whereof being won, Marcellus by the break of the day forced in by the gate or entry of the Hexapile. And when his Captains told him he was happy, to win fo goodly a City fo eafily: they fay that he (looking about him, and confidering the greatness and frateliness of the same) wept for very pity, forefeeing whereto it should come, thinking with himself what a sudden change it should have, when his Army came to spoil and sack the same. For there was not a Captain that durft cleny the Souldiers when they demanded the spoil, and yet were there many that would meeds have it burnt and rafed to the ground. But Marcellus would not agree to that in any cafe; Marcellus gen and besides, it was fore against his mind to grant them the spoil of the goods and slaves : straight-tienes, ly commanding them notwithstanding, not to lay hands on any free-man, and not to kill, hurt, nor to make any Syracusian flave. Wherein, though he shewed great favour and mercy, yet it grieved him to fee fo famous a City, brought to that miserable state; and in the midst of all the joy he had for his Victory, he could not refrain from weeping for pity, to fee to rish and wealthy a City, in the turning of a hand, spoiled and brought to nought. For it is faid, that the riches and Rich spoils at goods taken away at the fack of Syracusa, were nothing inferiour to the spoils of Carsyracusa

THAGE, which was also sacked not long after that: for the other part of the City of Syracusa called ACRADINA, was foon after also taken by treason, and spoiled against the Captains wills, faving the Kings Treasure, which was reserved to be carried to the common Treasure of ROME, SY-RACUSA being taken, nothing grieved Marcellus more, then the loss of Archimedes : who being in his study when the City was taken , bufily feeking our by himself the demonstration of some Archimeter in his study which the City was tanch, bound in figure, and so earnestly occupied therein, as Mathematibe never faw nor heard any noise of Enemies that ran up and down the City, and much less his fludy. knew it was taken : he wondred when he faw a Souldier by him , that bade him go with him to Marcellus. Notwithstanding, he spake to the Souldier, and bade him tarry untill he had done his conclusion, and brought it to demonstration : but the Souldier being angry with his answer, drew out his Sword and killed him. Other fay, that the ROMAN Souldier when he came, offered the Diversopi-Swords point to him to kill him: and that Archimedes when he saw him, prayed him to hold his nions of hand a little, that he might not leave the matter he looked for unperfect, without demonstration, chimedes death But the Souldier making no reckoning of his speculation, killed him presently. It is reported a third way also, saying, that certain Souldiers met him in the streets going to Marcellus, carrying certain Mathematicali inftruments in a little prety coffer, as Dials for the Sun, Spheres and Angles, wherewith they measure the greatness of the body of the Sun by view : and they supposing he had caried some Gold or Silver, or other precious Jewels in that little coffer, slew him for it. But it is most true, that Marcellus was marvellous forry for his death, and ever after hated the villain that flew him, as a curied and execrable person: and how he made also marvellous much afterwards of Archimedes Kinimen for his fake. The ROMANS were efteened of at that time by all Nations, for marvellous expert Souldiers, and taken for very valiant and dangerous men to be dealt with : but they never thewed any example of their elemency and courtefie, and left of all of any civill manner to any strangers, untill Marcellus taught the way, whose acts did shew the GRECIANS Marcelluselethen , that the ROMANS were more gracious and mercifull then they. For he did so courte-mency.

Engyuma City in Sicile.

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Nicias craft.

into Rome, of the spoils of Syracufa.

oully intreat those that had to do with him, and shewed such favour to private persons, and also to whole Cities: that if there were any cruelty shewed in the Cities of Enna, or at Medares, or against the Syracusians, it was rather through their own fault and folly that were hurt, then theirs that did them the hurt. And for proof hereof, I will recite you one example onely among many. There is a City in SICILE called ENGYDM, it is no great thing, but a very ancient City of Name, by reason of the traffick thither, for that there are certain goddesses to be seen, whom they worship, called the Mothers. Some say the CRETANS were the first builders and founders of the Temple there, where you shall fee Spears and Helmets of Copper, and upon them are graven the Name of Meriones : and upon others, Ulyffes Name also, which are confecrated to these goddeffes. This City frood altogether at the devotion of the CARTHAGINIANS: and Nicias being the chiefest man of the same, was all he might against it, and perswaded them openly in all their councils to take part with the ROMANS, proving it by many reasons, that his Enemies counfelling the contrary, were unprofitable members of the Commonwealth. Whereupon Niciae Enemies fearing his greatness and authority, they did conspire among themselves to apprehend him, and to deliver him to the CARTHAGINIANS. But Nician hearing of fuch a matter, and finding that they lay in wait to take him, used this policy to prevent their treason. He gave out openly very ill speeches against the goddesses, and did many things in derogation of their honour: and faid the fight of them (which was a matter of great credit) was but a device, and that there was no credit to be given to them. These words tickled his Enemies, imagining that the common people would lay the mifchief they pretended against him, to himself, as the onely cauler of his own hurt. So they having appointed a day to apprehend him, by chance a common Counfell was kept that day they had determined of : where Nician speaking to the people about matters of counfell, in the midst of his Oration he felt to the ground, to the great wonder of the whole affembly, as every man may conjecture. Howbeit, never a man frirred, and a pretty while after he began to lift up his head a little, and to look gaftly about him, with a faint trembling voice, which he still gathered higher and lowder by little and little, until he saw all the people wondroufly afraid and amazed, that not one of them durft speak. Then throwing his Gown from him, and renting his Coat, he got upon his feet half naked, and ran towards the gate of the Theater, crying out that the goddeffes Mothers did torment him: and not a man durft once come near him, nor offer to ftop him, they were fo superstitious and foolishly afraid of the goddeffes, imagining it was some divine punishment. But by this means he easily got to the gates of the City, and fled from them all, and he was never feen after that time, to do or speak like a mad man in any thing. His Wife that was made privy to his device, and furthered his intent, went first and fell down on her knees before the goddesses mothers in the Temple, as if she had heartily prayed unto them : and faining afterwards the would go feek her Husband, that ran up and down the fields like a mad man, the went out of the City with her little Children, and no body troubled her. Thus did they escape without danger, and went unto Marcellus to Syra cusa. The Engis-NIANS afterwards played fuch insolent parts, that Marcellus in the end went thither, and caused them all to be taken and bound, as though he would have put them to execution. But Nicias came to him with tears in his eyes, and embracing his knees, and kiffing his hands, befought him to take pity upon his poor Citizens, beginning first with those that were his greatest Enemies. This good nature of Nissan to pacified Marcellan wrath, that he pardoned them all, and did no hurt to the Ciry, and gave Nicias certain Land, befides many other rich gifts he bestowed upon him. Thus it is reported in the History of Postdomiss the Philosopher. Now Marcellus being sent for home by the ROMANS, because they had Wars in their own Countrey, and even at ROME gates : he departed out of SICILE returning towards ROME, and carried the goodlieft Tables, Pictures, and nnenets and carious Tables Statues, and other fuch Ornaments as were in Syracus A, meaning first to beautifie his Triumph with them, and to leave them afterwards for an Ornament of ROME, which before that time, never knew what fuch curious works meant. For, this finences, and curious Tables and imagery, never came into ROME before, but was throughly fet out with Armour and Weapons of barbarous people, and with bloudy spoils, and was also crowned with monuments of Victories and Triumphs of divers Enemies, which were no pleasant, but rather fearfull fights to look upon, far unfit for leminine eyes. But even as Epaminondas called the plain of BOBOTIA, Mars his fcaffold, where he kept his Games : and Xenophon also called the City of EPHESUS, the Armourers shop : even so me thinks (as Pandaru faid) they might rightly have termed Rome, the Temple of Mars fighting. And this wan the peoples good wills much more to Marcellus, because he did so passingly set forth ROME with fuch excellent fine toys of GREECE. But Fabius Maximus on the other fide, was better beloved of the old men; because he brought no such toys with him from the City of TARENTUM, when he wan it. Indeed ho brought away Gold and ready Coin, and much other goods that were profitable; but for Images and Tables, he left them standing in their places, speaking a thing of great note; Let us leave the TARENTINE 5 their gods offended with them. And furthermore the Noblemen were angry with Marcellus, faying , that by this act he had purchased Rome great malice and hate. First, because he did not onely lead men Prisoners in his Triumph, but the gods also : and secondly, because he had filled the people full of prittle prattle, and idle curiofity, spending the whole day in gazing, and wondring at the excellency of the Workmen, and of the Works; where before they would fall to their labour, or elfe they went to the Wars, not being acquainted with curiofity, nor idle life, as Exripides faid, speaking of Hercules:

In wicked practifes he simple was to fee.

But he exceld in vertuous deeds, and feats that worthy be. Notwithstanding, Marcellus did glory among the GRECIANS themselves: faying that he had taught the ROMANS to esteem the wonderfull works of GREECE, which they knew not before. But at his return out of SICILE, his Enemies procured, that his honour of Triumph was denied him. So Marcellus knowing that he had yet left somewhat to do in Sicile, and that the War was not altogether ended, and fearing besides lest a third Triumph would make him too much envied : he was contented with good will to have the honour of the great Triumoh in the Mountain of Alba onely : and of the little Triumph, in the City of Rome. This manner of Marcellus enin the Mountain of Alba onery: and or the natue arrumpn, in the City of Rome. And this difference there with Ovation. And this difference there with Ovation is between them : that in the Ovation Triumph, the party to whom it is granted, doth not enter triumph, into the City upon a triumphing Chariot drawn with four Horfes, nor doth carry any Laurell Wherthe Oupon his head in token of Triumph, nor hath any Trumpets or horns blown before him, but doth vation trimarch on foot with a pair of flippers on his feet, having Flutes and Howbowes playing before umph is. him, and wearing a Garland of Fir-tree upon his head : to as this manner of entry is nothing warlike, and is rather a pleasant then fearfull sight. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that these two kinds of entries they granted to the Captains, returning from the Wars with Victory, were distinguished in the old time, rather by the manner, then by the greatness of their doings. For such as had overcome their Enemies by great flaughter and bloudy Battells, they did make their entry with pomp of Triumph, that was altogether martiall and terrible, followed with their Souldiers armed, and crowned with Laurell Garlands, as their cuftom was in mustering their Camp in the Wars. But they on the contrary fide, that without any exploit of arms returned home with Victory, either by peaceable means, or by force of their eloquence; the Law granted them the honour of Ovation Triumph, which was quiet, and full of all joy and Ovation mirth. For the Flute is an inftrument of pleasure belonging to Peace, and the Fir-tree is a tree whereof it is confecrated to Venus, which goddess, above all gods and goddesses doth most detest Wars, called. This second kind of entry was called Ovation, not as many GRECIANS have taken it, coming of this word Evan, which is a voice and Song of joy, although they did use also to accompany the Captains making their entry in this fort, crying, and finging Evan: but there were certain GRECIANS that would have fetched the derivation of this word, from an old common cufrom they had : and were of opinion besides, that part of this honour did appertain to god Bacchiu, whose surname we call Evin, and sometimes Triambiu; Howbeit this is not the true derivation of the name, but after this fort. At the great Triumph and entry made, the Captain or Generall that triumpheth as a Conquerour, did offer the Sacrifice (by the old Orders and ancient The facrifices Cuftoms of Rome) one or divers Oxen: where at the fecond Triumph called the Ovation, he of the great onely facrificed a Mutton, which the ROMANS call in their tongue Ovem, and thereof it was cal-triumph led Ovation. And here by the way is to be noted, the difference betwirt the Law-maker of the The lacrifices ROMAN Laws and cuftoms, and the Law-maker of the LACED. MONIANS: how each of them of the little triwas contrary to the other, in appointing the facrifices for Victory. For at Sparta, the Captain tion, or Generall that had done his feat by policy or friendship, the Sacrifice he did offer up to the gods. The difference was an Ox : and he that by force, and bloudy Battell had obtained Victory, onely offered up a Cock betwitt the for facrifice. For though they were very good Souldiers, yet they thought better of his fervice. Sparing on that by his wildom and wife perfwasions obtained Victory, then of his, that wan it by valiantness. Roman in and force of arms.

This you may be which of these two Laurenders had belt reasons by his these two Laurenders had belt reasons by his these two Laurenders had belt reasons by his these successions. and force of arms. Thus you may see which of these two Law-makers had best reason by his Or- for victory. dinances. But now to Marcellus again. He being chosen Consult the fourth time, his Enemies and evil willers did ftir up the Syracusians against him, and persweded them to complain to The Syracuthe Senate of him, that he had cruelly and uncourteoully used them, contrary to the ancient state of him, that he had cruelly and uncourteoully used them, contrary to the ancient state of him, League and alliances made long before with the ROMANS. Marcellus being facrificing one day Marcellus. in the Capitoll , while the Senate were set in counsell , the Syracusians Deputies came before them, and kneeling down befought them to give them audience, and that they would do them justice. The other Consult that was present rebuked them: being angry that they had so maliciously spied the occasion of Marcellus absence. But when Marcellus heard of it, he straight leit off all, and came to the Senate, and first sate him down in his Consulls chair, where he gave audience as Confull, and dispatched divers Causes: when he had so done, he rose out of his chair and came down among them, standing as a private person to answer at the Barr, as other offendors and men accused, suffering the EYRACUSIANS to alledge and say against him what they would. Then were the Syracusians blank, when they faw the majerly of Marcellus, and his stated countenance in all things: and as they had found him before a very valiant man in Wars, and unconquerable, they found him then a man no less dreadfull in his Confulls robe : so that they hung down their heads, and durst not look him in the face. Notwithstanding they being suborned by his Enemies, began at the length boldly to accuse him, and yet with forrow and lamentation, the effect whereof was this: That they being the ROMANS friends and confederates, had abidden fuch injuries at Marcellus hands, as all other Generalls never offered their very Enemies. Whereto Marcellus straight answered again to the contrary: That for many injuries the ROMANS had received of them, they suffered nothing but that which was unpossible they should not suffer, that refifted untill they were taken by force : and yet they might thank themfelves for any thing they fuffered, because they would not obey nor consent to reasonable capitulations and Articles of Peace,

ftancy. .

Marcellus courrefie to the Syracufians.

by Hannibal.

in Apulia.

People or Se-Whereof Dictator com-

which he had oftentimes offered them. And again, they could not alledge for their excuse, that the Tyrants had compelled them to make Wars : when they to the contrary because they would enter into Wars, were contented to be subject to a Tyrant. So, when both parties had spoken their minds, the Syracusians (as the manner is) went out of the Senate house, and Marcellin also lea-Marcellus con. ving his fellow Confull in his place in the Senate; and tarried without the door, attending the senate tence of the Senate, never altering his countenance nor wonted look, neither for fear of fentence, nor for malice nor anger against the Syracustan's, quietly looking for his judgement. Afterwards when the Senatours voices were gathered together, and that Marcellus was cleared by most voices: then the Syracusians fell down at his feet weeping, and befought him not to wreak his anger upon them that were prefent, and moreover that he would have compassion on the residue of the Citizens, who did acknowledge his great grace and favour extended to them, and confessed themfelves bound to him for ever. Marcellus moved with pity by their intreaty, he pardoned them , and ever after did to the Syracusians what pleasure he could possibly. For through his intreaty and requeft, the Senate did confirm and ratifie this Grant unto them, which was, that they might use the liberty and benefit of their own Laws, and quietly enjoy their goods also which were left them. To requite the speciall grace procured them by Marcellus, the SYRACUSIANS gave him many honours, and among others they made a Law, that ever after as oft as any of Marcellus Name or House came into SICILE, the SYRACUSIANS thould keep a folemn Feaft, with Garlands on their heads, and should also facrifice unto the gods. After this, Marcelus went against Hannibal: and where all the other Confulls almost, and Generalls, after the overthrow at CANNES, had used this onely policy with him, not to come to Battell : he took a contrary course to them all , thinking that tract of time against Hanni-bal in his fouth (whereby they thought to eat out Hannibals force) was rather a direct consuming and destroying of all ITALY : and that Fabius Maximus standing too much upon safety, took not the way to cure the disease and weakness of the Commonweal of ROME, looking to end this War, consuming by little and little the ftrength and power of ROME, committing a fearfull Phyfitians fault and error, being afraid to heal the patient fuddenly, imagining that to bring them low, doth leffen the dieafe. So first of all he went to besiege certain great Cities of the SAMNITES, which were revolted from obedience of the ROMANS: and those he wan again with a great provision of Corn and Money, he found in them, befides three thousand Souldiers Hannibal had in garifon there, whom he took pri-CREW Falvius foners. Hannibal after that, having flain the Viceconfull Cnews Fulvius in Apulia, with eleven Tribuni Militum (to wit, Colonels) every one having the charge of a thousand Footmen, and overflain in Apulis thrown the greateft part of his Army : Marcellus wrote Letters to Rome, hoping to comfort the Senate and people, telling he would go thither, and did warrant them he would drive Hamibal out of A-PULIA. When the ROMANS had read his Letters, they were nothing the more comforted, but rather (35 Livy writeth) more afraid and discouraged : because they doubted the danger to come would be greater then the lofs paft , taking Marcelliu to be a far greater and better Generall , then ever was Fulvine. Nevertheles, Marcellus performing the contents of his Letters written to ROME, drave Hannibal out of Apulia, and made him retire into Lucania. And Marcellus finding him in fought a battell that countrey, by a City called Num I S TRON, lodged upon hills, and in place of ftrength and advanwith Hannibal tage: he camped hard by him in the valley, and the next morning he was the first that presented his Enemy Battell. Hannibal on the other fide, came down into the valley, and they joyned Battell: which was fo cruelly fought, and fo long time, as it could not be different who had the better. For the Battell being begun at nine of the Clock in the morning, 'twas dark night ere they gave over, The next morning by peep of day, Marcellus fet his men again in battell ray, in the midft of all the dead bodies that lay flain in the Field, and challenged Hamibal, to prove who should have the field, but Hannibal refused, and marched his way thence : fo as Marcellus thereby had good leifure left him to ftrip his flain Enemies , and also to bury his own Souldiers. When he had finished that, he presently followed his Enemy by the foot, who laid many ambushes for him, but he could never trap him in any : and in every incounter or skirmish they had togsther Marcellus had ever the better, which wan him great fame and credit. Now time being come about to chuse new Consults, the Senate thought good to fend rather for the other Consult that was in SICILE, then to remove Marcellus thence, who had fought with Hannibal. So when the other Conful was come to Rome, the Senate commanded him to name Quintus Fulvius Dictator, because the Dictator was neither chosen by the People, nor by the Senate: but one of the Confulls or Prætors, in open affembly of the people, nameth fuch a one Dictator ashe liketh cnoten by the Conful orPrz. of. Wherefore it feemeth, that this word Dictator, came upon that word, naming : for, Dicere in tor, not by the the ROMAN tongue, fignifieth to name. Howbeit other hold opinion, that he was called Dictator, because he commandeth of himself what he will, without the counsell of the Senate, and the voices of the people : and this feemeth to be true, because the commandments of the Senate of ROME are called Editta, which the GRECIANS call Diatagnata. Now the other Confull and companion of Marcellus being come out of SICILE, he would need name another Dictator than him whom the Senate offered him: and because he would not be compelled to do that he was unwilling to do, he stole away one night, and returned again into SICILE. Hereupon the people did name and appoint Quintus Fulusus Dictator, and the Senate wrote their Letters to Marcellus, to confirm him; which Marcellus did, and authorized the Peoples election. So he himself was chofen again Proconfull for the next year following : in the which he having conferred with Fabius Maximus about the Wars, they were agreed that Fabius should prove if he could win the City of

TARENTUM again; and that Marcellus in the mean time should keep Hannibal occupied, that Quintus Falhe might not come to aid it. This refolution being taken between them, Marcellas went to meet wing choice Hannibat by the City of CANNUSIUM: who as he still changed and shifted lodging, because he Distance by would not come to the Battell against his will, found Marcellus ever in his eye before him. Info-the people.

Marcellus plied him for one day with committee the people.

Marcellus Promuch as Hannibal removing thus his Camp, Marcellus plied him so one day with continual ala-confull. rums and skirmilhes, that he brought him to a Battell that held all day long till night; and compelled them both to leave off till the next morning : where Marcellus shewed again in field by break of the day, in Bartell ray. Whereat Hannibal being in a marvellous rage, he called his fouldiers together and made an Oration to them, earneftly moving them once again to fight with Marcellus, if ever they Hannibals Ohad heretofore fought for his fake. You fee, faid he, that having fought formany Battells, and gotten ration to his fuch Victories as we have done, we cannot yet take breath as we would, nor be quiet, how much fouldiers. foever we win; if we drive not away yonder fellow Marcellus. When Hannibal had ended his Oration to the CARTHAGINIANS, he led them on to the Battell : where Marcellus, to no purpose and our of time, would needs shew Hannibal a stratagem of war, that turned to himself the worst. For Marcellus perceiving the right wing of his Army diffressed, made one of his Legions that was fer in ray in the rereward of his hoaft, to march to the front of his Battell, to help those that needed aid. But this removing of the Legion, troubled them that fought, and gave the Enemies the Victory : who flew that day two thouland feven hundred of the ROMANS. So, when Marcellus was Marcellus overcome again into his Camp, he ftraight called his fouldiers before him, to whom he spake in this thrown in Bremanner. That he faw a great deal of armour, and bodies of men, but he could fee no ROMANS, tell by Hami-The ROMAN'S hearing him fay fo, belought him to pardon the fault they had committed below Marcellus answered, he would never pardon them, so long as they were overcome: but when they Marcellus hard overcome again. he was content to remit all. So the next morning he agreed to hims the words age to he next morning he agreed to hims the words age to he next morning he agreed to he had been agreed to have a support to he had been agreed to he overcome again, he was content to remit all. So the next morning he agreed to bring them again fouldiers to fight with the Enemy, that fuch as were at Rome should rather hear news of their Victory, then of their running away. When he had faid, he appointed they should give those bands that first turned their backs to Hannibal, Barly for Wheat. So as though many of them were in great danger of their lives, for the fore wounds they had received in the Battell : yet there was not a man of them, but Marcellus words did more grieve them then the grievous wounds they had. The man or mixing betimes was fet out of the Generals tents, the Coar armour died in skarlet, which is the ordinary fign of Battell: and the bands that had received difhonour the day before, were placed at their own request in the front of the Battell. The other Captains besides, that were not overthrown, did lead their bands also to the field, and did fer them in Bartell ray. Hannibal hearing thrown; and read their balls and is this, that cannot be quiet, neither with good nor ill fortune? for he is the onely odd man, that never giveth rest to his Enemies, when he hath overcome words of Marhim, nor taketh any for himfelf when he is overcome. We shall never have done with him, for cellus, any thing that I fee, fith shame, whether he win or lose, doth still provoke him to be bolder and valianter. After Orations made of both fides, both Armies marched forwards to joyn Battell. Battellbevalianter: After Orations made of doublines, both Amints martined forwards to joyn datten. Batteilbe-The ROMANS being as fitrong as the CARTHAGINIANS, Hannibal put his Elephants in the twix Hannibal vaward and front of his Battell, and commanded his men to drive them upon the ROMANS: and fo The worthy the did. Which indeed did fomewhat trouble and diforder the first ranks of the ROMANS: after flaving the first part of the foundairs took an Englan in his bands, and martined untill fuch time as Flavius Tribune of the fouldiers, took an Enfign in his hands, and marched Tribunas Mile. before the beafts, and gave the first of them such a thrust with the point of his Ensign, that he was. made her turn back. The first beast being turned back thus, ran upon the second that followed her; and the second made the third go back also, and so from one to another, until they all turned. Marcellas perceiving that, commanded his Horfmen to fer upon the Enemies with all the fury they could; in that place where he saw them somewhat troubled with these beasts that turand back again upon them : and that they should drive them sturther in amongst them. Which Marcellus Vithey did, and gave to hot a Charge upon the CARTHAGINIANS, that they made them turn their cloy of Hanbacks and run away, and they purfued them still, killing them down right, even to their Camp nibal, fide : where was the greatest slaughter of all, by reason their Elephants that were wounded, fell down flark dead within the Gate of their Camp, And they fay, of the CARTHAGINIANS, there were flain at this Battell, about eight thousand, and of the ROMANS onely three thousand: howbeit all the reft of them for the most part were very fore hurt. Which fell out very well for Hannibal, that he might march away at his pleasure, as he did that night, and got him away far off from Marcellus, as knowing he was not in state to follow him over suddenly, because of the great number of hurr men in his Camp : and so by small journies he went into CAMPANIA, where he lay in Hanniballay garifon all the Summer, in the City of SINUESSE, to heal the wounds of his fore mangled Souldiers: Hannibal having now gotten himself at the length out of Marcellus hands, and having his the City of Si-Army free to ferve him as he thought good: he burned and destroyed all ITALY where he went, mustife in Camand frood no more in fear of any thing. This made Marcellus ill spoken of at ROME, and caused Pania. his Enemies to take hold of such a matter against him : for they straight raised Publing Bibulus Tri- P. Bibulus Tribune to accuse him, who was a hot harebrain man, but very eloquent, and could deliver his bune of the mind very well. So this Bibulus called the people of to counsell, and told them there, that they must people accuse the most bune of the most needs call home Marcellus, and appoint some other to take the charge of the Army : for as for him, seth Marcellus. faid he, because he hath fought a little with Hannibal (and as a man might fay, wreftled a little with him) he is now gotten to the Bathesto folace himself. But Marcellus hearing this, left his Lieutenams in the Camp, and went himself to Rome, to answer to the untrue accurations laid against him,

MARCELLUS

Can keep aback the course of fatal destiny,

and there he perceived at his coming, how they intended to profecture the matter against him and there we percent against him the parties came beupon unere unormanous. So anny that the great lift or shew place, called Circiu Flaminius, to give rore the reopic antinonana Bibulus the Tribune, fitting in his chair, laid open his acculation with great circumftance : and Marcelline, when Bibulne had told his tale, answered him in a few words, great cucumntaine; and arrangement bis purgation. But the Noble and chief men of the City, and very discreetly, onely touching his purgation. role up and spake on Marcellus behalf, telling the People plainly that they did Marcellus wrong, to reckon worse of his valiantness, then their Enemy did : and to judge of him as a coward, constdering Hannibal onely fled from him, of all other Captains, and would by no means fight with uering rannoan oner to high with any other whatfoever. These perswassions took such effect, as where Marcellus accufer looked for his condemnation, Marcellus to the contrary, was not onely cleared of his acculation, but furthermore, they chose him Confull again the fift time. So being entred into his Office he went first into Thus CAN: where visiting the good Cities one after another, and quieting them, he pacified a great fedition in the Countrey, when they were all ready to rife and Marcellus rebell. Afterwards at his return, he thought to confecrate the Temple of Honour and Vertue, which chofen Confull the fift he had built with the fpoils he got in the wars of SICILE. But the Priests were against it, saying, of honour and two gods might not be in one Church. Thereupon he built another Temple, and joyned it to the first, being very angry the Priests denied so his consecration : and he did take it for an evil token, befides divers other figns in the element that afterwards appeared, and troubled him nuch. For

vertue built by Wonderfull feen in Rome,

Marcellus.

Marcellus threescore year old, being chosen Confull the fift Q. Chrispinus Mone Peteli-

Ill figns to Marcellus.

there were many Temples let on fire with lightning at one time : and the Rats and Mice did gnaw the Gold that was in the Chappell of Jupiter Capitoline. And it is reported allo, that an Ox did fock; and a Child came out of the Head of an Elephant, and that the Child was alive. Furthermore, the Priess and Soothayers, sacrificing to the gods, to withdraw the evil from them these finisher tokens did threaten: they could never find any favourable figns in their facrifices. Whereupon they fought to keep Marcellus ftill at ROME, who had a marvellous earnest defire to be gone with fpeed to the wars : for never man longed for any thing to much, as Marcelin did, to fight with Hannibal. Infomuch as he never dreamed other thing in the night, nor spake of any matter elle in the day to his friends and companions, nor prayed to the gods for any other thing, but that he might fight with Hannibal in the Field: and I think he would willingly have fought a private combate with him in forne walled City or inclosed lifts for the combate. And had it not been that he had already won himfelf a great fame, and shewed himfelf to the world (by fundry great proofs and experience of his doings) a grave, skilfull, and valiant Captain as any man of his time: I would have faid it had been a pang of youth, and a more ambitious defire, then became a man of his age, who was threefcore years old at that time, when they made him Confull again the fift time, Nevertheless, after he had ended all his propitiatory facrifices and purifications, such as the Southfayers had appointed, he departed from Rome with his fellow Confull Quintus Chrispinus to the wars. He found Hannibal lying between the Cities of BANCIA, and VENOUSA, and fought all the means be could to procure him to fight, but he could never get him to it. Howbeit Hannihal being advertifed by spials, That the Consuls sent an Army to befiege the City of the LOCKIANS between the Cities of Ban- furnamed EPIZEPHYRIANS (as you would fay) the occidentalls, because the GRECIANS in cia and Venue: respect of the ITALIANS, are called the orientals: he laid an ambush for them that went, under the Hill of Petellum, which was directly in their way, where he flew above two thousand five hundred ROMANS. That overthrow did fet Marcellus on fire, and make him more defirous of Banell: whereupon he removed his Camp from the place he lay in, and marched nearer to his Enemy. Between their two Camps there was a prety little Hill, ftrong of fituation, a wild thing overgrown with Wood : and there was high hillocks, from whence they might difeern a great way, both the one and the others Camps, and at the foot of the fame ran pretty forings: Infomuch as the Ro-MANS wondred that Hammbal coming thither first, did not take that place, but had left it to laid by Hanni- his Enemie. Howbeit Hannibal was crafty enough, leaving it of purpole: For as it was commodious to lodge his Camp, fo it served his turn better for an ambush. So he filled the Wood, the hollow places, and the vallies thereabout, with flore of shot and spear-men, assuring himself that the place would intice the ROMANS thither: and indeed he geffed rightly, for fo it fell out. Straight there flue a rumour abroad in the ROMANS Camp, that there was a passing place to lodge in , and every man took upon him like a skilfuli Souldier , to tell what vantage they should have upon their Enemies by taking that place, and specially if they did lodge there, or otherwise built a fort upon it. Whereupon Marcelus determined to go fee the place himself, taking a few Horsemen with him. Norwithstanding, before he would take Horse, he called for his Soothsyer to facrifice to the gods. The first beast that was facrificed, the Soothfayer shewed Marcellus the liver of it without a Head. The second beaft facrificed, had a fair great Head of a Liver, and all the other parts were also found, and very new: that by them it appeared all the fear of the first figns and tokens were taken away. Yet the Soothsayers on the other side said, it did make them worst afraid then before : for these so favourable and lucky tokens of the facrifice , sollowing immediately after the first soul and naughty signs , made them doubt them much , by reason of so strange and sudden an alteration. But as the Poet Pindarus saith:

Nor force of burning fire, nor wall of steel nor stone, Nor what soever other thing, is here this earth upon.

Cas

Nor yet refift the due decrees, which come from Heaven on high So Marcellus took his Horse, with Quintus Crifpinus his tellow Confull, and his Son one of the Tri- Quintus Crif bunes of the Souldiers, having onely two hundred and twenty Horfemen with him, or the which there pinus tellow was not one ROMAN among them, but all were Thus CANS, faving forty FREGELLANIANS, who Consulwith from the beginning of these Wars, had alwaies shewed themselves very faithfull and loving to Mar-Marcellus. cellus. The hill we spake of before, being thick covered with Wood and Bushes, the Enemies had set a Scout to watch on the top of it, to give warning if they faw any coming towards it. The ROMANS could not fee him, and he on the other fide might fee even into their Camp, and perceive what was done : as he did advertise those at that time that lay in ambush for Marcellus coming : and they suffered him to passon, until he came directly against them. Then they shewed upon the sudden, and compassing in Marcellan, they both thot and strake at him, some following them that fled, and other fighting with the forty FREGELLANIANS which onely fluck to it : who came roundly in together (notwithstanding the Thus CAN's were fled) upon the first cry they heard, to defend the two Confuls. untill fuch time as the Conful Crifpina having two wounds on his body with a dart, did turn his Horfe to fly. And with that, one of the Enemies gave Marcallus such a fore blow with a Spear having a broad Iron head, that he ran him quite through. The FREGELLANIANS that were left alive, being but a few in number, feeing Marcellus flain, left him lying on the ground, and took his Son away with them, Marcellus flain that was very foreburt, and by the swiftness of their Horses recovered their Camp, and saved them- in an ambush felves. At this overthrow, there were not flain above forty men, and five and twenty taken Prisoners, at the hi of which five of them were the Confuls Sergeant, and their Officers that carried Axes before them. and the other were all Horsemen. Within few days after, the other Consul Crispinus ded also of his The Consul hurts, which was such a misfortune, as never came before to the Romans, that both their Confuls Grifpinus flain, were flain at one Battle. Now Hannibal made no great reckoning of all that were flain or taken at this Field: but when he heard that Marcellus felf was flain at this overthrow, he went himself straight to the place to fee him. So when he had viewed his body a great while, standing hard by it, and considering his strength, his stature, and countenance, having taken full view of all the parts of him, he spake no proud words againft him, nor shewed any glad countenance, as some other would have done, that had slain so valiant and dangerous an Enemy: but wondring how he came to be slain so strengely there, he took off his Ring from one of his fingers that fealed his Letters, and giving his body buriall according to his estate, made it to be honourably burnt, and then put all his bones and ashes into a filver poton which he himself put a Crown of Gold, and fent it unto Marcellus Son. It fortuned to, that cer Marcellus Futain light Horsemen of the Numidians met with them that carried this Silver pot, and would have neral honour taken it from them by force, but they stood to it, and would not part withall, and so fighting and stri- ed by Hannibal ving together for it, the bones and alhes were scattered all about. Hannibal hearing this, said to them that were about him : See, how nothing can be, which the gods will not. So be punished the Numi-DIANS, and cared no more to get Marcellus bones together, but perfuaded himself it was the will of their gods he should die so strangely, and that his body should have no buriall. Cornelius Nepos, and Walerius Maximus write it thus: but Livy and Augustus (2 far fay, that the pot was carried unto his Son, and honourably buried: Marcellus did confectate many Monuments in divers places, besides those at ROME. As at CATANA in SICILE: a place for young men to exercise themselves in. In numerous the Isle of SAMOTHRACIA, in the Temples of the Gods called Cabires : many Images and Tables he brought from SYRA CUSA. And in the Isle of LINDOS, in the Temple of Minerya, where among other, there is a flatue of his, and this Epigram graven under it, as Posidonius the Philosopher writeth:

O showmy friend (Isay) which passes forth by me,

Of Claudius Marcellus here, the Image mayst thousee:

Whose Family at Rome, was of the noblest Name. Seven times be Conful chofen was, in which he overcame Great numbers infinite, (in open Field and Fight) Of fuch as fought his Countreys fool, and put them all to flight.

The Authour of this Epigram reckoneth the two times of his being Vice-Conful, for two whole Confulfhips : but his Posterity continued alwaies in great honour, unto Marcellus the Son of Octavia Marcellus po-(Augustus Casars Sifter) and of Cains Marcellus. He died a young man, being Ædilis of Rome, sterity. and married unto Julia, Augustus Daughter, with whom he lived no long time. But to honour the memory of him, Octavia his Mother built the Library, and Augustus Cefar the Theatre, which are called to this day, Marcellus Theatre and Library.

The End of the Life of Marcellus.

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THE

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THE COMPARISON OF

MARCELLUS with PELOPIDAS.



Relopidas and Marcellus acts in Wars.

PHefe are the greateft things and beft worthy of memory (in my opinion) of all Pelopidas and Marcellus doings: and for their manners and natural conditions otherwife, they were all one, because they were both valiant, painfull, and no-ble minded: faving that this difference onely was between them, that Marcellus in many Cities he took by affault, did cruelly murder them, and spilt much blood: where Epaminondas and Pelopidas contrarily did never put any to the Sword they overcame, neither did they take away the liberty from any City they took : as it is thought the THEBANS would not have handled the OR-CHAMENIANS fo cruelly as they did, if one, or both of them had been prefent. Now for their acts,

Marcellus and Pelopidas deeds.

Marcellus made the Romans couragi-

it was a noble and wonderfull piece of fervice that Marcellus did, with fo fmall a company of Horsemen as he took with him, to overthrow fo great a company of Horfemen and Footmen both, of the preserved Defore Pelopides. GAULS: a thing that never General but himfelf did, and specially that slew with his own hands in the Field, the General of his Enemies: which Pelapidas could never attain unto; for he feeking to kill Alexander the Tyrant of PHERES, was flain first himself, and suffered that, which he defired to have done to another. And yet for that Service may be objected, the Battles of LEUCTRES, and of TEGY-RA, which were both famous and notable. But to encounter with those, there was no notable ambush or secret practise done by Marcellus, that was any thing like comparable to that Pelopidas did at his return from exile, when he flew the Tyrants that kept THEBES in bondage. For that was as notable a policy and sudden an enterprize stoln upon, as none was ever greater, or more famous. It is true, Marcellus was yoaked with Hannibal, who was a dreadfull and a violent Enemy: fo were the THE-Pelopidas, at the Battles of TEGYRA, and of LEUCTRES. Whereas Marcellus did never to much s once overcome Hannibal, as Polybius writeth, but remained unconquered always, untill that Scipio overcame him in Battle. Notwithflanding, we do give best credit to the reports of Cafar, Livie, Corne lius, Nopos, and of King Juba among the GRECIANS: who write that Marcellus other while did overthrow certain of Hannibal; Companies, howbeit they were never no great overthrows to speak of, and it feemeth rather, it was through fome mockery or deceit of that African then otherwise. Yes fure it was a great matter, and worthy much commendation, that the ROMANS were brought to that conrage, as they durft abide to fight with the CARTHAGINIANS, after fo many great overthrows, and having so many Generals of their Armies slain in battle, and the whole Empire of Rome being in so great danger of utter destruction. For it was Marcellus onely of all other Generals, that put the Ro-MANS in heart again, after fo great and long a fear throughly rooted in them : and incouraged the Souldiers also to long to fight with their Enemy, and not onely to hope, but to affure themselves of Vi-ctory. For, where by reason of their continual losses and fearfull overthrows they had, they thought themselves happy men to escape Hannibals hands by running away: he taught them to be ashamed to By like cowards, to confess they were in distress, to retire, and leave the Field, before they had overcome their Enemies. And where Pelopidae was never overcome in Battle being General, and Marsellus did overcome more than any General in his time : it might feem therefore that the great number of the Victories of the one, should compare with the good hap of the other, that was never overcome. It is true that Marcellus took the City of SYRACUSA, and Pelopidas failed of taking the City of SPARTA: but yet do I think that it was more valiantly done of Pelopidas to come to

near SPARTA as he did, and that he was the first that passed the River of EUROTAS with an Army, which never Enemy did before him, then it was of Marcelling to win all SICILE. Unless some peradventure will fay again, this was Epaminondas, not Pelopidas att, as also in the Victory of Leuc-TRES: whereas no man living can challenge any part of Glory in the doings of Marcellus: for he took Syracusa, being onely General alone, and did overthrow the Galits without his fellow Conful, and fought with Hannibal, without any mans help or encouragement (for all other were against it, and perswaded the contrary) and he was the first that altered the manner of Wars the ROMANS used then, and that trained his Souldiers that they durft fight with the Enemy. For their death, I neither Raffines in commend the one nor the other, and the strangeness of either of their deaths doth grieve me marvellouf- Captain dely : as I do greatly wonder also, how Hannibal in so many Battles as he fought (which are innume-ferveth blame! ly: as I dogreatly wonder and, now trammers in 10 many datties as he lought (which are immune-rable) could always (case unburt. I cannot but greatly commend also the valiantities of one Chryfan-nets and obe-tes, whom Xenophon speaketh of in his Books of the institution of Cyrns, saving: that he having lift dience of Chryup his Sword in his hand ready to kill one of his Enemies, and hearing the Trumpet found the Retreat, fantas a Soulhe foftly retired, and would not strike him. Howbeit it seemeth Pelopidas is more to be excused : for dier. befide that he was very hot and defirous of Battle, his anger was honourable and just, and moved him to feek revenge. For as the Poet Euripides faith :

> The best that may betide, is when a Captain lives, And doth survive the Viltories, which he with force atchieves : But if he needs must fall, then let him valiantly Even thrust amid the thickest throng, and there with honour die.

For so becometh his death famous, and not dishonourable. But now, besides Pelapidas just cause of anger, yet was there another respect that most pricked him forward, to do that he did: for he saw his Victory ended, in the death of the Tyrant : otherwise he hardly should have found so noble an occafion to have shewed his valiantness, as in that. And Marcellus contrarily, without any instant necesfity, and having no cause or heat of choler (which putteth all men valiant in Fight besides themselves; that they know not what they do) did rashly and unadvisedly, thrust himself into the middest of the danger, where he died not as a General, but as a Light-horseman and Scout (abandoning his three Triumphs, his five Confulships, and his Spoils and tokens of Triumph, which he had gotten of Kings with his own hands) among venurous SPANIARDS and NUMIDIANS, that fold their blood and lives for pay unto the CARTHAGINIANS: fo that I imagine they were angry with themselves (as a man would fay) for fo great and happy Victory, to have flain amongst FREGELLANIAN Scouts. and Light-horfemen, the nobleft and worthieft person of the ROMANS. I would no man should think I speak this in reproach of the memory of these two famous men, but as a grief onely of them and their set his free feth his free valiantnels, which they employed to, as they blemished all their other values, by undifferent hazard-feeth his free ing of their persons and lives without cause, as if they would and should have died for themselves, and judgement of ing of their persons and tives without cause, as it they would aim thoughout the persons are important of not rather for their Country and friends. And also when they were dead, Pelopidae was buried by the their timous Allies and Confederates of the City of THERES, for whole cause he was slain; and Marcellus in like men.

Pelopidae and manner, by the Enemies selves that had slain him. And sure the one is a happy thing, and to be with

Marchin Fu

Marchin Fu

neral unlike,

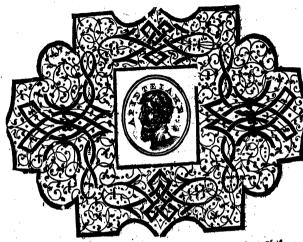
neral unlike,

neral unlike, felf should bonour his valiantness and worthiness that burt him, more then the Office of friendship performed by a thankfull friend. For nothing moveth the Enemy more to honour his dead Enemy, then the admiration of his worthiness: and the friend sheweth friendship many times, rather for respect of the benefits he hath received, then for the love he beareth to his Vertue.

Aa 2

THE

THELIFEOF ARISTIDES.



Am. Mand. 3461,

Ant. Christ.

RISTIDES the Son of Lyfimachus, was certainly of the Tribe of Aminchides, and of the Town of ALOPBETA. But for his Goods and Wealth they diverly write of him. For fome fay, he lived poorly all the days of his life, and that he left two Daughters, which by reason of their poverty, lived unmarried many years after their Fathers death. And many of the older Writers do confirm that for troth. Yet Demerriss Phaleriss, in his Book intituled Secrates, writeth the contrary, that he knew certain Lands Ariffide; had in the Village of Paterthe Lerals, which did yet bear the name of Ariffides Lands, in the which his body is buried. And Furthermore, to thew that he was well to live, and that his houle was rich and weal,

thy, he bringeth forth these proofs. First, that he was one year Mayor or Provost of ATHENS, whom they called Archon Eponymu, because the year took the name of him that had it yearly. And they say, they called Archon Eponymu, because the year took the name of him that had it yearly. And they say, they called Archon Eponymu, because to it by drawing of the Bean, according to the ancient use of the ATHENIANS, and their wonted manner of making their Election of the faid Office: in which Election none were admitted to draw the Bean, but such as were highest set in their Subsidy-books, according to the value and rate of their Goods, whom they called at ATHENS, Pentacostomedimnes, as you would say, those that might difpend five hundred bushels of Wheat by the year, and upwards. Secondly, he alledgeth he was banished by the Ofracismon, which banisheth the Nobility and great rich men onely, whom the common People envy because of their greatness, and never dealeth with poor men. The third and last reason he makes, is, that he left of his gift, three-footed Stools in the Temple of Bacchus, which those do commonly offer up, as have won the victory in Comedies, Tragedies, or other fuch like paftimes, where they them-felves had born the charge. And those three-footed Stools remain there yet, which they say were given by Aristides, and have this Inscription upon them: The Tribe of Antiochides wan the Victory, Aristides defrayed the charges of the Games, and Archestratus the Poet taught them to play their Comedies. The last reason, though it seem likeliest of them all, yet is it the weakest of the rest. For Epaminondas (whom every man knoweth was poor even from his birth, and always lived in great poverty) and Plato the Philosopher, took upon them to defray the charges of the Games that were of no small expence: the one having born the charges of Flute-players at THEBES, and the other the Dance of the Children which danced in a round at ATHEMS: towards the furnishing of which charges, Dion the Sydren which danced in a round at ATHEMS: RACUSIAN gave Plato Money, and Pelopidus also gave Epamisnondus Money. Now, this is not spoken that vertuous menshould always refuse the gifts of their friends, and that they might not in fome fort accept their friends courtesse offered them: but because they should think it uncomemay take guts, but after a fort. Iy and dishonourable for them, to take any thing to enrich themselves, or to spare and hoordup.

Howbeit where there is an honourable Act to be done, or any publick flew to be made, not rendaing to their private benefit: in fuch a case they should not refuse their friends loving offer and good will towards them. And where Demetrius faith, the three-footed Stool was offered up in the Temple of Bacchus, Panatius declareth plainly, that Demetrius was deceived by the semblance of the name. For fince the time of the Wars of the MEDES, unto the beginning of the War of PELOPONNESUS, in all the Registers and Records kept of the defrayers of the charges of common Plays, there were found but two men bearing name of Ariftides that obtained Victory: and neither of them both was Son unto Lysimachus, whom we write of at this present. For the one is expresly named the Son of Xenophilus, and the other was long after the same Aristides we now speak of: as appeareth eafily by the writing and Orthography, which is according to the Grammar Rules, we have used in GREECE ever fince Euclides time. Moreover it is easie to be known, by the name of the Poet Archistratus that is adjoining to it : for there is no man that maketh mention of a Poet of this name, in all the Wars of the MEDES: but in the time of the Wars of Pelo-PONNESUS, many do put him in for an Authour and maker of Rimes and Songs that were fung in common Dances. Yet for all Panatius objections, the matter is to be better looked into. and considered of. But for the Oftracismon banishment, it is true, that such as were great men in estimation above the common People, either in Fame, Nobility, or Eloquence, they onely were subject unto this banishment. For Damon himself, being Pericles School-master, was banished, onely Damon banish. because the common People thought him too wise. Moreover, Idomeness writeth, that Ariftides ed because he was their Provost for a year, not by lot of Beans, but by voice of the ATHENIANS that chose was too wife. him. And if he were Provost fince the Journey of PLATEES, as Demetrius writeth, it is likely enough that they did him this honour, for his great vertue and notable fervice, which other were wont to obtain for their riches. But this Demetrius doth not onely defend Arifides, but also Socrates poverty, as if it were a foul vice and reproach to be poor. For he writeth, that he had Socrates was not onely a house of his own, but also threescore and ten Minas at usury, which Criton gave him not poor. Interest for. But now to our Story again. Aristides was Clesthenes very friend, he that restored the Government at ATHENS after the expulsion of the thirty Tyrants, and did reverence Lycurgus the Law-maker of the LACEDEMONIANS for his Laws, above all the men in his time : and therefore he ever favoured the state of Aristocratia, that is, where the Noble men rule and have the Soveraignty. Howbeit he ever had Themistocles (Neocles Son) his continual adversary, as taking part Aristocratia, with the contrary, and defending the Popular state of Government. Some say, that being Scholars, what it signifiand brought up together, they were ever contrary one to another in all their actions and doings, were eth. and brought up together, they were ever contrary one to another in an interfactions and doings, were Ariffiles and it in sport, or in matter of earnest: and ever after, men began to see the natural inclination of them Themistodes both, by their contrary affections. For Themistocles was quick, nimble, adventurous, and subtil, Enemies in the and would venture upon any thing on light occasion. Aristides contrariwise was very quiet, tempe- Commonrate, confiant and marvellous well stayed, who would for no respect be drawn away from equity wealth, and justice, neither would lie, flatter, nor abuse any body, though it were but in sport. Norwith disposition. flanding Ariffus of CHIO writeth, that their malice began first of light love, and that it grew to Ariftides nagreatness by process of time between them: For (faith he) both the one and the other of them fell ture in love with Steffleus, born in the Isle of CAOS. This fond light love of theirs, fell not easily from them, nor the envy they conceived one against another, but continued against each other in matters of State: fuch was their malice towards one another. In which calling, Themistocles fought the way to win friends, by whose means he came to great preferment in short time, and had made himself very strong by them. Therefore, when a friend of his told him one day, he was worthy to govern the City of ATHENS, and were very fit for it, if he were indifferent, and not partiall: The gods forbid (quoth he) I should ever occupy the place of a Governour, where my friends Themistocles should not find more favour then strangers, that do me no pleasure. But Aristides taking another saying for parcourse by himself, would not stand upon his friends in Government. First, because he would do driftiles manno man wrong with pleasuring his friends: nor yet would anger them, by denying their requests. ner of dealing Secondly, because he saw many Rulers and men of Authority bold to do injustice and manifest in the Comwrong, bearing themselves upon their friends: but he carried this Opinion, that no honest man or monwealth: good Citizen, should trust to any bolstering of friends, but to his own just and upright doings. Notwithstanding, Aristides perceiving that Themistocles did rashly alter many things, and ever encountred all his ways, and hindered his doings, he was enforced fometime to cross Themi-Stocles again, and to speak against that he preserved, partly to be even with him, but most to hinder his Credit and Authority, which encreased still through the Peoples favour and good wills towards him: thinking it better by contrarying him a little to disappoint sometime a thing that might have fallen out well for the Commonwealth, rather then by giving him the head, to fulfer him to grow too great. To conclude, it fortuned on a time, that Themistocles having preferred a matter very profitable for the Commonwealth, Ariftides was so much against it, as Themistocles purpose took no place. Moreover, Aristides was so earnest against him, that when the Council brake up after Themistocles motion was rejected, he spake it openly before them all: that the Commonwealth of ATHENS would never prosper untill they both were laid in Barathrum, Buruhrum, a which was a Prison or hole, wherein they put all Thieves and condemned men. Another time, Arisia- Prison or des moved a matter to the People, which divers were against, but yet it went with him. And when Dungconthe Judge or President of the Council did put it to the People, to know their allowance of it:

to the Commonwealth, he gave it over, and would not have it pass. Many times also Aristides spake by other men, when he would have a thing go forward, for fear left Themisfockes spight towards Arifides con- him, would hinder the benefit of the Commonwealth. They found him very conftant and resolute in matters of State, whatfoever happened: which wan him great commendation. For he was never the matters of state, within over the prouder for any honour they gave him, nor thought himfelf differed for any overthrow he received: being always of this mind, that it was the duty of an honeft Citizen, to be ever ready to offer his body and life to do his Countrey fervice, without respect and hope of reward of Money, or for Honour and Glory. Therefore when certain Verses were repeated in the Theatre, of one of the Tragedies of Affihilus, made in commendation of the ancient Soothfayer Amphiavam, to this

ARISTIDES.

He will not onely seem, a just man by his face, But just indeed he will be found, and vertue still embrace with all his thought and foul, from whence there may proceed Grave counsell, for to beautifie his Countries Crown indeed. All the People straight cast their eyes upon Aristides, as upon him, that in truth above all other most

deferved the praise of so great a vertue. For he was so shout and resolute, not onely to resist savour and friendfhip, but to reject hate and anger also. For in case of justice, neither could friendfhip make him go awry for his friends sake: nor envy could move him to do injustice, to his very enemy. For proof hereof it is written, that he had an enemy of his infuit of Law, and did profecute it to Judgement: infomuch as after the Plaint was read, the Judges were fo angry with the offendor, that without any more hearing of him, they would have given Sentence against him. But Aristides rising from his place, went and kneeled at the Judges feet with the offendor his enemy, and befought them to give him leave to speak, to justifie and defend his Cause, according to the course of Law. Another time he being Judge between two private men that pleaded before him, one of them faid unto him: Ariftides, Arifiiles wife this fellow mine adverfary here, hath done you great injury. My friend (quoth Arifiides again) I pray thee tell me onely the injury he hath done thee, for I am Judge here to do thee right, and not my felf. Moreover, he being chofen high Treasurer of all the Revenues of ATHENS, did declare that all Officers before him, and other his late Predeceffors, had greatly robbed and spoiled the common Treafure, but specially Themistocles: who was a wise man, and of great judgement, but yet somewhat Arifiller cho. light-fingered. Therefore when Arifildes was to give up his account, Themisfoeles and many other for Treasurer fuborned by him, were against him, and accused him for abusing his Office, and followed him to hard, that through their practife they condemned him, as Idomeneus writeth. Yet the noblest Citizens seeing what injury they offered Ariffides, took his cause inhand, and found means to procure the People Themistocles Arifilles accu- not onely to release the Fine imposed upon him, but to restore him again to his Office of high Treasurer for the year following: in the which he feemed to repent his former straightness in Government the year before, and dealt more favourably with those he had to do with, and would not examine every fed and conthing to straightly as he did before. Whereupon such as were thieves and stealers of the Treasure of the demned, for Omee.

Ariffides Fine Common-wealth, did marvellously praise and like him, and became suters for him to continue in the releated, and Office. But when the day of election came, that the ATHENIANS would chuse him again, Aristihe made Trea des felf reproved them, and faid: When I faithfully discharged the duty of mine Office committed to penlyreproveth feeming to fee the thefts and robberies done upon your Treafure, ye claw me, and fay I am an honest close Thieves man, and a good Citizen. But I would you know it and I tell you delete. me by you, I then received shame and reproach at your hands: and now that I have diffembled, not honour you do me now, than I was of the Fine you did fet upon me, when you condemned me the last year : and I am forry to speak it, that you should think it more commendation to pleasure the wicked, in the Comthan to preferve the Commonwealth. After he had spoken these words, and had bewrayed the commonwealth. mon thefis the Officers of the City did commit, he flopped the Thieves mouths that to highly praifed and deteffeth and commended him for fo honeft a man: but yet of the noble and honeft Citizens he was much comtheir praise. mended. Furthermore, on a time when Dathu Lieutenant to Darius King of Persia, was come with all his Navy to go aland about MARATHON, in the Countrey of ATTICA, upon pretence (15 he faid) to be revenged onely of the ATHENIANS, that had burnt the City of SARDIS, but indeed of mind to conquer all GREECE, and to destroy the whole Countrey before him: the ATHENIANS chofe ten Captains to go to the Wars, among whom Miltiade; was the chiefest man of Authority. But Aristides drew very near him in reputation and credit, because he did very good service in obtaining the Victory, specially when he agreed with Miltiades in counsell, to give Battle upon the barbarous People: and also when he willingly gave Militades the whole rule and order of the Army. For every one of the ten Captains did by turns lead the whole Army for one whole day: and when Ariffides turn came about, he gave his preferment thereof unto Militades, teaching his other companions, that it was no fhame, but honour for them to be ruled by the wifeft. Thus by his example he appealed all first

that might have grown among them, and perfwaded them all to be contented to follow his direction

and counsel, that had best experience in the War. And so he did much advance Miltiades honour.

For after that Ariftides had once yielded his Authority unto him, every one of the reft did the like

when it came to their turn: and fo they all fubmitted themselves unto the rule and leading. But on the

day of the Battle, the place where the ATHENIANS were most cumbred, was in the midft of the Bat-

tle, where they had fet the Tribes of the Leomides, and of Antiochides: for thither the barbarous

Miltiades chief of the ten Captains that went against King of Perfiz's Lieute-

People did bend all their force, and made their greatest Fight in that place. By which occasion, Themistocles and Aristides fighting one hard by another, for that the one was of the Tribe Leontides, and the other of Antiochides, they valiantly fought it out with the Enemies, envying one another: so as the barbarous People at the last being overthrown, they made them fly, and drave them to their Ships But when they were embarqued and gone, the Captains of the ATHENIANS perceiving they made Militades Vinot towards the Isles, which was their direct course to return into Asia, but that they were dri- Ctory of the ven back by fform of wind and Pyrries of the Sea, towards the Coast of ATTICA and the City Persians. of ATHENS, fearing left they might find ATHENS unfurnished for defence, and might fet upon it: they thereupon sent away presently nine Tribes that marched thither with such speed, as they came to Athens the very fame day, and lest Aristides in the Campat MARATHON, with his Tribe and Countreymen, to look to the Priloners and Spoil they had won of the barbarous People. Who nothing deceived the opinion they had of his wifdom. For notwithstanding there was great store of Gold and Silver, much Apparell, Moveables, and other infinite Goods and Riches in all their Tents and Pavillions, and in the Ships also they had taken of theirs: he was not so covetous as once to touch them, nor to suffer any other to meddle with them, unless by stealth some provided for themselves. As amongst other, there was one Callias, one of Ceres Priests, called Dadouchos, as you would fay, the Torch-bearer, (for in the secret Sacrifices of Ceres, his Office The wicked was to hold the Torch) whom when one of the barbarous People faw, and how he wore a band part of Callian was to hold the Total whom when the state of the took him for forme King, and falling on his knees at his feet, the Total should be state of the sta kissed his hand, and shewed him great store of Gold he had hidden and buried in a ditch. But Callias, like a most cruel and cowardly wretch of all other on the Earth, took away the Gold, and killed the poor foul that had shewed him the place, because he should not tell it to others. Hereof it cometh, that the Comical Poets do call those that came of him in mockery, Laccoplutes, as made rich by a Ditch : because of the Gold that Callias found in it. Immediately after this Battle, A- Arifiiles choristides was chosen Provost of Athens for the year : albeit Demetrius Phalerius Writeth, that it fen Provost of was a little before his death, after the Journey of PLATEES. For in their Chronicles, where they fet in order their Provosts of ATHENS for the year, fince Xanthippides time, there appeared no one name of Arifides in that year that Mardonius the King of PERSIA'S Lieutenant was overthrown by PLATEES, which was many years after : but contrariwife , they find Ariftides enrolled among the Provofts immediately after Phanippus, in the year the Battle was fought at MARATHON. Now the People did most commend Ariffides justice, before all his other vertues and qualities : because that vertue is most common and in use in our life, and delivereth most benefit to men. Hereof it came, that he being a mean man, obtained the worthiest name that one could have, to be called by the whole City, a just man. This furname was never defired of Kings, Princes, nor of Tyrants, but they alwaies delighted to be furnamed, some Poliorcetes, to say, Conquerors of Cities: other Cerauni, to say, lightning or terrible: other Nicanores, to say, Subduers: and some other, Ati and Hieracles, to say, Eagles or Faulcons, or such like Birds that prey: defiring rather (as it should appear by those Surnames) the praise and reputation growing by force and power, then the commendation that rifeth by vertue and goodness. Yet notwithstanding, God whom they defire most to be likened to, doth excell all humane Nature in three several things: in Immortality, in Power, and in Vertue, of which three, Vertue is the most honourable and precious thing. For as the Natural Philosophers reason, all the four Elements and Vacuum, are immortal and uncorruptible, and fo are Force and Power, Earth-quakes, Lightning, terrible Storms. running Rivers, and Inundations of Waters: but as for Justice and Equity, no man is partaker of them, fave onely God, by means of reason and understanding. Therefore, because men commonly The praise of have three fundry affections of the gods : the first, that they think them blessed : the second, that Justice, they fear them: the third, that they reverence them: it appeareth then that they think them bleffed, for the Eternity and Immortality of their godhead: that they fear them, because of their Omnipotency and Power: and that they love and worship them, for their Justice and Equity. And yet notwithstanding, of those three, men do covet Immortality, which no flesh can attain unto: and also Power: which dependeth most upon Fortune: and in the mean time they leave Vertue alone, whereof the gods of their goodness have made us capable. But here they shew themselves Authority fools. For Justice maketh the life of a Noble man, and of one in great Authority, seem Divine would be withand Celeftial: where without Justice, and dealing unjustly, his life is most beastly, and odious to the our corruption. World. But now again to Ariftides. This Surname of a just man at the beginning, made him beloved of all the People : but afterwards it turned him to great ill will, and specially by Themistocles Themistocles practife: who gave it out every where, that Aristides had overthrown all Justice, because by confent of the parties he was ever chosen Arbitrator to end all controversies: and that by this means stides Justice, he fecretly had procured the absolute Power of a King, not needing any Guard or Souldiers about him. The People moreover being grown very diffolute and licentious, by reason of the Victory of MARATHON, and feeking to have all things pass by them, and their Authority, began now to mislike, and to be greatly offended, that any private man should go before the rest in good Fame and Reputation. Whereupon, they came out of all Shires of ATTICA into the City of ATHENS, and so banished Aristides with the Offracismon: disguising the envy they bare to his Glory with Aristides basis the Name of fear of Tyranny. For this manner of banishment called Oftracismon, or Exostra- shed with the cifmon, was no ordinary punishment for any fault or offence committed: but to give it an honest cloak, Oftracifmon, they faid it was onely a pulling down and wing thou of the nature of they faid it was onely a pulling down and tying short of too much Greatness and Authority, excee-the Oftracifmon

and counfels againtt King Xerxes.

ARISTIDES. ding far the matter and countenance of a Popular State. But to tell you truly, it was none otherwise, then a gentle mean to qualific the Peoples envy against fome private person : which envy bred no malice to him whose greatness did offend them, but onely tended to the banishing of him for ten years. But afterwards when by practile, this Oftracismon banishment was laid upon mean men, and Male-Hyperbolus the factors, as upon Hyperbolus that was the last man so banished, they never after used it any more at latt man banis Athens. And by the way it shall not be amissto tell you here, why and wherefore this Hyperbolus was banished. Alcibiades and Nicias were the chiefest men of ATHENS at that time, and Official mon.

The cause of they both were ever at square together, a common thing amongst great men. They perceiving now they both were ever at square together, a common thing amongst great men. The came of the young were affembling, that they went about to execute the Offracismon, were marvellous afraid it was meant to banish one of them: wherefore they spake together, and made both their followers friends with each other, and joined them in one Tribe together, infomuch, when the most voices of the People were gathered to condemn him that should be banished, they found it was Hyperbolus. The People therewith were much offended, to fee the Oftracismon so embased and scorned, that they A description never after would use it again, and so left it off for ever. But briefly to let you understand what A description of the Ofricacifmon was, and after what fort they used it: ye are to know, that at a certain day appoint ted, every Citizen carried a great shell in his hand, whereupon he wrote the name of him he would have banished, and brought it into a certain place railed about with wooden bars in the Market-place, Then, when every man had brought in his shell, the Magistrates and Officers of the City did count and tell the number of them: for if there were less then fix thouland Citizens, that had thus brought thele shells together, the Oftracismon was not full and perfect. That done, they laid apart every mans name written in these shells: and whose name they found written by most Citizens, they proclaimed him by found of Trumpet, a banished man for ten years, during which time notwithstanding, the party A Tale of 2 plain man that plain man that banished; it is reported there was a plain man of the Country (very fimple) that could neither banished; it is reported there was a plain man of the Country (very fimple) that could neither write nor read, who came to Arifides (being the first man he met with) and gave him his shell; praying him to write Aristides name upon it. He being abashed withall, did ask the Countrey man, il Arsstides had ever done him any displeasure. No, said the Countrey man, he never did me hurt, pray nim to write Ariffides nor I know him not: but it grieves me to hear every man call him a just man. Ariffides hearing him write Ariffides nor I know him not: fay fo, gave no answer, but wrote his own name upon the shell; and delivered it again to the Countrey man. But as he went his way out of the City, he lift up his hands to heaven, and made a Prayer contrary to that of Achilles in Homer, befeeching the gods that the ATHENIANS might never have such troubles in hand, as they should be compelled to call for Aristides again. Notwithstanding, within three years after, when Xerxes King of Persia came with his Army through the Countries of THESSALY and BOEOTIA, and entred into the heart of the Countrey of Ar-Arifilites call-TICA, the ATHENIANS revoking the Law of their Offracifmon, called home again all those they had banished, and specially, because they were airaid Aristides would take part with the barbarous People, and that his example should move many other to do the like; wherein they were greatly deceived in the nature of the man: for before that he was called home, he continually travelled up and down, perfeading and encouraging the GRECIANS to maintain and defend their Liberty. After that Law was repealed by Proclamation, and that Themisfocles was chosen the onely Lieutenant General of ATHENS, he did alwaies faithfully aid and affift him in all things, as well with his travel, as also with his counsel: and thereby wan his Enemies great honour, because it stood upon the fafety and preservation of his Countrey. For when Euribiades, General of the Army of the GRE-CIANS, had determined to forfake the Isle of SALAMINA, and that the Galleys of the barbarous People were come into the midft of the Seas, and had environed the Isles all about, and the mouth of the arm of the Straight of SALAMINA, before any man knew they were thus inclosed in : A. ristides departing out of the Isle of Agina with a marvellous boldness, ventured through the middest of all the barbarous Ships and Fleet, and by goodhap got in the night into Themssfooles Ten, and calling him out, spake with him there in this fort: Themisfocles, if we be both wise, it is high time we should now leave off this vain envy and spight we have long time born each other, and that we should enter into another fort of envy more honourable and profitable for us both: I mean, which of us two should do his best endeavour to fave GREECE: you, by ruling and commanding all like Lieutenant Generall: and I, by counfelling you the beft, and executing your commandments considering you are theman alone that will roundliest come unto the point that is best: which is in my opinion, that we should hazard Battle by Sea within the Straight of SALAMINA, and that as foon as might be possible. But if our Friends and Consederates do let this to be put in execution, I do assure you your Enemies do help it forward. For it is said, the Sea both before and behind us, and round about us, is covered all over with their Ships, so as they that would not before, shall now be compelled of force, and in spight of their hearts, to fight and bestir them like men: because they are compassed in all about, and there is no passage left open for them to scape, nor to fly. Whereunto Themistocles answered : I am forry, Aristides, that herein your honesty appear reth greater then mine: but fince it is fo, that you have deserved the honour in beginning, and procuring fuch an honourable and commendable strife between us, I will henceforth endeayour my felf to exceed you in continuing this your defire, After which Answer, he told Arishides, how he purposed to mock the barbarous King, and prayed him to entreat Euribiades to yield to his device, and to perfuade him that there was no other way to fave GREECE, but to fight by Sea: for Euribiades gave more credit to Aristides perswasions, than he did to Themistocles words: for when

all the Captains were called to Council, to determine whether they should give Battle, or not: one Cleorring Corinthian faid to Themistocles, that his counfell did not like Aristides at all as it feemed, because he spake never a word to it being present. Arifides answered him straight, that he utterly miftook him. For (quoth he) if I did not think his counfell good, I would not hold my Arifillet peace as I do : but now I am mute, not for any good will I bear him, but because I find his counsels words of Thewife and found. While the Captains of the GRECIANS were reasoning in this sort, Aristides militotles, feeing PSYTTALEA (a little Island before SALAMINA within the Straight) full of men of War of their Enemies: imbarqued immediately the valiantest and lustiest Souldiers he had of all his Countrey men, into the leaft Foysts or Pinnaces he had among all his Galleys: and went with them, Arifiider vi. and landed in that Ide, and overthrew all the barbarous People he found there, and put them to the droy of Pfir-Sword every man, taking the chiefest of them onely Prisoners: among which were three Sons of talea. Sandauce, the Kings Siller, whom he fent unto Themifucles. These three Lords were all slain by the commandment of Euphrantidas the Soothsayer, and sacrificed to Bacchus Omestes, as to say, the cruel Bacchus, and eater of raw flesh, and all upon an Oracle they had received. That done, Aristides dispersed his Souldiers about the Isle, to receive all such as were by fortune of War, or of the Sea, cast into the Island: to the end that no Enemy of theirs should scape their hands, nor any of his friends fhould perish. For the greatest Fleet of all their Ships, and the sharpest encounter of the whole Battle, was about this little Island : and therefore the Tokens of Triumph were fer there. After the Battle was won, Themissoeles to feel Aristides opinion, said unto him: We have done a good piece of service, but yet there is another behind of greater importance, and that is this: We must bring all ASIA into EUROPE, which we may easily do, if we sail with all speed to the Straight of HELLES PONT, and go break the Bridge the King hath made there. Then Arigides cried out, Stay there, never speak of that: but I pray you let us rather feek all the ways we can, how Arigides wife to drive this barbarous King out of Greece, left if we keep him in ftill with so great an Army Xerxer thying Straight of HELLESPONT, and go break the Bridge the King hath made there. Then Arifides Cri-(and he shall see no way before him to escape out) we drive him then to sight like a desperate man, out of Greece. and perill our felves, we cannot tell to what. When Themisfecles had heard his opinion, he fecretly fent the Eunuth Arnaces his Priloner, unto King Xerxes, to advertise him from him, that he had al- A ftrategem of tered the GRECIANS purpole, which was fully bear to have broken up the Bridge he had made at Themifficier. the Straight of Hallespont, to passover his Army: and that he was the willinger to let him underftand it, that he might the better provide for the fafety of his Person. King Xerxes being neded Xerxes lefe with this advertisement, took straight his journey, and with all speed went to recover the Straight of Mardonius his Wind this advertiseins, took pleases the Lieutenant Generall in Greece, with three bundred thous Lieutenant in Greece with the Comment of the fand of the best Souldiers of his Army. This Mardonius was marvellouly dreaded of all the GRE- three bundred CIANS, for the wonderfull great Army he had by Land, and he did threaten them also by his Let-thouland men. ters he wrote unto them : You have (faid he) with your Ships by Sea, overcome men acquainted to fight by Land, and that never handled Oar: but now, the Plains of THESSALY, or the Fields of BO FOTIA, are very fair and large for Horsemen and Footmen to make proof of their valiantness, if you will come to the Battle in the Field. He wrote Letters to the ATHENIANS, by the King his Mafters commandment, of other effect, and offered them from him, to build up their City again, to give them a great Pension, and furthermore to make them Lords of all GREECE, so they would give over, and leave off these Wars. The LACEDEMONIANS being forthwith advertised of his Letters written to the ATHENIAMS, and fearing left they would have been perfinaded by them: fent their Ambassadors with all speed to ATHEMS, to pray them to send their Wives and Children unto Spania, and alfa to offer them Victuals, to relieve their poor old People, because of the great starcity that was at Anhens, for that their City was burnt and razed, and all their Countrey belides defleroyed by the barbarous People. The ATHENIANS having heard the offers of the Ambaffadors of LACEDAMON, made them a marvellous answer through Arifides counsell, and this The noble it was : That they bare with the barbarous People, though they thought all things were to be fold mind of the for Gold and Silver, because they esteemed nothing more precious nor better in this World, than to Atheniani be rich and wealthy: but on the other fide, they were greatly offended with the LACEDEMONI-Ans, that they onely regarded the prefent poverty, and necessity of the Athenians, and did forger their vertue and noble courage, thinking to make them fight more valiantly for the prefervation of GREECE, by offering them Victuals to live withall. The People approving this Answer, Arifides then caused the Ambassadors of SPARTA to come to the Assembly, and commanded them to tell the LACEDEMONIANS by word of mouth, that all the Gold above, or under the ground, could not corrupt the ATMENIANS, to make them take any fum of Money or reward, to leave the defence of the Liberty of GREECE. And to the Herauld that came from Mardonius, he shewed the Sun, and said unto him: So long as yonder Sun keepeth his course about the World, so long will the ATHENIANS be mortal Enemies unto the Perslams, because they have spoiled and destroyed all their Countrey, and have desiled and burnt the Temples of their gods. Besides, he willed that the Priests, by commandment of the People, should excommunicate and curse him that would procure them to fend unto the Persians to make peace with them, and to break their League and Alliance with the other GRECIANS. Hereupon, when Mardonius came again the fecond time to over-tunthe Country of ATTICA, the ATHENIANS got them again into the Me of SALAMINA, and then they fent Arifides Ambaffador unto the LACEDEMONIANS. He sharply took them up, and reproved their sloth and negligence, because they had again forfaken ATHANS, and left it to the spoil of the barbarous People : and prayed them yet they would

Lieutenant General of the Athenians 2of Lacedamon

Afopus ft.

Platacs.

within the City of SPARTA) when they had heard Ariftides perswasions, straight took order for aid, though it appeared they did nothing all day but play, and make good chear, keeping that day one of their folemn Feafts they called *Hyacinthia*. Howbeit the next night following, they fent out five thousand Citizens born in Sparta, into the Field, all proper men and valiant Souldiers, every one of them carrying with him feven llotes (which are the Countrey men and Slaves in the Countrey of LACEDAMONIA) not making the Ambassadors of Athens privy to it at all. Wherefore Ariflides came again another time into their Council, to complain of their negligence. But they fell a laughing, and faid he dreamed, or elfe he mocked them: for their Army which they had fear against the strangers (for so they called the Persians) was already at the City of Orestion in ARCADIA. Arifides hearing this answer, replyed, that they were to blame to mock them in that fort, to fend away their men to ferretly, that they might not know of it : and that it was no time for them now to go about to deceive their friends, but their Enemies rather. Idomeneus in his Story reporteth the matter thus in every point: notwithflanding, in the Decree that was made to fend Ambassadors to Sparta, Aristides is not named for Ambassador, but there are other appointed: as Cimon, Xanthippus, and Mironides. Afterwards Ariffides was chosen by voices of the People, Lieutenant General of the Army of ATHENS, in this War against the PERSIANS, and went unto the Camp of the GRECIANS by the City of PLATES, with eight thouland Footmen well armed and appointed. There he found King Paufanias the onely General of all the whole Power and Army of the GRECIANS, who brought with him the force of SPARTA: and PaulanissKing there came daily into his Camp one after another, a marvellous great multitude of other GRECI-ANS. Now touching the Army of the barbarous People, they encamped all along the River of Aso pus: but because their Camp Aretched out a marvellous way in length, they were not entrenched at all, but had onely fortified a piece of ground four-fquare with a Wall about, which was ten General of all furlongs on every fide, to place all their carriage and chiefer things in. And for the GRECIANS again, the Soothfayer Tifamensus, born in the City of ELIDE, had told Paufanias, and all the GRECIANS together, that they should have the Victory, so they did not affault at all, but onely Oracles of the defend. And Arifides, that had fent to the Oracle of Apollo at DELPHOS, in the name of the A-THENIANS, had answer: They should overcome their Enemies, so they did facrifice and make special Prayers unto Jupiter and June of Mount CITHERON, unto Pan, and unto the Nymplis Spinagistides, and also unto the demy-gods, Androcrates, Leacon, Pifander, Damocrates, Hypfon, Altean, and Polyidus: and so that they did hazard Battle also within their own Territories, and in the Plain of Ceres Eleufinian, and of Proferpina. This Oracle troubled Ariftides marvelloully, because the demy-gods whom they had commandment to do Sacrifice unto, were the Founders and Ancestors of the PLATEIANS: and the Cave of the Nymphs Sphragitides, is one of the tops of the Mount CITHERON, booking towards the West, where the Sun setteth in Summer. They say there was an Oracle there in old time, whole spirit possessed many Inhabitants thereabouts, and bestraught them of their wits: whereupon, they called those so possessed, Nympholepis, as who would say, taken with the Nymphs. And again, to tell the ATHENIANS they should have the Victory, so they did hazard Battle in the Plain of Ceres Eleusinian, and within their own Territory : it was even to fend them back again into the Countrey of ATTICA. Arifides being thus perplexed, Arimnestu Captain of the PLATÆIANS, had such a Vision in the night in his sleep. He thought, that Jupiter the Saviour did appear unto him, and asked him what the GRECIANS intended to do? and that he answered: My Lord, we must to morrow remove our Camp into the Territories of Elsu-Arimneftas 51N, and there we will fight with the barbarous People, according to the commandment the Oracle of Apollo hath given us. Then that Jupiter replied, that they were greatly deceived: for all that Apollo had declared by his Oracle was meant within the Territories of the PLATEIANS, and that they should find it true, if they considered it well. Arimnestus having plainly seen this Vision in his sleep, when he did awake in the morning, he straight sent for the oldest Citizens, and considering with them where this place should be, he found at the length, that at the foot of Mount CITHERON, by the City of Nysia, there was an old Temple they called the Temple of Ceres Elenstinian, and of her Daughter Proferpina. When he heard them fay so, he went straight and told Aristides of it, and

found that it was an excellent place to fet an Army in Battle ray, that had but few Horfemen; for that the foot of Mount CITHERON did let the Horfemen, they could not go to the place where the Temple ftood, and where the Plain and Valley did end: befides also, that the Chappel of Asdrocrates was even in that place, which was all hidden with thick Wood round about it. And because they should lack nothing to hinder the express commandment of the Oracle for hope of Victory, the PLATEIANS (through Arimnestus counsell and advice) made a common Decree, that the Confines of the City of PLATEES should be taken away towards ATHENS fide, and that the Land The magnanist thereof should be given clearly unto the ATHENIANS, because they should fight with the barbarous People in their own Land, for the defence and prefervation of GREECE, according to the command-PLEASANT the ment of the Oracle. This noble gift and Present of the PLATEIANS Was so samous, as many years Great doth ho. after, King Alexander the Great having conquered the Empire of Asia, built up the Walls again of nour the Plate the City of PLATERS, and when he had done, made a Herauld openly proclaim it at the Games tains for their Olympicall, that Alexander haddone the PLATEIANS that honour and dignity, for a memorial noble minds. and honour of their magnanimity; because in the War against the PERSIANS, they had freely and liberally given away their Land unto the ATHENIANS, for the safety of the GRECIANS;

and hath shewed themselves of a noble courage also, and very willing to defend the state of Greece. Now when the Army of the GRECIANS came to be fet in order of Battle, there fell a strife be- Strife between tween the Athenians and the Tegeates, because the Athenians would needs (ac- the Athenians cording to their old custom) have the left Wing of the Battle, if the LACEDÆMONIANS had and Tegester. the right Wing: and the TEGEATES on the contrary part, would have the preheminence before driffication the ATHENIANS, alledging the famous Acts and notable Service of their Ancestors in some by pacified the the ATHENIANS, alledging the famous Acts and notable Service of their Ancestors in former mutiny, Wars, whereupon the ATHENIANS did mutiny. But Ariftides stept between them, and told them, that it was no time now to contend with the TEGEATES about their Nobility and Valiantnels: and as for you, my Lords of Sparta (laid he) and you also my Masters of Greece; we tell you, that the place neither giveth nor taketh vertue away; and we do affure you, that wherefoever you place us, we will so defend and keep it, as we will not impair nor blemish the honour we have won in former foughten Battles and gotten Victories. For we are not come hither to quarrell and fall out with our friends, but to fight with our common Enemies, nor to brag of our Ancestors doings, but to shew our selves valiant in desence of all GREECE. For this Battle will make good proof of all the GRECIANS, how much estimation every City, every Captain, and particular person will deserve for his part. When Aristides had spoken, the Captains and all other of the Council concluded in favour of the ATHENIANS, that they should have one of the Wings of the Battle. But by this means all GREECE stood in marvellous garboil at that time, and the State of the ATHENIANS specially in great danger. For a number of the noblest Citizens of ATHENS, and that brought great substance with them to the Wars, being now at low state, and in poverty, their Goods being spent and gone, and seeing themselves discountenanced, not bearing that Rule and Authority in the Commonwealth they were wont to do, because other were called to Authority, and preferred to the Offices of the City: they gathered together, and met at a house in the City of PLA- The conspira-TAES, and there conspired to overthrow the Authority of the People at ATHENS: and if they cy of the rich could not obtain their purpose, then that they would rather lose all, and betray their Countrey unto Noblemen of the barbarous People. While these things were practised in the Camp, many being of the Conspi. Athens. racy. Ariftides came to an inckling of it, and was marvelloully afraid, because of the time : wherefore he began to be carefull of the matter, being of fuch importance as it was, and yet would not be curious to understand the whole Conspiracy, little knowing what a number might be drawn into this Treason, if it were narrowly looked into, but rather respected that which was just, then what was profitable for the time. So he caused eight persons onely of the great number to be apprehended, and of these eight, the two first whom they would have indicted as Principals, and were most to be burdened for the Conspiracy, Afchines of the Town of LAMPRA, and Egestas of the Town of ACHARNA, they found means to fly out of the Camp, and to fave themselves. And for the other, Arifides fet them at liberty, and gave them occasion that were not discovered, to be bold, and to repent them of their follies: faying, that the Battle should be their Judge, where they should purge themselves of all accusations said against them, and shew the World also, that they never had any other intention but honest and good, towards their Countrey. Mardonius, to prove the courage of the GRECIANS, had fent all his Horsemen (wherein he was far stronger then the GRE-CIANS) to skirmish with them. Who were lodged at the foot of Mount CITHERON, in strong places and full of stones, saving the three thousand MEGARIANS, that camped in the Plain; by Mount Cibbs reason whereof, they were sore troubled and hurt, by the Horsemen of the barbarous People that set ron. upon them on every fide, for they might charge them where they would. Infomuch, in the end, perceiving they alone could no longer relift the force of so great a multitude of the barbarous People, they fent with all speed possible to Pausanias, to pray him to fend them present aid. Pausanias hearing this news, and feeing in his own fight the Camp of the MEGARIANS almost covered with Shot and Darts which the barbarous People threw at them, and that they were compelled to fland close together in a little corner: he wist not what to do. For to go thither in person with the LACE-DEMONIANS that were footmen heavy armed, he thought that was no way to help them. So he proved to put some ambitious desire and envy of honour, among the private Captains and Generals of the Army of the other GRECIANS, which were then about him: to fee if he could move any mans courage and defire, to offer himself willingly to aid the MEGARIANS. Howbeit they had all deaf ears, but Arifides, who promifed to go in the name of the ATHENIANS, and brought Olympiodors into the Field (one of the valiantest Captains that served under him) with his Company of three hundred chosen men, and certain Shot mingled amongst them. These Souldiers were ready in a moment, and marched straight in Battle ray, a great pace towards the barbarous People. Manifitus General of the Horiemen of the Persians, a goodly tall man, perceiving their coming towards him: turned his Horse, and galloped to them. The ATHENIANS tarried him, and Horsenen of kept their ground, and the encounter was very hot, because both the one and the other side did the the Persuant. beft they could at this first onser to put the rest of the Battle in jeopardy: and they fought so long, that Massium Horse was shorthrough the body with an Arrow, that put him to such pain, as he never left flinging, till he cast his Master on the ground, armed as he was at all pieces. So being on the ground, he could not rife again, as well for the weight of his Armour, as for that the ATHE-

NIANS came fo fuddenly upon him. And notwithstanding there were many about him to hew him

in pieces, yet they could find no way how to kill him, he was fo throughly armed and loaden with Gold, Copper, and Iron, not onely upon his body and his head, but allo on his legs and arms: un-

till at the length there was one that thrust the head of his Dart through his Bever, and so killed him.

Mafiftius Dain by the Atheni-

ARISTIDES The PERSIANS perceiving that, fled immediately, and forfook the body of their General. Shortly after it appeared to the GRECIANS, that they had fped well at this Skirmish, not because shey had sain many Enemies, but for the great lamentation the barbarous People made for the loss of Massifism. For his death did so grieve them, that they polled themselves, they clipped off their Horfe and Mules hairs, and filled belides all the Field thereabouts with pitifull cries and fhrieks, as those that had lost the valiantest and chiefest man of Authority of all their Camp, next unto Mardonisu the Kings Lieutenant. After this first Skirmish, both the one and the other side kept their Camp, and would not come into the Field many days after: for the Soothfayers did promife both sides the Victory, as much the PERSIANS, as the GRECIANS, so they did but onely defend; and contrariwife, they did threaten them to be overthrown, that did affault. But Mardonius finding Victuals waxed feant, and that they were ftored but for few days, and moreover how the GRE-CIANS daily grew stronger by continual repair to their Camp, the longer he delayed : in the end he resolved to tarry no longer, but to pass the River Aso Pus the next morning by break of the day, and suddenly to set upon the GRECIANS. So he gave the Captains warning the night before what they should do, because every man should be ready. But about midnight there came a Horseman without any noise at all, so near to the GRECIANS Camp, that he spake to the Watch, and told them he would speak with Aristides General of the ATHENIANS. Aristides was called for straight, and when he came to him, the Horseman said unto Aristides: I am Alexander King of Macedon, who for the long and great good will I bear you, have put my felf in the greatest Kingof Mac-danger that may be, to come at this present time to advertise you, that to morrow morning Mardon, revealeth donism will give you Battle: because your Enemies sudden coming upon you, should not make you afraid, being suddenly charged, and should not hinder also your valiant fighting. For it is no new secret counter anno Arifider. hope that is come to Mardonism, that makes him to fight, but onely fearcity of Victuals that forceth him to do it, confidering that the Prognosticators are all against it, that he should give you Battle, both by reason of the ill tokens of their Sacrifices, as also by the answers of their Oracles, which bath put all the Army in a marvellous fear, and stand in no good hope at all. Thus he is forced to put all at a venture, or else if he will needs lie still, to be starved to death for very famine. After King Alexander had imparted this secret to Aristides, he prayed him to keep it to himself, and to remember it in time to come. Arifides answered him then, that it was no reason he should keep a matter of fo great importance as that from Paufanias, who was the Lieutenant General of their whole Army: notwithstanding, he promited him he would tell it no man else before the Battle, and that if the gods gave the GRECIANS the Victory, he did affurehim, they should all acknowledge his great favour and good will shewed unto them. After they had talked thus together, King Alexander left him, and returned back again : and Ariftides also went immediately to Pausania Tent, and told him the talk King Alexander and he had together. Thereupon the private Captains were feat for straight to Council, and there order was given, that every man should have his Bands ready, for they should fight in the morning. So Paufaniau at that time (as Herodotus writeth) faid unto Arifides, that he would remove the ATHENIANS from the left to the right Wing, because they should have the Persians themselves right before them, and that they should fight so much the luftier, both for that they were acquainted with their fight, as also because they had overcome them before in the first encounter: and that himself would take the left Wing of the Battle, where he should encounter with the GRECIANS that fought on the PERSIANS side. But when all the other private Captains of the ATHENIANS understood it, they were marvellous angry with Paufanias, and faid he did them wrong, and had no reason to let all the other GRECIANS keep their place where they were alwaies appointed, and onely to remove them, as if they were Slaves, to be appointed at his pleasure, now on the one side, then on the other, and to set them in fight with the valiantest Souldiers they had of all their Enemies. Then faid Arifides to them, that they knew not what they faid, and how before they misliked, and did strive with the TEGEATES, onely for having the left Wing of the Battle; and when it was granted, they thought themselves greatly honoured that they were preferred before them, by order of the Captains : and now where the LACEDEMONIANS were willing of themselves to give them the place of the right Wing, and did in manner offer them the preheminence of the whole Army: they do nor thankfully take the honour offered them, nor yet do reckon of the vantage and benefit given them to fight against the PERSIANS selves, their ancient Enemies, and not against their natural Countrey men ancienty descended of them. When Aristides had used all these persuasions unto them, they were very well contented to change place with the LACEDEMONIANS; and then all the talk among them was to encourage one another, and to tell them that the Persians that came against them, had no better hearts nor Weapons, then those whom they before had overcome, in the Plain of MARATHON. For faid they, they have the fame Bows, the fame rich imbroidered Gowns, the same golden Chains and Carcanets of womanish persons, hanging on their cowardly bodies and faint hearts: where we have also the same Weapons and bodies we had, and our hearts more lively and couragious then before, through the fundry Victories we have fince gotten of them. Further, we have this advantage more, that we do not fight as our other Confederates the GRECIANS do, for our City and Countrey onely, but also to continue the Fame and Renown of our former noble fervice, which we wan at the Journeys of MARATHON and of SALAMINA; to theend, the World should not think that the Glory of these Triumphs and Victories was due unto Militades onely, or unto Fortune, but unto the courage and worthiness of the ATHENIANS.

Thus were the GRECIANS throughly occupied to change the order of their Battle in hafte. The THEBANS on the other fide that took part with Mardonius, receiving intelligence of the alter- The Treaton of ing of their Battle, by Traytors that ran between both Camps, they straight told Mardonius of the Thebons. it. He thereupon did suddenly also change the order of his Battle, and placed the right Wing of the Persians against the left Wing of his Enemies: either because he was afraid of the ATHE-NIANS, or else for greater glory, that he had a defire to fight with the LACEDEMONIANS, and commanded the GRECIANS that took his part, that they should fight against the ATHENI-ANS. This alteration was fo openly done, that every man might fee it: whereupon Paufanias removed the LACEDEMONIANS again, and fet them in the right Wing. Mardonius feeing that, removed the PERSIANS again from the right Wing, and brought them to the left Wing (where they were before, against the LACEDEMONIANS: and thus they consumed all that day in changing their men to and fro. So the Captains of the GRECIANS fate in Council at night, and there they agreed, that they must needs remove their Camp, and lodge in some other place where they might have water at commandment : because their Enemies did continually trouble and spoil that water they had about them, with their Horses. Now when night came, the Captains would have marched away with their men, to go to the lodging they had appointed : but the People went very ill willing, and they had much ado to keep them together. For they were no fooner out of the Trenches and Fortifications of their Camp, but the most part of them ran to the City of PLATEES, and were marvelloully out of order, dispersing themselves here and there, and set up their Tents where they thought good, before the places were appointed for them: and there were ther Tens where they mought good south the LACEDEMONIANS onely, and that was againft their wills. The flubbornfor one of their Captains called Amompharetus, a marvellous hardy man, that feared no danger, nels of Amompharetus, and longed fore for Battle, he was in such a rage with these trifling delays, that he cryed it out in the pharents Cap-Camp, that this removing was a goodly running away, and sware he would not from thence, but tain of the Lawould there tarry Mardonius coming with his Company. Paulanias went to him, and told him he codemonians. must do that the other GRECIANS had consented to in Council, by most voices. But Amonpharetus took a great stone in his hands, and threw it down at Pausanias seet, and told him, There is the fign I give to conclude Battle, and I pass not for all your cowardly conclusions. Amompharetus stubborness did so' amaze Pausanias, that he was at his wits end. So he sent unto the ATHENIANS that were onwards on their way, to pray them to tarry for him, that they might go together, and therewithall made the rest of his men to march towards the City of PLATÆES. supposing thereby to have drawn Amompharetus to have followed him, or else to let him remain alone behind. But in trifling thus, the day brake: and Mardonins understanding that the GRE-CLANS did forfake their first lodging, he made his Army presently march in Battleray to set up. The Battle of on the LACEDEMONIANS. So the barbarous People made great shouts and cries, not thinking the Grecians to go fight but to fack and final the Grecians should away as indeed they did little better with the Perfections. to go fight, but to fack and spoil the GRECIANS slying away, as indeed they did little better, with the Persiant the City For, Paulanias feeing the countenance of his Enemies, made his Enfigns to ftay, and commanded of Plataes. every man to prepare to fight: but he forgot to give the GRECIAN'S the fignall of the Battle, either for the anger he took against Amompharetus, or for the sudden onset of the Enemies, which made them that they came not in straight, nor all together to the Battle after it was begun, but stragling in small Companies, some here, and some there. In the mean time, Pausanias was buste in facrificing to the gods, and feeing that the first Sacrifices were not acceptable unto them, by the Soothfayers observations they made, he commanded the Spartans to throw their Targets at their feet, and not to ftir out of their places, but onely to do as he bade them, without relifting their Enemies. When he had given this straight order, he went again and did Sacrifice, when the Horsemen of the Enemies were at hand, and that their Arrows flew amongst the thickest of the LA-CED.EMONIANS, and did hurt divers of them, and specially poor Callicrates among the rest, Callicrates that was one of the goodliest men in all the GRECIANS Hoast and Army. He having his deaths sain without wound with an Arrow, before he gave up the ghost, said, His death did not grieve him, because he fighting. came out of his Countrey to die for the defence of GREECE; but it grieved him to die fo cowardly, having given the Enemy never a blow. His death was marvellous Tamentable, and the conftancy of the SPARTANS wonderfull: for they never stirred out of their places, nor made any countenance to defend themselves against their Enemies that came upon them, but suffered themselves to be thrust through with Arrows, and slain in the Field, looking for the hour the gods would ap- Spartan Soulpoint them, and that their Captains would command them to fight. Some write alfo, that as die sunto Paulanias was at his Prayers, and doing Sacrifice unto the gods a little behind the Battle, cer-death. tain of the Lydians came upon him, and overthrew and took away all his Sacrifice; and that Paufanias, and those that were about him (having no other Weapons in their hands) drave them away with force of Staves and Whips. In memory whereof, they fay there is a folemn Proceffion kept at Sparta on that day, which they call the Lydians Procession, where they whip and beat young Boys about the Altar. Then was Paufanian in great diftress, to see the Priests offer Sacrifice upon Sacrifice, and that not one of them pleafed the gods: at the laft he turned his eyes to

the Temple of Juno, and wept, and holding up his hands, befought Juno Citharon, and all the

other gods (Patrons and Protectors of the Country of the PLATEIANS) that if it were nor

the will of the godsthe GRECIANS should have the Victory, yet that the Conquerors at the least

should buy their deaths dearly, and that they should find they fought against valiant men, and wor-

thy Souldiers. Paufania had no fooner ended his Prayer, but the Sacrifices fell out very favourable,

infomuch as the Priests and Soothsayers came to promise him victory. Thereupon, he straight gave commandment to march toward the Enemy, which flew from man to man incontinently that they fhould march. So as he that had feen the Squadron of the LACEDEMONIANS, would have faid it had been like the body of a fierce Beaft railing up the briffles, preparing to fight. Then the barbarous Battle betwire People faw they should have hot Battle, and that they should meet with men that would fight it out to the death; wherefore they covered their bodies with great Targets after the Persian fashion, and beftowed their Arrows luftily upon the LACED & MONIANS, but they keeping close together, and covering themselves with their Shields, marched on still upon them, until they came to joyn with the Enemy to luftily, that they made their Targets fly out of their hands with the terrible thrufts and blows of the Pikes and Spears upon their breafts, and overthwart their faces, that they slew many of them, and laid them on the ground. For all that, they died not cowardly, but took the La-CEDEMONIANS Pikes and Spears in their bare hands, and brake them in two by firength of their arms: and then they quickly pluckt our their Cimiters and Axes, and luftily laid about them, and wrung the LACED & MONIANS Shields out of their hands by force, and fought it out with them a great while hand to hand. Now whileft the LACEDEMONIANS were builty fighting with the barbarous People, the ATHENIANS stood still imbattelled far off, and kept their ground. Bur when they faw the LACEDEMONIANS tarry so long, and that they came not, and heard a marvellous note of men as though they were fighting, and befides that there came a speedy Melianger unto them fent from Paufanias, to let them understand they were fighting: then they marched with all speed they could to help them. But as they were coming on, a great pace over the Plain, unto that part where they heard the noise, the GRECIANS that were on Merdonisus fide came against them. Arifides feeing them coming towards them, went a good way before his Company, and cried out as loud ashe could for life, and conjured the GRECIAMS in the name of the gods, the Protectors of GREECE, to leave off these Wars, and not to trouble the ATHENIANS that were going to help them that ventured their lives, to defend the Commonwealth and fafety of all GREECE. But when he faw they would needs fight for any request and conjuration he could use, and that they came still upon them, bending themselves to give Charge: then he stayed his going to relieve the La-CEDEMONIANS, and was compelled to make head against those that set upon him and his Company, they being about hity thouland men; of the which, the most part notwithstanding went their ways. and left the Army, specially when they understood the Persians were overthrown and fled. The fury of the Battle and cruellest Fight (as they say) was where the THEBANS were : because the Nobility and chiefest men of the Countrey fought very earnestly for the PERSIANS, but the People results, lity and chiefest men of the Countrey fought very earnestly for the PERSIANS, but the People results being led by a small number of the Nobility that commanded them. So they fought that day in two places, the LACEDEMONIANS being the first that overthrew the Persians, and made them fly: and they flew Mardonius the Kings Lieutenant, with a blow of a stone one Arimnessus a SPARTAN Plain by Arim-gave him upon his head, rightly as the Oracle of Amphiaram had prophecyed before unto him. For Mardonius before the Battle had fent thither a Lydian, and a Carian unto the Oracle of Throblow of a stone the man of LyDIA lay within the Sanctuary of Amphirrans, where he thought in his dream that one of the Priefts of the Temple willed him to go out of the place he was in, and he denying it, the Prieft took a great stone and threw it at his head, and so thought he was slain with the blow. And thus it is Written. And furthermore, the LACEDEMONIANS did chase the PERSIANS flying into their Fortifications they had in a Wood: and the ATHENIANS also thortly after overthrew the THEBANS, whereof they slew in the Field three hundred of the nobleft and chiefest of them. For even as the THEBANS began to turn tail, newscame unto the ATHENIANS, that the PERSIANS had entrenched themselves within their Fort and strength in the Wood, where the LACEDEMONIANS did besiege them. The ATHENIANS fuffered the GRECIANS that fled to fave themselves, and they went to help the LACEDEMONIANS, to take the Fort of the barbarous People: who went before but flenderly a bout it, because they had no experience to make an assault, nor force upon a Wall. But so foon as the ATHENIANS came in to them, they straight took it by assault, and made great staughter of the Persians and barbarous People. For of three hundred thousand fighting men that Mardonius hadin his Camp, there were faved onely but forty thousand, led under Artabazus: and of the GRECIANS and investore fide there were not flain above thirteen hundred and threefcore in all 3 amongst which also there were thousand Per- fide there were not flain above thirteen hundred and threefcore in all 3 amongst which also there were two and fifty ATHENIANS, all of the Tribe of & Hamides, the which had done more valiantly that day than any other Tribe, as Clidemus writeth. And this is the cause why the Lamides made a solema Sacrifice unto the Nymphs Sphragitides, at the common charge, according to the order given than one interescore Grecians flain, by the Oracle of Apollo, to give them thanks for this Victory. Of the Lacede Monians there died fourfcore and eleven : and of the TEGEATES fixteen. But I marvell, Herodotus faith, that none but these People onely sought in that Journey against the barbarous Nation, and no other GRECIANS belides: for the number of the dead bodies, and their graves also do shew that it was a general Victory and Exploit of all the GRECIANS together. And moreover, if there had been but these three People onely that had fought against them, and that all the rest had stood and looked on, and done nothing: fure there had been no fuch Epigram as this engraven upon the Altar or Tomb that was for

fians flain.

up in the place of the Battle: When the Victorious Greeks, had driven out of their Land The Persians by force of Arms, which long did them withstand,

They

They built to mighty Jove, this holy Altar here. And made it common for all Greece, as plainly may appear, In guerdon of the good, which he did them restore, In querdon of their liberty, which lik'd them evermore,

This Battlewas fought the fourth day of the Moneth which the ATHENIANS call Badronion, that is, about the Moneth of July, or after the BOEOTIANS account, the fix and twentieth of the Moneth they call Panemus, on which day there is kept a common Affembly of the Estates of GREECE, in the City of PLATEES, where the PLATEIANS make a folemn Sacrifice unto Jupiter, Protector of their Liberty, to give him thanks alwaies for this Victory. It is no marvell that there was such difference then betwixt the Moneths and Days, confidering that even now when Aftronomy is more perfectly understood than it was then, some do yet begin and end their Moneths at one day, and some at another. After this great Battle and Overthrow of the barbarous People, there arose a great strife betwirt the Strife betwirt ATHENIANS and the LACEDEMONIANS, touching the reward and honour of the Victory. For the Athenians the ATHENIANS would not give place unto the LACEDEMONIANS, nor fuffer them to fet up any and Lucetema-Tokens or Signs of Triumph. Whereupon the GRECIANS running to Arms in mutiny together, nour of the by this occasion they had almost spoiled one another: had not Aristides through his wisdom and wise victory. perswasions, stayed and quieted the other Captains his Companions, and specially one Leocrates and Myronides, whom he wan with such discreet and gentle words, that they were contented to refer it wholly unto the Arbitrement and Judgment of the other People of GREECE. So the GRECIANS met in the same place together, purposely to decide their Controversies. In this Council holden there, Theogiton a Captain of the MEGARIANS, faid for his opinion, that to avoid the Civil War might grow between the GRECIANS upon this quarrell: he thought it more requifite, to appoint over the reward and honour of this Victory unto some other City, then to any of the two that fell our about it. After him role up Cleocritu CORINTHIAN, feeming to every man there that he would have requested this honour for the City of CORINTH, being indeed the third City in estimation of all GREECE, Corinth that next unto Sparta and Athens: howbeit he made an Oration in commendation of the Platel third City of ANS, which was marvelloufly liked, and well thought of by every man: for his opinion went flatly estimation in with the PLAT EIANS, that to end this ftrife, they should give the honour of this Victory unto the City of PLAT ÆES, and fo would neither of both parties be angry that they should be honoured. Up- dibent. on his words Ariftides first agreed on the ATHENIANS behalf, and then Paufanias for the LACE- Cerimb. DEMONIANS, That the PLATEIANS should have the Reward. Now they both being agreed, be- The Grecians fore the spoil was divided between them, they set aside sourcore Talents that were given to the PLA. grant the home to the PLA grant the home to the PLA grant the home to the PLA grant the home to the plant of the notify the plant of the notify the plant of the notify the plant of the plant T.EIANS, with the which they built a Temple unto Minerva, and gave her an Image, and fet out Victory unto all her Temple with Pictures that remain whole untill this day: and the LACEDEMONIANS notwith- the Plateians, standing, did fet up their tokens of Victory by themselves, and the ATHENIANS their salfo by themfelves. So the fending unto the Oracle of Apollo in the City of DELPHOS, to know unto what gods, and how they should do sacrifice: Apollo answered them, that they should build up an Altar unto Jupiter, Protector of their liberty; howbeit that they should put no sacrifice upon it, untill they had first put out all the fire through the whole Countrey, because it had been polluted and defiled by the Barbarous People; and then, that they should fetch pure and clean fire at the common Altar, whereon they do facrifice unto Apollo Pyrbias, in the City of DELPHOS. This answer being delivered, The great Lords and Officers of GREECE went through all the Countrey to put out the fire every where. And there was a man of the fame City of PLATES at that time called Euchidan, that came and offered himself, and promised he would bring them fire from the Temple of Apollo Pythias, with all possible speed that might be. So when he came to the City of DELPHOS, after he had sprinkled and purified his body with clean Water, he put a Crown of Laurell upon his Head, and went in that manner to take fire from the Altar of Apollo. When he had done, he hied him again as The wonderfast as he could run for life, unto the City of PLATÆES, and came thither before the Sun was set, ha- full speed of faft as be could run for life, unto the City of PLATÆES, and came ununer perore the sun was set, having come and gone that day a thouland furlongs. But after he had faluted his Citizens, and delivered Euclidate the Plataian, on them the fire he brought, he fell down dead at their feet, and gave up the Ghost. The PLATEIANS foot. lift him up ftark dead, and buried him in the Temple of Diana Euclia, to fay, of good renown: and caused afterwards this Epitaph following to be graven upon his Tomb.

> Engraved here doth lie, Euchidas speedy man, Who in one day both too and fro, to Delphos lightly ran: Even from this self same place, which thou dost here behold, Such hafte, post haste, he swiftly made; thereof thou maist be bold.

Diana Euclis Euchilas Epitaph.

Many think that this goddels Euclia is Diana, and so they call her. But other hold opinion she was the Daughter of Hercules, and Myrto the Nymph Menatius Daughter, and Patroclus sister, that died a Virgin, and was honoured afterwards as a goddels of the BOEOTIANS, and of the Lo-CRIANS. For in all their Cities and Towns in open places, they find an Altar and Image dedicated unto her: and all that are married, do facrifice to her upon that Altar. Afterwards there was a Ge. Agencial neral Council holden by all the Grecians, in the which Ariffides made a motion that all the arthe Cities of Grecian deal and a motion of the arthe City of Cities of GREECE should yearly fend their deputies at a certain day appointed, unto the City of Platace.

PLATEES, there to make their prayers and facrifices unto the gods: and that from five years, to five years, they should celebrate common Games, that should be called the Games of Liberty: and that they should also levy through all the Provinces of GREECE, for maintenance of the Wars against the Persians and barbarous People, ten thousand Footmen, a thousand Horsemen, and a Fleet of an hundred Sail. Also that the PLATEIANS thenceforth should be taken for deyour and holy men, and that no man should be so hardy as to hurt or offend them; and that they should onely tend the Sacrifices unto the gods, for the health and prosperity of GREECE. All which Articles were enacted in form and manner aforelaid, and the PLATEIANS bound themselves yearly to keep folemn Sacrifices and Aniverfaries for the Souls of the GRECIANS that were flain in their Solemn Secri- Territories, fighting for defence of the liberty of the GRECIANS: And this they observe yet unto nce and runerals kept by the this day in this fort. The fixteenth day of the Moneth of Memalterion (which the BOEOTIANS Plusianayers call Alalcomenies, and is about the Moneth of January) they go a Proceilion, and before the Procession goeth a Trumpeter that soundeth the Alarum: Then there follow certain Chariots loaden with citar that were branches of Firr-tree, and with Nofegays and Garlands of Triumph: then a black Bull, and certain young Gentlemen noble mens Sons, that carry great Cawdrons with two ears full of Wine and Milk, fuch as they use to pour upon the Graves of dead men for propitiatory Oblations; and other young Boys free born, that carry Oyls, Perfumes, and other fweet Odours in Vial Glasses: for no Servant or Bondman may lawfully be admitted to have any Office about this Myftery, for that those whose Memory they honour, died all fighting for defence of the Liberty of GREECE. After all this shew, followeth the Provost of the PLATEIANS for that time being, last of all : who may not all the rest of the year befides, fo much as touch any Iron, nor wear any other coloured Gown but white. Howbeit then he weareth on a Purple-coloured Coat, and holdeth a Funeral Pot in one of his hands, which he taketh in the Town-House, and a naked Sword in the other hand, and so goeth through the City in this fort after all the Pomp aforefaid, unto the Church-yard where all their Graves be that were slain at that Battle. So when he cometh thither, he draweth water out of a Well that is there, and with the same he washeth the foursquare Pillars and Images that stand upon those Tombs, and then anointeth them with Oyls and sweet Savours: afterwards, he facrificeth a Bull, and layeth him upon a heap of Wood hard by him, as they do when they burn the bodies of dead men; and making certain Prayers and Petitions unto Jupiter and Mercury, gods of the Earth, he doth folemnly invite the fouls of those valiant men that died fighting for the liberry of Greek, unto the Feat of the Funeral Sacrifice. Then he taking a Cup full of Wine in his hand, and spilling it all upon their Tombs, he speaketh these words aloud 1 I drink to the worthy and valiant men, that died sometime in defence of the liberty of GREECE. This folemn Ceremony and Aniverfary, the PLATÆIANS do duly observe unto this present day. Now when the ATHENIANS were returned to ATHENS, Arifides pre-Arifides perceiving the People were bent to stablish a Popular State, where the People might bear righter pie- bit whole Rule and Authority, judging them well worthy to be considered of, in respect of their noferreth the po- the whole Rule and Authority, judging them well worthy to be considered of, in respect of their noferreth the poble Service and valiant courage they had shewed in this War: and considering also that they would hardly be brought to like of any other Government, being yet in Arms, and very frout, by realon of the famous Victories they had obtained : he caufed a Law to be made, that all Authority of Government should run in equality among the Citizens, and that thenceforth all Burgesses (as well poor as rich) should be chosen by voices of the People, and promoted to Offices within the City. And moreover, when Themistocles told in open Assembly, that he had a thing in his head, would be greatly to the profit and commodity of the State, but yet it was not to be spoken openly for divers respects: the People willed him to tell it unto Aristides onely, and to take his advice in it, to know whether it was meet to be done, or not. Then Themsfrocles told him fecretly between them, vice of Themi- that hethought to fet the Arcenall on fire, where all the GRECIANS Ships lay: alleadging, that by this means the ATHENIANS should be the greatest men of power in all GREECE. Aristides hearing that, without any more, came prefently to the People again, and told the whole Council openly, that nothing could be more profitable indeed for the whole Commonwealth, and withall more wicked and unjust, then that Them. stocles thought good to do. When the People heard Aristides Answer, they willed Themistocles to let his device alone whatsoever it were: fo great Justicers were the ATHENIANS, and so much did they trust Aristides wisdom and equity besides. So they made Arifides afterwards General of the Army of the ATHENIANS together with Cimon, and fent them to make War against the barbarous People. Aristides at his coming thither, seeing Paufanias, and the other Captains that were Generals over the whole Army, dealing hardly gainst the bar- and churlishly with the People their Confederates, he on the contrary side, spake gently unto brooms People, and courning with the ecopic them as he could possible, making his drillides in them, and shewed himself as courteous and familiar to them as he could possible, making his drillides in flice and vertue companion also familiar to all, and just to every body, not oppressing some to ease other, indetook from the fraying the charges of the Wars. Arifides taking this course, it was not noted how by little Lecchemanian and little he cut off the Rule and Authority of the LACEDEMONIANS in GREECE, not by all their Rule and Authority force of Arms, nor by Ships, nor by number of Horses, but onely by his grave and wife Government. For if the Juffice and Vertue of Ariffides, and the mildness and courtesse of Cimon, made the Government of the ATHENIANS to be liked of and accepted of all the other People of

GREECE: the coverousnels, pride and fiercenels of Paufanias, made it much more to be defi-

but it was ever in choler, and he was too sharp with them : and for the poor private Souldiers, he

Ariftides fentence upon Themisto:les The justice of the Athenians. Ariftides and Cimon Generals of the Avecous. red. For Paufanias never spake unto the other Captains of the People, Allies, and Confederates, punning or his Souldiers. Would cause them to be cruelly whipped for every small offence, or else make them stand a whole

day together on their feet, laying a heavy iron Anchor upon their shoulders. No man durst go forrage, neither for Straw, nor Reeds to make them Couches of, nor durst water their Horse before the SPARTANS: for he had fet Scouts for them to whip them home, that went out before them. And one day when Aristides thought to have spoken to him, and to have told him something, he fromned upon him : and faid he had no leifure to speak with him now, and so would not hear him : whereupon the Captains of the other GRECIANS, and specially those of CHIO, of SAMOS, and of LESBOS, did afterwards follow Arifides, and perswaded him to take upon him the charge and Authority to command the other People of GREECE, and to take into his protection the Allies and Confederates of the fame, who long fithence wished to revolt from the Government of the LACEDAMONIANS, and onely to submit themselves unto the ATHENIANS. Aristides anfwered them thus: that they had not onely reason to do that they faid, but that they were also constrained to do it. Notwithstanding, because the ATHENIANS might have good ground and affu- Arifiiles fine rance of their undoubted fidelity and good fervice, they should deliver them manifest testimony and trial of Trayaffurance thereof, by some famous act attempted against the LACEDEMONIANS, whereby their tors. People hereafter durst never fall from the League of the ATHENIANS. Uliades SAMIAN, and Antagoras of Chio hearing him fay fo, both (aprains of Galleys confedered together: they The rebellious went one day to fet upon the Admiral Galley of Paufanias, hard by BIZANTIUM, the one of act of ulinder the one fide of her, and the other on the other fide, as fhe was rowing before all the Fleet. Pau- and Antagoras fanias feeing them, ftood up straight in a marvellous rage against them, and threatned them that before against Paufait were long he would make them know, they had been better to have affaulted their own natural nise. Countrey, than to have fet upon him as they had done. But they answered him, and bade him get him away quickly if he were wife, and let him thank Fortune hardly, that granted the GRECI-ANS victory at the Battle of PLATÆES under his leading : and that it was nothing else but the onely reverence and respect of the same, that had made the GRECIANS hold their hands till now, from giving him that just punishment his pride and arrogancy had deserved. So the end was, they left the LACEDEMONIANS, and stuck unto the ATHENIANS : wherein was eafily discerned the great courage and wonderfull magnanimity of the LACEDEMONIANS. For when they faw The tempetheir Captains were marred and corrupted, through the over-great Authority and liberty they had, rance of the they willingly gave up their commandment over the other GRECIANS, and did no more fend their Lacedamentans Captains to be Generals of the whole Army of GREECE: thinking it better for their Citizens, that they should be obedient, and in every point observe the Discipline and Law of their Countrey, than if they had been otherwise the onely Rulers and Lords over the whole Countrey. Now at what time the LACEDEMONIANS did command all GREECE, as Lords, the Cities and People of GREECE, did pay a certain fum of Money, towards defraying of the charges of the Wars against the barbarous People. But after that their Seigniority and Rule was taken from them, the GRECIANS were contented a Tax should be levied, and that every City should be reasonably felled, according to their wealth and ability: because every City might know what they should pay, And for this purpole, they prayed the ATHENIANS they would appoint Ariftides to take order Ariftides did for it, unto whom they gave full Power and Authority to tax and felsevery City indifferently, felsithe Cities considering the greatness of the Territory, and the Revenues of the same, as every one was reason- of Greece. ably able to bear it. But if Arishides were poor when he entred into that great charge and Office of Authority, wherein all GREECE in manner did refer themselves unto his discretion : he came out of that Office more poor, and had made his Affessinent and Taxation not onely justly and truly, but also Aristides a fo indifferently according to every mans ability, that there was no man could find fault with his true Seffor. doings. And like as the ancient men in old time did celebrate and fing out the bleffedness of those that lived under the Reign of Saturn, which they called the Golden Age: even fo did the People and Confederates of the ATHENIANS afterwards honour the Affeffment made my Ariftides, calling it the fortunate and bleffed time of GREECE, and specially, when shortly after it did double, and treble on the sudden. For the Tax Aristides made, came to about four hundred and threescore Talents: and Pericles raised it almost unto a third part. For Thucydides writeth, that at the beginning of the Wars of PELOPONNESUS, the ATHENIANS levied fix hundred Talents yearly upon their Confederates. And after the death of Pericles, the Orators and Counfellors for matters of State, did raile it up higher by little and little, untill it mounted to the fum of thirteen hundred Talents. And this was not because the Wars did rise to so great a charge, by reason of the length of the same, and of the loffes the ATHENIANS had received: but for that they did accustom the People to make diffributions of Money by hand unto every Citizen, to make them fet up Games, and make goodly Images, and to build up sumptuous Temples. Thus was Aristides therefore justly honoured, praised and effecmed above all others, for his just imposition of Taxes, saving onely of Themistocles: who went up and down fleering at the matter, faying it was no meet praise for an honest man, but rather for a Coffer well barred with Iron, where a man might fafely lay up his Gold and Silver. This he spake to be even Taunts bewith Arifides, which was nothing like the sharp gird Arifides gave him openly, when Themistocles tween Themitalking with him, told him it was an excellent thing for a Captain to be able to know, and to pre- footes and Avent the counsels and doings of the Enemies: And so it is, faid Aristides again, not onely a needfull, ristides. but an honest thing, and meet for a worthy General of an Army, to be clean fingered, without Bribery or corruption. So Ariftides made all the other People of GREECE to fwear, that they would truly keep the Articles of the Alliance, and he himself as General of the ATHENIANS, did take their Oaths in the name of the ATHENIANS: and fo pronouncing execrations and curfes

A hard thing to away with Poverty. Who may be ashamed of

Themistocles.

against them that should break the League and Oath taken, he threw Iron Wedges red hot into the against them that include the state of the s ing, afterwards in my opinion, when there fell out great alteration in the State, and that the ATHE-NIANS were forced to rule more firaightly than before: Ariftides then willed the ATHENIANS to lethim bear the danger and burden of perjury and execration, and that they should not let for sear thereof to do any thing what foever they thought meet or necessary. To conclude, Theophrassus teth, that Arifides was not onely a perfect, an honest, and just man, in private matters betwist party and party: but in matters of State, and concerning the Commonweal, he did many things often times according to the necessity of the time, and troubles of the City, wherein violence and injustice Ariflides pre- was to be used. As when the question was asked in open Council, to know whether they might take feried necessity away the Gold and Silver, that was left in the Isle of Delos fafely laid up in the Temple of Apollo, of time, before to bear out the charges of the Wars against the barbarous People, and to bring it from thence unto Law and Res ATHENS, upon the motion of the SAMIANS, although it was directly against the Articles of the Alliance, made and sworn among all the GRECIANS; Ariftides opinion being asked in the same, he answered : it was not just, but yet profitable. Now, notwithstanding Ariftides had brought his City to rule and command many thousands of People, yet was he ftill poor for all that, and till his dying day he gloried rather to be praifed for his poverty, then for all the famous Victories and Battles he had won: and that plainly appeared thus. Callia Ceres Torch-bearer, was his near Kiniman, who through Enemies came to be accused, and stood in hazard of life: so when the day came that his matter was to be heard before the Judges, his Acculers very faintly, and to little purpole, uttered the offences whereof they accused him, and running into other by-matters, left the chief matter, and spake thus to the Judges: My Lords, you all know Ariftides the Son of Lyfimachus, and you are not ignorant allo that his Vertue hath made him more effectmed, than any man elfe is, or can be, in all GREECE. How think ye, doth he live at home, when you fee him abroad up and down the City, in a thread-bare gown all to be tattered? Is it not likely, trow ye, that he is ready to starve at home for lack of meat and lief, whom we all see quake for very cold, being so ill arrayed and clothed? And yet M. Calliss here his Coulin-german the richeft Citizen in all ATHENS, is to milerable, that notwithstanding Arifides hath done much for him, by reason of his great Credit and Authority among you, he suffered him and his poor Wife and Children ready to beg and starve for any help he giveth them. Callian perceiving the Judges more angry with him for that, then for any matter elfe he was accused of: he prayed Arifides might be fent for, and willed him to tell truly, whether he had not offered him good round fums of Money, many a time and oft, and entreated him to take it; which he ever refused, and anfwered him alwaies, That he could better boaft of his Poverty, than himfelf could of his Riches: (which he faid many did use ill, and few could use them well) and that it was a hard thing to find one man of a noble mind, that could away with Poverty, and that fuch onely might be ashamed of Poverty, as were poor against their wills. So Aristides confirmed all he spake to be true: and every man that was at the hearing of this matter, went wholly away with this opinion, that he had rather be poor as Ariftides, then rich as Callias. This tale is written thus by Afchines the Socratian Philosopher: and Plato reporteth of him also, that notwithflanding there were many other famous and noble men of ATHENS, yet he gave Ariffides praise above them all. For others, said he, (as Themificits, Cimon, and Pericles) have beautified the City with stately Porches, and sumptuous Buildings of Gold Ariftiles com and Silver, and with store of other fine superfluous devices; but Arifides was onely he, that vertuously difposed himself and all his doings, to the furtherance of the State and Commonweal. His Justice and good nature appeared plainly in his doings, and behaviour towards Themistecles. For though Themiflooles was ever against Ariftides in all things, and a continual Enemy of his, and that by his means and practife he was banished from ATHENS: yet when Themistocles was accused of Treason to the State, having divers sharp Enemies against him, as Cimon, Alemaon, with divers other, Arifides fought not revenge, when he had him at his advantage. For he neither spake nor did any thing against him at that time to hurt him : neither did he rejoice to fee his Enemy in mifery, no more then if he had never Arifiides death envied him in his prosperity. And touching Aristides death, some write that he died in the Realm of PONTUS, being fent thither about matters of the State: and other think he died an old man in the City of ATHENS, greatly honoured and beloved of all the Citizens. But Crateria the MACEDONIAN writeth of his death in this fort : After that Themisfocles (faith he) was fled, the People of ATHENS became very flubborn and infolent: whereupon, many lewd men grew to be common appeachers and accusers of the Noble men and chiefest Citizens, and to stir up the malice and ill will of the common People against them, who were waxen proud by reason of their Prosperity, and Dominion that was enlarged. Among the reft, Arifider was condemned for Extortion and ill behaviour in the Commonwealth, upon one Diophantes acculation, of the Village of AMPHITROPE: who burdened him, that he took Money of the IONIANS, to make the annual Tribute Cels which they payed unto ATHENS: and so Crateris faith, that because Arifides was not able to pay the Fine they set upon his head (which was five Minas) he was driven to forfake ATHENS, and to get him into IONIA, where he died. Yet doth not Craterus bring forth any probable matter to prove this true he writeth; as his pleading, his Sentence and condemnation, or any Decree passed against him, although he used great diligence elle in collecting all fuch matters, and vouching his Authors. Furthermore, all other Writers that have fpecially noted the faults and offences committed by the People of ATHENS in former times against their Captains and Governours: they do declare Themissocles exile, Militades captivity that died in Prifon, Pericles Fine wherein he was condemned, and Paches death that flew himfelf in the Pulpit for

Orations, when he faw he was condemned: and tell divers fuch Stories, adding too also Aristides banishment: but yet they make no matter of mention of the condemnation which Craterus speaketh of. Moreover, Arifides Tomb is to be feen at this day upon the Haven of PHALERUS, which was fet up for him at the charge of the Commonwealth, as it is reported, because he died so poor a man, as they Arifides tomb found nothing in his house to bury him with. Other go further, and say that his Daughters were marfound notting in its noure to only time with.

ried by Decree of the People, at the charge of the Commonwealth, and that the City gave every one of them three thousand Drachmas: and his Son Lysmachus, a hundred Minas of Silver, and a hundred thankfulness of ment uncer thousand Action of the Decree, they gave him four Drachthunes unco triffiter unco triffiter mas a day besides, of ordinary allowance. Furthermore, when this Lysimachus died, he lest alive children, one onely Daughter called Polycrite, whom the People appointed, as Calishenes writeth, as much Provision to live withall, as they gave to any that wan the Olympian Games. And sithence, Demetrim PHALERIAN, Hieronymus RHODIAN, Ariftoxensu the Musitian, and Aristotle the Philosopher, at least if the Book intituled of Nobility be any of Aristotles Works: all these agree together, pner, attent in the Doughters Daughters, was married to the wife Socrates, who took her to that one Myrto, Arifides Daughters Daughters Daughters was a poor. Widow, and could not be married for her der Daughters because the was a poor. Widow, and could not be married for her der Daughters Poverty, having muchado to live. Yet Panatisas doth write against him, in his Book of Socrates Daughter, Life. But Demetrius PHALERIAN writeth in his Book heentituled Socrates, that he could remem. married unto ber very well he had feen one Lysimacher, Aristides. Sons Son, or his Daughters Son, that was very Socrates. poor, and lived of that he could get to interpret Dreams, by certain Tables, wherein was written the Art to interpret the fignification of Dreams: and that he kept commonly about the Temple of Bacchus called Inschion, unto whom, together with his Mother and his Sifter, he faid he had caufed the People to give them a Triobulum a piece, every day towards their living. It is very true, that the selffame Demetrins PHALERIAN, when he reformed the State of ATHENS, ordained that his Mother and Sifter should have each of them a Drachma by the day to find them withall, out of the common Chamber of the City. And it is no new nor strange thing, that the People of ATHENS were so commended carefull to help and to relieve the Women that dwelt in their City: confidering that in times paft, A- for their liberistogiton having a little Daughter in the Isle of LEMNOS, in very hard and poor estate, and that rality. could not be bestowed in marriage for her Poverty, they cansed her to be brought to ATHENS, and married her in one of the Noblest Houses of the City, and made her a Joynter besides in the Village of

ARISTIDES.

The End of Aristides Life.

POTAMOS. Which great courtefie and humanity of theirs, hath ever deserved great same and com-

mendation, and yet continueth even untill this day, in that noble City of ATHENS, in the mouth of e-

very man there.

THE

THELIFEOF MARCUS CATO the Cenfor.



Ann. Mund. 3758.

Arcus Cato and his Ancestors, were (as they say) of the City of Thuscu-LUM: but before he went unto the Wars, and dealt in matters of the Commonwealth, he dwelt and lived in the Countrey of the SABYNS, upon certain Land his Pather left him. And though to many his Ancestors were known to have been obscure: yet he himself did highly commend his Father Marcus, by bearing his name, and faying he was a Souldier, and had ferved valiantly in the Field. And he relleth also of another Caro that was his great Grandfather, who for his valiant fervice had been oft rewarded of the Generals, with fuch honourable gifts,

as the ROMANS did use to give unto them that had done fome famous act in any Battle: and how that he having loft five Horfes of fervice in the Wars, the value of the fame was reftored to him again in Money of the common Treasure, because he had shewed himself trusty and valiant for the Common-Caso called an wealth. And where they had a common speech at ROME, to call them upftarts that were no Gentlemen born, but did rife by vertue: it fortuned Caro to be called one of them. And for his part he did confels it, that he was the first of his House that ever had honour, and Office of State: but by reason of the noble acts and good service of his Ancestors, he maintained he was very ancient. He was called at the beginning after his third name, Prifem: but afterwards by reason of his great wisdom and experience, he was furnamed (ato, because the ROMANS call a wise man, and him that hath seen much, Cato. He was somewhat given to be red-saced, and had a pair of staring eyes in his head, as this man tellethus, that for ill will wrote these Verses of him after his death :

The definition of this word Cato.

upftart.

Pluto (the god) which rules the Furies infernall, Will not receive the damned ghost, of Porcius in his hall. His sawcy coppered nose, and fierce staring eyes, His common standerous tales, which he did in this World devise, Made Pluto stand in dread, that he would brawl in Hell, Although his bones were dry and dead; on Earth he was so fell.

Furthermore, touching the disposition of his body; he was marvellous strong and lusty, and all Cato's manners because he did use to labour and toil even from his youth, and live sparingly, as one that was ever brought up in the Wars from his youth: fo that he was of a very good conflitution, both for ftrength of body, and for health. As for utterance, he efteemed it as a fecond body, and most necessary gift, not onely to make men honest, but also as a thing very requisite for a man that should bear (way and Authority in the Commonwealth. He practifed to speak well in little Villages near home, whither he went many times to plead mens Caules in Courts judicial, that would retain him of Counfell: so as in short time he became a persect Pleader, and had tongue at will, and in pro-Caro an ercel- cess of time became an excellent Orator. After he was thus well known, they that were familiar lent Orstor. With him, began to perceive a grave manner and behaviour in his life, and a certain noble mind in

him, worthy to be employed in matters of State and great importance, and to be called into the Commonwealth. For he did not onely refuse to take Fees for his pleading and followed the Causes he maintained: but furthermore made no reckoning of the estimation he wan by that manner and practife, as though that was not the onely Mark he shot at. But his desire reached further, rather to win himself Fame by Service in the Wars, and by valiant fighting with his Enemy, then with fuch a quiet and pleafing manner of life. Infomuch as when he was but a young ftripling in manner, he had many cuts upon his breaft, which he had received in divers Battles and Encounters against the Enemies. For he himself writeth, that he was but seventeen years old, when he went first unto Catoa Soulcier the Wars, which was about the time of Hannibals chief prosperity, when he spoiled and destroy- at sevences ed all ITALY. So when he came to fight he would strike lustily, and never stir foot nor give back; years of age. and would look cruelly upon his Enemy, and threaten him with a fearfull and terrible voice, which and would look cruelly upon his Enemy, and threaten nim with a rearruit and terrible voice, which he used himself, and wifely raught other also to use the like; for such countenances, faid he, many A grim look.

When he were any Tournau, he giveth terrout to the such as times do fear the Enemies more than the Sword ye offer them. When he went any Journey, he tothe Enemy. ever marched on foot, and carried his Armour upon his back, and had a man waiting on him, that carried his Victuals with him, with whom he was never angry (as they fay) for any thing he had pre-pared for his Dinner or Supper, but did help to drefs it himself for the most part, is he had any leifure, when he had done the duty of a private Souldier in fortifying the Camp, or fuch other needfull business. All the while he was abroad in Service in the Wars, he never drank other than clean Water, unless it were when he found he was not well, and then he would take a little Vinegar; but if he saw he were weak, he would then drink a little Wine. Now it fortuned that Manius Curius This Manius the ROMAN, who had triumphed thrice, had a pretty House and Land hard by Cato, where he kept Carist overthe ROMAN, who that triumpned tirrice, had a pretty fronte and band had to be written acept in times paff, which Cato for a while would visit oft. And he considering how little Land he had to his threw King in times paff, which Cato for a while would wish to be a pretty being the worked with him Cato Pyrru being House, and what a little House he had withall, and how poorely it was built, wondred with himself General of the what manner of man Curius had been, that having been the greatest man of ROME in his time, and Turentines. having subdued the mightiest Nations and People of all ITALY, and driven King Pyrrus also out of Carothe elder the same; yet himself with his own hands did manure that little patch of ground, and dwell in so wondred at the same; yet himself with his own hands did manure that little patch of ground, and dwell in so wondred at the same with the same w the failte: yet minical with insown many more and interest of the same of the presented him a marvellous deal of Gold, from their State and Commonalty. But Curius returned on of Mania: them again with their Gold, and told them, that fuch as were contented with that Supper, had no Gariat. need of Goldnor Silver: and that for his part, he thought it greater honour to command them that had Gold, than to have it himself. Cato remembring these things to himself, went home again, and began to think upon his House, of his Living, of his Family and Servants, and also of his Expences, and to cut offall superfluous charges, and tell himself to labour with his own hands, more then ever he had done before. Furthermore, when Fabius Maximus took the City of TAREN-TUM again, Cato served under him being very young, where he fell into familiar acquaintance with Nearchus the Pythagorian Philosopher, in whom he took marvellous delight to hear him talk of Philosophy. Which Nearchus held the same opinion of pleasure, that Plato did, by calling it the sweet Poyson, and chiefest Bait to allure men to ill: and saying that the Body was the first plague unto the Soul, and that her onely Health, Remedy, and Purgation, stood Philosopher upon rules of Reason, good Examples and Contemplations, that drive sinfull thoughts and car- Cato's School nal pleasures of the body, far off from her. Cato moreover gave himself much to sobriety and master. temperance, and framed himself to be content with little. They say he fell in his very old age to Plan's opinion the study of the Greek Tongue, and to read Greek Books, and that he profited formathly to of pleasure. the study of the Greek Tongue, and to read Greek Books, and that he profited somewhat by Catolesand Thucydides, but much more by Demosthenes, to frame his Matter, and also to be eloquent : which the Greek plainly appeareth in all his Books and Writings, full of Authorities, Examples, and Stories taken Tongue in his pramy appeared and the Books and Wilnigh, and Morals, his Adages and quick Anfivers, old age.
out of the Greek Authors: and many of his Sentences and Morals, his Adages and quick Anfivers, old age.
Cate profitted one of the Greek Additions; and many of the second of the fame word for word. Now there was a Noble man of Rome at that time, much by Deone of great Authority, and a deep wife man besides, who could easily discern buds of Vertue mulbens elosprouting out of any towardly youth, who was of a good and honourable disposition to help for quence. ward, and to advance such: his name was Valerius Flaccus, a near neighbour unto Cato, who was Valerius Flacinformed by his Servants of Cato's ftrange life, how he would be doing in his Ground with his own car a grave hands: and how he would be gone every day betieve in the morning to little Village thereadon. wife man. hands: and how he would be gone every day betimes in the morning to little Villages thereabouts. Care's frange to Plead mens Causes that prayed his Counsell, and that when he had done, he would come home life. again : and if it were in Winter, that he would but cast a little Coat on his shoulders, and being Summer he would go out bare-necked to the waste, to work in his ground among his Servants and other Workmen: and would besides, sit and eat with them together at one Board, and drink as they did. Moreover, they told him also a world of such manners and fashions he used, that shewed him to be a marvellous plain man, without pride, and of a good nature. Then they told him what no able wife Sayings and grave Sentences they heard him speak. Valerius Flaccus hearing this report of him, willed his men one day to pray him to come to Supper to him. Who falling in acquaintance with Cato, and perceiving he was of a very good Nature, and well given, and that he was a good graff to be fet in a better Ground, he perswaded him to come to Rome, and to pra-Aife there in the Affembly of the People, in the common (auses and Affairs of the Commonweal. Categooth to Cate followed his counfell, who having been no long Practifer among them, did grow fraighten Rome by Vales great estimation, and was him most friends by realizing the Country to realize the realized to the

great estimation, and wan him many friends, by reason of the Causes he took in hand to detend : personation.

Cato chofen Tribunus mili-Caro's Office in the Senate. Cate followed Fabius Maxi-Cato's emulation with Scipio the Great.

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MARCUS CATO. lerius Flaceus gavehim. For first of all, by voice of the People he was chosen Tribune of the Souldiers (to fay, Collonel of a thouland Footmen) and afterwards was made Treasurer: and fo went forwards, and grew to fo great credit and authority, as he became Valerius Flaceus Companion in the chiefest Offices of State, being chosen Consul with him, and then Censor. But to begin withall, Cato made choice of Quintus Fabius Maximus, above all the Senators of Rome, and gave himself to follow him altogether: and not fo much for the credit and estimation Fabius Maximus was of (who therein excelled all the ROMANS of that time) as for the modefty and diferent government he faw in him, whom he determined to follow, as a worthy mirrour and example. At which time Cato passed not for the malice and evil will of Scipto the Great, who did strive at that present being but a young man, with the authority and greatness of Fabius Maximus, as one that seemed to envy his riling and greamels. For Cato being lent Treasurer with Scipio, when he undertook the journey into Africk, and perceiving Scipio's bountifull nature, and disposition to large gifts withour mean to the Souldiers: he told him plainly one day, that he did not fo much hurt the Commonwealth in wasting their treasure, as he did great harm in changing the ancient manner of their ancestors: who used their Souldiers to be contented with little, but he taught them to fpend their superfluous mony (all necessaries provided for) in vain toits and trifles to serve their pleasure. Scipio made him ved him for his answer, he would have no Treasurer should controll him in this fort, nor that should look so nar-wallfull expenlowly to his expences: for his intent was to go to the Wars, with full fails as it-were, and that he would (and did also determine) to make the State privy to all his doings, but not to the money he spent, Caro hearing this answer, returned with speed out of SICILE unto ROME, crying out with Fabius Maximus in open Senate, that Scipio spent infinitely, and that he tended Plays, Comedies, and Wreftlings, as if he had not been fent to make Wars, Invations, and Attempts upon their Enemies. Upon this complaint the Senate appointed certain Tribunes of the People, to go and fee if their informations were true: and finding them to, that they should bring him back again to Rome. But Scipio shewed far otherwise to the Commissioners that came thister, and made them see apparent Victory, through the necessary preparation and provision he had made for the Wars: and he confessed also, that when he had dispatched his great business, and was at any leisure, he would be privately merry with his Friends: and though he was liberal to his Souldiers, yet that made him not negligent of his duty and charge in any matter of importance. So Scipto took shipping, and failed toward Africk, whither he was fent to make War. Now to return to Cato. He daily increased still in authority and credit by means of his eloquence, so that divers called him the Demofibenes of ROME: howbeit the manner of his life was in more estimation than his eloquence. For all the youth of ROME did feek to attain to his eloquence and commendation of words, and one envied another which of them should come nearest: but few of them would file their hands with any labour as their Forefathers did, and made a light Supper and Dinner without fire or provision, or would be content with a mean gown, and a poor lodging, and finally would think it more honourable to defie Fancies and Pleasures, then to have and enjoy them. Because the State was waxen now of fuch Power and Wealth, as it could no more retain the ancient difcipline, and former aufterity, and straightness of life it used : but by reason of the largeness of their Dominion and feigniority, and the numbers of People and Nations that were become their subjects, it was even forced to receive a medly of fundry Countrey fashions, examples, and manners. This was a cause, why in reason men did so greatly wonder at Cato's Vertue, when they saw other straight wearied with pains and labour tenderly brought up like pulers; and Cato on the other fide never overcome, either with the one or with the other, no not in his youth, when he most coveted honour, nor in his age also when he was gray Headed and bald after his Consulthip and triumph: but like a conqueror that had gotten the maftery, he would never give over labour even unto his dying Caro's wonder- day. For he writeth himfelf, that there never came Gown on his backthat cost him above an hundred pence, and that his Hinds and Workmen alwaies drunk no worfe Wine, when he was Conful and General of the Army, than he did himself: and that his Cater never bestowed in Meat for his Supper, above thirty Affes of ROMAN money; and yet he faid it was, because he might be the ftronger, and apter to do fervice in the Wars for his Countrey and the Commonwealth. He faid furthermore, that being heir to one of his Friends that died, he had a piece of tapeftry by him with a deep border, which they called then the BABYLONIAN border, and he caused it straight to be fold: and that of all his Houses he had abroad in the Countrey, he had not one Wall plaistered, nor rough cast. Moreover he would fay, he never bought Bondman or flave dearer, then a thousand five hundred Pence, as one that fought not for fine made men and goodly perfonages, but ftrong fellows that could away with pains, as Carters, Horle-keepers, Neat-heards, and fuch like: and again le would fell them when they were old, because he would not keep them when they could do no service. To conclude, hewas of opinion, that a man bought any thing dear, that was for little purpole: yea, though he gave but a farthing for it, he thought it too much to befrow so little, for that which needed not. He would have men purchase Houses, that had more store of arable Land and Pasture, then of fine Hortyards or Gardens. Some say, he did thus for very misery and covetoufnefs: other think, and took it that he lived fo fparingly, to move others by his example to cut off all superfluity and waste. Nevertheless, to sell slaves in that fort, or to turn them out of doors when you have had the fervice of all their youth, and that they are grownold, as you use brute Beafts that have ferved whilft they may for age: methinks that must needs proceed of too fevere and greedy a nature, that hath no longer regard or confideration of humanity, then whilf MARCUS (ATO.

one is able to do another good. For we fee, gentleness goeth further then justice. For Nature teacheth us to use justice onely to them, but gentleness sometimes is shewed unto brute Beasts: and that cometh from the very Fountain and Spring of all courtefie and humanity, which should never dry up in any man living. For to fay truly, to keep cast Horses spoiled in our service, and Dogs also. not onely when they are Whelps, but when they be old, be even tokens of love and kindness. As the ATHENIANS made a Law, when they builded their Temple called Hecatompedon: that they should suffer the Mules and Mulets that did service in their carriages about the building of the same, Agente Law to graze every where, without let or trouble of any man. And they say there was one of their Athenian in Mules thus turned at liberty, that came her self to the place to labour, going before all the other favour of their draught Beafts that drew up Carts loaden towards the Caftle, and kept them company, as though labouring the feemed to encourage the rest to draw : which the People liked fo well in the poor Beaft, that they Mules. appointed the should be kept whilst the lived, at the charge of the Town. And yet at this present are the graves of Cimons Mares to be feen, that wan him thrice together the Prize of the Horserace at the Games Olympian, and they are hard by the grave of Cimon himself. We hear of divers also that had buried their Dogs they brought up in their house, or that waited on them : as among other, old Xanthippus buried his Dog in the top of a cliff, which is called the Dogs pit till Xanthippus this day. For when the People of ATHENS did for fake their City at the coming down of the King buried his Dog Xeraes, this Dog followed his Mafter, swimming in the Sea by his Galleys side, from the firm Land that swimmed unto the Isle of SALAMINA. And there is no reason, to use living and sensible things, as we would by his Galleys use an old shoe or rag, to cast it out upon the Dunghill when we have worn it, and can serve then to Salaus no longer. For if it were for no respect else, but to use us alwaies to humanity, we must ever shew mint, and died our felves kind and gentle, even in such small points of pity. And as for me, I could never find when he landed in my heart to fell my draught Ox that had ploughed my Land a long time, because he could plough no longer for age; and much less my Siave, to sell him for a little Money, out of the Countrey where he had dwelt a long time, to pluck him from his old trade of life, wherewith he was best acquainted, and then specially, when he shall be as unprofitable for the buyer, as also for the seller. But Cato on the other fide gloried, that he left his Horse in Spain he had served on in the Wars during his Confulship, because he would not put the Commonwealth to the charge of bringing him home by Sea into ITALY. Now a question might be made of this, and probable reason of either side, whether this was nobleness or a niggardliness in him: but otherwise to say truly, he was a man of a wonderfull abstinence. For when he was General of the Army, he never took allowance Cato's straight but after three bushels of Wheat a Moneth of the Commonwealth, for himself and his whole Fa- life. mily; and but a bulhel and a half of Barley a day, to keep his Horse and other Beasts for his Carriage. On a time when he was Prator, the government of the Isle of SARDINIA fell to his lot : Cato Prator in and where the other Przetors before him had put the Countrey to exceeding great charge, to furnish Sardinist, them with Tente, Bedding, and Clothes, and such like stuff, and burdened them also with a marvellous Train of Servants and their Friends that waited on them, putting them to great expence in feafting and banquetting of them: Cato in contrary manner brought down all that excels and fuperfluity, unto a marvellous near and uncredible faving. For when he went to vifit the Cities, he Cato's nearness came on foot to them, and did not put them to a peny charge for himself: and had onely one Of- in his Circuit ficer or Bayliff of the State that waited on him, and carried his Gown and a Cup with him, to offer up Wine to the gods in his Sacrifices. But though he came thus fimply to the Subjects, and eafed them of their former charges, yet he shewed himself severe and bitter to them in matters concerning Juflice: and spared no man, in any commandment of service for the State and Commonwealth: for Cato's severity he was therein fo precise, that he would not bear with any little fault. So by this means, he brought the SARDINIANS under his government, both to love and fear the Empire of Rome, more than ever they had before: as appeareth plainly by the manner both of his speaking and writing: Cato's speech because it was pleasant and yet grave: sweet and fearfull: merry and severe: sententious and yet and writing. familiar, fuch as is meet to be spoken. And he was to be compared unto Socrates : who (as Plato The praise of faith) at the first fight was a plain simple man to them that knew him but outwardly, or else a plea- Socrates. fant Taunter or Mocker: but when they did look into him, and found him throughly, they faw he was full of grave Sentences, goodly Examples, and wife Perswasions, that he could make men water their Plants that heard him, and lead them as he would by the ear. Therefore I cannot fee any reason that moves men to say, Cato had Lysia grace and utterance. Notwithstanding, let us refer it to their judgements that make profession to discern Orators graces and stiles: for my part, I shall content my felf to write at this present, onely certain of his notable Sayings and Sentences, perswading my self that mens manners are better discerned by their words, then by their looks, and to do many think. On a time feeking to diffwade the People of ROME, which would needs make a thankfull diffribution of Corn unto every Citizen, to no purpose, he began to make an Oration with this Preface. It is a hard thing (my Lords of Roma) to bring the belly by per- Cato's fayings swafions to reason, that hath no ears. And another time, reproving the ill Government of the City of Roun, he faid: it was a hard thing to keep up that State, where a little Fish was fold dearer then an Ox. He faid also, that the ROMANS were like a flock of Sheep: for faith he, as every Weather when he is alone, doth not obey the Shepheard, but when they are all together they one follow another for love of the foremost : even so are you; for when you are together, you are all contented to be led by the nofes by fuch, whose counsell not a man alone of you would

use in any private Cause of your own. And talking another time of the Authority the Women

Themistocies faying.

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Cato against

for offending. Reason was placed in the heart, following Ariftotles opinion.

Blushing in

Body.

of Rome had over their Husbands, he faid other men commanded their Wives, and we command Men, and our Wives command us. But this laft of all he borrowed of Themistacles pleasant sayings. For his Son making him do many things by means of his Mother: he told his Wife one day: The ATHENIANS command all GREECE, I command the ATHENIANS, you command me, and your Son ruleth you. I pray you therefore bid him use the liberry he hath with some better diferetion, fool and als as he is, fithence he cando more by that Power and Authority, then all the GRECIANS besides. He said also that the People of ROME did not onely delight in divers forts of Purple, but likewise in divers sorts of Exercises. For faid he, as divers commonly die that colour they fee best esteemed, and is most pleasant to the eye : even so the lustry Youths of ROME do frame themselves to such Exercise, as they see your selves most like and best esteem. He continually advifed the ROMANS, that if their Power and Greamels came by their Vertue and Temperance, they should take heed they became no changelings, nor waxworle: and if they came to that Greatnels by Vice and Violence, that then they should change to better, for by that means he knew very well they had attained to great Honour and Dignity. Again he told them, that fuch as fued ambitiously to bear Office in the Commonwealth, and were common Suters for them, did feem to be afraid to lofe their way, and therefore would be fure to have Ushers and Serjeants before them, to shew them the way, lest they should lose themselves in the City. He did reprove them also, that often chose one man to continue one Office still: For it seemeth, faith he, either that you pass not much for your Officers, or that you have not many choice men you think worthy for the Office. There was an Enemy of his that led a marvellous wicked and an abominable life, of whom he was wont to fay, that when his Mother prayed unto the gods that she might leave her Son behind her, she did not think to pray, but to curfe: meaning to have him live for a plague to the World. And to another also that had unthrittily fold his Lands which his Father had left him, lying upon the Sea side, he pointed unto him with his finger, and made as though he wondred how he came to be so great a man, that he was stronger than the Sea: for that which the Sea hardly consumeth and eateth out by little and little a long time, he had confumed it all at a clap. Another time, when King Eumenes was come to ROME, the Senate entertained him marvellous honourably, and the nobleff Citizens did strive, envying one another, who should welcome him best. But Caso in contrary manner shewed plainly, that he did suspect all this featting and entertainment, and would not come at it. When one of his familiar friends told him, I marvell why you fly from King Eumenes company, that is fo good a Prince, and loves the ROMANS fo well : Yea, faid he, let it be fo, but for all that, a King is no better then a ravening Beaft that lives of the prey : neither was there ever any King to happy, that deserved to be compared to Epaminondas, to Pericles, to Themisfocles, nor to Manius Curius, or to Hamylear, furnamed Barca. They fay his Enemies did malice him, because he used commonly to rife before day, and did forget his own business to follow matters of State. And he affirmed that he had rather lose the reward of his well-doing, then not to be punished for doing of evil: and Cate would put that he would bear with all other offending ignorantly, but not with himself. The Romans having chosen on a time three Ambassadors to send into the Realm of BYTHINIA. one of them having chosen on a time three Ambassadors to send into the Realm of BYTHINIA, one of them having the Gout in his Feet, the other his Head full of Cuts and great galhes, and the third being but a Fool: Caro laughing said, the ROMANS sent an Ambassade that had neither Feet, Head nor * Heart. Scipio sued once to Caso at Polybian request, about those that were banished from ACHAIA. they judged the the fear of The matter was argued afterwards in the Senate, and there fell out divers opinions about it. Some that the fear of would have had them reftored to their Countrey and Goods again: other were wholly against it, So Cato rifing up at the last, said unto them: It seems we have little else to do, when we stand beating of our brains all day, disputing about these old GRECIANS, whether the ROMANS or the ACHAIANS shall bury them: In the end, the Senate took order they should be restored unto their Countrey again. Whereupon Polybins thought to make petition again unto the Senate, that the banished men whom they had restored by their order, might enjoy their former Estates and Honours in ACHAIA, they had at the time of their banishment : but before he would move the Suit unto the Senate, he would feel Cato's opinion first, what he thought of it. Who anfwered him, fmiling: Methinks Polybiss thou art like Ulyffes, that when he had fcaped out of (3clops Cave the Giant, he would needs go thither again, to fetch his Hat and Girdle he had left behind him there. He faith also, that wife men did learn and profit more by fools, then fools did by wife men. For wife men, faith he, do fee the faults fools commit, and can wifely avoid them: but fools never fludy to follow the example of wife mens doings. He faid also, that he ever liked young men better that blushed, then those that ever looked whitely: and that he would not have him for a Souldier, that wags his hand as he goeth, removes his feet when he fighteth, and rowteth and snorteth lowder in his sleep, then when he cryeth out to his Enemy. Another time when he would taunt a marvellous fat man: See, faith he, what good can such a body do to the Commonwealth, that from his chin to his codpiece is nothing but belly? And to another man that was given to pleasure, and desired to be great with him: My Friend, said Cato, as resusing his acquaintance: I cannot live with him that hath better judgement in the palate of his mouth, A Lorerliveth than in his heart. This was also his faying, That the Soul of a Lover lived in anothers Body And that in all his life time he repented him of three things. The first was, if that he ever told fecret to any Woman: the fecond, that ever he went by Water, when he might have gone by Land: the third, that he had been idle a whole day, and had done nothing. Also when he saw a vicious old man, he would fay to reprove him : O gray beard, age bringeth many deformities with it,

help it not besides with your vice. And to a seditious Tribune of the People that was suspected to be a poyloner, and would needs pals fome wicked Law by voice of the People, he would fay: O young man, I know not which of these two be worse, to drink the Drugs thou givest, or to receive the Laws thou offerest. Another time, being reviled by one that led a lewd and naughty Life: Go thy way, said he, I am no man to foold with thee: for thou art so used to revile, and to be reviled that it is not dainty to thee: but for my felf, I never use to hear scolding, and much less delight to fcold. These be his wife sayings we find written of him, whereby we may the easlier conjecture his manners and nature. Now when he was chosen Confull with his friend Falerius Cato and Va-Flacens, the Government of Spain fell to his Lot, that is on this fide of the River of BETIS. Lyting Flacens So Cato having subdued many People by force of Armes, and won others also by friendly means: so-Cato's doings dainly there came a marvellous great Army of the Barbarous People, against him, and had environ- in Spain. ed him fo, as he was in marvellous danger, either shamefully to be taken Prisoner, or to be slain in the field. Wherefore he fent presently unto the CELTIBERIANS, to pray aid of them, who were next neighbours unto the marches where he was. These Celtiberians did ask him two hundred Talents to come and help him : but the ROMANS that were about him, could not abide to hire the Barbarous People to defend them. Then Cato told them straight, there was no hurt in it, nor any dishonour unto them. For said he, if the Field be ours, then we shall pay their wages we promifed, with the spoil and Money of our Enemies; and if we lose it, then our selves and they lie by it, being left neither man to pay, nor yet any to ask it. In the end he wan the Battell after a fore conflict, and after that time he had marvellous good Fortune. For Polybins writeth, that all the Walls of the Cities that were on this fide the River of B.ETIS, were by his commandment razed in one day, which were many and full of good Souldiers. Himfelf writeth, that he took mo Cities in Spain, then he remained there days : and it is no vain boaft, if it be true that is written, that there were four hundred Cities of them. Now, though the Souldiers under him had gotten well in this journey, and were rich, yet he caused a Pound weight of Silver to be given to every Souldier besides : saying he liked it better that many should return home with Silver in their Purses, then a few of them with Gold onely. But for himself he affirmed : that of Calo's abstiall the spoil gotten of the Enemies, he never had any thing, faving that which he took in Meat spoil and brid and Drink. And yet faid he, I speak it not to reprove them that grow rich by such spoils : beiv. but because I would contend in vertue rather with the best, then in Money with the richest, or in covetousnels with the most avaritious. For not onely he himself was clear from bribes and extortion, but his Officers also under him kept the same course. In this Spanish journey he had five of his fervants with him , whereof one of them called Pacom , bought three young Boys that were taken in the Wars, when the spoil was sold to them that would give moft. So Cato knew it. But Pacens being afraid to come near his Mafter , hanged himself: and then Cato fold the Boys again, and put the Money made of them into the Treasurie Chefts of faving at ROME. Now while Cato was in SPAIN, Scipto the Great that was his Enemy, and fought to hinder the course of his prosperity, and to have the Honour of conquering all the rest of Discord be-SPAIN, he made all the friends he could to the People, to be chosen in Cato's place. He was twint Cato and no fooner entred into his charge, but he made all the possible speed he could to be gone, that Scipio. he might make Cato's Authority cease the sooner. Cato hearing of his hasty coming, took onely five Enfigns of Footmen, and five hundred Horimen to attend upon him home; with the which, in his journey homeward, he overcame a People in Spain called the Laceta Ni-ANS, and took fix hundred Traitours also that were fled from the ROMANS camp to their Cato overcame Enemies, and did put to death every Mothers Child of them. Scipio storming at that, faid Cato the Lacetanidid him wrong. But Cato to mock him finely, faid : It was the right way to bring Rome to ans. flourish, when Noble born Citizens would not suffer mean born men, and upstarts as himfelf was, to go before them in Honour : and on the other fide when mean born men would contend in Vertue, with those that were of Noblest race, and far above them in calling. For all that , when Caro came to ROME , the Senate commanded that nothing should be changed nor altered otherwise, then Cato had appointed it, whilest he was in his Office. So that the Government for which Scipio made fuch earnest fute in Spain, was a greater disgrace unto him. then it was unto Cato: because he passed all his time and Office in peace, having no occasion offered him to do any notable fervice worthy memory. Furthermore, Cato after he had been Confull, and had granted to him the Honour to Triumph, did not as many others do, that feek not after Vertue, but onely for worldly Honour and dignity: who, when they have been called to the highest Offices of State, as to be Confuls, and have also granted them the Honour to Triumph, do then leave to deal any more in matters of State, and dispose themselves to live merrily and quietly at home, and not to trouble themselves any more. Now Cato far otherwise be- Cato's Acts afhaved himfelf: for he would never leave to exercise Vertue, but began afresh, as if he had been tet his Consula young Novice in the world, and as one greedy of Honour and reputation, and to take as much this and Tripains and more then he did before. For, to pleasure his friends or any other Citizen, he would umph. come to the Market-place, and plead their causes for them that required his counsell, and go with his friends also into the Wars : as he went with Tiberius Sempronius the Confull, and was one of the Lieutenants at the conquest of the Countrey of THRACE, and unto the Provinces adjoyning to the River of DANUBY upon those marches. After that, he was in GREECE also Colonell of a thousand Footmen, under Manius Aquilius, against King Antiochus surnamed the

Сс

The power of Antiochus the Great.

Great , who made the ROMANS fo much afraid of him , as ever they were of Enemy , but Hamibal. For when he had Conquered all the Regions and Provinces of Asia, which Selencin Ricanor enjoyed before, and had subdued many Barbarous and Warlike Nations: he was so proud hearted, as he would needs have Wars with the ROMANS, whom he knew to be the onely worthy men, and best able to fight with him. So he made some honest shew and pretence of Wars, faying it was to fet the Grecians at liberty, who had no cause thereof, considering they lived after their own Laws , and were but lately delivered from the bondage of King Philip, and of the Macedonians, through the goodness of the Romans. Notwithstanding , he came out of ASIA into GREECE with a marvellous great Army, and all GREECE was straight in Arms and in wonderfull danger, because of the great promites and large hopes the Governours of divers Cities (whom the King had won and corrupted with Money) did make unto him. Whereupon Manisu dispatched Ambassadours unto the City, and sent Titu Quintus Flaminius among others, who kept the greatest part of the People from rebelling (that were easily drawn to give ear to this innovation) as we have expressed more amply in his Life: And Cato being sent Ambassadour also, perswaded the Corinthians, those of Patras, and the ÆGIANS, and made them flick flill to the ROMANS, and continued a long time at ATHENS. Some fay they find an Oration of his written in the Greek tongue, which he made before the ATHENIANS, in commendation of their Ancestors : wherein he said, he took great pleasure to see ATHENS, for the beauty and Stateliness of the City. But this is falle: for he spake unto the ATHENIANS by an Interpreter, though he could have uttered his Oration in the Greek tongue if he had been disposed: but he did like the Laws and customs of his own Countrey, and the ROMAN tongue fo well, that he laughed at them that would praise and commend the Greek tongue. As he did Cato mocked Posthumins Albiums, who wrote an History in the Greek tongue, praying the readers Posthumins Albiums, Polithumius Alfor writing a to, he had deferved pardon indeed; if he had been forced to have written his Story in the Greek tongue, by the order of the States of GREECE, called the Councill of the Amphictions. They Greek tongue, fay the ATHENIANS wondered to hear his ready tongue. For what he had uttered quickly in few words unto the interpreter, the Interpreter was driven to deliver them again with great circumstances and many words. So that he left them of this opinion, that the GRECIANS words lay all in their lips, and the ROMANS words in their heads. Now King Antiochus kept all the straights and narrow passages of the Mountains called THERMOPYLES (being the ordinary way and entrie into GREECE) and had fortified them as well with an Army that Camped at the foot of the Mountain, as also with Walls and Trenches he had made by hand, befides the naurall ftrength and fortification of the Mount it felf in fundry places : and fo he determined to remain there, trufting to his own firength and fortifications aforelaid, and to turn the force of the Wars fome other way. The ROMANS also they dispaired unterly they should be able any way to charge him before. But Cato remembring with himself the compass the Persi-

King Antio-

Cato's doings

Antiochus.

Mount Callidromus

ANS had fetched about before time likewise to enter into GREECE, he departed one night from the Camp with part of the Army : to prove if he could find the very compais about the Barbarous People had made before. But as they climed up the Mountain, their guide that was one of the Prisoners taken in the Countrey, lost his way, and made them wander up and down in marvellous steep Rocks and crooked ways, that the poor Souldiers were in marvellous ill taking. Cato feeing the danger they were brought unto by this lewd guide, commanded all his Souldiers not to ftir a foot from thence, and to tarry him there and in the mean time he went himself alone, and Lucius Manlius with him, (a lusty man, and nimble to climbe upon the Rocks) and so went forward at adventure, taking extream and uncredible pains, and in much danger of his Life, grabling all night in the dark without Moon-light, through wild Olive Trees, and high Rocks (that let them they could not fee before them, neither could tell whether they went) untill they stumbled at the length upon a little path way , which went as they thought directly to the foot of the Mountain, where the Camp of the Enemies lay. So they fet up cerrain marks and tokens, upon the highest tops of the Rocks they could choose, by view of eye to be discerned furthest off upon the Mountain called Callidromus. And when they had done that, they returned back again to fetch the Souldiers, whom they led towards the Marks they had fet up: untill at the length they found their path-way again, where they put their Souldiers in order to march. Now they went not far in this path they found, but the way failed them straight and brought them to a bog: but then they were in worse case then before, and in greater fear, not knowing they were to mear their Enemies, as indeed they were. The day began to break a little, and one of them, that marched foremost, thought he heard a noise, and that he faw the GREEKS Camp at the foot of the Rocks, and certain Souldiers that kept watch there. Whereupon Caro made them flay, and willed onely the FIRMANIANS to come unto him, and none but them, because he had found them faithfull before, and very ready to obey his commandment. They were with him at a trice, to know his pleafure: fo Cato faid unto them: My fellows, I must have fome of our Enemies taken Prisoners, that I may know of them who they be that keep that passage, what number they be, what order they keep, how they Cate Oration are Camped and Armed, and after what fort they determine to fight with us. The way to work to his Souldiers this feat standeth upon swiftness and hardiness to run upon them suddainly, as Lyons do, which being naked fear not to run into the middest of any heard of fearfull Beafts. He had

no sooner spoken these words, but the FIRMANIAN Souldiers began to run down the Mountains as they were , upon those that kept the Watch: and so setting upon them , they being The boldness out of order, made them flie, and took an Armed man prisoner. When they had him, they and valiant atout of order, made them Inc., and took an Armed man principal. The unit may have the strong thempt of a fraight brought him unto Cato, who by Oath of the priloner, was advertised how that the frength tempt of Galliers. of their Enemies Army was lodged about the person of the King, within the straight and valley to a Souldress. of the faid Mountain: and that the Souldiers they faw, were fix hundred ETOLIANS, all brave of the firencia Souldiers whom they had cholen and appointed to keep the top of the Rocks over King of King Anti-Antiochus Camp. When Caro had heard him , making imall account of the matter, as well for thus Camp. their small number, as also for the ill order they kept; he made the Trumpets sound straight, and his Souldiers to march in battell with great cries, himself being the foremost man of all his Troop, with a Sword drawn in his hand. But when the ÆTOLIANS saw them coming down the Rocks towards them, they began to fly for life unto their great Camp, which they Cate work the filled full of fear; trouble, and all diforder. Now Manieu at the fame prefent also, gave an affault fireight unto the Wallsand fortification the King had made overthwart the vallies and straights of the Thorse is Mountains: at which affault King Antiochus self had a blow on the face with a stone, that strake King Antiochus Mountains: at which affault King Antiochus teit mad a plow on the face with a fronce, that finance fome of his Teeth out of his mouth, fo that for very pain and anguith he felt, he turned his Horfe the free authors. back, and got him behind the prefs. And then there were none of his Army that made any more house, refiftance, or that could abide the fiercenels of the ROMANS. But notwithstanding that the places were very ill for flying, because it was unpossible for them to scatter and straggle, being holden in with high Rocks on the one fide of them, and with bogs and deep marithes on the other fide, which they must needs fall into if their Feet slipped, or were thrust forward by any ; yet they fell one upon another in the straights, and ran so in heaps together that they cast them-Telves away, for fear of the ROMANS Swords that Mehted upon them in every corner. And there Marcin Cato, that never made Ceremony or nicenels to praise himself openly, nor rec
Cato's Victory koned it any shame to do it, did take a present occasion for it; as falleth out money all Victory and of King Antiokoned it any shame to do it, did take a present occasion for it, as falleth out upon all Victory and on Ki famous exploits: and so did set it out with all the oftentation and brave words he could give. Cate would For he wrote with his own hands; and fuch as faw him chase and lay upon his flying Enemies praise his own that day, were driven to fay, that Cato was not bound to the ROMANS, but the ROMANS doings. bound unto Cato. And then Manisu the Confull felf, being in a great heat with the fury of the Battell, embraced Cato a great while, that was also hot with chasing of the Enemy, and spake aloud with great joy before them all, that neither he, nor the People of ROME could recompence Cato, for his valiant service that day. After this Battell, the Confull Manius sent Cato to ROME, Manius sendto be the meffenger himself to report the News of the Victory. So he imbarked incontinently, eth Case to and had such a fair wind, that he passed over the Seas to BRINDES without any danger, and News of the went from thence unto TARENTUM in one day, and from TARENTUM in four days more to Victory. ROME. And so he came to ROME in five days after his landing in ITALY, and made such speed that himself was indeed the first messenger that brought News of the Victory. Whereupon he filled all ROME with joy and Sacrifices, and made the ROMANS fo proud, that ever after they thought themselves able men to conquer the world both by Sea and Land. And these be all the martiall deeds and Noble Acts Caro did. But for his doings in civil policy and State, he feemed to be of his opinion: that to accuse and pursue the wicked, he thought it was the best thing an honest man and good governour of the Commonwealth could employ himself unto : for he accused many, and subscribed many other accusations which they preferred. And to be short, he did always stir up some accuser, as he did Petilina against Scipio, But Scipio, by reason of other. his Nobility, the greatness of his House, and the magnanimity of his mind, passed not for any acculation they could lay against him : being out of all fear, they should be able to condemn him : and so let fall the accusation he had against him. Notwithstanding, he joyned with other that accused Lucius Scipio, his own Brother, and followed the matter to fore against him. that he caused him to be condemned in a great sum of Money to the Common-wealth: who being unable to pay the fine, had gone to prison, and hardly scaped it, had not the Tribunes of the People revoked his condemnation. It is faid that Cato coming through the Market-place one day, and meeting with a young man by the way that had overthrown his adversary in fuit and put one of his late Fathers greatest Enemies to open shame and foil before the People, he embraced him with a good countenance, and faid unto him : Oh my Son, Sacrifices that good Children should offer to their Fathers soul, be not Lambs nor Kids, but the Tears and condemnations of their Enemies. But as he vexed other, fo he fcaped not free himfelf from danger, in administration of the Common-wealth. For if they could eatch the least vantage in the world of him, his Enemies straight accused him: so as they say he was accused almost fifty times, and at times accused. the last time of his accusation, he was about the age of fourscore years. And then he spake a thing openly that was noted: That it was a harder thing to give up an account of his life before men in any other world, then in this amongst whom he lived. And yet was not this the last fute he followed: for four years after, when he was fourfcore and Ten years of age, he accused Servine Galba. And thus he lived as Nestor, in manner three ages of man, always in continuall fuit and action. For when he wrestled with the first Scipio the African about matters of

State and Common-wealth, he went on unto the time of the second, that was adopted by the first

Scipio's Son, the naturall Son of Paulus Amyliu, who overcame Perfeus, King of MACEDON.

The dignity and Office of the Centor.

Cato's fute.

Cate chosen Cenfor.

wickedness and cruelty,

ROME the greatest Office of dignity that any Citizen of ROME could arrain unto; and as a man NOME the grence Chile of mighty that any chiles of their Common-wealth. For among other authorimay fay, the Room of all glory and Honour of their Common-wealth. For among other authorities, the Centor had power to examine mens lives and manners, and to punith every offendor. ries, me cemor man power to commit many, that they would not have men marry, beger Children, live ror the ROMANS were of that the same and another pleafure, but that they should stand privately by themselves, and make Feasts and Banquets at their pleasure, but that they should stand privately by the magniferate : and that it was not good to give evein rear to be reproved and conquired to by the same that it was not possed by give very body liberty, to do what they would, following his own luft and fancy. And they judging ry body noerry, to do what they work in such things, then in all other things that are that mens naturall dispositions do appear more in such things, then in all other things that are openly done at Noon days, and in the fight of the world, used to choose two Cenfors, that were How the Cen- two Surveyors of manners, to fee that every man behaved himself vertuously, and gave not hem-How the Centivo outreyors of manners, to break the Laws and customs of the Common-wealth. These Officers fors were cho-felves to pleasure, nor to break the Laws and customs of the Common-wealth. were called in their tongue, Cenfores, and always of cuttom, one of them was a PATRICIAN, were cancum men tongot, the two had power and authority to differede a Knight, bytaking away his Horie, and to put any off the Senate, whom they faw live diffolinely and difforderly. It way nis morie, and to put any on the schale whom they have been estimation of their goods; to was their Office also, to fels and rate every Citizen according to the estimation of their goods; to note the age, genealogie, and degrees of every man, and to keep books of them, befides many other prerogatives they had belonging to their Office. Therefore when Cate came to fue for this Office among other, the chiefest Senators were all bent against him, Some of them for very envy, and Nobility thinking, it shame and dishonour to the Nobility, to suffer men that were meanly born, and upflarts (the first of their Houle and Name, that ever came to bear Office in the State) to be called and preferred unto their highest Offices of State in all their Commonwealth. Other also that were ill livers, and knowing that they had offended the Laws of their Countrey, they feared his cruelty-too much, imagining he would spare no man, nor pardon any offence, having the Law in his own hands. So when they had confulied together about it, they did fet up feven Competitors against him, who flattered the People with many fair words and promifes, as though they had need of min, who hancicu me recopie wan many and record of things to pleafe them. But Cato contrariwife, shewing no countenance that the would use them gently, in the Office, but openly in the Pulpit for Oing no commentance man no rounded that had lived naughtily and wickedly, he cried out; that they must reform their City, and perswaded the People not to choose the gentlest, but the sharpest Physicians : and that himself was such a one as they needed , and among the PATRICIANS Valerius Fluctur another, in whose company he hoped (they two being chosen Centors) to do great good unto the Common-wealth, by burning and cutting off (like Hydra's Heads) all vanity and voluptuous pleafores, that were crept in amongst them a and that he saw well enough, how all the other futers fought the Office by dishonest means, searing such Officers as they knew would deal justly and uprightly. Then did the People of ROME shew themselves Nobly minded, and worthy of Noble governours. For they refused not the sowreness or severity of Cato, but rejected these Meal-mouthed men, that feemed ready to please the People in all things: and thereupon chose Marcin Cato Cenfor, and Valerim Flacem to be his fellow, and they did obey him, as if he had been present Officer, and no suter for the Office, being in themselves to give it to whom they thought good. The first thing he did after he was stalled in his Cenforship, was that he named Lucius Valerius Flaccus his friend and fellow Cenfor with him, Prince of the Senate: and among Case put Lucius many other also whom he thrust out of the Senate, he put Lucius Quintius Flaminius off the Senany other and whom he current out of the original he had been Confull feven years before, and was Brother also unto Titus Quintius Flaminius off the minius off the minius that overcame Philip King of MacEdon in Battell, which was greater glory to him, minius that overcame Philip King of MacEdon in Battell, which was greater glory to him, Senate.

The cause why then that he had been Consull. But the cause why he pur him off the Senate, was this: This The came why then that he had been commin. Due the came why he put him of the decision, was this 3 time of the better tenance and credit unto, as to any of his best familiar friends he had about him. It fortuned on a mate. time whilest Lueisu Quinism was Confull and Governour of a Province, that he made a Feaf, and this Boy being set at his Table, hard by him, as his manner was he began to flatter him, knowing how to handle him when he was prettily merry and foothing him, told him he loved him fo dearly, that upon his departing from ROME, when the Sword-players were ready to fight for life and death with unrebated Swords, to shew the People pastime, he came his way, and left the fight of that he never faw, that was very desirous to have seen a man killed. Then this Luciua Quintius, to make him see the like, said: care not for the sight thou hast lost, Boy, for I will let thee see as much. And when he had spoken these words, he commanded a Prisoner condemned to die, to be setched and brought into his Hall before him, and the Hang-man with his Axe: which was forthwith done according to his commandment. Then asked he the Boy, if he would straight see the man killed: Yea sir said the Boy: and with that he bad the Hang-man strike off his head. Most writers report this matter thus: And Cieero to confirm it allo, wrote in his Book de Senellute, that the same was writtenin an Oration Cato made before the People of ROME. Now Lucius Quintim being thus shamefully put of the Senare by Cato, his Brother Time being offended withall, could not tell what to do, but belought the People that they would command Caro to declare the caule, why he brought fuch shame unto his House. Whereupon Caro openly before the People made recital of all this Feast. And when Lucius denied it, affirming it was not fo: Cato would have him sworn before them all, that it was not true they had burdened him withall. But Lucius prayed them to pardon him, who faid he would not fwear : whereupon the People judged straight that he deserved well that shame. So not long aster, certain Games being shewed in the Theater, Lucius came thither, and passing beyond the

MARCUS (ATO.

ordinary place that was appointed for those that had been Confuls, he went to fit aloofe off amongst the multitude. The People took pity on him, and made such ado about him, as they forced him to rife, and to go fit among the other Senators that had been Confuls : falving the best they could, the shame and dishonour happened unto so Noble a House. Cato put out of the Mantius put off best they could, the maine and dimonois happened unto to two a route. Case ple out of the Senate for Senate also, one Manlius, who was in great towardlines to have been made Confull: the next kissing his year following, onely because he kissed his Wife too lovingly in the day time, and before his Wise before Daughter: and reproving him for it, he told him, his Wife never kiffed him, but when it thun- his Daughter. dered. So when he was disposed to be merry, he would say it was happy with him when Fupiter thundered. He took away Lucius Scipio's Horse from him, that had triumphed for the Victories Merry with thundered. He took away Lucius Sespon Frone from many that had triampled for the victoria married men he had won of the great King Antiochus: which wan him much ill will, because it appeared when subject when subject with subject with the subje to the world he did it of purpose, for themalice he did bear Scipio the African, that was dead. when Jupite But the thing that most grieved the People, of all other extremities he used, was his putting down Banquetting of all Feafts and vain expences. For a man to take it clean away, and to be openly feen in it, it and Feafts put was unpossible, because it was so common a thing, and every man was given so to it. Therefore down by Caso. Cato to fetch it about indirectly, did praise every Citizens goods, and rated their Apparell, their Cate to fetch it about indirectly, and prane every curzens goods, and factor that Apparent und Cate's counfel Coaches, their Litters, their Wives Chains, and Jewels, and all other moveables and Houshold-for reforming stuff, that had cost above a thousand five hundred Drachmes a piece, at ten times as much as they excess at were worth : to the end that fuch as had bestowed their money in those curious trifles, should pay so Rome. much more subsidie to the maintenance of the Common-wealth, as their goods were overvalued at. Moreover he ordained for every thousand Asses that those trifling things were praised at, the owners thereof should pay three thousand Asses to the common treasurie: to the end that they who were grieved with this Tax, and faw other pay less subsidie (that were as much worth as themselves, by living without fuch Toyes) might call home themselves again : and lay aside such foolish bravery and finels. Notwithstanding, Caro was envied every way. First, of them that were contented to pay the Tax imposed, rather then they would leave their vanity: and next, of them also. that would rather reform themselves, then pay the Tax. And some think that this Law was devised rather to take away their goods, then to let them to make any shew of them; and they have a fond opinion befides, that their riches are better feen in superfluous things, then in neces. Superfluous fary. Whereat they fay Ariffoile the Philosopher did wonder more, then at any other things reckonthing: how men could think them more rich and happy that had many curious and edfor riches. superfluous things, then those that had necessary and profitable things. And Scopus the Scopus goods THESSALIAN, when one of his familiar Friends asked him I Know not what trifling were all in thing, and to make him grant it the fooner, told him it was a thing he might well spare, and did him no did him no good : Marry faid he , all the goods I have, are in fuch Toyes as do me no good. So this good. covetous desire we have to be rich, cometh of no necessary desire in nature, but is bread in us by a false opinion from the Common fort. Now Cato caring least of all for the exclamations they made against him, grew to be more straight and severe. For he cut off the pipes and quils private men had made to convey Water into their Houses and Gardens, robbing the City of the Water that came from their common Conduit heads, and did pluck down also mens Porches that were made before their Doors into the Street, and brought down the prifes of common works in the City, and moreover raised the common Farms and customes of the City, as high as he could. all which things together made him greatly hated and envied of most men. Wherefore Titus Flaminius, and certain other being bent against him in open Senate, caused all Cato's covenants and bargains made with the Mafter Work-man, for repairing and mending of the common buildings and Holy places, to be made void, as things greatly prejudiciall to the Common-wealth. And they did also stir up the boldest and rashest of the Tribunes of the People against him because they should accuse him unto the People, and make request he might be condemned in the fum of two Talents. They did marvelloully hinder also the building of the Pallace he built at the charge of the Common-wealth, looking into the Market place under the Senate-house : which Pallace was finished notwithstanding, and called after his Name, Basilica Porcia: as who would Basilica Porcia fay, the Pallace Porcim the Cenfor built. Howbeit it feemed the People of Rome did greatly like built by Cato. and commend his government in the Cenforship: for they set up a Statue of him in the Temple set of the control of the goddess of Health, whereunder they wrote not his Victories nor triumph, but onely ingra- Temple of the ved this inscription word for word, to this effect by translation: For the honour of Marcus Cato goddess of the Censor: because he reformed the discipline of the Common-wealth of ROME (that was far Health. out of order, and given to licentious life) by his wile precepts, good manners, and Holy inflitu-changeth contions. Indeed, before this Image was fet up for him, he was wont to mock at them that delighted, dirions. and were defirous of fuch things: faying, they did not confider how they bragged in Founders, Painters, and Image-makers, but nothing of their Vertues: and that for himself, the People did always carry lively Images of him in their hearts, meaning the memory of his life and doings. When some wondered why divers mean men and unknown persons had Images set up of them, and there were none of him, he gave them this answer: I had rather men should ask why Cate had no Image fet up for him, then why he had any. In the end, he would have no honest No man man abide to be praifed, unless his praife turned to the benefit of the Common-wealth: and yet was should shide he one of them that would most praise himself. So that if any had done a fault, or stept awrie, but for the and that men had gone about to reprove them, he would fay they were not to be blamed, for Common. they were no Cato's that did offend. And such as counterfeited to follow any of his doings, and wealth.

at home in his House, and towards his Wife and Children. Cate judgeth born Gentlebest Wives. patience commended bearing with the threwdness of his Wife. Cate's Wife was Nurse to Child.

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Cato taught Chilo a Gram marian,

What exer-

Cato's Son was valiant.

Catothe younger married Tertia Paulus JEmylius Daugh-Cato's difciof fleepy

came (hort of his manner, he called them left handed Cato's. He would fay that in most dangerous times the Senate used to cast their eyes upon him, as passengers on the Sea do look upon the Mafter of the Ship in a ftorm : and that many times when he was absent, the Senate would put What Care was over matters of importance, untill he might come among them. And this is confirmed to be true as well by other as by himfelf. His Authority was great in matters of State, for his wifedom, his eloquence, and great experience. Besides this commendation, they praised him for a good Father to his Children, a good Husband to his Wife, and a good faver for his profit: for he was never careless of them, as things to be lightly passed on. And therefore me thinks I must needs tell you by the way some part of his well doing, to follow our declaration of him. First of all he married a Gentlewoman more Noble then rich, knowing that either of both would make her proud and frout enough : but yet he thought the Nobler born, would be the more ashamed of dishonesty, then the meaner born : and therefore they would be more obedient to their Husbands, in all honeft manner and reasonable things. Furthermore, he said : that he that bear his Wife or his Child, did commit as great a facriledge, as if he polluted or spoiled the holiest things of the world: and he thought it a greater praise for a man to be a good Husband then a good Senatour. And therefore he thought nothing more commendable in the life of old Secrates, then his patience, in using his Wife well, that was such a shrew, and his Children that were to hare-braind. After Caro's Wife had brought him a Son, he could not have so earnest business in hand, if it had not touched the Common-wealth, but he would let all alone to go home to his house, about the time his Wife did unswaddle the young Boy to wash and shift him : for she gave it suck with her own Breasts, and many times would let the slaves Children fuck of her also, because they might have a natural love towards her Son, having fucked one milk, and been brought up together. When his Son was come to age of difcretion, and that he was able to learn any thing, Cato himfelf did teach him, notwithftanding he had a slave in his House called Chilo (a very honest man, and a good Grammarian) who did also teach many other: but as he said himself, he did not like a slave should rebuke his Son, nor pull him by the ears, when peradventure he was not apt to take very fuddenly that was taught him: neither would he have his Son bound to a flave for fo great a matter as that, as to have his learning of him. Wherefore he himfelf raught him his Grammar, the Law, and to exercise his Body, not onely to throw a Dart, to play at the Sword, to vault, to ride a Horse, brought up his and to handle all forts of Weapons, but also to fight with fifts, to abide cold and heat, and to fwim over a fwift running River. He faid moreover, that he wrote goodly Histories in great letters with his own hand, because his Son might learn in his Fathers House the Vertues of good men in times past, that he taking example by their doings, should frame his life to excell them. He faid also that he took as great heed of speaking any foul or uncomely words before his Son, as he would have done if he had been before the Vestall Nuns. He never was in the hot House with his Son : for it was a common use with the ROMANS at that time, that the Sons in Law did not bathe themselves with their Fathers in Law, but were ashamed to see one another naked. But afterwards they having learned of the GREEKS to wash themselves naked with men, it taught them also to be naked in the bathe even with their Wives. There lacked no towardliness, nor good disposition in Cato's Son, to frame himself Vertuous: for he was of so good a nature, that he shewed himself willing to follow whatsoever his Father had taught him. Howbeit he was fuch a weak puling, that he could not away with much hardness, and therefore his Father was contented not to bind him to that ftraight and painfull life, which himfelf had kept. Yet be became valiant in the Wars. For he fought marvellous froutly in the Battell , in which Perfeus King of Macedon was overthrown by Paulin Amyline: where his fword being siricken our of his hand, with a great blow that lighted on it, and by reason his hand was somewhat sweaty besides, he fell into a great sury, and prayed some of his friends to help him to recover it; So they all together ran upon the Enemies in that place where his fword fell out of his hand, and came in so fiercely on them, that they made a lane through them; and clearing the place, found it in the end, but with much ado, being under fuch a heap of dead Bodies and other weapons as well ROMANS as MACEDONIANS, one lying on another. Paulus Emylius the General hearing of this act of his, did highly commend the young man. And at this day there is a Letter extant from Cato to his Son, in the which he praifeth this worthy Fact and toil of his, for the recovering of his sword again. Asterwards, this Cato the younger married Tertia, one of Paulus A mylisu Daughters, and Sifter unto Scippo the second, and so was matched in this Noble House, nor onely for his own Vertues fake, but for respect of his Fathers dignity and authority: whereby the great care, pains and fludy that Cato the Father took in bringing up his Son, in Vertue and Learning, was honourably rewarded in the happy beftowing of his Son. He ever had a great numing, was honourably rewarded in the happy beftowing of his Son. ber of young little flaves which he bought, when any would fell their Prisoners in the Wars. He cons was the constraint that young because they were apt yet to learn any thing he would train them unto, and that a man might break them like young Colts, or little Whelps. But none of them all, how many foever he had, did ever go to any mans house, but when himself or his Wife did fend them. If any man askt them what Cato did: they answered, they could not tell. And when Gato's opinion they were within, either they must needs be occupied about somewhat, or else they must sleep: for he loved them well that were fleepy, holding opinion that flaves that loved fleep were more tractable and willing to do any thing a man would fet them to, then those that were waking.

And because he thought that nothing did more provoke slaves to mischief and naughtiness. then luft and defire of Women : he was contented his flaves might company with his bondwomen in his house, for a piece of money he appointed them to pay, but with straight commandement belides, that none of them should deal with any other woman abroad. At the first when he gave himself to follow the Wars, and was not greatly rich, he never was angry for any fault his Servants did about his person: saying that it was a foul thing for a Gentleman or Nobleman, to fall out with his Servants for his belly. Afterwards as he role to better flate, and grew to be wealthier, if he had made a Dinner or Supper for any of his Friends and Familiars, they were no fooner his manner gone, but he would fcourge them with whips and leather thongs, that had not waited as they should and opinion have done at the boord, or had forgotten any thing he would have had done. He would ever craf- by Wealth. tily make one of them fall out with another : for he could not abide they should be friends , being ever jealous of that, If any of them had done a fault that deferved death, he would declare his offence before them all : and then if they condemned him to die, he would put him to death before them all : Howbeit in his latter time he grew greedy, and gave up his tillage, faying that it was more pleasant then profitable. Therefore because he would lay out his money furely, and bring Cato's good more pleafant then profitable. Incretore occause he would say out his mioney jurery, and oring a certain revenue to his Purfe, he befrowed it upon Ponds, and naturall hot bathes, and places fit for increasing for fullers craft; upon Medows and Paftures, upon copifes and young wood: and of all these his Wealth, be made a great and a more quiet revenue yearly, which he would say, Japiter himself could not diminish. Furthermore he was a great usurer, both by Land and by Sea : and theusury he took by Sea, was most extream of all other, for he used it in this fort. He would have them to whom he lent his money unto, that trafficked by Sea , to have many partners , to the number of fifty : and that Cato a great they should have so many Ships. Then he would venture among them for a part onely, where Herook erof Quinting his flave whom he had manumiffed, was made his factor, and used to fail and trait-tream usury by fick with the Merchants, to whom he had lent his money out to usury. And thus he did not ven-fea. ture all the money he lent, but a little piece onely for his part, and got marvellous riches by his ufurie. Moreover helent money to any of his flaves, that would therewith buy other young flaves. whom they taught and brought up to do service, at Cato's charge and cost: and then they fold them again at the years end, and some of them Cato kept for his own service, and gave his flaves as much for them as any other offered. Therefore to allure his Son in like manner to make profit of his money, he told him it was no wife mans part to diminish his Substance, but rather the part of a Widow. Yet this was a token of a most greedy covetous mind, that he durst affirm him to be divine, and worthy immortall praise, that increased his wealth and patrimony more then his Father left him. Furthermore when Cato was grown very old Carneades the ACADEMICK, Carneades and and Diogenes the STOICK, were fent from ATHENS as Ambaffadors to Rome, to fue for a re- Diegenes Phiand Diogenes the STOICK, were than from A they had imposed on the ATHENIANS upon a con-losophers sent lease of a fine of five hundred Talents which they had imposed on the ATHENIANS upon a con-losophers sent the suppose of the StoyOby. Ambuffiedough demnation passed against them for a contempt of appearance, by the sentence of the SICYONI-ANS, at the fuit of the OROP BIANS. Immediately when thefe two Philosophers were arrived in the to Rome. City of ROME, the young Gentlemen that were given to their Books, did visit and welcome them. and gave great reverence to them after they had heard them speak, and specially to Carneades: whole grace in speaking, and force of perswading was no less then the fame ran of him. and specially when he was to speak in so great an audience, and before such a State, as would not suppress his praise. Rome straight was full, as if a wind had blown this rumour into every mans ear: that there was a GRECIAN arrived, a famous Learned man, who with his eloquence would lead a man as he lift. There was no other talk a while through the whole (ity, he had so inflamed the young Gentlemens minds with love and defire to be learned: that all other pleasures and delights were let aside, and they disposed themselves to no other exercise, but to the study of Philosophie; as if some secret and divine inspiration from above had procured them to it. Whereof the Lords and Senators of ROME were glad; and rejoyced much to fee their youth fo well given to knowledge, and to the study of the Greek tongue, and to delight in the company of these two great and excellent learned men. But Marcu Cato, even from the beginning that young men began to study the Greek tongue, and that it grew in estimation in Rome, did dislike of it : fearing left the youth of ROME that were defirous of learning and eloquence, would utterly give over the honour and glory of Armes. Furthermore, when he saw the estimation and same tongue. of these two personages did increase more and more, and in such fort that Caim Aquiliu, one of the chiefest of the Senate made sute to be their interpreter : he determined then to convey them out of the City by some honest mean and colour. So he openly found fault one day in the Senate, that the Ambaffadours were long there, and had not dispatch: confidering also they were cunning men, and could eafily perswade what they would. And if there were no other respect. this onely might perswade them to determine some answer for them, and so to fend them home again to their Schools, to teach their Children of GREECE, and to let alone the Children of ROME, that they might learn to obey the Laws and the Senate, as they had done before. Now he spake thus to the Senate, not of any private ill will or malice he bare to Carneades, as some men thought : but because he generally hated Philosophy , and of ambition despited the Muses and knowledge of the Greek tongue. Which was the more suspected, because he had said, the ancient. Sperates was but a buffe man, and a stirrer up of sedition, and sought by all means possible to usurp Tyranny and rule in his Countrey, by perverting and changing the manners and customes of the fame, and alluring the subjects thereof to a disliking of their Laws and ancient customes;

MARCUS (ATO.

And he laughed at Socrates School, that taught the art of Eloquence: faying his Schollers waxed old, and were still so long in learning, that they meant to use their Eloquence and plead Causesin another world before Minos, when they were dead. Therefore to pluck his Son from the fludy of the Greek tongue, he faid to him with a strained voice, and in a bigger found then he was wont to do: (as if he had spoken to him by way of prophecy or inspiration) that so long as the ROMANS disposed themselves to study the Greek tongue, so long would they marre and bring all to nought, And yet time hath proved his vain words falle and untrue. For the City of Rome did never flourish fo much, nor the ROMAN Empire was ever so great, as at that time, when Learning and the Greek tongue most flourished. Howbeit Caro did not onely hate the Philosophers of GREECE, but did millike them also that professed Physick in Rome. For he had either heard or read the answer Hippocrates made, when the King of Persia sent for him, and offered him a great fum of Gold and Silver, if he would come and ferve him: who sware he would never serve the barbarous People that were naturall Enemies to the GRECIANS. So Cato affirmed it was an Oath that all other Physitians sware ever after : wherefore he commanded his Son to slie from Cate: Physical Redding them allalike, and faid he had Written a little Book of Physick, with the which he did heal those of his House when they were fick, and did keep them in Health, when they were whole. He never forbade them to eat, but did always bring them up with Herbs, and certain light Meats, as Mallard, Ring-doves and Hares: for fuch meats, faid he, are good for the fick, and light digeftion, faving that they make them dream and Snort that eat them. He boafted also how with this manner of Physick, he did always keep himself in Health, and his family from fickness. Yet for all that I take it, he did not all that he bragged of : for he buried both his Wife and his Son alfo. But he himself was of a strong nature, and a lusty body, full of strength and Health, and lived long without fickness: fo that when he was a very old man and past marriage, he loved Women well and married a young Maiden for that cause onely. After his first Wise was dead, he married his Son unto Paulus Emplius Daughter, the Sufter of Scipio, the fecond African. Cato himself being a Widower, took pains with a pretty young Maid that waited in his House, and came by ftealth to his Chamber: howbeit his haunt could not long continue fecret in his House, and specially where there was a young Gentlewoman married, but needs must be spied. So one day when the young Maid went fomewhat boldly by the Chamber of young Cato, to go to his Father, the young man faid never a word at it: yet his Father perceived that he was fomewhat ashamed, and gave the Maid no good countenance. Wherefore finding that his Son and Daughter in Law were angry with the matter, faying nothing to them of it, nor fhewing them any ill countenance: he went one morning to the Market place (as his manner was with a train that followed him, amongft whom was one Salosion that had been his Clark, and waited upon him as the reft did. Cato calling him out aloud by his Name, asked him if he had not yet bestowed his Daughter. Sawith Salonius lovinus answered him, he had not yet befrowed her, nor would not before he made him privy to it, Then Cate told him again: I have found out a Husband for her, and a Son in law for thee, and of his Daughit will be no ill match for her unless the mislike the age of the Man; for indeed he is very old, but otherwise there is no fault in him. Salonius told him again, as for that matter he referred all to him, and his Daughter also, praying him even to make what match he thought good for her; for the was his humble Servant, and relyed wholly upon him, ftanding in need of his favour and furtherance. Then Cato began to discover, and told him plainly he would willingly marry her himself. Salan au therewith was abashed, because he thought Caro was too old to marry then, and himself was no fit man to match in any honourable Houfe, specially with a Consull, and one that had triumphed: howbeit in the end, when he faw Cate meant good earnest, he was very glad of the match, and fo with this talk they went on together to the Market place, and agreed then upon the marriage. Now while they went about this matter, Cato the Son taking fome of his kin and friends with him, went unto his Father, to ask him if he had offended him in any thing, that for spite he should bring him a Step-mother into his House. Then his Father cried our, and faid : O my Son , I pray thee fay not to , I like well all thou doeft ; and I find no cause to complain of thee : but I do it , because I desire to have many Children , and to leave many fuch like Citizens as thou art, in the Common-wealth. Some lay that Pififtratus the Tyrant of ATHEMS, such a like answer made unto the Children of his first Wife, which were men grown Cato's answer when he married his fecond Wife Timonassa, of the Town of Argos; of whom he had (as it is reported) Jophon, and Thessaless. But to return again to Cato, he had a Son by his to his Son of his fecond fecond Wife, whom he named after her Name, Cato SALONIAN: and his Eldest Son died in .marriage. Care married his Office being Prator, of whom he often speaketh in divers of his Books commending him Salonius for a very honestman. And they say, he took the death of him very patiently, and like a grave Daughter, bewife man, not leaving therefore to do any fervice or business for the State, otherwise then he did being a very old man and had a fore. And therein he did not as Lucius Lucullus, and Metellus turnamed Pius, did afterwards; who gave Son by her. up medling any more with matters of Government and State, after they were waxen old. For he thought it a charge and dury, whereumto every honest man whilest he lived was bound in all piety. paffed his age. Nor as Seipis African had done before him, who perceiving that the glory and fame of his deings did but purchase him the ill will of his Citizens, he changed the reft of his life into quietnets,

and forfook the City and all dealings in Commonwealth , and went and dwelt in the Countrey.

But as there was one that told Diony is the Tyrant of Syracus A, as it is written, that he could

not die more honourably, then to be buried in the Tyranny : even fo did Caro think, that he could

not wax more honeftly old, then in ferving of the Common-wealth unto his dying day. So at vacant times, when Cato was defirous a little to recreate and refresh himself, he passed his time away in making of Books, and looking upon his Husbandry in the Country. This is the cause why he wrote fo many kinds of Books, and Stories. But his tillage and Husbandry in the Countrey, he did tend and follow in his youth, for his profit. For he faid he had but two forts of revenue. Tillage and sparing: but in age whatsoever he did in the Countrey, it was all for pleasure, and to venue. learn something ever of nature. For he hath written a Book of the Countrey life; and of Tillage, in the which he sheweth how to make Tarts and Cakes, and how to keep fruits: he would needs thew fuch fingularity and skill in all things. When he was in his House in the Country, he fared a little better then he did in other places, and would oftentimes bid his neighbours, and fuch as had Land lying about him, to come and Sup with him, and he would be merry with them: fo that his company was not onely pleasant and liking to old folks as himself, but also to the young- Cato's compaer fort. For he had feen much, and had experience in many things, and used much pleasant talk ny pleasant profitable for the hearers. He thought the boord one of the chiefest means to breed love amonest both to old and men, and at his own Table would always praife good men and vertuous Citizens, but would fuffer young. no talk of evil men, neither in their praise nor dispraise. Now it is thought the last notable act and good means fervice he did in the Commonwealth, was the overthrow of CARTHAGE: for indeed he that to procure wan it and razed it utterly, was Scipio the second, but it was chiefly through Cato's counsell and ad-love, and how vice, that the last war was taken in hand against the CARTHAGINIANS, and chanced upon should be used. this occasion. Cato was fent into Africk to understand the cause and controversie that was between the CARTHAGINIANS and Maffinifa, King of Numidia, which were at great Wars the last Wars together. And he was sent thither because King Massimisa had ever been a friend unto the Ro- against the MANS, and for that the CARTHAGINIANS were become their confederates fince the last Carthaginians. Wars . in the which they were overthrown by Scipio the first, who took for a fine of them a great part of their Empire, and imposed upon them besides, a great yearly tribute. Now when he was come into that Country, he found not the City of CARTHAGE in milery, beggery, and out of heart, as the ROMANS supposed: but full of lusty youths, very rich and wealthy, and great store of Armour and munition in it for the Wars, fo that by reason of the wealth thereof, CARTHAGE carried a high fail, and stooped not for a little. Wherefore he thought that it was more then time for the ROMANS to leave to understand the controversies betwixt the CARTHAGINIANS and Maffiniffa, and rather to provide betimes to destroy CARTHAGE, that hath ever been an ancient Enemy to the ROMANS, and ever fought to be revenged of that they had suffered at their hands before, and that they were now grown to that greatness and courage in so short time, as in manner it was incredible; fo as it was likely they would fall into as great enmity with the ROMANS. as ever they did before. Therefore fo foon as he returned to ROME, he plainly told the Senate, that the losses and harms the CARTHAGINIANS had received by the last Wars they had with them, had not so much diminished their Power and Strength, as the same had shewed their own folly and lack of wildom; for it was to be feared much, left their late troubles had made them more skilfull, then weakned them for the Wars. And that they made Wars now with the Numidi-ANS to exercise them onely, meaning afterwards to War with themselves: and that the peace they had made with them, was but an intermission and stay of Wars, onely expecting time and opportunity to break with them again. They fay moreover, that belides the perswasions he used. he brought with him of purpole Africk Figs in his long fleeves, which he shook out amongst them in the Senate: and when the Senators marvelled to fee fo goodly fair green Figs, he faid: the Countrey that beareth them, is not above three days fayling from ROME. But yet this is more strange which they report of him besides: that he never declared his opinion in any matter in the Senate after that , but this was ever the one end of his tale : Me thinketh still CARTHAGE would be utterly destroyed. Publisa Scipio Nasica, used ever in like manner the contrary speech: that he thought it meet CARTHAGE should stand. This Publim Scipio faw, in my opinion, that the Ro- scivio Natice. MANS through their pride and infolency were full of absurdities, and carried themselves very against Cato, high by reason of their happy success and Victories, and were so losty minded, that the Senate could for the destroyhardly rule them: and that by reason of their great authority, they imagined they might bring their mage. City to what height they would. Therefore he spake it that the fear of CARTHAGE might always continue as a Bridle, to rain in the infolency of the People of ROME, who knew well enough, that the CARTHAGINIANS were of no fufficient power to make Wars with the ROMANS, nor yet to overcome them: and even so were they not wholly to be despised, and not to be seared at all. Cato still replyed to the contrary, that therein consisted the greatest danger of all: that a City which was ever of great force and Power, and had been punished for former Wars and misery, would always have an eye of revenge to their Enemies, and be much like a Horfe that had broken his Halter, that being unbridled, would run upon his rider. And therefore he thought it no good nor found advice, fo to fuffer the CARTHAGINIANS to recover their strength, but rather they ought altogether to take away all outward danger, and the fear they flood in to loofe their con-

quest: and specially, when they left means within the City self to fall still again to their former

rebellion. And this is the cause why they suppose Cato was the occasion of the third and last War

died, and before his death he prophessed, as man would say, who it should be that should end

those Wars. And it was Scipio the second, who being a young man at that time, had charge one-

the ROMANS had against the CARTHAGINIANS. But now when the War was begun, Cato Cato's dente.

and monu-

ARISTIDES & CATO.

ly as a Collonel over a thousand Footmen: but in all Battels, and wherefoever there was Wars, he thewed himfelf ever valiant and wife. Infomuch as News being brought thereof continually unto ROME, and Cato hearing them, spake (as they say) these two Verses of Homer: This onely man right wife reputed is to be,

All other feem but fradows, fet by fuch wife men as be. Cato's poster! Which Prophecy Scipio soon after confirmed true by his doings. Moreover, the issue Cato lest behind him, was a Son he had by his second Wife: who was called (as we faid before) Caso SA-LONIAN, by reason of his Mother, and a litle Boy of his Eldest Son that died before him. This Cato SALONIAN died being Prator, but he left a Son behind him that came to be Confull, and was Grandfather unto Cate the Philosopher, one of the most vertuous men of his time.

The end of MARCUS CATO'S Life the Cenfor.

THE COMPARISON OF ARISTIDES with MARCUS CATO.



Aristides and Cato's accels to the Common-wealth.

that we have fet down in writing, these notable and worthy things of memory: if we will confer the Life of the one, with the Life of the other, perhaps the difference between the one and the other will not easily be discerned, seeing there be so many similitudes and refemblances one of another. But if we come to compare them in every particularity, as we would do Poets Works, or Pictures drawn in Tables: first, in this we shall find them much alike, that having had nothing else to prefer and commend them , but their onely Vertue and Wildom, they have been both Governours in their Common-wealth, and have thereby atchieved to great honour and estimation. But me thinks

when Arifides came to deal in matters of State, the Commonwealth and Seigniority of ATHENS being then of no great Power, it was easie for him to advance himself, because the other Governours and Captains of his time, and that were Competitors with him, were not very rich, nor of great Authority, For the Tax of the richest Persons then at ATHENS in revenue, was but at five Hundred bushels of Corn and upwards, and therefore were such called Pentacosiomedimni, The second Tax was but at three hundred bushels, and they were called Knights. The third and last was at two hundred bushels, and they called them Zeugitz. Where Marcus Cato coming out of a little Village from a rude Countrey life, went at the first dash (as it were) to plunge himfelf into a bottomless Sea of Government in the Common-wealth of Rome: which was not ruled then by such Governours and Captains, as Curius Fabricius, and Ofilius were in old time. For the People of ROME did no more bestow their Offices upon such mean labouring men, as came but lately from the Plough and the Mattock : but they would look now upon the Nobility of their Houses, and upon their riches that gave them most Money, or sued earnestly to them for the Office. And by reason of their great Power and Authority, they would be waited upon and fued unto, by those that sought to bear the honourable Offices of the State and Commonwealth. And it was no like match nor comparison, to have Themissocles an adversary and Competitor, being neither of Noble House, nor greatly rich (for they say that all the goods his Father left him, were not worth above four or five hundred Talents, when he began to deal in State) in respect as to contend for the chiefest place of Honour and Authority against Seifio African, Serviliu Galba, or Quintim Flaminim, having no other maintenance, nor help to trust unto,

but a tongue speaking boldly with reason and all uprightness. Moreover, Aristides at the Battles of MARATHON, and of PLATEES, was but one of the Ten Captains of the ATHENIANS: where Cato was chosen one of the two Consuls among many other Noble and great (ompetitors, and one of the two Cenfors, before feven other that made fuit for it, which were all men of great reputation in the City, and yet was Cato preferred before them all. Furthermore, Arifides was never the chiefer in any Victory. For at the Battell of MARATHON, Militades was the Generall: and at the Battell of SALAMINA, Themistocles: and at the journey of PLATÆES, King Pansania as Herodosm faith, who writeth that he had a marvellous Victory there. And there were that strived with Arifides for the second place, as Sophanes, Amynias, Callimachus, and Conegirus, every one of the which did notable valiant service at those Battels. Now Cato was Generall himself, and chief of all his Army in worthiness and Council, during the War he made in Spain while martial afhe was Confull. Atterwards also in the journey where King Antiochus was overthrown in the fairs excelled Countrey of THERMOPYLES, Cato being but a Colonell of a thousand Footmen, and serving un- Arifiidet. der another that was Confull, wan the Honor of the Victory, when he did fuddenly fet upon Antiochus behind, whereas he looked onely to defend himself besore. And that Victory without all doubt was one of the chiefest Acts that ever Cato did, who drave ASIA out of GREECE, and opened the way unto Lucius Scipio to pass afterwards into Asia. So then for the Wars, neither the one nor the other of them was ever overcome in Battell: but in peace and civill Government, Ariftides was supplanted by Themistocles , who by practise got him to be banished Athens for a time. Whereas Cato had in manner all the greatest and Noblest men of ROME that were in Arististe and his time, fworn Enemies unto him, and having always contended with them even to his last Cato's difhour, he ever kept himself on found ground, like a front Champion, and never took fall nor pleasures in foil. For he having accused many before the People, and many also accusing him, himself was wealth.

never once condensed, but always his tongue was the Buckler and defence of his Life and innocency. Which was to him so necessary a weapon, and with it he could help himself in so great The power of matters, that (in my opinion) it was the onely cause why he never received dishonour, nor was un- innotency and justly condemned: rather then for any thing elfe he was beholden to Fortune, or to any other Eloquence. that did protect him. And truly, Eloquence is a fingular gift, as Anipater witneffeth, in that he wrote of Arifotle the Philosopher after his death : faying that amongst many other fingular graces and perfections in him, he had this rare gift, that he could periwade what he lifted. Now there is a rule confessed of all the world, that no man can attain any greater vertue or knowledge, then to know how to govern a multitude of men, or a City : a part whereof is Occono. Occonomia mia, commonly called House-rule, considering that a City is no other, then an assembly of many housholds and Houses together; and then is the City commonly strong and of Power, when as the Townsmen and Citizens are wise and wealthy. Therefore Lycurgus that banished Gold and Silver from LACEDEMON, and coyned them Money of Iron, that would be marred with fire and Vinegar when it was hot, did not forbid his Citizens to be good Husbands: but like a good Lawmaker, exceeding all other that ever went before him, he did not onely cut off all superfluous expences that commonly wait upon riches , but did also provide that his People should lack nothing necessary to live withall, fearing more to see a begger and needy person dwelling in his Cithe priviledges of the fame, then a proud man by reason of his riches. So methinks, Cato was as good a Father to his houshold, as he was a good Governour to the Common-wealth: for he did honeftly increase his goods, and did teach other also to do the same, by saving, and knowledge of good Husbandry, whereof in his Book he wrote fundry good rules and Precepts: Arifides contrariwife, made juffice odious and slanderous by his poverty, and as a thing that made men poor, and was more profitable to other, then to a mans felf that used justice. And yet Hestodus the Poet, that commendeth justice so much , doth wish us withall to be good Husbands, reproving floth and idleness, as the root and original of all injustice. And therefore me thinks Homer spake wisely when he faid :

In times past, neither did I labour, cark nor care For business, for family, for food, nor yet for fare: But rather did delight , with ships the Seas to fail.

To draw a bow, to fling a Dart in Wars, and to prevail. As giving us to understand, that justice and Husbandry are two relatives, and necessarily linked one to the other: and that a man who hath no care of his own things nor House, doth live unjustly, and taketh from other men. For juffice is not like Oyl, which Physitians say is very wholsom The Naure for mans Body, if it be applied outwardly : and in contrary manner very ill, if a man drink it : net- of Oyl. ther ought a just man to profit strangers, and in the end not to care for himself nor his. Therefore me thinks this governing Vertue of Aristides had a fault in this respect, if it be true that most No man wife, Authors write of him : that he had no care nor forecast with him to leave so much , as to marry that is not his Daughters withall, nor wherewith to bury himfelf. Where those of the Houle of Cato, continued Prators and Confuls of ROME even unto the fourth descent. For his Sons Sons, and yet lower, his Sons Sons Sons came to the greatest Offices of dignity in ROME. And Ariffides, who was in his time the chiefest man of GREECE, lest his posterity, in so great poverty, that some were compelled to become Soothfayers (that Interpret Dreams , and tell mens Fortune) to get their li- Whether ving', and other to ask Almes: and left no mean to any of them to do any great thing worthy poverry be an him. But to contrary this, it might be faid, poverty of it felf is neither ill nor dishonest; evilthing.

ARISTIDES & CATO.

but where it groweth by idleness, careless life, vanity and folly, it is to be reproved. For when our where it growers by interest, caretes inc., raint, and liveth well, that taketh pains, is very diligent, luft, it lighteth upon any man that is honeft, and liveth well, that taketh pains, is very diligent, luft, National of the state of the st for it is unpoffible that man should do ony great things, that had such a base mind as to think always upon trifles : and that he should releeve the Poor greatly, that lacketh himself relief in many things. And fure, riches are not so necessary for an honest man that will deal truely in the (ommy tunings. And ture, transparent, as is sufficiency; which being a contentation in it self, and desirous of no fuperfluous thing, it never withdraweth a man from following his business in the Commonwealth, that enjoyeth the fame. For God is he alone, who simply and absolutely hath no need of any thing at all : wherefore the chiefest Vertue that can be in man, that cometh nearest unto God, ought to be efteemed that, which maketh man to have need of leaft things. For like as a lufty Body, and well complexioned, hath no need of superfluous fare and curious Apparell : even fo a clean Life, and found House, is kept with a little charge: and fo should the goods also be proportioned, according to use and necessity. For he that gathereth much, and spendeth little, hath portioned, according to the analysection, 1701 in that gameters much, and penaled much, then he is a Fool to travell to get never enough. But admit he hath no defire to feed much, then he is a Fool to travell to get never enough. Dut auum ne nam no define it, and dare not for niggardlines fpend part of that he more then he needeth; and if he do defire it, and dare not for niggardlines fpend part of that he laboureth for, then he is miferable. Now would I ask Cato with a good will, if riches be made but to use them, why do you boast then you have gotten much together, when a little doth suffice you? And if it be a commendable thing (as in truth it is) to be contented with the bread you find, to drink of the fame Tap Work-men and Labourers do, not to care for Purple died Gowns, nor for Houses with plastered Walls: it followeth then, that neither Aristides, nor Epaminondae, nor nor for rioutes with plantered vyains; it is nonoweth their, that healther arristrats, for Epaminonal, flor Manine Curim, nor Caim, Fabritim, have forgotten any part of their duties, when they cared not for getting of that which they would not the nor occupy. For it was to no purpose for a man not for getting of that which they would not the nor occupy. For it was to no purpose for a man hat effected Roots and Parfenips to be one of the best dishes in the world, and that did feeth that they have the control of the third that they have the control of the control of the third that they have the control of them himself in his chimney, whilest his Wife did bake his Bread, to talk fo much of an asse, and to take pains to write, by what Art and industry a man might quickly inrich himself. For it is true, that fufficiency and to be contented with a little, is a good and commendable thing; but it is because it taketh from us all defire of unnecessary things, and maketh us not to pass for them. And therefore we find that Ariffides faid, when rich Callian case was pleaded, that such as were poor against their wills, might well be ashamed of their poverty; but such as were willingly poor, had good cause and might justly rejoyce at it. For it were a mad part to think that Arifides poverty proceeded of a base mind and slothfulness, since he might quickly have made himself rich without any dishonesty at all , by taking onely the spoil of some one of the Barbarous People whom he had overcome, or any one of their Tents. But enough for this matter. Furthernore, touching the Victories and Battels Cato had won, they did in manner little help to increase the Empire of ROME: for it was already to great, as it could almost be no greater. But Arifides Whether Ari-Victories are the greatest Conquest and Noblest Acts that the GRECIANS ever did in any Wars: as the journey of MARATHON, the Battell of SALAMINA, and the Battell of PLATÆES. And Cato's did most benefit yetthere is no reason to compare King Anischus with King Xerxes, nor the Walls of the City of SPAIN which Cato overthrew and razed, unto fo many thousands of Barbarous People, which were then overthrown and put to the Sword by the GRECIANS, as well by Land as by Sea, In all which fervices, Arifidate was the chiefest before all other, as touching his valiantnels in fighting: notwithstanding he gave other the glory of it, that defired it more then himself, as he did easily leave the Gold and Silver unto those that had more need of it then himself. Wherein he shewed himself of a Nobler mind then all they did. Furthermore, for my part, I will not reprove Cate's manner, to commend and extoll himself so highly above all other, fince he himself saith in an Oration he made, that to praise himself is as much folly, as also to dispraise himself; but this I think, his Vertue's more perfect that desireth other should not praise him, then he that commonly doth use to praise himfelf. For not to be ambitious, is a great shew of humanity, and necessary for him that will live amongst men of Government: and even so, ambition is hatefull, and procureth great envy unto him that is infected withall. Of the which Arifiides was clear, and Caro far gone in it. For Arifides did help Themifocles his chiefest Enemy, in all his Noblest Acts, and did ferve him (sar man would say) like a private Soulder that guarded his Person, when Themifocles was General, being the onely Instrument and mean of his glory : which was indeed the onely cause that the City of ATHENS was faved, and restored again to her former good State. Cato contrariwise, croffing S. ipio in all his enterprifes, thought to hinder his voyage and journey dinto CARTHAGE, in the which he overcame Hannibal, who untill that time was ever invincible : and fo in the end, continuing him ftill in jealousie with the State and ever accusing of him, he never left him till he had driven him out of the City, and caused his Brother Lacina Scipio to be shamefully condemned for theft, and ill behaviour in his charge. Furthermore, for temperancy and modefly which Cato reproved Cato did ever commend so highly, Ariffides truly kept them most fincerely. But Cato's second Wife, who married a Maid (that was neither fit for his dignity and calling, nor agreeable for his age) made him to be thought a letcherous man, and not without manifest cause. For he cannot be excused with honesty, that being a man past marriage, brought his Son that was married, and his fair Daughter in Law, a Step-mother into his House, and but a Clerks Daughter, whose Father did write for Money, for any man that would hire him. Take it Caro married her to fatisfie his luft, or else for spite to be revenged of his Son, because his Son could not abide his young filth he had

their Countrey.

in the Com-

PHILO POEMEN.

before : either of these turneth still to his shame, as well the Effect as also the Cause. Again, the excuse he made to his Son why he married, was a lye. For if he had grounded his defire indeed to have gotten other children, as he faid, that might be as honeft men as his eldeft. Son: then furely he had done well after the death of his first Wife, if he had fought him another Wife foon after, that had been of an honest House; and not to have Iyen with a young Harlotry filth, till his Son had foied him : and then when he saw it was known, to go and marry her, and to make alliance with them , not because it was honourable for him to do it , but easieft to be obtained

THE LIFE OF THILOPOEMEN.



Ann. Mund. 3757.

Am. Christ.



N the City of MANTINEA, there was a Citizen in old time called Caffander, one that was as nobly born and of as great authority in Government there, as any man of his time what foever. Notwithstanding, fortune frowned on him in the end, infomuch as he was driven out of his Countrey, and went to lie in the City of MEGALIPOLIS, onely for the love he bare unto Crausis, Philopamens Father, a rare man, and nobly given in all things, Crausis, Philoand one that loved him also very well. Now so long as Cranfie lived, Caf- pamens Father. funder was fo well used at his hands, that he could lack nothing : and when Cassander, Phihe was departed this world, Caffander, to require the love Cranfis bare him Inpaners in his lifetime, took his Son into his charge, being an Orphan, and taught Schoolmaßer. him, as Homer faid Achilles was brought up by the old Phanix. So this child Philopamen grew to Ecdemus and

have noble conditions, and increased always from good to better. Afterwards, when he came to grow Demoblanes to mans flate, Ecdemon and Demophanes , both MEGALIPOLITANS, took him into their govern- read Philoloment. They were two Philosophers that had been hearers of Arcefilam, in the School of Academia, phy to Philoand afterwards employed all the Philosophy they had learned, upon their governing of the Common-pamen. wealth, and dealing in matters of State, as much or more, then any other men of their time. For they delivered their City from the tyranny of Ariftodemus, who kept it in subjection, by corrupting those that killed him. And they did help Aratus also to drive the Tyrant Nicceles out of S. cr-ONE. At the request of the CYRENIANS, that were troubled with civill diffention and factions among them, they went unto CYRENA, where they did reform the state of the Common-wealth, and flablished good Laws for them. But for themselves , they reckoned the education and bringing up of Philoparmen; the chiefest act that ever they did : judging that shey had procured an univerfall good unto all GREECE, to bring up a man of fo noble a nature, in the Rules and Precepts of Philosophy. And to say truly, GREECE did love him passingly well, as the last valiant man the Philopomes brought forth in her age, after so many great and samous ancient Captains; and did always in-the left samous create his Power and Authority; as his Glory did also rife. Whereupon there was a Roman, man of Greece.

Philopæmen taken for a Serving-man,

who to praise him the more, called him the last of the GRECIANS: meaning that after him, GREECE wno to praise that the more, cause that the period of a Grectan. And now concernever brought forth any worthy period, deferring the name of a Grectan. And now concernever brought forth any worthy ning his person, he had no ill face, as many suppose he had; for his whole Image is yet to be seen in the City of DELPHOS, excellently well done, as if he were alive. And for that they report of his Hoffels in the City of Megara, who took him for a Serving-man: that was by reason of his courtefie, not flanding upon his reputation, and because he went plainly besides. For she understanding that the Generall of the ACHAIANS came to Inne there all night, the bestured her, and was very buffe preparing for his supper, her husband peradventure being from home at that time; and in the mean feafon came Philopamen into the Inne, with a poor cloak on his back. The simple woman feeing him no better apparelled, took him for one of his men that came before to provide his lodging, and so prayed him to lend her his hand in the Kitchin. He straight cast off his cloak, and began to fall to hew wood. So as Philopermen was bufie about it, in cometh her Husband, and finding him riving of wood: Ha ha ha, faid he, my Lord Philopamen, why what meaneth this? Truly nothing elle, faid he in his DORICAN Tongue, but that I am punished, because I am neither fair boy , nor goodly man. It is true that Titu Quintim Flaminim faid one day unto him , feeming to mock him for his personage: O Philopamen, thou hast fair hands and good legs, but thou hast no belly; for he was fine in the waste, and small bodied. Notwithstanding, I take it this jesting tended rather to the proportion of his Army, then of his body, because he had both good Horsmen and Footmen, but he was often without Money to pay them. These Jests, Scholars have taken up in Schools, of Philopamen. But now to descend to his nature and conditions: it feemed that the ambition and defire he had to win honour in his doings, was not without fome heat and wilfulnefs, For, because he would altogether follow Epaminondas steps, he shewed his hardiness to enterprize any thing, his wildom to execute all great matters, and his integrity also, in that no money could corrupt him : but in Civill matters and controverfies, be could hardly otherwhiles keep himfelf within the bounds of modesty, patience, and courtesse, but would often burst out into choler, and wilfulness, Wherefore it feemeth, that he was a better Captain for Wars, then a wife Governoor for peace. And indeed, even from his youth he ever lored Souldiers and Armes, and delighted marvelloully in all Martiall Exercites: as in handling of his Weapon well rading of Horses gallantly, and in vaulting nimbly. And because he seemed to have a naturall gift in wrestling, certain of his friends, and fuch as were carefull of him, did wish him to give himself most unto that exercise. Then he asked War and Mar-till Exercises, them, if their life that made such profession, would be no hindrance to their Martiall Exercises. Andelighted in fiver was made him again. That the indisposition of the person, and manner of life that Wrestlers used and fuch as followed like Exercifes, was altogether contrary to the life and difcipline of a Souldier, and specially touching life and limb. For wrettlers studied altogether to keep themselves in good plight, by much ileeping, eating, and drinking; by labouring, and taking their eafe at certain hours, not miling a jor of their Exercises; and besides, were in hazard to lose the force and strength of their body, if they did furfeit never so little, or passed their ordinary course and rule of diet : where Souldiers contrariwise are used to all change and diversity of life; and specially be taught from their youth, to away with all hardnefs and fearcity, and to watch in the night without fleep. Philopanen hearing this, did not onely for fake those Exercises, and scorned them, but afterwards being Generall of an Army, he fought by all infamous means he could to put down all wreftling and fuch kind of exercife, which made mens bodies unmeet to take pains, and to become Souldiers to fight in defence of their Countrey, that otherwise would have been very able and handsome for the same. When he first lest his Book and Schoolmasters, and began to wear Armour in Invasions the MANTI-NEANS used to make upon the LACEDEMONIANS, to get some spoil on a sudden, or to destroy a part of their Countrey: Philopames then would ever be the foremost to go out, and the hindermost to come in. When he had leisure, he used much hunting in time of peace, all to acquaint his body with toyl and travell, or else he would be digging of his Grounds. For he had a fair Manor, not passing twenty surlongs out of the City, whither he would walk commonly after dinner Philippemens not not paining twenty intrings on the was bed time, he would lie upon fome ill-favoured mar-pains how they or supper: and then when night came that it was bed time, he would lie upon some ill-favoured marwere employed trefs, as the meaneft labourer he had, and in the morning by break of the day, he went out either were employed trefs, as the meaneft labourer he had, and in the morning by break of the day, he went out either were employed trefs, as the meaneft labourer he had, and in the morning by break of the day, he went out either were employed trefs, as the meaneft labourer he had, and in the morning by break of the day, he went out either were employed trefs, as the meaneft labourer he had, and in the morning by break of the day, he went out either were employed trefs, as the meaneft labourer he had, and in the morning by break of the day, he went out either were employed trefs, as the meaneft labourer he had, and in the morning by break of the day, he went out either were employed trefs, as the meaneft labourer he had, and in the morning by break of the day, he went out either were employed trefs, as the meaneft labourer he had, and in the morning by break of the day, he went out either were employed trefs, as the meaneft labourer he had, and in the morning by break of the day, he went out either were employed trefs, as the meaneft labourer he had, and in the morning by break of the day, he went out either were employed trefs, as the meaneft labourer he had, and in the morning by break of the day, he went out either were employed trefs, as the meaneful head of the meaneful head of the day head and sometimes returned again to the City, and followed matters of the Common-wealth, with his friends and other Officers of the same. Whatsoever he could spare and get in the Wars, he spens it in buying of goodly Horses, in making of fair Armours, or paying his poor Countreymens ranfom , that were taken Prifoners in the Wars : but for his goods and Revenue, he fought onely to increase them by the profit of tillage, which he esteemed the justest and best way of get-

wreftling.

Philopamens In tillage.

Philopamens

ting of Goods. For he did not trifle therein, but imployed his whole care and study upon it, as one that thought it fit for every Nobleman and Gentleman fo to travell, , govern, and increase his own, that thudy and care he should have no occasion to covet or usurp another mans. He took no pleasure to hear all kind of matters, nor to read all fort of Books of Philosophy: but those onely that would reach himmost to become vertuous. Neither did he much care to read Homers Works, faving those places onely that stirred up mens hearts most unto valiantness: But of all other Stories, he specially delighted to read Evangelus Books, which treated of the discipline of Wars, how to set Battels, and declared the acts and jefts of Alexander the Great, faying, that men should ever bring words unto deeds, the Discipline unless they would take them for vain stories, and things spoken, but not to profit by. For in ef Wars.

his Books of the seas of War, and how Battels should be ordered, he was not onely contented the season of t

to fee them drawn and fet out in Charts and Maps, but would also put them in execution, in the plan ces themselves as they were set out. And therefore when the Army marched in order of Battell in the Field, he would confider and fludy with himself, the sudden events and reproaches of the Enemies, that might light upon them, when they coming down to the Valley, or going out of a Plain, were to pals a River or a Ditch, or through some straight; also when he should spread out his Army, or else gather it narrow: and this he did not onely forecast by himself, but would also argue the fame with the Captains that were about him. For Philopamen doubtless was one of the odd men of the World, that most esteemed the Discipline of War (and sometime peradventure more then he needed) as the most large Field and most fruitfull Ground, that valiantness could be exercised in : so that he despised and contemned all that were no Souldiers, as men good for nothing. When he was come now to thirty years of age, Cleamenes King of LACEDEMON, came one night upon the fudden, and gave an affault to the City of MEGALIPOLIS, fo luftily that he drave back the Watch and got into the Market-place, and wan it. Philopamen hearing of it, ran immediately to the refcue. Nevertheless, though he fought very valiantly, and did like a noble Souldier, yet he could not repulse Philosomen fathe Enemies, nor drive them out of the City: but by this means he got the Citizens leifure, and some ved the Megalitime to get them out of the Town to fave themselves, staying those that followed them: and made politant from Cleamenes still wait upon him, fo that in the end he had much ado to save himself, being the last man Cleamenes and very fore hurt, and his Horse also slain under him. Shortly after, Cleomenes being advertised Philosomen that the MEGALIPOLITANS were gotten into the City of MESSINA, he fent unto them to let very fore hurt. them understand, that he was ready to deliver them their City, Lands, and Goods again. But Philopamen feeing his Countreymen very glad of these news, and that every man prepared to return again In hafte, he flaid them with these periwasions, shewing them that Cleomenes device was not to deliver them their City, but rather to take them together with their City: foreseeing well enough, that he could not continue long there, to keep naked walls and empty houses, and that himself in the end thould be compelled to go his way. This perswasion staid the MEGALIPOLITANS, but withall it gave Cleomines occasion to burn and pluck down a great part of the City, and carried away a great tum of Money and a great Spoil. Afterwards when King Antigonus was come to aid the ACHA- King Antigo-IANS against Cleomenes, and that Cleomenes kept on the top of the Mountains of Sellasia, and aid the Advaikept all the paffages, and ways unto them out of all those quarters : King Antigonus set his Army ans against kept all the pattages, and ways unto them out of an interest of the pattages, and the pattages who had the pattages. King of Later-Philopamen was at that time amongst the Horsemen with his Citizens, who had the ILLYRIAN'S King of damon, on the fide of them, being a great number of Footmen and excellent good Souldiers, which did shut in the tail of all the Army. So they were commanded to ftand ftill, and to keep their place, untill fuch time as they did shew them a red Coat of Armes on the top of a Pike, from the other Wing of the Battell, where the King himself stood in person. Notwithstanding this straight commandment. the Captains of the ILLYRIANS would abide no longer, but went to fee if they could force the LACEDEMONIANS that kept on the top of the Mountains. The ACHAIANS contrariwife, kept their place and order, as they were commanded. Endidas, Cleomenes Brother, perceiving how their I nemies Footmen were fevered from their Horsemen, suddenly sent the lightest armed Souldi- Philopamens ers and luftieft fellows he had in his Bands, to give a Charge upon the ILLYRIANS behind, to prove fact in the Batif they could make them turn their faces on them, because they had no Horsemen for their guard, tell against King Chome-This was done, and these light armed men did marveshously trouble and disorder the ILLYRIANS. Philopamen perceiving that, and confidering how these light armed men would be easily broken and driven back, fince occasion felf enforced them to it: he went to tell the Kings Captains of it, that led his men of Arms. But when he faw he could not make them understand it, and that they made no reckoning of his realons, but took him of no skill, because he had not yet attained any credit or estimation to be judged a man that could invent or execute any stratagem of War the went thither himfelf, and took his Citizens with him a and at his first coming, he so troubled these light armed men, that he made them flie, and flew a number of them. Moreover, to encourage the better King Anigonus men, and to make them give a lufty Charge upon the Enemies, whilest they were thus troubled and out of order, he left his Horse and marched on foot up hill and down hill, in rough and ftony ways, full of fprings and quavemires, being heavily armed at all pieces as a man at Arms, and fighting in this fort very painfully and uneafily, he had both his thighs past through with a Dart, having a leather thong on the middest of it. And though the blow did Philopamen not take much hold of the flesh, yet was it a strong blow; for it pierced both thighs through and hurrin fight. through, that the iron was feen on the other fide. Then was he fo cumbred with this blow as if he had been shackled with irons on his feet, and knew not what to do : for the leather fastned in the middest of the Dart, did grieve him marvellously, when they thought to have pulled the Dart out of the place where it entred in, so as never a man about him durst set his hands to it. Philipamen on the other fide, feeing the Fight terrible on either fide, and would foon be ended: it spited him to the guts, he would so fain have been among them. So at the length he made fuch strugling, putting back one thigh, and setting forward another, that he knapped the staff of the Dart afunder, and made them pull out the two truncheons, the one on this fide, and the other on the other fide. Then when he saw he was at liberty again, he took his Sword in his hand, and ran through the midst of them that fought, unto the foremost ranks, to meet with the Enemy: fo that he gave his men a new courage, and did fet them on fire with envie, to follow

his valiantness. After the Battell was won, Antigonus asked the MACEDONIAN Captains,

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Philopæmen chosen Gene-Horsemen of the Achaiane.

> Philopæmen flew Demophantus, Gene-Horsemen of the Ætolians. The praise of Philopamen. Aratus raised Achaia to greatness.

and Aratus compared.

to prove them : who moved the Horse-men to divide themselves, and give the Charge, before the fign that was commanded. They answered him, that they were forced to do it against their wills, because a young MEGALIPOLITAN Gentleman gave a Charge with his Company, before the Decaute a young MEGALIPOLITAR Genneman gave a Charge with ins Company, before the Antigonus Isy- fign was given. Then Antigonus laughing, told them the young Gentleman played the part of a fign wife and valiant Captain. This exploit, together with Antigonus testimony, gave great reputation and Philosophy and Philosophy are many easily imagine. So King Antigonus marvellons in interested him he would unto Philopamen, as we may eafily imagine. So King Antigonus marvellously intreated him he would ferve with him, and offered hima Band of men at Arms, and great entertainment, if he would go with him. But Philopamen refuted his offer, and chiefly because he knew his own nature, that he could hardly abide to be commanded by any. Notwithflanding, because he could not be idle, he took Sea, and went into CRETA, were he knew there was Wars, onely to continue himself in exercife thereof. So when he had ferved a long time with the CRETANS, which were valiant Souldiers, and very expert in all policies and feats of War, and moreover were men of a moderate and fpare diet: he returned home again to ACHAIA, with fo great credit and reputation of every one, that he was prefently chosen Generall of all the Horsemen. So when he entred into his charge, he found many Horfemen very ill horfed, upon little Jades, fuch as might be gotten cheapeft, and that they used not to go themselves in person to the Wars, but did send other in their stead : and to be fhort, that they neither had hearts, nor experience of the Wars, and all because the Generals and Captains of the People of the AGHAIANS that ferved before him, did take no heed to those matters, as fearing to offend any, because they had the greatest authority in their hands, to punish or reward whom they thought good. Philopamen fearing none of all these things, would leave no part of his charge and duty undone, but went himself in person to all the Cities, to perswade and encourage the young Gentlemen, to be well horfed, and well armed, that they might win honour in the Field, be able to defend themselves, and overthrow their Enemies. And where perswassion could do no good, there he would fet fines upon their heads that fo refused, and did use to muster them oft, and did acquaint them with tilting, turnying, and barriers, and one to fight with another, and at fuch times and places specially, as he knew there would be multitudes of People to give them the looking on: that in fhort space he made them very forward, proper, and ready Horlemen, whose chiefest property is, to keep their order and ranks in the Battell. So as when necessity ferved for the whole Company of Horsemen to turn together, half turn, or whole turn, or else every man by himself: they were so throughly trained in it, that all the whole Troop set in Battell ray, did seem as it were to be but one body, they removed fo together, and withall so easily, and at all times, and fo oft, as they should turn, on the one side, or on the other. Now in a great Battell the ACHAI-ANS had with the ETOLIANS, and the ELIANS, by the River of Lariffus, Demophantus Generali of the Horsemen of the Etolians, came from his Company to fight with Philopamen, who allo made towards him, and gave him first such a blow with his Spear, that he strake him stark dead. When Demophaneus fell to the ground, his Souldiers fled by and by upon it. This wan Philopamen great honour, who gave no place to the youngest men in fighting most valiantly with his own hands: nor to the oldest men in wildom, for the wife leading of his Army. Indeed the first man that made the People of Achaia grow in power and greatness, was Araim: for before his time Achaia was of small reckoning, because the Cities of the same stood divided between themselves, and Aratim was the first man that made them joyn together, and stablished among them an honest civil government. Whereby it happened, that as we fee in Brooks and Rivers where any little thing floppeth and falleth to the bottom, which the course of the water bringeth down the stream, there the rest that followeth doth use to stay, and go no further : even so in the Cities of GREECE that were in hard state, and fore weakned, by faction one against another, the ACHAIANS were the first that staid themselves, and grew in amiry one with the other, and afterwards drew on the rest of the Cities into league with them, as good Neighbours and Confederates. Some by helping and delivering them from the oppression of Tyrants, and winning other also by their peaceable Government and good concord: they had a meaning in this wife to bring all the Countrey of PELOPONNESUS into one body and league. Nevertheless, while Aratus lived, they depended most upon the strength and power of the MACEDONIANS : first with sticking unto King Prolomy, and then unto Ansigonus, and last to Philip, who ruled in manner all the State of GREECE. But when Philopamen came to govern, and to be the chiefest man, the ACHAIANS being strong enough to refist the strongest, would march then no more under any other bodies Enfign, nor would fuffer any more strange Governours or Captains over them. For Aratus (as it feemed) was somewhat too soft and cold for the Wars, and therefore the most things he did, were by gentle intreaties, by intelligences, and by the Kings friendships with whom he was great, as we have at large declared in his life. But Philopamen being a man of execution, hardy and valiant of person, and of very good fortune, in the first Battell that ever he made, did marvelloufly increase the courage and hearts of the ACHAIANS : because under his charge they ever foiled their Enemies, and always had the upper hand of them. The first thing Philochangeth the Achains order Pamen began withall at his coming, he changed the manner of fetting of their Tables, and their falhion of arming themselves: for before they carried little light Targets, which because they were thin and narrow, did not cover half their bodies, and used Spears far shorter then Pikes, by reason whereof they were very light, and good to skirmish and fight afar off: but when they came to joyn Battell, their Enemies then had great vantage of them. As for the order of their Battels, they knew not what it meant, nor to cast themselves into a snail or ring, but onely used the square Battell, nor yet gave it any such front where the Pikes of many ranks might push together, and where the Souldiers might stand to close, that

their Targets should touch one another, as they do in the Squadron of the Battell of the MACEDO-MIANS: by reason whereof, they were soon broken and overthrown. Philopamen reformed all this, perswading them to use the Pike and Shield, instead of the little Target, Spear, or Bore-staff, and to put good Morians or Burganets on their heads, Corfelets on their bodies, and good Taffes and Greaves to cover their thighs and legs, that they might fight it out manfully, not giving a foot of ground, as light armed men run to and fro in a Skirmith. And thus having perswaded and tought the young men to arm themselves throughly, first he made them the bolder and more couragious to fight, as if they had been men that could not have been overcome : then he turned all their vain Superfluous charge, into necessary and honest expences. But he could not possibly bring them altogether from their vain and rich Apparell they had of long time taken up, the one to exceed another; nor from their fumptuous furniture of houses, as in beds, hangings, curious service at the Table and delicate kind of dishes. But to begin to withdraw this desire in them, which they had to be fine and delicate kind of diffies. But to begin to winding with the first the first winding specifiary and profitable the turned all cuwished them to look more nearly to their ordinary charge about themselves, taking order as well riosity and for their Apparell, as also for their Diet, and to spare in them, to come honourably armed to the dainty fare into Field, for defence of their Countrey. Thereupon, it you had looked into the Gold-fmiths Shops, brave and rich ve should have seen nothing else in their hands, but breaking and battering of Pots of Gold and Sil- Armour. ver, to be cast and molten down again, and the gilding or Armours and Targets, and silvering of bits. In the shew-places for the running of Hortes, there was managing and breaking of young Horses, and young men exercising Arms. Womens hands were also tull of Morians and Headpieces, whereto they tied goodly brave plumes of Feathers of fundry colours, and were also full of imbroidered arming Coats and Caffocks, with curious and very rich Works. The fight of which bravery did heave up their hearts, and made them gallant and lively : fo as envy bred straight in them who should do best service, and no way spare for the Wars. Indeed, sumptuouiness and bravery in others fights, doth fecretly carry mens minds away, and allure them to feek after vanities, which makes them tender bodied, and womanish persons, because this sweet tickling and inticing of the outward fense, that is delighted therewith, doth straight melt and soften the strength and courage of the mind. But again, the sumptuous cost bestowed upon war Brave Armour like Furniture, doth incourage and make great a noble heart. Even as Homer faid it did Achil-incourageth like Furniture, doth incourage and make Armour and Weapons she had caused Vulcan to make for mens minds to serve nobly him, and layed them at his feet: who feeing them, could not tarry, but was straight fet on fire with desire to occupie them. So when Philopæmen had brought the Youth of ACHAIA to this good pass, to come thus bravely armed and furnished into the Field, he began then to exercise them continually in Arms: wherein they did not onely flew themselves obedient to him. but did moreover strive one to excell another, and to do better then their fellowes. For they liked marvellous well the ordering of the Battell he had taught them, because that standing so close together as they did, they thought furely they could hardly be overthrown. Thus by continuance of time, being much used to wear their Armour, they found them a great deal easier and lighter then before, beside the pleasure they rook to see their Armour so brave, and so rich: insomuch then before, before the pleature they took to see their Armout to brave, and to rich; informed as they longed for some occasion to try them straight upon their Enemies. Now the Achai made Wars and at that time were at Wars with Machanidas, the Tyrant of Lacedamon, who sought with Machanidas. by all device he could with a great Army, to become chief Lord of all the PELOPONNESI- day Tyrant of ANS. When news was brought that Machanidas was come into the Countrey of the MANTI- Lacedamon. NEANS, Philopamen straight marched towardshim with his Army: fo they met both not far from the City of MANTINEA, where by and by they put themselves in order of Battell. They both had entertained in pay a great number of strangers to serve them, besides the whole force of their Battell sought Countrey: and when they came to joyn Battell, Machanidas with his strangers gave such a lusty between Philo-Charge upon certain Slingers and Archers, being the Forlorn-hope whom Pilopamin had put pamenand before the Battell of the ACHAIANS to begin the skirmish, that he overthrew them, and made Machanidas. them flie withall. But where he should have gone on directly against the ACHAIANS that were ranged in Battell ray, to have proved if he could have broken them, he was very busic and earnest still, to follow the chase of them that first fled, and so came hard by the ACHAIANS that stood still in their Battell, and kept their Ranks. This great overthrow fortuning at the beginning, many men thought the ACHAIANS were but cast away. But Philopamen made as though it had been nothing, and that he let light by it; and fpying the great fault his Enemies made, following the Forlorn-hope on the spur, whom they had overthrown, and staying so far from the Battell of their Footmen, whom they had left naked, and the Field open upon them: he did not make towards them to ftay them, nor did strive to ftop them that they should not follow those that fled, but suffered them to take their course. And when he saw that they were gone a good way from their Footmen, he made his men march upon the LACEDEMONIANS, whose sides were naked, having no Horimen to guard them: and so did iet upon them on the one side, and ran so hastily on them to win one of their Flanks, that he made them flie, and slew withall a great number of them. For it is faid, there were four thousand LACEDEMONIANS slain in the Field, because they had no man to lead them. And moreover, they fay they did not look to fight, but supposed Fhilogramen orather they had won the Field, when they faw Machanidus chafing fill those upon the spur, chanidus Army, whom he had overthrown. After this Philopæmen retired to meet Muchanidas, who came back Tyrant of the

THILOTOEMEN.

from the chase with the strangers. But by chance there was a great broad ditch between them, Lucidemoniant

so as both of them rode upon the banks fide of the same, a great while together, one against anoto as pour or ment rout upon the convenient place to get over and flie, and the other fide feeking means to keep them from flarting away. So to fee the one before the other in this fort, it appeared as they had been wild Beafts brought to an extremity, to defend themselves by force, from fo fierce a hunter as Philopamen was. But while they were striving thus, the Tyranis Horse that was lufty and couragious, and felt the force of his Mafters fours pricking in his fides, that the bloud followed after, did venture to leap the ditch, coming to the banks fide, flood upon his hindmost legs, and advanced forward with his foremost feet, to reach to the other side. Then Simmiss and Polyanus, who were about Philopamen when he fought, ran thither straight to keep him in with their borestaves that he should not leap the ditch. But Philopamen who was there before them, perceiving that the Tyrants Horfe, by lifting up his head so high, did cover all his Mafers body: forfook by and by his Horfe, and took his Spear in both his hands, and thruft at the Tyrant with fo good a will, that he flew him in the ditch. In memory whereof, the ACHAIANS that did highly efteem this valiant act of his, and his wildom also in leading of the Battell, did set up his Image in brass in the Temple of Apollo in Delphos, in the form he flew the Tyrant. They fay, that at the Affembly of the common Games called Nemea (which they folemnize in honour of Hercules, not far from the City of Argos) and not long after he had won this Battell of MANTINEA, being made Generall the fecond time of the Tribe of the ACHAIANS, and being at good leifure also by reason of the Feat; he first shewed all the GRECIANS that were come thither to fee the Games and Paltimes , his Army ranged in order of Battell , and made them fee how easily they removed their places every way, as necessity and occasion of Fight required, without troubling or confounding their Ranks, and that with a marvellous force and readiness. When he had done this, he went into the Theater to hear the Mustrians play and fing to their Instruments, who should win the best Game, being accompanied with lusty young Gentlemen apparelled in Porple Cloaks, and in Scarlet Coats and Caffocks they wore upon their Armour, being all in the flower of their youth, and well given and disposed: who did greatly honour and reverence their Captain, and befides that shewed themselves inwardly of noble hearts, being incouraged by many notable Bat-

certain Poems of Timothem, called the Perfes, fell into these Verses: O Greeks, it is even he, which your prosperity Hath given to you: and there withall a noble liberty.

tels they had fought, in which they had ever attained the Victory, and gotten the upper hand of

their Enemies. And by chance, as they were entred into the Theater, Pylades the Multian, finging

When he had sweetly fung out aloud these noble Verses, passingly well made, the whole Assembly of the Grecians in the Theater, that were gathered thither to fee the Games, cast all their eyes Araight upon Philopamin, and clapped their hands one to another for joy, because of the great hope they had in him, that through him they should soon recover their ancient reputation; and so imagined they possessed already the noble and worthy minds of their Ancestors. And as young Horses that do always look to be ridden by their ordinary Riders, if any stranger get upon their backs, do ftraight wax strange to be handled, and make great ado: even so when the ACHAIANS came to any dangerous Battell, their hearts were even down, if they had any other Generall or Leader then Philopamen, on whom still they depended and looked. And when they faw him, ever the whole Army rejoyced, and defired ftraight to be at it, they had fuch confidence in his valiantness and good fortune: and truly not without cause. For of all men , their Enemies did sear him most, and durst not stand before him : because they were afraid to hear his name onely, as it seemed by their doings. For Philip King of MACEDON (imagining that if he should find means to dispatch Philopeams out of the way, howfoever it were, the ACHAIANS would straight take part again with him) fent men fecretly into the City of Argos, to kill him by treaton: howbeit the practice was discovered, and the King ever after was mortally hated of all the GRECIANS generally, and taken for a wicked and cowardly Prince. It fortuned one day when the BOEOTIANS layed fiege to the City of MEGARA, and thought certainly to have won it at the first assault, there rose a rumour suddenly amongst them , that Philopemen came to aid the City, and was not far from it with his Army. But it was a falfe report. Notwithstanding, the BOEOTIANS were so scared, that for fear they left their fealing-Ladders behind them, which they had fet against the Walls, to have scaled the Town, and fled straight to save themselves. Another time, when Nabis the Tyrant of LACEDEMON, that succeeded Machanidas, had taken the City of Messina upon a sudden: Philoparan being then a private man, and having no charge of Souldiers, went unto Lyfippu Generall of the ACHAIANS that year, to perswade him that he would fend present aid unto them of Messina. Lifform toldhim, it was too late now to go thither, and that it was but a loft Town, not to be holpen; confidering the Enemies were in it already. Philopamen perceiving he could not procure him to go, went thither himself with the force of MESSINA onely, not flaying for the affembly of the MEGALIPOLITANS, that were in counfell about it, to give them Commillion by voyces of the People to take him with them: but they all willingly followed him, as if he had been their continuall Generall, and the man that by nature was worthieft of all other to command them. Now when he came near unto MESSINA, Nabis hearing of his coming, durft not tarry him, though he had his Army within the City, but stole out at another Gate, and marched away in all the haftene could, thinking himself a happy man if he could so scape his hands, and retire with fafety, as indeed he did. And thus was MESSINA by his means delivered from captivity.

The onely name of Philopæmen made the Baotians flie for fear. Nabis Tyrant of Lacettemon ty of Me fina.

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Nabis flieth

PHILOPOEMEN.

All that we have written hitherto concerning Philopamen, falleth out doubtless to his great honour and glory: but afterwards he was greatly dispraised for a journey he made into CRETA, at Philopamende. the request of the GORTYNIANS, who sent to pray him to be their Captain, being fore trou-livered to Ci the request of the GORTYNIANS, who tent to pray min to be then captain, being tote troubled with Wars at that time. Because Philogomen went then to serve the GORTYNIANS, when trom Nabis the the Tyrant Nabis had greatest Wars with the MEGALIPOLITANS in their own Country, they iron Nabis the Tyrant of Lalaid it to his charge, either that he did it to fly the Wars, or elfe that he fought honour out of fee- ccdamon. fon with forrain Nations, when his poor Citizens the MEGALIPOLITANS were in fuch distress, Fillepanens that their Countrey being loft and destroyed, they were driven to keep them within their City, and second journey to fow all their void Grounds and Streets in the same with Corn, to sustain them withall, when into Creta and commended. their Enemies were incamped almost hard at their own Gates. And the rather, because himself making Wars with the CRETANS, and ferving strangers beyond the Sea in the mean time, gave his Enemies occasion to slander him that he fled, that he would not tarry to fight for defence of his own Countrey. Again, there were that faid, because the ACHAIANS did chuse other for their Generall, that he being a private man and without charge, was the rather contented to be Generall of the GORTYNIANS, who had marvelloully intreated him to take the charge: for he was a man that could not abide to live idely, and that defired specially above all things to serve continually in the Wars, and to put in practife his skill and discipline in the leading of an Army. The words he spake one day of King Ptolomie do witness as much : for when there were some that praised King Ptolomie highly, faying that he trayned his Army well, and that he still continued his perion in exercife of Armes: It is not commendable for a King (faid he) of his years, to delight in training his men to exercife Armes, but to do some Act himself in person. Well, in the end, the MEGALI-POLITANS took his absence in such evil part, that they thought it a piece of treason, and would needs have banished him , and put him from the freedom of the City : had not the ACHAIANS fent their Generall Aristantu unto them, who would not suffer the sentence of banishment to pass against him, although otherwise there was ever contention between them about matters of the Common-wealth. Afterwards Philopamen perceiving his Countreymen made no more account Philopamen of him, to spite them withall, he made divers small Villages and Cities rebell against them, and made divers small villages and cities rebell against them, and Cities to rebell taught them to fay, and to give it out, that they were not their subjects, neither paid them tribute against the from the beginning: and he made them stand to it openly, and maintain their sedition against the Megaliphinan. City of MEGALIPOLIS, before the Councill of the ACHAIANS. Thefethings happened shortly after. But whilest he made Wars in CRETA for the GORTYNIANS , he shewed not himfelf a PELOPONNESIAN, nor like a man born in ARCADIA, to make plain and open Wars: but he had learned the manner of the CRETANS, to use their own policies, fine devices, and ambushes against themselves. And made them know also, that all their crassswere but childish sports as The Cretans it were, in respect of those that were devised, and put in execution, by a wise experienced Captain politick men and skilfull to fisht a Battell. So Philanamen. having went great farms by his captain. and skilfull to fight a Battell. So Philopamen, having won great fame by his acts done in CRE-TA, returned again to Peloponnesus, where he found that Philip King of MACEDON had TA, tetting again to February what he foliate that Fitting and of MACEDON had Philogement been overcome in Battell, by T. Q. Flaminius: and that the ACHAIANS joyning with the Romade Generall and Generall and Generall immediately upon his return, and gave him Battell by Sea. In the which it feemed he fell into like misforman against the Tyran Carlot of the Atherican Action of the Atherican Carlot of the Atherica tune, as Epaminonda did : the event of this Battell falling out much worse with him then was looked Nabin. for, in respect of his former courage and valiantness. But as for Epaminordas, some say he returned willingly out of Asia, and the Isles, without any Exploit done, because he would not have his Countreymen fleshed with spoil by Sea, as searing left of valiant Souldiers by Land, they would by little and little (as Plato faid) become diffolute Mariners by Sea, But Philopamen contrariwise, prefuming on the skill he had to fet the Battell in good order by Land, would needs take upon him to do the fame by Sea. But he was taught to his cost, to know what exercise and experience meant, and how strong it maketh them that are practifed in things, For he lost not onely the Battell by Sea, being unskilfull of that service: but he committed besides a souler error. For he caused an old Ship to be rig-overcome by ged, which had been very good of fervice before, but not occupied in forty years together, and em- Sea. barqued his Countreymen into the same, which were all likely to perish, because the Ship had divers leaks, by fault of good calking. This overthrow made his Enemies despise him utterly, perswading themselves he was fled for altogether, and had given them Sea-room: whereupon they laid siege to the City of GYTHIUM. Philopamen being advertised thereof, imbarqued his men suddenly, and Nahibbesiegeth fet upon his Enemies ere they wift it, or had any thought of his coming; and found them ftragling up the City of and down, without Watch or Guard, by reason of the Victory they had lately won. So he landed his men closely by night, and went and set fire upon his Enemies Camp, and burnt it every whit: and in this fear and hurly-burly, flew a great number of them. Shortly after this fealing upon them, the Tyrant Nabis also stole upon him again unawares, as he was to go through a marvellous ill and dangerous way: which made the ACHAIANS amazed at the first, thinking it unpossible for them that they could ever scape that danger, confidering their enemies kept all the ways thereabouts. But Philopamen berhinking himself, and considering the nature and situation of the place: after he had viewed it well, he shewed them plainly then, that the chiefest point of a good Souldier and man of War, was to know how to put an Army in Battell , according to the time and fituation of the place. For he did but alter the form of his Battell a little, and forced it according to the fittation of the place, wherein he was compassed : and by doing this without trouble or business, he took awayall fear of danger, and gave a charge upon his Enemies in such sterce wise, that in a short

Lacedemon in Battell.

bamen.

free from co-

verouinels.

monis. Philopamens noble act.

time he put them all to flight. And when he perceived that they did not flie all in Troups together Philapzmen o- towards the City, but feattering wife, abroad in the Fields in every place, he caufed the Trumpet to towards the Country tout the Country found the Retrait. Then he commanded the chase to be followed no further, for that all the Country tound the retrait. Then be commissioned the country thereabout was full of thick Woods and Groves, very ill for Horfemen: and also because there were thereapout was run of times woods and Olives, the standard part over, he encamped himself premany Brooks, Valleys and Quavemires, which they should pass over, he encamped himself premany proofs, vancys and And so, fearing left his Enemies would in the night time draw unto the fently, being yet broad day. And so, fearing left his Enemies would in the night time draw unto the city, one after another, and by couples: he fent a great number of ACHAIANS, and laid them in one anter anomics, and Hills near about it, which made great flaughter of Nabia Souldiers, amouth amongst the Brooks and Hills near about it, which made great flaughter of Nabia Souldiers, amount amongs the brooks and the land about a featuringly one after another as they fled, one here because they came not all rogether in Troups, but scatteringly one after another as they fled, one here pecaute they came not an iogenical an interpretation of the formers Net. Thefe acts made another there, and so fell into their Enemies hands, as Birds into the Fowlers Net. These acts made another there, and to the made that Editional Manage, and they did him great honour in all their Thea-Titus Quintila tersand common Affemblies. Whereat T. Q. Flaminim, of nature very ambitious and covetous of ters and common anemones. Whereat a confining that a Confull of Rome should honour, did much repine, and was envious at the matter, thinking that a Confull of Rome should have place and honour among the ACHAIANS before a mean Gentleman of ARCADIA. And have place and monout among the Action of the Philogamen had: confidering how by the he imagined he had deferved better of all Greece, then Philogamen had: ne imagined ne nau deletved octier of an Okabele, man Ambigament Consisting now by the onely Proclamation of an Herauld, he had reftored Greece again to her ancient liberty, which before his coming was subject to King Philip, and unto the MACEDONIANS. Afterwards, T. Quinby the Æisi- iim made peace with the Tyrant Nabis, who was shortly after very trayteroully slain by the Ærotim made peace with the Lyran Araba, who was mostly made by the Erooccasion, went thither with his Army, and handled the matter so wifely, that partly for love, and partly by force, he wan the City, and joyned it unto the tribe of the ACHAIANS. So was he marvellously oytore, he wan the City, and printed trained that so notable Victory, to have won their Tribe and commended and effected of the Achaians for this notable Victory, to have won their Tribe and Commonalty fo famous a City, and fo great estimation. For the City of Sparta was no small increase of their power, being joyned as a member of ACHAIA. Moreover he wan by this means the love and good will of all the honeft men of LACED. MON, for the hope they had to find him a Protector and defendor of their Liberty. Wherefore, when the Tyrant Nabu house and goods were fold, as forfeited to the State: they refolved in their Councell to make him a Prefent of the Money thereof, which amounted to the fum of fixfcore Talents, and fent Ambaffadours purpofely unto him, to offer wince amounted to the main of material states, the man state of the man states of th deed. For first of all, there was not one of all the LACEDEMONIANS that durft prefume to offer him this Money, but every man was afraid to tell him of it; and every body that was appointed to do it, made fome excuse or other for themselves. Notwithstanding, in the end they made one Timolaus to take the matter upon him, who was his familiar friend, and also his Host. And yet the same Timelans when the came unto MEGALIPOLIS, and was lodged and entertained in Philopamens house, did so much reverence him for his wife talk and conversation, for his moderate diet, and just dealing with all men: that he faw there was no likely possibility to corrupt him with Money, so as he durst not once open his mouth to fpeak to him of the Prefent he had brought him, but found fome other occasion to excuse the cause of his coming unto him. And being sent unto him again the second time, he did even as much as at the first time. And making a third proof, he ventured at the last to open the matter unto him, and told him the good will the City of SPARTA did bear him. Philopamen became a glad man to hear it: and when he had heard all he had to fay to him, he went himself unto the City of Sparta. There he declared unto the Councill, that it was not honest men and their good friends, they should feek to win and corrupt with Money, confidering they might command their vertue upon any occasion, without cost unto them: but that they should seek to bribe naughty men with money, and such as by montant how feditious Orations in Councill did mutiny, and put a whole City in uprore: to the end that having their they flould bethey mound be. Row their gifts, mouths ftopped with gifts, they should trouble them the lefs in the Common-wealth. For, said he, it is more accellary to stop your Enemies mouths, and to sow up their lips from liberty of speaking, then it is to keep your friends from it. So noble a man was Philogamn against all covetousness of Money. Shortly after, the LACEDEMONIANS beginning to ftir again, Diophanes (who was then Generall of the ACHAIANS) being advertised of it, began to prepare to punish them. The LACE-DAMONIANS on the other fide preparing for the Wars, did fet all the Countrey of PELOPONNEsus in Arms. Hereupon Philopamen fought to pacifie Diophanes anger, declaring unto him, that King Antiochus, and the ROMANS, being at wars together at that present time, and they both having puissant Armies one against another in the middest of GREECE, it was meet for a good Generall and wife Governour, to have an eye to their doings, to be carefull of the same, and to beware that he did not trouble or alter any thing within his Countrey at that instant, but then rather to diffemble it, and not to feem to hear any fault whatfoever they did. Diophanes would not be perswaded, but entred Displanes and the Territories of LACEDEMON with a great Army, and T. Quintims Flaminius with him: and they together marched directly towards the City of Sparta. Philopamen was fo mad with their doings, invade Lucile, that he took upon him an enterprize not very lawfull, nor altogether just : nevertheless his attempt proceeded of a noble mind and great courage. For he got into the City of Sparta, and being but a private person, kept out the Generall of the ACHAIANS, and the Consull of the ROMANS for entring the City: and when he had pacified all troubles and feditions in the fame, he delivered it up again as it was before, into the hands of the Commonalty of the ACHAIANS. Nevertheless himself being afterwards Generall of the ACHAIANS, did compell the LACED & MONIANS to receive those home again whom they had banished for certain faults, and did put eighty natural born Citizens of SPARTA unto death, as Polybius writeth : or threehundred and fifty, as Ariftocrates another Histo-

PHILOPOEMEN. riographer reciteth. Then he pulled down the Walls of the City, and razed them to the ground

and took away the most part of their Territories, and gave them to the MEGALIPOLITANS.

All those whom the Tyrants had made free Denizons of SPARTA, he compelled them to depart

the Countrey of LACEDEMON, and forced them to dwell in ACHAIA, three thousand onely ex-

cepted, who would not obey his commandment : all those he sold for Slaves, and with the Money

he made of them (to spight them the more) he built a goodly fair walk within the City of MEGA-

LIPOLIS. Yet furthermore, to do the LACEDEMONIANS all the mischief he could, and as it were, to tread them under the feet in their most grievous misery, he did a most cruell and unjust act toward them. For he compelled them to leave the discipline and manner of education of their act toward them. For he compelled them to leave the discipline and manner or education of their Philosemen, which Lycurgus had of old time infittituded; and made them to follow the manner the A. Philosemen made the oper-CHAIANS used, in lieu of their old grounded Countrey custom, because he saw they would never tast forfake

be humble minded, fo long as they kept Lycurgus order and inftitution. Thus were they driven to Lycurgus Lays put their heads in the coller, by the milerable milhap that befell them : and in all despight, to stuffer Philonamen in this manner to cut afunder (as it were) the finews of their Common-wealth. But afterwards they made fute to the ROMAN'S, that they might be fuffered to enjoy their ancient dif-

cipline again, which being granted them, they straight left the mainer of the ACHAIANS, and did fet up again as much as was possible (after so great misery and corruption of their manners) their old ancient customs and orders of their Countrey. Now about the time the Wars began in GREECE between the ROMANS and King Antiochus, Philopamen was then a private man and without any Authority. He feeing that King Anisochus lay still in the City of CHALCIS, and did nothing but feaft and love, and had married a young Maid far unmeet for his years: and per-lace and married ceiving that his Syrian Souldiers wandred up and down the Towns in great diforder, playing age at Chalche.

many lewd parts without guide of Captains, he was very forry he was not at that time Generall of the ACHAIANS, and told the ROMANS, that he envied their Victory, having Wars with Enemies that were so easily to be overcome. For (faid he) if Fortune favoured me that I were Gene. Philopemens rall of the ACHAIANS at this prefent, I would have killed them every man in the Cellars and tip- counfel against ling Houses. Now when the ROMANS had overcome Antiochus, they began to have surer foot-

ing in GREECE, and to compass in the ACHAIANS on all sides, and specially, by reason the Heads and Governours of the Cities about them did yeeld to the ROMANS, to win their favour, And now their greatness grew in haste, by the favour of the gods, so as they were become the Monarch of the whole World, who brought them now to the end that Fortune had determined Philopamen in the mean time did like a good Pilot, refifting against the billows and roughness of the

waves. And though for the time he was forced to give place, and to let things pass, yet for all that he was against the ROMANS, and did withstand them in the most part of their proceedings, by feeking ever to defend the liberty of those, who by their eloquened and well-doing carried great Authority among the Achaians. And when Ariftanetus MEGALIPOLITAN, (2 man of great authority among the ACHAIANS, and one that ever bare great devotion to the ROMANS) faid in open Senate among the ACHAIANS, that they should deny the ROMANS nothing, nor shew

fered him to speak (though it boyled in his heart, he was so angry with him) and in the end, breaking all patience, and as one overcome with choler, he faid : Aristanetsu, why have you fuch hast to fee the unfortunate end of GREECE? Another time when Manin Confull of ROME (after he had conquered King Antiochus) did make request to the Councill of the ACHAIANS, that fuch as were banished from LACEDEMON, might return home into their Countrey again, and that Titm Quin-

themselves unthankfull to them: Philopamen hearing what he said, held his peace a while, and suf-

tus Flaminius also did earnestly intreat them : Philopamen was against it, not for any hatred he bare unto the banished men, but because he would have done it by his own mean, and the onely grace of the ACHAIANS, to the end they should not be beholding for so good a turn, neither unto Titme, nor yet to the ROMANS. Afterwards he himself, being Generall of the ACHAIANS, did reftore them wholly to their own again. Thus was a bilopamen fometime a little too bold and quar-rellous, by reason of his great stomach: and specially when any man sought for to have things by

Authority. Lastly, being threescore and ten years of age, he was the eight time chosen Generall Philopement of the ACHAIANS, and hoped well, not onely to pass the year of his charge in peace and quiet- chosen the nels, but also all the rest of his life without any stir of new Wars, he saw the affairs of GREECE take General of the fo good fuccefs. For like as the force and ftrength of fickness declineth, as the natural ftrength of Achaians, the fickly body impaireth : fo through all the Cities and People of GREECE, the defire of quarrell and being feventy

of Wars furceased, as their power diminished. Nevertheless, in the end of his years government, the years old. gods divine (who juftly punish all insolent words and deeds) threw him to the ground, as they suffer a Rider unfortunately to take a fall off his Horse, being come almost to the end of his career. For they write, that he being in a place on a time amongst good company, where one was marvellously praised for a good Captain, faid unto them: Why Masters, can ye commend him that was contented to be

taken Prisoner alive of his Enemies ? Shortly after came news that Dinocrates MESSINIAN (2 private Enemy of Philopamens for certain controversies past between them, and a man generally hated befides of all honourable and vertuous men, for his licentious wicked life) had withdrawn the City of MESSINA from the devotion of the ACHAIANS : and moreover, that he came

with an Army to take a Town called COLONIDE. Philopamen was at that time in the City of Philopamens ARGOS, fick of an Ague, and yet he hearing these news, took his Journey towards MEGALIFO- journey against Lis, making all the hafte he could possible, for that he came above four hundred furlongs that day. Dinocrates.

thereupon the poyfon wrought his effect, and rid him straight out of his pain. The news of his Philopament

death can prefently through all ACRAZA, which generally from high to low was lamented, death.

Whereupon all the ACHAIANS Youth and Counfellours of their Cities and Towns affembled them-

laid him down as before. So nature trove not much within, his body being brought fo low, and

Philopæmens

misfortune.

Philopamen

taken.

Straight he departed thence towards MESSINA, and tarried not, but took with him a Company of men at Arms of the luftieft and wealthieft MEGALIPOLITANS: who were all young noble men of the City, and willingly offered themselves to go with him for the good will they bare him, and for the defire they had to follow his valiantness. Thus went they on their way towards the City of Most Evander, MESSINA, and marched follong, that they came near to the hill of Evander, where they met with Dinerates and his company, and gave to fierce an onfet on them, that they made them all turn tail: howbeit in the mean while, there came a relief of five hundred men to Dissocrates, which he had left to keep the Countrey of MESSINA. The flying men that were feattered here and there, feeing this fupply, gathered themselves again together, and shewed upon the hills, Philopamen searing to be environed, and being defirous to bring his men fafe home again, who most of love had followed him: began to march away through narrow bully places, himfelf being in the rereward, and turned oftentimes upon his Enemies, and skirmifhed with them; onely to drive them away from following oftenumes upon ins Engines, and skirimined with them; onely to drive find away nome of the reft of his company, and not a man that durft once let upon him: for they did but cry out aloot, and wheel as it were about him. Howbeit Philopamen fundry times venturing far from his company, to give thefe young Noblemen leifure to fave themselves one after another: took no heed to himfelf that he was alone environed on every fide with a great number of Enemies. Notwithstanding, of all his Enemies there was not a man that durft come to handstrokes with him, but ftill slinging and shooting at him afar off, they drave him in the end amongst stony places between hewn rocks, where he had much ado to guide his Horfe, although he had fpurred him that he was all of a gore blood. ne nau much aud to gunae in a and e, and and put it is age, that did not let him but he might have faved himself, for he was ftrong and lufly by the continual exercise he took: but by curted hap his body being weak with fickness, and weary with the long journey he had made that day, he found himself very heavy and ill disposed, that his Horfe stumbling with him , threw him to the ground. His fall was very great , and brused all his head, that he lay for dead in the place a great while, and never firred nor spake: fo that his Enemies thinking behad been dead, came to turn his body to ftrip him. But when they faw him lift up his head and open his eyes, then many of them fell all at once upon him and took him, and bound both his hands behind him, and did all the villany and mischief they could unto him, and such, as one would little have thought Dinocrates would have used in that fort, or that he could have had such an ill thought towards him. So they that tarried behind in the City of Messina, were marvellous glad when they heard these news, and ran all to the Gates of the City to see him brought in. When they faw him thus shamefully bound and pinioned, against the Dignity of so many Honours as he had received, and of fo many Triumphs and Victories as he had passed: the most part of them wept for pity, to consider the mishap and ill fortune of mans nature, where there is so little certainty, as in manner it is nothing. Then began there fome courteous speech to run in the mouths of the People by little and little, that the flould remember the great good he had done them in times paft, and the liberty he had reftored them unto, when he expulled the Tyrant Nabu out of Messina. But there were other again (howbeit very few) that to please Dinocrates, said they should hang him on a gibber, and put him to death as a dangerous Enemy, and that would never forgive man that had once offended him: and the rather, because he would be more terrible to Dinocrates then ever he was before, if he escaped his hands, receiving such open shame by him. Nevertheless, in the end they carried him into a certain Dungeon under the ground, called the Treasury (which had neither light nor air at all into it, nor door, nor half-door, but a great stone relled on the mouth of the Dungeon) and so they did let him down the fame, and stopped the hole again with the stone, and watched it with armed men for to keep him. Now when these young noble Acha-IAN Horsemen had fled upon the spur a great way from the Enemy, they remembred themselves, and looked round about for Philopamen: and finding him not in fight, they supposed straight, he had been slain. Thereupon they staid a great while, and called for him by name, and perceiving he anfwered not, they began to fay among themselves, they were beafts and cowards to flie in that for: and how they were dishonoured for ever for phave for laken their Caprain, to fave themselves, who had not spared his own life to deliver them from danger. Hereupon riding on their way, and entitled on the control of quiring fill for him, they were in the end advertifed how he was taken. And then they went and carried those news through all the Towns and Cities of ACHAIA, which were very forry for him, and took it as a fign of great ill fortune towards them. Whereupon they agreed to fend Ambassa dors forthwith to the Messinians, to demand him : and in the mean time every man should prepare to arm themselves to go thither, and get him either by force or love. When the ACHA-IANS had thus fent, Dinocrates feared nothing to much, as that delay of time might fave Philopamen, life: wherefore to prevent it, as foon as night came, and that the People were at reft, he ftraight eauled the stone to be rolled from the mouth of the Dungeon, and willed the Hangman to be let down to Thil pamen with a cup of poylon to offer him, who was commanded also not to go from him, untill he had drunk it. When the Hangman was come down, he found Philopamen laid on the ground upon a little Cloak, having no lift to sleep, he was fo grievoully troubled in his mind. Who when he saw light, and the man standing by him, holding a cup in his hand with this poyson, he

face upright upon his Couch, howbeit with great pain, he was fo weak, and taking the cup in his

hand, asked the Hangman if he heard any news of the Horfemen that came with him, specially of

Lycortas. The Hangman made him answer, that the most of them were faved. Then he cast his hands a little over his head, and looking merrily on him, he faid: It is well, feeing we are not all unfortunate. Therewith speaking no more words, nor making other ado, he drunk up all the poyson, and

Philopamen poyfuned by Dinocrates.

Philopæmens last words.

into their City. But Dinocrates would not give them leifure to execute him by justice for he killed death into unit Cay. The state of the put to death. But those that would have had Philopamen hanged on a gibber, Lyeore as caused them to be taken, which afterwards were put to death with all kind of torments. That done, they burnt Philopament Philopamens body, and did put his afhes into a pot. Then they ftraight departed from MESSINA; funerall, not in disorder, one upon anothers neck as every man lifted : but in such an order and ray, that in the midst of the Funerals, they did make a Triumph of Victory. For the Souldiers were all crowned with Garlands of Laurell in token of victory, notwithstanding the tears ran down their cheeks in token of forrow, and they led their Enemies Prisoners, shackled and chained. The Funerall pot in the which were Philopamens ashe, swas so covered with Garlands of Flowers, Nosegays, and Laces. that it could feant be feen or diferened, and was carried by one Polybian a young man, the Son of Licertan, that was Generall at that time to the ACHAIANS : about whom there marched all the noblest and chiefest of the ACHAIANS, and after them also followed all the Souldiers armed, and their Horses very well furnished. The rest, they were not so forrowfull in their countenances, as they are commonly which have great cause of forrow: nor yet so joyfull, as those that came Conquerors from fo great a Victory. Those of the Cities, Towns and Villages in their way as they past, came and prefented themselves unto them, to touch the Funerall-pot of his asnes, even as they were wont to take him by the hand, and to make much of him when he was returned from the Wars: and did accompany his Convoy unto the City of MEGALIPOLIS: at the Gates whereof were old men. women and children, which trufting themselves amongst the Souldiers, did renew the tears. forrows and lamentations, of all the miserable and unfortunate City: who took it that they had loft with their Citizens, the first and chiefest place of honour among the ACHAIANS. So he was buried very honourably, as appertained unto him : and the other Prisoners of MESSINA Were all ftoned to death, about his Sepulcher. All the other Cities of ACHAIA, besides many other honours they did unto him, did fet up Statues, as like to him as could be counterfeited. Afterwards in the unfortunate time of GREECE, when the City of CORINTH was burnt and destroyed by the ROMANS, there was a malicious ROMAN that did what he could to have the fame pulled down again, by burdening and accusing Philopamen (as if he had been yet alive) that he was always ene- Note the humy to the ROMANS, and envied much their prosperity and Victories. But after Polybius had an manity of the fwered him , neither the Confull Mammiu, nor his Counfellors, nor Lieutenants , would fuffer them Romans, keepfwered him, neither the Contou Mannaum, nor us commenors, nor Lacutenants, wound nuter them to deface and take away the honours done in memory of to famous and worthy a man, although he ing their Enemies Monuhad many ways done much burt unto Piene Quintim Flaminiu, and unto Maniu. So, these good ments from men then made a difference between Dury and Profit ; and did think Honefty and Profit two di-defacing, fling things, and to feparated one from the other, according to reason and justice. Moreover, they were persuaded, that like as men receive courtesse and goodness of any, so are they bound to requite them again with kindness and duty. And as men use to acknowledge the same : even so ought men to honour and reverence Vertue. And thus much of the Life of Philopamen.

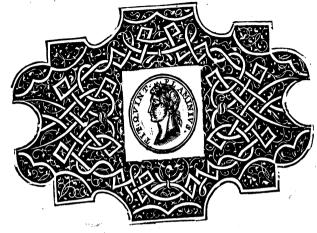
The end of the Life of Philopoemen.

Whereupon an the Acada Lipolis, where they all agreed without delay to revenge his death.

They made Lipona their Generall, under whose conduct they invaded the MESSINIANS, with The Advisor force and violence, putting all to the fire and fword : fo as the Messinians were fo feared with did revenge this merciles fury, that they yeelded themselves, and wholly consented to receive the Achaians Philopamens

THE

THE LIFE OF TITUS QUINTIUS FLAMINIUS.



Ant. Christ. 196.

Anno Mundi, 3752.

is easie to fee Titu Quintim Flaminim form and stature, by Philopamen: Statue of Brass, to whom we compare him: the which is now set up at ROME, near to great Apollo that was brought from CARTHAGE, and is placed right against the coming into the Shew-place, under which there is an Inscription in Greek Letters. But for his nature and conditions, they fay of him thus: he would quickly be angry, and yet very ready to pleasure men again. For if he did punish any man that had angred him, he would do it gently, but his anger did not long continue with him. He did good allo to many, and ever loved them whom he had once pleafured, as if they had done him some pleafure : and was ready to do for them still whom he found thankfull, because he would ever make them beholden to him, and

thought that as honourable a thing as he could purchase to himself, because he greatly sought Honour above all things; when any notable fervice was to be done, he would do it himself, and no man should take it out of his hand. He would ever be rather with them that needed his help, then with those that could help him, or do him good. For, the first he esteemed as a mean to exercise his Vertue with : the other, he took them as his fellows and followers of Honour with him. He came to mans state, when the City of ROME had greatest Wars and trouble: At that time all the Youth of ROME, which were of age to carry Weapon, were fent to the War to learn to trail the Pike, and how to become good Captains. Thus was he entred into Martiall affairs, and the Titus Quintins first charge he took, was in the War against Hannibal of CARTHAGE, where he was made Colonell of a thouland Footmen, under Marcellin the Confull: who being flain by an ambush Hannibal had laid for him between the Cities of BANCIA and VENUSA, then they did choose Time Quintim Flaminius Governour of the Province and City of TARENTUM, which was now taken again the second time. In this Government of his, he wan the reputation as much of a good and just man, as he did of an expert and skilfull Captain. By reason whereof, when the ROMANS were requested to send men to inhabit the Cities of NARNIA and Cossa, he was appointed the chief Offices before Leader of them, which chiefly gave him heart and courage to aspire at the first to the Consulfhip, par-Confull.

Leader of them, which cherry gave multicart and comage to apparent by which (as by degrees) of fing over all other mean Offices, as to be Ædile, Tribune, or Prætor, by which (as by degrees) other young men were wont to attain the Confulship. Therefore when the time came that the Confuls should be elected, he did present himself among other, accompanied with a great number of those he had brought with him, to inhabit the two new Towns, who did make earnest fuit for him. But the two Tribunes Fulvius and Manlins, spake against him, and said: It was out of all reason, that so young a man should in such manner prease to have the Office of the highest Dignity, against the use and custom of ROME, before he had passed through the inferiour Offices of the

T. Q. FLAMIN IUS.

Commonwealth. Nevertheless, the Senate preferred it wholly to the voices of the People : who presently pronounced him Consull openly, with Sextins Elius, although he was not yet T.Q. Flamini-Thirty years old. Afterwards, Alius and he dividing the Offices of the State by Lot, it fell upon us. Titus Quintins to make War with Philip King of MACEDON. In the which me thinks Forume Sextias Alias greatly favoured the ROMANS affairs, that made such a man Generall of these Wars : for T. Q. Flaminito have appointed a Generall that by force and violence would have fought all things at the MACE- nominate the DONIANS hands, that were a People to be won rather by gentlene's and periwafions, then by Werwish force and compulsion: it was all against themselves. Philip to maintain the brunt of a Battell a- Philip king of gainst the ROMANS, had Power enough of his own in his Realm of MACEDON: but to make Machine.
War any long time, to furnish himsels with Money and Victualls, to have a place and Cities to retire unto : and laftly, to have all other necessaries for his men and Army, it stood him upon to get the force of Greece. And had not the force of Greece been politically cut from him, the Wars against him had not been ended with one Battell. Moreover, GREECE (which never before bare the ROMANS any great good will) would not have dealt then so inwardly in friendship with them, had not their Generall been (as he was) a gentle Person, lowly and tractable, that wan them Titus courtesie more by his wisdom, then by his force, and could both eloquently utter his mind to them, and wan the Grecicourteoufly also hear them speak, that had to do with him, and chiefly ministred justice, and equity to every man alike. For it is not to be thought that GREECE would otherwise so soon have withdrawn themselves from the rule of those, with whom they were acquainted, and governed : and have put themselves under the rule of strangers, but that they saw great justice and lenity in them. Howbeit that may more plainly appear by declaring of his Acts. Titus was informed, that the Generalls before him fent to the War in MACEDON (as Sulpitius, and Publius Julius) used to come thither about the latter end of the year, and made but cold Wars, and certain light skirmishes, as sometime in one place, and sometime in another against Philip, and all to take some straight, or to cut off Victuals: which he thought was not his way to follow their example. For they tarrying at home, confumed the most of their Consulthip at ROME, in matters of Government, and so injoyed the Honour of their Office. Afterwards in the end of their year, they would fet out to the Wars, of intent to get another year over their heads in their Office, that spending one year in their Consulship at home, they might employ the other in the Wars abroad. But Titus not minding to trifle out the half of his Confulfhip at ROME, and the other abroad in the Wars : did willingly leave all his Honours and dignities, he might have enjoyed by his Office at Rome, and befought the Senate that they would appoint his Brother Lucius Quintins Lieutenant of their Army by Sea. Furthermore, he took with himself about three thousand old Souldiers of those that had first overthrown Asarubal in Spain, and Hannibal afterwards in A-FRICK, under the conduct of Scipio, which yet were able to ferve, and were very willing to go with in Epirus. him in his journey, to be the strength of his Army. With this company he passed the Seas without danger, and landed in Epirus, where he found Publius Julius encamped with his Army before King Apples 6. Philip, who of long time had lien in Camp about the mouth of the River of Aplus, to keep their straight and passage which is the entry into Epirus. So that Publins Julius had lain still there, and done nothing, by reason of the naturall force and hardness of the place. Then Titus took the Army of him, and fent him to ROME. Afterwards, himself went in Person to view and consider the nature of the Countrey, which was in this fort. It is a long valley walled on either fide with great high Mountains, as those which thut in the valley of Tempe in Thessaly : howbeit it had no such goodly Woods, nor green Forests, nor fair Medows, nor other like places of pleasure, as the other fide had: but it The descriptinor green Foreits, nor fair Medows, nor other like places or pleasure, as the other ride had; but it on of the was a great deep marith or quavernire, through the midft whereof the River called Apfus did run Countrey of being in greatness and swiftness of stream, very like to the River of Peneus: the River did Epirus. occupy all the ground at the feet of the Mountains, faving a little way that was cut out of the main Rock by mans hand, and a narrow straight path by the waters side, very unhandsome for an Army to pals that way, though they found not a man to keep the paffage. There were some in the Army that counselled Titus to fetch a great compass about by the Countrey of DASSARETIDE, and by the City of Lyncus, where the Countrey is very plain, and the way marvellous easie. Howbeit he flood in great fear he should lack Victuals, if he staid far from the Sea; and happily if he fell into any barren or lean Countrey, (Philip refusing the Battell , and purposing to flie) he should be constrained in the end to return again towards the Sea, without doing any thing, as his predeceffour had done before. Wherefore he determined to cross the Mountains to set upon his Enemies.

and to prove if he could win the passage by force. Now Philip kept the top of the Mountains with

his Army, and when the ROMANS forced to get up the Hills, they were received with Darts,

Slings and Shot, that lighted amongst them here and there: infomuch as the skirmish was very hot

for the time it lasted, and many were slain and hurt on either side. But this was not the end of the

War: for in the mean time there came certain Neat-heards of the Countrey unto Titus (who

did use to keep Beasts on these Mountains) and told him they could bring him a way which they

knew the Enemies kept not: by the which they promifed to guide his Army fo, that in three daies

at the furthest, they would bring them on the top of the Mountain. And because they might be Charojus affured that their words were true, they faid they were fent to him by Charopus, the Son of Ma- (Machanis chat as. This Charopus was the chiefest man of the EPIROTS who loved the ROMANS very well, shirt man of yet he favoured them but underhand, for fear of Philip. Titus gave credit unto them, and fo fent the Epirote. one of his Captains with them, with Four thousand Footmen, and Three hundred Horsemen. The

of the Mountains.

> The Maccdonians flic.

Philip King of Macedon flieth.

Flaminius mo. desty forbearing ipoils, won him many friends.

of the Romans

Heard-men that were their guides, went before still, fast bound, and the ROMANS followed aster. All the day time the Army refled in thick Woods and marched all night by moon light, which was then by good hap at the toll. Tits having fent these men away, rested all the rest of his Camp: faving that some dates he entertained them with some light skirmlishes to occupy the Enemy withall. But the fame day, when his men that ferched a compass about, should come unto the top of the Mountain above the Camp of his Enemies, he brought all his Army out of the Camp by break of day, and divided them into three Troops: with the one of them he himself went on that fide of the River where the way is straightest, making his bands to march directly against the fide of the Hill. The MACEDONIANS again, they shot luftily at them from the height of the Hill, and incertain places amongst the Rocks they came to the Sword. At the felf fame time, the two other Troops on either hand of him, did their endeavour likewise to get up the Hill, and as it were envying one another, they climbed up with great courage against the sharp and steep hanging of the Mountain. When the Sun was up, they might fee afar off as it were, a certain smoke, not very bright at the beginning, much like to the Mifts we fee commonly rife from the tops of the Mountains. The Enemies could ice nothing, because it was behind them, and that the top of the Mountain was possessed with the same. The ROMANS, though they were not affured of it, did hope being in the midft of the fight, that it was their fellows they looked for. But when they faw it increased still more and more, and in such fort, that it darkned all the Air : then they did affure themfelves it was certainly the token their men did give them that they were come. Then they began to cry out, climbing up the Hills with fuch a lufty courage, that they drave their Enemies up the Hill ftill, even unto the very rough and hardeft places of the Mountain. Their fellows also that were behind the Enemies, did answer them with like loud cries from the top of the Mountain: wherewith the Enemies were so aftonied, that they fled presently upon it. Notwithstanding, there was not tlain above Two thousand of them, because the hardness and straightness of the place did so guard them that they could not be chased. But the ROMANS spoiled their Camp, took all that they found in their Tents, took also their flaves, and wan the passage into the Mountains, by the which they entred the Countrey of EPIRUS: and did pass through it so quietly, and with so great abstineace, that though they were far from their Ships and the Sea, and lacked their ordinary portion of Corn which they were wont to have Monethly, and that Victuals were very feant with them at that time, yet they never took any thing of the Countrey, though they found great store and plenty of all riches in it. For Titm was advertised, that Philip passing by THESSALY, and flying for fear , had caused the Inhabitants of the Cities to get them to the Mountains , and then to set fire on their Houses, and to leave those goods they could not carry away, by reason of the weight and unhandsom carriage thereof, to the spoil of his Souldiers; and so (as it seemed) he lett the whole Countrey to the Conquest of the ROMANS. Whereupon Titus looking considerately to his doings, gave his men great charge to pals through the Countrey without doing any hurt or mischief, as the fame which their Enemies had now left to them as their own. So they tarried not long to enjoy the benefit of their orderly and wife forbearing of the Countrey. For, fo foon as they were entred THESSALY, the Cities willingly yeelded themselves unto them : and the GRECIANS inhabiting beyond the Countrey of THERMOPYLES, did marvelloufly defire to fee Titm, asking no other thing, but to put themselves unto his hands. The ACHAIANS also on the other fide, did renounce the League and alliance they had made with Philip and furthermore did determine in their Counsell, to make War with him on the ROMANS fide. And although the ÆTOLIANS were at that time triends and confederates with the ROMANS, and that they did shew themselves very loving to take their part in the Wars : nevertheless when they desired the Opuntians that they would put their City into their hands, and were offered that it should be kept and defended from Philip: they would not hearken thereto, but fent for Titm, and put themselves and their goods wholly into his Protection. They fay, that when King Pyrrus first faw the ROMANS Army range in order of Battell from the top of a Hill, he faid : This order of the Barbarous People fetting of their men in Battell ray, was not done in a Barbarous manner. And those also that never had seen Titus before, and came for to fpeak with him : were compelled in a manner to fay as much. For where they had heard the MA-CEDONIANS fay, that there came a Captain of the Barbarous People that deftroyed all before him by force of Arms, and subdued whole Countries by violence : they faid to the contrary, that they found him a man indeed young of years, howbeit gentle, and courteous to look on, and that spake the Greek tongue excellently well, and was a lover onely of true glory, by reason whereof they returned home marvellous glad, and filled all the Cities and Towns of GREECE with good will towards him: and faid, they had feen Titus the Captain, that would reftore them to their ancient liberty again. Then it much more appeared, when Philip shewed himself willing to have Peace, and that Titus also did offer it him , and the friendship of the People of ROME , with these condions, that he would leave the GRECIANS their whole liberties, and remove his Garrifons out of their (ities and strong holds : which $\mathcal{P}{\it hilip}$ rejused to do. And thereupon all Greece, and even those which favoured Philip, faid with one voice, that the ROMANS were not come to make Wars with them, but rather with the MACEDONIANS in favour of the GRECIANS. Whereupon all GREECE came in , and offered themselves unto Titus without compulsion. And as he passed through the Countrey of BOEOTIA, without any fnew at all of Wars, the chiefest men of the City of THEBES went to meet him : who though they took part with the King of MACEDON, because of a private man called Barchylelis, yet they would Honour Titus, as those which were contented to

keep League and friendship with either side. Titus embraced them, and spake very courteously unto them, going on his way still fair and fostly, entertaining them forestime with one matter, and fometime with another, and kept them in talk of purpose, to the end his Souldiers being wearied. with journeying, might in the mean time take good breath : and fo marching on by little and little, he entered into the City with them. Wherewith the Lords of THEBES were not greatly pleafed, but yet they durst not refusehim, though he had not at that time any number of Souldiers about him. When he was within THEBES, he prayed audience and began to perswade the People (as carefully as if he had not had the City already, that they would rather take part with the Ko-MANS, then with the King of MACEDON. And to further Titus purpole, King Attalia being by chance at that time in the Affembly, did help to exhort the THEBANS very earneftly, that they would do as Titus perswaded them. But Attalia was more earnest then became a man of his years, for the defire he had (as was imagined) to fhew Titus his eloquence : who did fo frain and move himself withall, that he swounded suddenly in the midst of his Cration, whereby the rheum wil down so fast upon him; that it took away his senses, so as he sell in a Trance before them all, and King Athia. few daies after was conveyed again by Sea into Asia, where he lived not long after. In the mean death, time, the BOEOTIANS came in to the ROMANS, and took their part. And Philip having fent The Beotians Ambaffadours to Rome, Titus also fent thither of his men to folicite for him, in two respects. The reeld unto the one if the Wars continued against Philip, that then they would prolong his time there. The other Quintum if the Senate did grant him Peace : that they would do him the Honour, as to make and conclude it Army, with Philip. For Titus of his own nature being very ambitious, did fear leaft they would fend a fuccessour to continue those Wars, who should take the glory from him, and make an end of them, But his friends made such earnest sure for him, that neither King Philip attained that he prayed : neither was there fent any other Generall in Titus place, but he still continued his charge in these Wars. Wherefore, fo foon as he had received his Commission and Authority from the Senate, he went straight towards Thessaly, with great hope to overcome Philip. For he had in his Army above Six and twenty thousand fighting men, whereof the ATOLIAN'S made Six thousand Footmen and Three thousand Horsemen. King Philips Army on the other fide was no less in number , and they began to march one towards the other, untill at the length they both drew near the City King Philip. of Scotusa, where they determined to try the Battell; fo neither they nor their men were airaid and & ivina; to fee themselves one so near another; but rather to the contrary, the ROMANS on the one side meet with took greater heart and courage unto them, destring to fight, as thinking with themselves ruber their A.mies to be themselves one to hear another. Our annual took greater heart and courage unto them, defiring to fight, as thinking with themselves what near Scora/a. great Honour they should win to overcome the MACEDONIANS, who were so highly esteemed for their valiantness, by reason of the famous Acts that Alexander the Great did by them. And the MACEDONIANS on the other fide also, taking the ROMAN'S for other manner of Souldiers then the Persians, began to have good hope if they might win the Field, to make King Philip more famous in the world, then ever was Alexander his Father. Titus then calling his men together, spake and exhorted them to stand to it like men, and to shew themselves valiant Souldiers in this Battell, as those which were to shew the proof of their valiantness in the heart of GREECE. the goodlieft Theatre of the world, and against their Enemies of most Noble same. Philip then by chance, or forced to it by the speed he made, because they were both ready to joyn, did get up unwares upon a charnell House, (where they had buried many Bodies, being a little Hill raised up above the rest, and near the trenches of his Camp) and there began to encourage his Souldiers, as all Generalls do before they give Battell. Who when he saw them all discouraged, for they took it for an ill fign that he was gotten up on the top of a Grave to speak unto them, he of a conceit at the matter, did of himself defer to give Battell that day. The next morning because the night was very wet by reason the South winds had blown, the Clouds were turned to a Mist, and filled all the valley with dark gross thick Air, coming from the Mountains thereabouts, which covered the Field between both Camps with a Mist all the morning : by reason whereof the skouts on both sides that were sent to discover what the Enemies did, in very short time met together, and one gave charge upon another, in a place they call the Dogs heads, which are points of Rocks placed upon little Hills one before another, and very near one unto another, which had been called to, because they have had some likeness of it. In this Skirmish there were many changes, as commonly falleth out when they fight in such ill favoured stony places: for sometime the ROMANS fled, and the MACEDONIANS chased them : another time the MACE-DONIANS that followed the chase, were glad to fly themselves, and the ROMANS who fled before, now had them in chafe. This change and alteration came by fending new supplies still from both Camps, to relieve them that were diffressed and driven to fly. Now began the Mist to break up, and the Air to clear, fo that both Generals might fee about them what was done in either Camp : by reason whereof both of them drew on their Army to the Field and Battell. So Philip had the vantage on the right wing of his Army, which was placed on the height of an hanging Hill, from which they came so amain to set upon the ROMANS, and with such a fury, that the Strongest and Valiantest that could be, had never been able to abide the front of their Battell, so closely were they joyned together, and their Wall of Pikes was to strong. But on his left wing it was not so, because the ranks of his Battell could not joyn so near nor close Target to Target, the place being betwixt the Hills and the Rocks, where the Battell was coming, so as they were compelled by reason of the straightness and unevenness of the ground, to leave it open, and unsurnished in many places. Titus finding that disadvantage, went from the left wing of his Battell which he iaw

T. Q. FLAMINIUS.

Batell be-tween Quinsius and Philip King of Ma-

nian Battel.

came Philips

Alcaus Verles in difgrace of King Philip

lips Battell , he fet upon the MACEDONIANS on that fide , where he faw they could not close their Ranks in the front, nor joyn them together in the midft of the Battell (which is the whole frength and order of the MACEDONIAN fight) because the Field was up hill and down hill: and to fight hand to hand they were fo perferred behind, that one thronged and over laid another. For the Battell of the Macedonians hath this property, that so long as the order is kept close and joyn-The property of the Macido ed together, it seemeth as it were but the Body of a Beast of a force invincible. But also after that it is once open, and that they are fundred and not joyned together, it doth not onely lose the force and Power of the whole Body, but also of every private Souldier that fighteth : partly by reason of the divertity of the weapons wherewith they fight, and partly for that their whole strength confisheth most, in the disposing and joyning together of their ranks and orders, which doth stay up one another, more then doth every private Souldiers strength. So when this left wing of the MACEDONI-ANS Was broken, and that they ran their way : one part of the ROMANS followed the chafe, and the other ran to give a charge upon the Flanks of the right wing which fought yet, and they made great flaughter of them. Whereupon they now which before had the vantage, began to flag-Quintiest over. ger and break , and in the end ran away as fast as the other did, throwing down their weapons : infomuch as there were flain of them Eight thouland in the Field, and Five thouland taken Prifoners in their chase. And had not the fault been in the ÆTOLIANS, Philip had not faved himself by flying as he did. For whileft the ROMANS had their Enemies in chale, the ETOLIANS tarried, twirst the A- and rifled all King Philips Camp, fo as they left the ROMAN'S nothing to spoil at their return. Whereupon there grew great quarrel and hot words between them, and one with another. But afterwards it angred Titm worfe, challenging the Honour of this Victory to themselves, because they gave it out through GREECE, that they alone had overthrown King Philip in the Battell. So that in the Songs and Ballads the Poets made in praise of this Victory, which every Countrey and Town-man had in his mouth, they alwaies put the & TOLIANS before the ROMANS : as in this that followeth, which was currantly Sung in every place, O Friend which paffest by : here lie we wretched phears,

I. Q. FLAMINIUS.

overlaid by the right wing of his Enemies, and going fuddenly towards the left wing of King Phi-

Withouten Honour of the grave, without lamenting tears. We thirty Thousand were, which ended have our daies : In cruel coafts of Theffaly, which caufed our decases. We have been overthrown by th' Ætolians men of War : And by the Latin crews likewife, whom Titus led from far, Even out of Italy, to Macedonie Land, Us to destroy, he (Captain like) did come with mighty hand : And Philip fout, therewhiles for all his proud fierce face,

Is fled, more swift then Harts do run, which are pursu'd in chase.

The Poet was Alcans that made these Verses for to Sing, who did them in disgrace of King Philip, falfly increasing the number of his men which died in the Battell, onely to shame and spite him the more : howbeit he spited Tisus thereby more then Philip, because it was Sung in every place, For Philip laughed at it, and to encounter him again with the like mock, he made a Song to counterfeit his, as followeth: This gibbet on this Hill, which passers by may mark,

Was fet to hang Alcaus up withouten Leaves or bark.

Privy grudge tius and the Ætolians.

Hannibal was

against Alcaus But Titus took it grievously, who chiefly defired to be Honoured amongst the GRECIANS, by reason whereof from that time forwards he dealt in the reft of his matters alone, without making account of the ETOLIANS: wherewith they were marvellous angry, and specially when he received an Ambassadour from Philip, and gave car unto a treaty of Peace which he offered.

For then they were so netted against him, that they gave it out through all GREECE, that Titus had fold Peace unto Philip, when he might altogether have ended the War, and utterly have deftroyed Philips whole Power and Empire, who had first brought GREECE into bondage. These slanderous reports and falle Tales which the ÆTOLIANS spread thus abroad, did much trouble the ROMANS friends and confederates : but Philips felf pulled this suspition out of their heads, when he came in Person to require Peace, and did submit himself wholly to the discretion of Ti-7. Quintius tus and the ROMANS. Titus then granted him Peace, and delivered to him his Realm of Magranted Philip CEDON, and commanded him he should give over all that he held in GREECE; and besides, that he should bay one Thousand Talest for the should be should b Ten Ships : and for affurance of this Peace, he took one of his Sons for Hoftage, whom he fent to ROME. Wherein Titus certainly did very well, and wifely did forefee the time to come. For then Hannibal of CARTHAGE (the great Enemy of the ROMANS) was banished out of his Countrey, and came to King Antiochus, whom he put in the head, and earnestly moved, to follow his good Fortune, and the increase of his Empire. Whom Hannibal so followed with these perswasions, that King Antiochus at length was come to it. And trufting to his former good fuccels, and notable Acts, whereby in the Wars before he had attained the furname of Great, he began now to aspire to the Monarchy of the whole world, and sought how to find occasion to make Wars with the ROMANS. So that if Titus (forfeeing that a far off) had not wifely inclined to peace, but that the Wars of Antiochus had fallen out together with the Wars of King Philip, and that thele two the mightieft Princes of the world had joyned together against the City of ROME: then it had

been in as great trouble and danger, as ever it was before in the time of their Wars against Hannibal. Howbeit, Titus having happily thrust in this Peace between both Wars, he cut off the War that was prefent, before the other that was coming : by which means he took from one of the Kings his last : and from the other his first hope. In the mean time the Ten Commissioners that were fent by the Senate from Rome to Titus, to aid and affift him in the order of the affairs of GREECE, did counfell him to fet all the rest of GREECE at liberty, and onely to keep in their Chalcide: hands with good Garrison, the Cities of CHALCIDE, of CORINTH, and of DEMETRIADE, to Corinth hands with good Garriton, the Chies of Charles of Court in, and Dealer Glade, to make fure that by practife they should not enter into league and alliance with Anticobus. Then Powerriade, and the Charles of the Charl the ETOLIANS (that were the common flanderers of Titus proceedings) began openly to make Philip of Mathese Cities to rebell, and did summon Titus to loose the Chains of GREECE: for so did King codon, the Philip call these three Cities. Then they asked the Grecians in mockery, whether they were Chains of willing now to have heavier Fetters on their Legs then before, being fomewhat brighter and fairer Greece. then those they had been shackled with : and also whether they were not greatly beholding to Titus for taking off the Fetters from the GRECIANS Legs, and tying them about their necks. Tie tus being marvellously troubled and vexed with this, moved the Ten Counfellors fo earneftly, that he made them grant his request in the end, that those three Cities also should be delivered from Garison : because the GRECIANS thenceforth might no more complain, that his grace and liberality was not throughly performed and accomplished in every respect on them all, Wherefore when the Feast called Istimia was come, there were gathered together an infinite mul- Istimia. titude of People, come to fee the sport of the Games played there : for GREECE having been long time troubled with Wars, they feeing themselves now in sure peace, and in very good hope of full liberty, looked after no other thing, but delighted onely to fee Games, and to make merry. Proclamation was then made by found of Trumpet in the Affembly, that every man should keep silence. That done, the Herald went forward, and thrust into the midst of the multitude, and proclaimed out aloud: that the Senate of KOME, and Titus Quintim Flaminius, Confull of the People of ROME, (now that they had overthrown King Philip and the MACEDONIANS in Battell) did thenceforth discharge from all Garrisons, and set at liberty from all Taxes, subsidies, and impositions for ever, to live after their old ancient Laws, and in full liberty : the CORINTHIANS, the Lo-CRIANS, those of PHOCIDE, those of the Isles of EUBOEA, the ACHNIANS, the PHTHIO-TES, the MAGNESIANS, the THESSALIANS, and the PERROEBEIANS. At the first time of the Proclamation, all the People could not hear the voice of the Herald, and the most pare of those that heard him, could not tell directly what he said : for there ran up and down the Shewplace where the Games were Plaid, a confuled bruit and tumult of People, that wondred, and asked what the matter meant, fo as the Herald was driven again to make the Proclamation. Whereupon after filence made, the Herald putting out his voice far louder then before, did proclaim it in fuch audible wife, that the whole Affembly heard him : and then rofe there fuch a loud shout and cry of joy through the whole People, that the found of it was heard to the Sea. Then all the People that had taken their places, and were fet to fee the Sword-players play, rose up all on their feet, letting the Games alone, and went together with great joy to falute, to embrace, and to thank Titus the recoverer, Protector, and Patron of all their liberties of GREECE. Then was feen (which the recoverer, Protector, and Paulon of the Power of mens voices: for Crows fell down at that prefere time among crows flying, is much spoken of) the Power of mens voices: for Crows fell down at that prefere time among Crows flying, the People, which by chance flew over the Shew-place at that time that they made the same out- fell down by shout. This came to pass, by reason the air was broken and cut asunder with the vehemency the sound of and strength of the voices, so as it had not his naturall Power in it, to keep up the flying of the mens voices, Birds: which were driven of necessity to fall to the ground, as slying through a void place where they lacked air. Unless we will rather say, that it was the violence of the cry, which strook the Birds patting through the air, as they had been hit with Arrows, and so made them fall down dead to the Earth. It may be also, that there was some hurling wind in the air, as we do fee sometime in the Sea, when it riseth high and many times turneth about the waves, by wiolence of the storm. So it is, that if Tiens had not prevented the whole multitude of People which came to see him, and that he had not got him away betimes, before the Games were ended : he had hardly escaped from being stifled amongst them, the People came so thick about him from every place; But after that they were weary of crying and Singing about his Pavilion untill night, in the end they went their way : and as they went, if they met any of their kin, Friends or Citizens, they did kifs and embrace one another for joy, and fo supper and made merry together. In their more rejoycing yet, as we may think sull well, they had no other talk at the Table, but of the Wars of GREECE, discoursing among them what fundry great Wars they had made, what they had endured heretofore, and all to defend and recover their liberty. And yet for all that, they could never fo joyfully, nor more affuredly obtain it, then they did even at that prefent, receiving the Honourableft reward, and that which deserved greatest same through the world : that by the valiantness of strangers who fought for the same (without any spile bloud of their own in comparison, or that they loft the Life of any one man, whose death they had cause to lament) they were so restored to their ancient freedom and liberty. It is a very rare thing amongst men, to find a man very valiant, and Wife withall but yet of all forts of valiant men, it is harder to find a just man. For Agefilans, Lyfander, Niciai, Alcibinder, and all other the famous Captains of former times, had very good skill to lead an Army, and to win the Battell, as well by Sea as by Land : but to turn their Victories to any Honourable benefit, or true Honour among men, they could never skill of it.

Quintius care to itablish the

The Feaft of Nemea kept at Argos.

liberty of the

Grecians.

the Philosopher, and faved him from Prison.

And if you do except the Battell against the Barbarous People, in the plain of MARATHON, the Battell of SALAMINA, the journey of PLATEES, the Battell of THERMOPYLES, the Battell Cimon fought about Cyprus, and upon the River of Eurymedon: all the other Wars and Battells of Greece that were made, fell our against themselves, and did ever bring them into bondage: and all the tokens of Triumph which ever were fet up for the fame, was to their shame and loss. So that in the end, GREECE was utterly destroyed and overthrown, and that chiefly through the wickedness and felf-will of her Governours and Captains of the Cities, one envying anothers doing. Where a strange Nation, the which (as it should feem) had very small occasion to move them to do it , (for that they had no great familiarity with ancient GREECE, and through the counfell and good wildom of the which, it should feem very strange that GREECE could receive any benefit) have notwithstanding with dangerous Battells and infinite troubles, delivered it from oppression and servitude of violent Lords and Tyrants. This and such like talk, did at that time occupy the Grecians heads: and moreover, the deeds following did answer and perform the words of the Proclamation. For at one felf time, Titus fent Lentulus into Asia, to fet the BARGILIANS at liberty, and Titilius into Thracia, to remove the Garifons out of the Isles and Cities which Philip had kept there : and Publim Juliu was sent also into Asia, unto King Antiochus, to speak unto him to set the GRECIANS at liberty which he kept in subjection. And as for Titus, he went himself unto the City of CHALCIDE, where he took Sea, and went into the Province of Magnesia, out of the which he took all the Garifons of the Cities, and redelivered the Government of the Common-wealth unto the Citizens of the fame. Afterwards when time came that the Feaft of Nemea was celebrated in the City of Argos in the Honour of Horcules, Titus was chosen Judge and Rector of the Games that were plaid there: where, after he had fet all things in very good order, pertaining unto the folemnity of the Feaft, he caused again folemn Proclamation to be made openly, for the Generall liberty of all GREECE. Furthermore visiting the Cities, he did stablish very good Laws, reformed justice, and did fet the Inhabitants and Citizens of every one of them in good peace, amity and concord one with another: and did call home also all those that were out-laws and banished men, and pacified all old quarrels and diffentions among them. The which did no less please and content him, that by perswasions he could bring the Grecians to be reconciled one with the other, then if he had by force of Arms overcame the Macedonians. Infomuch, as the recovery of the Liberty which Titus had reflored unto the GRECIANS, feemed unto them the least part of the goodness they had received at his hands. They fay that Lycurgs the Orator feeing the Collectors of Taxes, carry Zenocrates Orator, refeu- the Philosopher one day to Prilon, for lack of payment of a certain imposition, which the strangers inhabiting within the City of ATHENS were to pay : he refcued him from them by force, and moreover profecuted Law to hard against them, that he made them pay a fine for the injury they had done unto fo worthy a Person: And they tell, that the same Philosopher asterwards meeting Lycurgsu Children in the City, faid unto them : I do well requite your Fathers good turn he did me: For I am the cause that he is praised and commended of every man, for the kindness he shewed on my behalf. So the good deeds of the ROMANS, and of Titu Quintim Flaminiu unto the Grecians, did not onely reap this benefit unto them, in recompence that they were praifed and honoured of all the world: but they were cause also of increasing their Dominions and Empire over all Nations, and that the world afterwards had great affiance and trust in them, and that most justly. So that the People and Cities did not onely receive the Captains and Governours the ROMANS fent them : but they also went to ROME unto them, and procured them to come, and did put themselves into their hands. And not onely the Cities and commonalties, but Kings and Princes also which were oppressed by other (more mighty then themselves) had no other refuge, but to purthemselves under their Protection: by reason whereof in a very short time (with the favour and help of the gods, as I am perfwaded) all the world came to submit themselves to their obedience, and under the Protection of their Empire. Titus also did glory more that he had restored GREECE again unto liberty, then in any other fervice or exploit he had ever done. For when he offered up unto the Temple of Apollo in the City of DELPHOS, the Target of Silver with his own Shield, he made these Verses to be graven upon them, in effect as followeth:

T. Q. FLAMINIUS.

O Noble swins Tyndarides Dan Jove his Children dear, Throw out loud shouts of joy and mirth, rejoyce and make good cheer. O Noble Kings of Spartan foyl, which take delight to ride Your trampling Steeds, with fomy bit, and trappings by their side: Rejoyce you now, for Titus he, the valiant Roman Knight, These gifts so great to you bath got, evenby hu force and might: That having taken clean away from off the Greekish necks, The heavy yoke of fervitude, which held them thrall to checks, Unto their former liberty he hath restor'd them free , Which altogether perisht was , as men might plainty see.

He gave a Crown of massie Gold unto Apollo, upon the which he made this inscription to be written:

To

A valiant Roman Knight , even Titu by his Name, A Captain worthy by defert of high renown and fame : To thee (Apollo god) this Crown of pure fine Gold Hath given , thy godhead to adorn with fewels manifold : Therefore let it thee please (Apollo god of grace) With favour to requite this love to him and to his race : That his renowned fame and Vertue may be spred, And blazed through the world so wide, to shew what Life he led.

So hath the City of CORINTH enjoyed this good hap, that the GRECIANS have been twice proclaimed to be set at liberty : the first time by Titus Quintius Flaminius, and the second time by Nero in our time, and at the felf fame instant when they solemnly kept the Feast called 1sthmia. Nero did set Howbeit the first Proclamation of their liberty (as we have told you before) was done by the Greccast voice of an Herald : and the second time it was done by Nero himself, who proclaimed it in an Ora-liberty. tion he made unto the People in open Affembly, in the Market-place of the City of CORINTH. But it was a long time after. Furthermore, Titus began then a goodly and just War against Nabis the curfed and wicked Tyrant of LACEDEMON. Howbeit in the end he deceived the expectation of GREECE : for when he might have taken him, he would not do it, but made peace with Why Quinting him, forfaking poor Sparta, unworthily oppressed under the yoke of bondage : either because made peace him, for aking poor Sparta, unworthily oppretted under the yoke of bounge: entire because the beautiful that if the War held on, there should come a successor unto him from Rous, with Additional transfer of the War held on, there should come a successor unto him from Rous, with Additional transfer of the Spartage of that should carry the glory away to end the same, or else he stood jealous and envious of the Ho-Lacedemon. nour they did unto Philopamen: who having shewed himself in every place as excellent a Cap. The Honour of tain as ever came in GREBCE, and having done notable acts and famous fervice, both of great Philopamen. wisdom, and also of valiantness, and specially in the ACHAIANS War: he was as much Honoured and reverenced of the ACHAIANS in the Theatre and common Affemblies, even as Titus was. Whereat Titus was marvellously offended, for he thought it unreasonable that an Ar-CADIAN who had never been Generall of an Army, but in small little Wars against his neighbours, should be as much esteemed and Honoured as a Confull of Rome, that was come to make Wars for the recovery of the liberty of GREECE. But Titus alledged reasonable excuse for his doings. faying , that he faw very well he could not destroy this Tyrant Nabis , without the great loss and mifery of the other SPARTANS. Furthermore of all the Honours the ACHAIANS ever did him (which was very great) me thinks there was none that came near any recompence of his Ho-nourable and well deferving, but one onely Present they offered him, and which he above all the rest most esteemed : and this it was. During the second Wars of Africk, which the Ro-MANS had against Hannibal, many ROMANS were taken Prisoners in fundry Battells they loft, and being fold here and there, remained flaves in many Countries; and amongst other, there were dispersed in GREECE to the number of Twelve hundred, which from time to time did move men with spite and compassion towards them that saw them in so miserable change and state Twelve hunof Fortune. But then much more was their milery to be pitied, when these captives found in the dred Romans ROMANS Army, some of them their Sons, other their Brethren, and the rest their fellows and fold for slaves. friends, free and conquerours, and themselves slaves and bondmen. It grieved Titus much to fee these poor men in such miserable captivity, notwithstanding he would not take them by force from those that had them. Whereupon the Achaians redeemed and bought them for The Achaians Five hundred Pence a man, and having gathered them together into a Troop, they prefented all redeemed the the ROMAN captives unto Titus, even as he was ready to take Ship to return into ITALY : which Romans that present made him return home with greater joy and contentation, having received for his No. Baves in ble deed so Honourable a recompence, and worthy of himself, that was so loving a man to his Greece. Citizens and Countrey. And furely, that onely was the Crnament (in my opinion) that did most The Ceremobeautifie his Triumph. For these poor redeemed captives did that, which the slaves are wont to ny of slaves do on that day when they be fet at liberty: to wit they shave their heads, and do wear little manumissed. Hats upon them. The ROMANS that were thus redeemed, did in like manner : and fo followed Triumph. Titus Chariot, on the day of his Triumph and entry made into Roms in the Triumphing manner. It was a goodly fight also, to see the spoils of the Enemies, which were carryed in the shew of this Triumph: as store of Helmets after the GRECIANS fashion, heaps of Targets, Shields, and Pikes after the MACEDONIAN manner, with a wonderfull fum of Gold and Silver. For Itanus the Historiographer writeth, that there was brought a marvellous great Mass of Treasure in niggots of Gold, of Three thousand Seven hundred and Thirteen Pound weight; and of Silver, of torty three Thousand two Hundred Threescore and Ten Pound weight; and of Gold ready coyned in pieces called Philips, Fourteen thousand Five hundred and Fourteen, besides the Thousand Talents King Philip should pay for a ransom : the which sum, the ROMANS afterwards forgave him, chiefly at Titus sute and intercession, who procured that grace for him, and caused him to be called a friend and confederate of the People of ROME, and his Son Demetrius to be sent unto him again, who remained before as an Hostage of Rome. Shortly after King Antiochus went out of ASIA into GREECE with a great fleet of ships, and a very puiffant Army, to stir up the Cities to Maning Acitins forfake their League and alliance with the ROMANS, and make a diffention among them. To fur Confull, and ther this his defire and enterprife, the ETOLIANS did aid and back him, which of long time had Lieutenant, born great and fecret malice against the ROMANS, and desired much to have had Wars with fent into them. So they taught King Antiochus to fay, that the War which he took in hand, was to fet the Greece. GRECIANS at liberty; whereof they had no need, because they did already enjoy their liberty: but for that they had no just cause to make War, they taught him to cloke it the honestest way

the Power of this great King, they fent thither Manius Acilius their General, and Titus, one of his Lieutenants for the GRECIANS fakes. Which arrival did more affure them that already bare

good will to the ROMANS, after they had once feen Manius and Titus: and the reft that began

to fly our, and to fhrink from them, thole Tiens kept in obedience from flarting, remembring

them of the friendship and good will they had born him, even like a good skilfull Physirian than

could give his Patient Phylick to perferve him from a contagious difeate. Indeed there were

fome (but few of them) that left him, which were won and corrupted before by the ÆTOLIANS:

and though he had just cause of offence towards them, yet he saved them after the Battell. For

King Antischus being overcome in the Countrey of THERMOPYLES, fled his way, and in great

haft took the Sea to return into Asia. And the Confull Manius following his Victory, entred into

the Countrey of the ETOLIANS, where he took certain Towns by force, and left the other for

a prey unto King Philip. So Philip King of Macedon on the one fide, fpoiled and facked the

DOLOPIANS, the MAGNESIANS, the ATHAMIANS, and the APERANTINES: and the

Confull Manius on the other side, destroyed the City of HERACLEA, and laid siege to the City of

NAUPACTUM, which the ETOLIANS kept, But Titus taking compassion of them to see the poor People of GREECE thus spoiled and turned out of all : went out of PELOPONNESUS

(where he was then) unto Manius Acilius Camp, and there reproved him for fuffering King Philip

to usure the benefit and reward of his Honourable Victory, still conquering many People, Kings

and Countries, whileft he continued fiege before a City, and onely to wreak his anger upon them.

overthrown in Thermobyles, by Manius the Contull.

> Quintius intreateth for the Etolians. King Antiochus married Cleoptolemus Daughter in the City of Chaleide.

> > Honour done and the Greci-

Afterwards, when they that were befreged faw Titus from their Walls, they called him by his Name, and held up their hands unto him, praying him he would take pity upon them: but he gave them never a word at that time, and turning his back unto them, he fell a weeping. Afterwards he fpake with Manins, and appealing his anger, got him to grant the & TOLIANS truce for certain days, in which time they might fend Ambalfadours to ROME, to fee if they could obtain grace and pardon of the Senate. But the most trouble and difficulty he had, was to intreat for the CHALCIDIANS, with whom the Confull Manius was more grievoully offended, then with all the reft : because that King Antiochus after the War was begun, had married his Wifein their City, when he was paft years of marriage, and out of all due time. For he was now very old, and being in his extream age, and in the midft of his Wars, he fell in dotage with a young Gentlewoman, the Daughter of Cleopolemus, the fairest woman that was at that time in all GREECE. Therefore the CHALCIDI-Ans were much affected unto King Antiochus, and did put their City into his hands, to ferve him in this War, for a strong and sate retiring place. Whereupon, when Antiochus had lost the Battell, he came thither with all possible speed, and taking from thence with him his passing fair young Queen which he had married, and his Gold, his Silver and Friends, he took the Seas incontinently, and returned into Asia. For this cause the Consull Manius having won the Battell, did march ftraight with his Army towards the City of CHALCIDE in a great rage and fury. But Titus that followed him, did alwaies lie upon him to pacifie his anger, and did so much intreat him, together with the other ROMANS of state and Authority in Counsell : that in the end, he got him to pardon them of CHALCIDE also. Who because they were preserved from perill by his means, they to recompence this Fact of his, did confecrate unto him, all their most stately and fumptuous Buildings and common Works in their City, as appeareth yet by the superscriptions remaining to be feen at this day. As in the Shew-place of exercises: the People of CHALCIDE did dedicate this Shew-place of exercises, unto Tirus and Hercules. And in the Temple called Delphinium : the People of CHALCIDE did confecrate this Temple unto Tine, and unto Apollo. And rius for laving furthermore, unto this present time, there is a Priest chosen by the voice of the People, purposely to do Sacrifice unto Titus: in which Sacrifice after that the thing Sacrificed is offered up, and Wine poured upon it, the People standing by, do fing a Song of Triumph made in praise of him. But because it were too long to write it all out, we have onely drawn in brief the latter end of the same; and this it is: The clear unspotted faith of Romans we adore,

And vow to be their faithfull friends both now and evermore. Sing out you Muses nine to Joves eternal fame : Sing out the Honour due to Rome, and Titus worthy Name. Sing out (I say) the praise of Titus and his faith: By whom you have preserved been from ruine, dole and death.

Quintius cournature. Emulation betwixt Titus Quintius and Philogamen.

Now the CHALCIDIANS did not alone Honour and reverence Titus, but he was generally Honoured also by the Grecians ashe deserved, and was marvellously beloved for his courtesse and good nature : which argueth plainly that they did not fainedly Honour him, or through compulfion, but even from the Heart. For though there were some jar betwixt him and Philopamen at the first about service, for emulation of Honour, and after betwirt him and Diophanes also, both Generals of the ACHAIANS, yet he never bare them any malice in his heart, neither did his anger move him at any time to hurt them any way, but he ever ended the heat of his words in Couniell and Affemblies, where he uttered his mind frankly to them both. Therefore none thought him ever a cruell man, or eager of revenge: but many have thought him rash, and hasty of nature. Otherwife, he was as good a companion in company as possible could be, and would use as pleasant wife Mirth as any man. As when he faid to the ACHAIANS, on a time, who would needs un-

justly usurp the Isle of the ZAZINTHIANS, to diffwade them from it : My Lords of ACHAIA, they thrust their heads out of their shels. And the first time he parled with Philip to treat of favings. Peace: when Philip faid unto him, you have brought many men with you, and I am come alone: Indeed it is true you are alone, said he, because you made all your friends and kin to be slaim. Another time, Dinocrates MESSINIAN being in ROME, after he had taken in his cups in a Feaft where he was, he difguifed himfelf in Womans apparell, and danced in that manner: and the next day following he went unto Titus, to pray him to help him through with his fute, which was, to make the City of Messina to rebell, and leave the Tribe of the Achaians. Titus made him answer, that he would think upon it: but I can but wonder at you (faid he) how you can dance in Womens apparell, and Sing at a Feaft, having fuch matters of weight in your head. In the Counfell of the Achaians, King Amiochus Ambassadours being come thither, to move them to break bassabours do their League with the ROMANS, and make their alliance with the King their Mafter, they made boat of their a marvellous large discourse of the great multitude of Souldiers that were in their Masters Army, Kings great and did number them by many divers Names. Whereunto Titus answered, and told how a friend Army. and the house that by hardy states of his hiving bidden him one night to Supper, and having ferved to many diffus of Meat to his witty aniver.

Boord, as he was angry with him for beftowing to great coft upon him, as wondering how he could to the Ambert. fo fuddenly get so much store of Meat, and of so divers kinds: my friend said to me again, that all sadours brigg. was but Porke dreffed fo many waies, and with fo fundry Sawces. And even fo (quoth Tins) my Lords of Achala, effect not King Antiochus Army the more, to hear of fo many men of Arms, numbred with their Lances: and of fuch a number of Footmen with their Pikes: for they are all but SYRIANS, diversly Armed, onely with ill favoured little weapons. Furthermore, after Titus had done thefe things, and that the War with Antiochns was ended, he was chofen Cenfor at ROME, with the Son of that fame Marcellus, who had been five times Confull. This Office is of great dignity and as a man may fay, The Crown of all the Honours that a Citizen of Rome can Titus Quintini of great urginity and as a minimum. They put off the Senate, four men onely, but they were not facholen Censor mous. They received all into the Number of Citizens of Rome, that would prefent themselves to with Marcelbe enrolled in their common Register : with a proviso, that they were born free by Father and lut. Mother. They were compelled to do it , by Terentius Culeo, Tribune of the People, who to despite the Nobility perswaded the People of ROME to command it to. Now at that time two of the Noblest and most famous men of ROME were great Enemies one against another: Publiss Scipio AFRICAN, and mote famous first of ROME were great statuted and Public Scipio African, to be Prince of and Marcin Portini Cato. Of these two, Titim named Public Scipio African, to be Prince of P. Scipio, and Control of the great state of the great sta the Senate, as the chiefest and worthiest Person in the City: and got the displeasure of the other, M. P. Cato which was Cato, by this mishap. Titm had a Brother called Lucius Quintitus Flaminius, nothing great Enemies, at all like him in condition : for he was fo diffolutely and licentiously given to his pleasure, that he Secret gradge forgot all comelines and honesty. This Lucius loved well a young Boy, and carried him alwaies betwirt Tims with him when he went to the Wars, or to the charge and Government of any Province. This Boy and Cate, flattering him, one day faid unto Lucius Quintius, that he loved him so well, that he did leave the fight of the Sword-players at the fharp, which were making ready to the fight, although he had newer feen man killed before, to wait upon him. Lucius being glad of the Boys words, answered him straight. Thou shalt lose nothing for that my Boy, for I will by and by please thee as well. A cruel deed So he commanded a condemned man to be fetched out of Prilon, and withall called for the Hang- of Lucius man, whom he willed to strike off his head in the midst of his Supper, that the Boy might fee him Quintlut. killed. Valerius Antias the Hiftoriographer writeth, that it was not for the love of the Boy, but of a Woman which he loved. But Titus Livius declareth, that in an Oration which Cato himself made, it was written that it was one of the Gauls: who being a traitor to his Countrey-men, was come to Flaminius Gate with his Wife and Children, and that Flaminius making him come into his Hall, killed him with his own hands, to pleafe a Boy he loved, that was defirous to fee a man killed. Howbeit, it is very likely that Cato wrote in this fort, to aggravate the offence, and to make it more cruel. For, many have written it that it is true, and that he was no traitor, but an offender condemned to dye, and among other, Cicero the Orator doth recite it in a Book he made of age, where he made it to be told unto Cato's own Person. Howsoever it was, Marcus Cato being choicen Cenfor, and cleanfing the Senate of all unworthy Persons, he put off the same Lucius Quintius Flaminius, Catobeiag although he had been Consult : which difgrace did seem to redound to his Brother Titus Quintus Center did Flaminius also. Whereupon both the Brethren came weeping with all humility before the People, put Lucius and made a Petition that feemed very reasonable and civil : which was , that they would command Quintius Fle-Cato to come before them, to declare the cause openly, why he had with such open shame defaced minimus off the fo Noble a House as theirs was. Cato then without delay, or shrinking back, came with his com-Schate. panion into the Market-place, where he asked Titus out aloud, if he knew nothing of the Supper where fuch a Fact was committed. Titus answered, he knew not of it. Then Cato opened the whole matter as it was, and in the end of his Tale, he bad Lucius Quintins swear openly, if he would deny that he had faid was true. Lucius answered not a word. Whereupon the People judged the shame was justly laid upon him: and fo to Honour Caro, they did accompany him from the Pulpit for Orations, home unto his own House. But Titus being much offended at the difgrace of his Brother, became Enemy to Cato, and fell in with those that of long time had hated him. And so by practise he procured of the Senate, that all bargains of Leafes and all Deeds of Sales made by Cato du. T. Quinting ring his Office, were called in , and made void : and caused many Suits also to be commenced against answorthy Act him against caused many Suits also to be commenced against caused and answorthy Act him against cause

T. Q. FLAMIN IUS.

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T. Q. FLAMINIUS.

the estimation.

tius restored to his place by the People. T. Quintius ambition.

nibals death.

Titus fent Ambaffadout unto Prujias King of Bithynia. Hannibal deceived by an Oracle con-

> etannibals . death,

at Libyffa in

Bithynia.

Midas and Themistocles poyloned themselves.

Hannibals last

Look in Pyrrus Life for the Story at

him. Wherein, I cannot say he did wisely or civilly, to become mortall Enemy to an honest man, a good Citizen, and dutifull in his Office for his year, for an unworthy kiniman, who had justly deferved the shame laid upon him. Notwithstanding, shortly after when the People were Assembled in the Theatre to fee Games played, and the Senators were fet according to their cuftom, in the most Honourable places : Lucius Flaminius came in also, who in lowly and humble manner, went to fit down in the Furthest Seats of the Theatre, without regard of his former Honour: which when the People faw, they took pity of him, and could not abide to fee him thus dishonoured. So they cried out to have him come and fit among the other Senators and Confulls, who made him place, and received him accordingly. But to return again to Titms. The natural ambition and covetous greedy mind he had of Honour, was very well taken and effeemed, fo long as he had any occasion offered him to exercise it in the Wars, which we have spoken of before. For, after he had been Confull, of his own feeking he became a Colonell of a Thousand Footmen, not being called to it by any man. So when he began to ftoop for age, and that he had given over as a man at the last cast, to bear Office any longer in the State : they saw plainly he was ambitious beyond measure, to suffer himself in old age to be overcome with such youthfull violence, being far unmeet for any of his years. For methinks his ambition was the onely cause that moved him to procure Hamibals death, which bred him much difliking and ill opinion with many. For, after Hamnibal had fled out of his own Countrey, he went first unto King Antiochus: who, after he lost the Battell in PHRYGIA, was glad the ROMANS granted him Peace, with fuch conditions as themfelves would. Wherefore Hannibal fled again from him, and after he had long wandred up and down, at the length he came to the Realm of BITHYNIA, and remained there about King Prusia, the ROMANS knowing it well enough : and because Hannibal was then an old broken man, of no force nor Power, and one whom Fortune had spurned at her feet, they made no more reckoning of him. But Titus being fent Ambaffadour by the Senate, unto Prufius King of BIT HYNIA, and finding Hannibal there, it grieved him to fee him alive. So that notwithftanding Prussus marvellously intreated him, to take pity upon Hannibal a poor old man, and his friend who came to himstor succour : yet he could not persuade Titus to be content he should live. Hannibal long before had received answer of his death from an Oracle, to this effect:

The Land of Libya, shall cover under mould, The valiant corps of Hannibal, when he is dead and cold.

So Hannibal understood that of LIBYA, as if he should have died in AFRICK, and been buried HARMIDAL kept in CARTHAGE. There is a certain fandy Countrey in BITHYNIA, near to the Seas fide, where there is a little Village called LIBYSSA, and where Hannibal remained continually. He miltrufting King Prusias faint heart, and fearing the ROMANS malice also, had made seven privy Caves and vaults under ground long before, that he might fecretly go out at either of them which way he would, and every one of them came to the main vault where himself did lie, and could not be discerned outwardly. When it was told him that Titus had willed Prussas to deliver him into his hands, he fought then to fave himself by those mines; but he found that all the vents out, had Watch and Ward upon them by the Kings commandment. So then he determined to kill himself. Now some say, the he wound a Linnen Towell hard about his neck, and commanded one of his men he should fet his knee upon his buttock, and weighing hard upon him, holding the Towell fast, he should pull his neck backward with all the power and strength he could, and never leave pressing on him, till he had strangled him. Others say that he drank Bulls bloud, as Midas and Themissoles had done before him. But Titus Livius writeth, that he had Poylon which he kept for surpose, and tempered it in a Cup he held in his hands, and before he drank he spake these words : Come on, let us deliver the ROMANS of this great care, fith my life is fo grievous unto them, that they think it too long to tarry the natural death of a poor old man, whom they hate to much: and yet Titm by this shall win no honourable Victory, nor worthy the memory of the ancient ROMANS, who advertised King Pyrrm their Enemy, even when he had Wars with them, and had won Battells of them, that he should beware of poyloning which was intended towards him. And this was Hannibals end, as we find it written. The News whereof being come to ROME unto the Senate, many of them thought Titus too violent and cruell, to have made Hannibal kill himfelf in that fort, when extremity of age had overcome him already, and was as a Bird left naked, her Feathers falling from her for age : and fo much the more, because there was no instant occasion offered him to urge him to do it, but a coverous mind of Honour, for that he would be Chronicled to be the cause and Authour of Hannibals death. And then in contrariwise they did much Scipio African Honour and commend the clemency and Noble mind of Scipio African: who having overcome clemency com- Hannibal in Battell, in AFRICK felf, being then indeed to be feared, and had been never overcome before : yet he did not cause him to be driven out of his Countrey, neither did ask him of the CARTHAGINIANS, but both then, and before the Battell, when he parlied with him of Peace, he took Hannibal courteoully by the hand, and after the Battell, in the conditions of Peace he gave them, henever spake word of hurt to Hamnibals Person, neither did he shew any cruelty to him in his milery. And they tell how afterwards they met again together in the City of EPHESUS, and as they were walking, that Hannibal took the upper hand of Scipio : and that Scipio bare it patiently, and left not off walking for that, neither shewed countenance of misliking. And in entering into discourse of many matters, they descended in the end to talk of ancient Captains; and Supple Aprican Hannibal gave judgement, that Alexander the Great was the famoulest Captain, Pyrrus the se-

cond, and himfelf the third. Then Scipio smiling, gently asked him : What wouldst thou say then, Hannibals if I had not overcome thee? Truly, quoth Hannibal, I would not then put my felf the third man, judgement of but the first, and above all the Captains that ever were. So divers greatly commending the Captains. goodly fayings and deeds of Scipio, did marvellously millike Titus, for that he had (as a man may fay) laid his hands upon the death of another man. Other to the contrary again (aid, it was well done of him, faying, that Hannibal fo long as he lived, was a fire to the Empire of the ROMANS, which lacked but one to blow it: and that when he was in his best force and lufty age, it was not his hand nor body that troubled the ROMANS fo much, but his great wisdom, and skill he had in the Wars, and the mortall hate he bare in his heart towards the ROMANS, which neither years, nor age would diminish or take away. For mens naturall conditions do remain fill, but Fortune doth not alwaics keep, in a state, but changeth still, and then quickneth up our defires to fet willingly upon those that War against us, because they hate us in their hearts. The things which fell out afterwards, did greatly prove the reasons brought out for this purpose, in discharge of Titus. For one Aristonicus, Son of the Daughter of Aristonicus. a plaier upon the Cithern , under the fame and glory of Eumenes , whose bastard he was , filled all ASIA with War and rebellion, by reason the People rose in his favour. Again Mithridates, after fo many loffes he had received against Sylla and Fimbria; and after fo many Armies overthrown by Minbridates. Battell and Wars, and after so many famous Captains loft and killed : did yet recover again, and came to be of Power both by Sea and Land against Lucullus. Truly Hannibal was no lower brought then Caius Marius had been : for he had a King to his friend that gave entertainment to him and his family, and made him Admirall of his Ships, and Generall of his Horsemen and Footmen in the Field, Marius also went up and down Africk a begging for his living, insomuch as his Enemies at ROME Marius. laughed him to scorn : and soon after notwithstanding they fell down at his seet before him, when they faw they were whipped, murthered, and slain within ROME by his commandment. Thus we fee no man can fay certainly he is mean or great, by reason of the uncertainty of things to come : confidering there is but one death, and change of better Life. Some fay also, that Titus did not this Act alone, Tobe mean and of his own Authority, but that he was fent Ambaffadour with Lucius Scipio to no other end, or great in but to put Hannibal to death, by what means soever they could. Furthermore after this Ambassade, this Life is we do not find any notable thing written of Titus worthy of memory, neither in Peace, nor in Wars, nothing: but for he died quietly of a nanurall death at home in his Countrey.

The end of the Life of T. Q. FLAMINIUS.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF TITUS QUINTIUS FLAMINIUS, with PHILOPOEMEN.



T. Quintins benefits unto Grecce.



T is time now we come to compare them together. Therefore as touching the great benefits that came to the GRECIANS, neither Philopamen, nor all the other former Captains are to be compared with Titus. For all the ancient Captains almost being GRECIANS, made Wars with other GRECIANS: but Titm being a ROMAN, and no GRECIAN, made Wars for the liberty of GREECE. When Philopamen was not able to help his poor Citizens diffressed fore and vexed with Wars, he failed away into GRETA. Titus having overcome Philip King of Ma-CEDON in Battell, did reftore again to liberty all the People and Cities of the fame, which were kept before in bondage. And if any will narrow-ly examine the Battells of either party, they shall find that Philopamen being Generall of the ACHAI-

ANS, made more GRECIANS to be flain, then Titus did of the Macedonians, fighting with them for the liberty of the GRECIANS. And for their imperfections, the one of them was ambitious, the other was as obstinate: the one was quick and suddenly angred, the other was very hard to be pacified. Titus left King Philip his Realmand Crown after he had overcome him, and used great elemency towards the ÆTOLIANS: where Philopamen for spire and malice, took Towns and Villages from his own native Countrey and City wherein he was born, that had alwaies payed them tribute to the property of the country and the country an bute. Furthermore, Tirm continued a found friend to them, to whom he had once professed friendthip, and done pleasure unto: and Philopamen in a gear and anger, was ready to take away that he had given, and to overthrow the pleafure and good turn he had thewed. For Philopamen when he had done the LACEDEMONIANS great pleasure, did afterwards raze the Walls of their City, and fpoiled and destroyed all their Countrey: and lastly, overthrew their whole Government. It seemthe that of the second and the secon we look into the number of Battells, and Victories: The War which Titus made against Philip was ended with two Battells : whereas Philopamen in infinite Battells in which he had the better, never left it doubtfull, but that his skill did ever help him more to the Victory, then the good Fortune he had Moreover, Tirm wan Honour by means of the Power of Rome, when it flourished most, and was in best prosperity: Philopamen made himself, famous by his deeds, when GREECE began to stoop and fall altogether. So that the deeds of the one, were common to all the ROMANS: and the deeds of the other, were private to himself alone. For Titus was Generall over good and valiant Souldiers, that were already trained to his hand: and Philopamen being chosen Generall, did train his men himself, and made them afterwards very expert and Valiant, that were but mean and green Souldiers before. And whereas Philopamen had continuall Wars with the GRECIANS, it was not for any good Fortune he had, but that it made a certain proof of his valiantness. For where all other things are answerable to his, there we must judge that such as overcome, have the most courage. Now Philopamen making Wars with the most Warlike Nations of all GREECE, (as the CRETANS, and the LACEDE-MONIANS) did overcome the subtellest of them, by fineness and policy: and the most valiant by prowers and hardiness. Eut Titue overcame, by putting that onely in practife, which was already dy found and stablished: as the discipline of Wars, and order of Battell, in the which his Souldiers had long before been trained. Whereas Philopamen brought into his Countrey, both the one and the other,

Philopemens milice.

> Titus Quintius wiser then Philopamen.

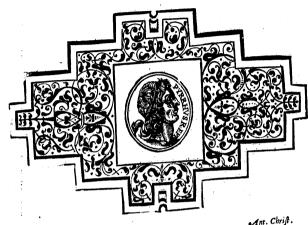
> > Quintius commanded good Philopæmen made good Souldiers.

T. Q. Flaminius and Philopamen.

and altered all the order which before they were accustomed unto. So that the chiefest point how to win a battle, was found out anew, and brought in by the one, into a place where it was never before: and onely employed by the other, which had very good skill to use it, and had found it out already before. Again, touching the valiant acts done in the person of themselves, many notable acts may be told of Philopamen, but none of Titus; but rather to the contrary. For there was one Arche damus an ETOLIAN, who flouting Titus one day, faid in his reproach: that at a day of battle, when Philopamen ran with his fword in his hand, to that fide where he faw the MACEDONIANS fighting and making head against the Enemy, Titus held up his hands unto heaven, and was busie at his prayers to the gods, not firring one foot, when it was more time to handle the fword, and to fight of all hands. All the goodly deeds Tiens ever did, twere done always as a Conful, or Lieutenant, or Magistrate: multipor be as whereas Philopamen shewed himself unto the ACHAIANS, a man no less valiant and of execution, his prayers being out of Office, then when he was a General. For when he was a General, he did drive Nabis the when he should Tyrant of the LACEDEMONIANS out of MESSINA, and delivered the MESSINIANS out of bon- occupy his dage: and being a private man, he shur the Gates of the City of SPARTA, in the face of Diophanes (General of the ACHAIANS) and of Tiens Quintins Flaminius, and kept them both from coming in, and thereby faved the City from facking. Thus being born to command, he knew not onely how to command according to the Law, but could command the Law it felf upon necessity, and when the Commonwealth required it. For at fuch a time he would not tarry while the Magistrates which should govern him, did give him authority to command, but he took it of himself, and used them when the time served : esteeming, that he which knew better then they what was to be done, was more truly their General, then he whom they had chosen. And therefore they do well, that do commend Titus Acts, Quinting clefor his clemency and courteste used to the GRECIANS: but much more the Noble and Valiant Acts mency to the of Philopamen unto the ROMANS. For it is much easter to pleasure and gratisfie the weak, then it is Grecians. to hurt and refift the firong. Therefore fithence we have throughly examined and compared the one love tothe Rewith the other, it is very hard to judge altogether the difference that is between them. Peradventure therefore the judgment would not feem very ill, if we do give the GRECIAN for Discipline of War, the preheminence and praise of a good Captain : and to the ROMAN for Justice and Clemency, the Name and Dignity of a most Just and Courteous Gentleman,

THE

THE LIFE OF



Anno Mundi. 3662.

Ant. Christ. 286.

Pyrrus kindred, and beginning of the Kingdom of Evirus.

Pyrrus, red.

T is written, that fince Noahs floud, the first King of the THES PROTIANS, and of the Molossians, was Phaeton, one of those who came with Pelasgus into the Realm of EPIRUS. But some say otherwise, that Deucation, and his Wife Pyrra remained there, aiter they had built and founded the Temple of Dodone, in the Countrey of the MOLOSSIANS. But howfoever it was, a great while after that, Neoprolemus the Son of Achilles, bringing thither a great number of people with him, conquered the Conntrey, and after him left a Succession of Kings, which were called after his name, the PYRRIDES : because that from

his infancy he was furnamed Pyrrus, as much to fay, as red; and one of his legitimate Sons whom he had by Lanaffa, the Daughter of Cleodes the Son of Hillus, was also named by him Pyrrus. And this is the cause why Achilles is honoured as a god in Epirus, being called in their language, Aspetos, that is to fay, mighty, or very great. But from the first Kings of that race until the time of Tharryta, there is no memory nor mention made of them: nor of their Power that Raigned in the mean time, because they all became very Barbarous, and utterly void of civility. Tharrysas was indeed the first that beautified the Cities of his Countrey with the GRECIAN tongue, brought in civil Laws and Customs, and made his name famous to the posterity that followed. This Tharrytas left a Son called Alceras; of Alceras came Arymbas, of Arymbas and Troiade his Wife came Aacides, who married Phithia the Daughter of Menon THESSALIAN, a famous man in the time of the wars, furnamed La-MILAN, and one that had far greater authority than any other of the Confederates, after Leofthens. . This Actides had two Daughters by his Wite Phithia, to fay, Deidamea and Troiade, and one Son called Pyrrus. In his time the MOLOSSIANS rebelled, drave him out of his Kingdom, and put the Crown into the hands of the Sons of Neoptolemus. Whereupon all the friends of Aucides that could be taken, were generally murthered and flain outright. Androclides and Angelus in the mean time fole away Pyrrus, being but a fucking babe, (whom his enemies nevertheless eagerly fought for to have de-How Pyrras Arroyed) and fled away with him as fast as possible they might, with few fervants, his Nurses and neceffary women only to look to the Child and give it fuck: by reason whereof their flight was much himdred, fo as they could go no great journeys, but that they might eafily be overtaken by them that followed. Tor which cause they put the child into the hands of Androction, Hippins, and Neander, three hifty young men whom they trufted with him, and commanded them to run for life to a certain City Magnet a Ci- of Macedon, called Megares, and they themselves in the mean time, partly by entreaty, and partty of Macelon. 1y by force made flay of those that followed them till night. So as with much ado having driven them back, they ran after them that carried the child Pyrru, whom they overtook at Sun-fet. And now, weening they had been fafe, and out of all danger, they found it clean contrary. For

was faved.

when they came to the River under the Town Walls of MEGARES, they faw it so rough and fwift, that it made them afraid to behold it; and when they gaged the foord, they found it unpoffible to wade through, it was so high rifen and troubled with the fall of the rain, besides that the darkness of the night made every thing seem fearfull unto them. So as they now that carried the Child, thought it not good to venture the paffage over of themselves alone, with the women that tended the child: but hearing certain Countrey men on the other fide, they prayed and befought them in the name of the gods, that they would help them to pals over the Child, shewing Pyrrus unto them afar off. But the Countrey men by reason of the roaring of the River understood them not. Thus they continued a long space, the one crying, the other listning, yet could they not understand one another, till at the last one of the Company bethought himself to pill off the Bark of an Oak, and upon that he wrought with the tongue of a buckle, the hard fortune and necessity of the Child. Which he tied to a stone to give it weight, and so threw it over to the other fide of the River: other fay, that he did prick the Bark through with the point of a dart which he cast over. The Countrey men on the other side of the River, having read what was written, and understanding thereby the present danger the Child was in : felled down trees in all the hast they could possible, bound them together and so passed over the River. And it fortuned that the first man of them that passed over, and took the Child, was called Achilles: the refidue of the Countrey men passed over also, and took the other that came with the Child, and conveyed them over as they came first to hand. And thus having escaped their hands, by easie journeys they came at the length unto Glaucias King of ILLYRIA, whom they found in his houle fit- Glaucias King ting by his Wife: and laid down the (hild in the middeft of the floor before him. The King of Illyria. hereupon stayed a long time without uttering any one word, weighing with himself what was best to be done: because of the fear he had of Cassander, a mortal Enemy of Aacides. In the mean time, the Child Pyrrus creeping of all four, took hold of the Kings Gown, and scrawled up by that, and fo got up on his feet against the Kings knees. At the first, the King laughed to see the Child : but after it pitied him again, because the Child seemed like an humble suter that came to feek fanctuary in his Arms. Others fay, that Pyrrus came not to Glaucias, but unto the Altar of the familiar gods, alongst the which he got up on his feet, and embraced it with both his hands, Which Glaucias imagining to be done by gods providence, prefently delivered the Child to his Wife, gave her the charge of him, and willed her to fee him brought up with his own. Shortly after, his Enemies sent to demand the Child of him: and moreover, Cassander caused two hundred talents to be offered him, to deliver the Child Pyrrus into his hands. Howbeit Glaucias would never grant thereunto, but contrarily, when Pyrrus was come to twelve years old, he brought him into his Countrey of Epirus with an Army, and stablished him King of the Realm again: Pyrru had a great Majesty in his countenance, but yet indeed more fearfull then triendly. He had also no Teeth in his upper Jaw that stood distinctly one from another, but one whole bone Pyrrus counter throughout his Gum, marked a little at the top onely, with certain rifts in the place where the Teeth should be divided. Men held opinion also, that he did heal them that were sick of the Prerus healed Spleen, by facrificing a white Cock, and touching the place of the Spleen on the left fide of them that were that were fick, foftly with his right foot, they lying on their backs: and there was not fo poor fick of the nor simple a man that craved this remedy of him, but he gave it him, and took the Cock he sa- Spleen. crificed, for reward of the remedy, which pleased him very well. They say also, that the great toe of his right foot had fome fecret vertue in it. For when he was dead, and that they burnt his body, all the reft being confumed to ashes, his great toe was whole, and had no hurt at all: but of The fire could that, we will write more hereafter. Now, when he was seventeen years of age, thinking him-not burn Pyrfelf fure enough of his Kingdom, it chanced him to make a journey into ILLYRIA, where he rus great toc. married one of Glaucias Daughters, with whom he had been brought up. But his back was no sooner turned, but the MOLOSSIANS rebelled again against him, and drave out his friends and Pyrrus Resim fervants, and destroyed all his goods, and yielded themselves unto his adversary Neoptolemus. taken from him King Pyrrm having thus loft his Kingdome, and feeing himself for faken on all fides, went to D_e -in his absence. metrius (Antigonus Son) that had married his Sifter Deidamia, who in her young age was affured to Alexander the Son of Alexander the Great, and of Roxane, and was called his Wife. But when all that race was brought to wicked end, Demetrius then married her, being come to full and able age. And in that great battle which was stricken near to the City of HIPsus, where all the Kings fought together, Pyrrus being then but a young man, and with Demetrius, put them all to flight that fought with him, and was worthily reputed for the valiantest Prince amongst them Pyrrasvaliantall. Furthermore, when Demetrius was overcome, and had loft the battle, Pyrrus never for look ness at the bathim, but faithfully did keep for him the Cities of Greece, which he put into his hands. And the of Hisfat. afterwards when Peace was concluded betwixt Demetrius and Ptolomy, Pyrrus was fent an Hostage for Demetrius into the Realm of EGYPT : where he made Ptolomy know (both in Hunting and in other exercises of his person) that he was very strong, hard, and able to endure any labour. Furthermore perceiving that Berenice amongst all King Ptolomy's Wives, was best beloved and esteemed of her husband, both for her Vertue and Wisdom, he began to entertain and honour her above all the reft. For he was a man that could tell how to humble himfelf towards the great (by whom he might win benefit) and knew also how to creep into their credit: and in like manner was he a great fcorner and despifer of such as were his inferiours. Moreover,

for that he was found marvellous honourable and of fair condition, he was preferred before all other

Pyrrus restored to his kingdom again.

young Princes, to be the Husband of Antigona, the Daughter of Queen Berenice, whom she had Pyrms married by Philip, before she was married unto Prolomy. From thenceforth growing through the alliance of ryrrammetricu that marriage, more and more in estimation and favour by means of his Wise Antigona, who shewthe Daughter ed her felt very vertuous and loving towards him : he found means in the end, to get both men and of Philip King money to return again into the Realm of Epirus, and to conquer it: fo was be then very well or Micedan, and of his wife received of the people, and the better, for the malice they bare to Neoprolemus, because he dealt both hardly and cruelly with them. That notwithstanding, Pyrrus tearing lest Neoprolemus would repair unto fome of the other Kings, to feek aid against him, thought good to make peace with him. Whereupon it was agreed between them, that they should both together be Kings of Epirus. But in process of time, some of their men secretly made strife again between them, and set them at defiance one with another: and the chiefest cause as it is said, that angred Pyrrus most, grew upon this; of Epirar with the Kings of Epirars had an ancient custom of great antiquity, after they had made solemn sacrifice unto Inpiter Martiall, in a certain place in the Province of MOLOSSIDE (called PASSARON) to take their Oath, and to be sworn to the EPIROTS, that they would reign well and justly, according to the Laws and Ordinances of the Countrey; and to receive the Subjects Oaths interchangeably also, that they should defend and maintain them in their Kingdom, according to the Laws in like manner. This Ceremony was done in the prefence of both the Kings, and they with their friends did both give and receive Presents each of other. At this meeting and solemnity, among other, one Gelon a most faithfull servant and assured friend unto Neoprolemus, who besides great thews of friendship and honour he did unto Pyrrus, gave him two pair of draught Oxen, which one Myrillus a Cup-bearer of Pyrrus being present, and seeing did crave of his Master. But Pyrrus denyed to give them unto him, whereat Myrilus was very angry. Gelon perceiving that Myrtilus was angry, prayed him to fup withhim that night. Now fome fay, he fought to abuse Myrtilus, becaule he was fair and young: and began to perswade him after supper to take part with Neoprolemus, and poylon Pyrrus. Myrilus made as though he was willing to give ear to this periwation, and to be well pleafed withall. But in the mean time, he went and told his matter of it, by whose commandment he made Alexicrates, Pyrius chief Cup-bearer, to talk with Gelon about this practife, as though he had also given his consent to it, and was willing to be partaker of the enterprize. This did Pyrrus to have two Witnesses, to prove the pretended poyloning of him. Thus Gelon being finely deceived, and Neoprolemus also with him, both imagining they had cunningly foun the thread of their treason: Neoptolemus was so glad of it, that he could not keep it himself, but told it to certain of his friends. And on a time going to be merry with his Sister, he could not keep it in, but must be pratling of it to her, supposing no body had heard him but her felf, because there was no living creature near them, faving Phænareta, Samons wife, the Kings chief heardman of all his beafts, and yet the was laid upon a little bed by, and turned towards the wall: fo that the feemed as though the had flept. But having heard all their talk, and no body miltrufting her: the next morning she went to Antigona King Pyrrus wife, and told her every word what she had heard Neoptolemus say to his Sister. Pyrrus hearing this, made no countenance of any thing at that time: but having made facrifice unto the gods, he bad Neoprolemus to supper to his houle, where he flew him, being well informed before of the good will the chiefest men of the Realm did bear him, who wifhed him to dispatch Neoprolemus, and not to content himself with a piece of EPIRUS onely, but to follow his natural inclination, being born to great things: and for this cause, this suspection also falling out in the mean while, he prevented Neoptolemus and flew him first. And surthermore, remembring the pleasures he had received of Ptolomy and Berenice, he named his first Son by his Wife Antigona, Prolomy, and having built a City in the PRES-Berenicile, a QUE, an Isle of EPIRUS, did name it BERENICIDA. When he had done that, imagining City of Epirus great matters in his head, but more in his hope, he first determined with himself how to win that which lay nearest unto him: and so took occasion by this means, first to set foot into the Empire of Macedon. The eldeft Son of Cassander, called Anipater, put his own Mother The falonica to death, and drave his Brother Alexander out of his own Countrey, who fent to Demetrius for help, and called in Pyrrus also to his aid. Demetrius being troubled with other maters could not fo quickly go thither. And Pyrrus being arrived there, demanded for his charge fultained, the City of NYMPHEA, with all the Sea coafts of MACEDON: and befides all that, certain Lands also that were not belonging to the ancient Crown and Revenues of the Kings of Ma-CEDON, but were added unto it by force of Arms, as Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia. All thele, the young King Alexander leaving unto him, he took possession thereof, and put good Garrifons into the same in his own name; and conquering the rest of MACEDON in the name of Mexander, put his Brother Antipater to great diffres. In the mean time King Lysimachus lacking no good will to help Antipater with his force, but being busied in other matters, had not the mean to do it. Howbeit knowing very well that Pyrrus in acknowledging the great pleasures he had received of Ptolomy, would deny him nothing: he determined to write counterfeit Letters to him in Ptolomy's name, and thereby instantly to pray and require him to leave off the Wars begun King Lifima- against Antipater, and to take of him towards the defraying of his charges, the sum of three hunconstructed dred Talents. Pyrrus opening the Letters, knew straight that this was but a fetch and device of Lysimachus. For King Prolomy's common manner of greeting of him, which he used at the beginning of his Letters, was not in them observed : To my Son Pyrrus, health. But in those counterfeit was,

King Ptolony, unto King Pyrus health. Whereupon he presently pronounced Lysimachus for a naughty man: nevertheless, afterwards he made Peace with Antipater, and they met together at a day appointed, to be sworn upon the Sacrifices unto the Articles of peace. There were three beafts brought to be facrificed, a Goat, a Bull, and a Ram: of the which, the Ram fell down dead of himlelf before he was touched, whereat all the standers by fell a laughing. But there was Theodotus a Soothfayer, one Theodotus, that perswaded Pyrrus not to swear: saying that this sign and to judgement, a ken of the gods did threaten one of the three Kings with sudden death. For which cause Pyrrus Soothsayer. concluded no peace. Now Alexanders Wars being ended, Demetrius notwithstanding came to him, knowing well enough at his coming that Alexander had no more need of his aid, and that he did it onely but to fear him. They had not been many days together, but the one began to mistrust the other, and to spy all the ways they could to intrap each other; but Demerrius embracing the first occasion offered, prevented Alexander, and slew him being a young man, and proclaimed himself King of MACEDON in his room. Now Demetrius had certain quarrels Pyrrus quarrel before against Pyrrus, because he had over-run the Country of THESSALY : and furthermore, and war with greedy covetousness to have the more (which is a common vice with Princes and Noble men) Demetrius. made, that being so near neighbours, the one stood in sear and mistrust of the other, and yet much more after the death of Deidamia. But now that they both occupied all MACEDON between them, and were to make division of one self Kingdom: now I say began the matter and occasion of quarrel to grow the greater between them. 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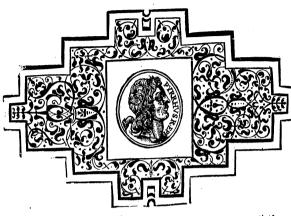
Neoptolemus.

in the Ifle of Prefque.

Macedon.

PYRRVS.

THE LIFE OF PYRRU



Anno Mundi.

Ant. Christ.

Pyrrus kindred, and beginning of the Kingdom of Epirus.

T is written, that fince Noahs floud, the first King of the THES PROTIANS, and of the Molossians, was Phaeton, one of those who came with Pelafgus into the Realm of Epirus. But fome fay otherwise, that Deucalion, and his Wife Pyrra remained there, after they had built and founded the Temple of Dodone, in the Countrey of the MOLDSSIANS. But howfoever it was, a great while after that, Neoptolemus the Son of Achilles, bringing thither a great number of people with him, conquered the Conntrey, and after him left a Succession of Kings, which were called after his name, the PYRRIDES: because that from

Pyrrus, red.

his infancy he was furnamed Pyrrus, as much to fay, as red : and one of his legitimate Sons whom he had by Lanassa, the Daughter of Cleodes the Son of Hillus, was also named by him Pyrrus. And this is the cause why Achilles is honoured as a god in Epirus, being called in their language, Aspetos, that is to fay, mighty, or very great. But from the first Kings of that race until the time of Tharry us, there is no memory nor mention made of them: nor of their Power that Raigned in the mean time, because they all became very Barbarous, and utterly void of civility. Tharry as was indeed the first that beautified the Cities of his Countrey with the GRECIAN tongue, brought in civil Laws and Cuftoms, and made his name famous to the posterity that followed. This Tharrytas left a Son called Alectus; of Alectus came Arymbus, of Arymbus and Troinde his Wife came Ancides, who married Phithia the Daughter of Menon THESSALIAN, a famous man in the time of the wars, furnamed LA-MIAN, and one that had far greater authority than any other of the Confederates, after Leofthens. This Lucides had two Daughters by his Wire Phithia, to fay, Deidamea and Troiade, and one Son called Fyrrus. In his time the MOLOSSIANS rebelled, drave him out of his Kingdom, and put the Crown into the hands of the Sons of Neoprolemus. Whereupon all the friends of Aucides that could be taken, were generally murthered and flain ourright. Androclides and Angelus in the mean time flole away Pyrrus, being but a fucking babe, (whom his enemies nevertheles eagerly fought for to have detion 1) train troyed) and fled away with him as fast as possible they might, with few servants, his Nurses and necellary women only to look to the Child and give it fuck: by reason whereof their flight was much hindred, to as they could go no great journeys, but that they might eafily be overtaken by them that followcd. For which cause they put the child into the hands of Androction, Hippias, and Neander, three lastry young men whom they trufted with him, and commanded them to run for life to a certain City EGGING & CI- of MACEDON, Called MEGARES, and they themselves in the mean time, parely by entreaty, and partto of Macelon. It by force made flay of those that followed them till night. So as with much ado having driven them back, they can after them that carried the child Pyrru; whose they overtook, at Sun-fet. And now, weening they had been fife, and our of all danger, that found it clean contrary. For

when they came to the River under the Town Walls of MEGARES, they faw it fo rough and fwift, that it made them afraid to behold it; and when they gaged the foord, they found it unpossible to wade through, it was so high rifen and troubled with the fall of the rain, besides that the darkness of the night made every thing seem searfull unto them. So as they now that carried the Child, thought it not good to venture the paffage over of themselves alone, with the women that tended the child: but hearing certain Countrey men on the other fide, they prayed and befought them in the name of the gods, that they would help them to pals over the Child, shewing Pyrrus unto them afar off. But the Countrey menby reason of the roaring of the River. understood them not. Thus they continued a long space, the one crying, the other listning, yet could they not understand one another, till at the last one of the Company bethought hunself to pill off the Bark of an Oak, and upon that he wrought with the tongue of a buckle, the hard fortune and necessity of the Child. Which he tied to a stone to give it weight, and so threw it over to the other fide of the River: other fay, that he did prick the Bark through with the point of a dart which he cast over. The Countrey men on the other side of the River, having read what was written, and understanding thereby the present danger the (hild was in : felled down trees in all the hast they could possible, bound them together and so passed over the River. And it fortuned that the first man of them that passed over, and took the Child, was called Achilles; the refidue of the Countrey men passed over also, and took the other that came with the Child, and conveved them over as they came first to hand. And thus having escaped their hands, by easie journeys they came at the length unto Glaucias King of ILLYRIA, whom they found in his house fit- Glaucias King ting by his Wife: and laid down the (hild in the middeft of the floor before him. The King of Illyria. hereupon stayed a long time without uttering any one word, weighing with himself what was best to be done: because of the sear he had of Cassander, a mortal Enemy of Aacides. In the mean time, the Child Pyrrus creeping of all four, took hold of the Kings Gown, and scrawled up by that, and so got up on his feet against the Kings knees. At the first, the King laughed to see the Child: but after it pitied him again, because the Child seemed like an humble suter that came to feek fanctuary in his Arms. Others fay, that Pyrrus came not to Glaucias, but unto the Altar of the familiar gods, alongst the which he got up on his feet, and embraced it with both his hands, Which Glaucias imagining to be done by gods providence, prefently delivered the Child to his Wife, gave her the charge of him, and willed her to fee him brought up with his own. Shortly after, his Enemies sent to demand the Child of him : and moreover, Cassander caused two hundred talents to be offered him, to deliver the Child Pyrrus into his hands. Howbeit Glancias would never grant thereunto, but contrarily, when Pyrrus was come to twelve years old, he brought him into his Countrey of Epirus with an Army, and stablished him King of the Realm again: Pyrrus had a great Majesty in his countenance, but yet indeed more fearfull then friendly. He had also no Teeth in his upper Jaw that stood distinctly one from another, but one whole bone Pyrras countethroughout his Gum, marked a little at the top onely, with certain rifts in the place where the nance and teeth Teeth should be divided. Men held opinion also, that he did heal them that were fick of the Pyrnu healed Spleen, by facrificing a white Cock, and touching the place of the Spleen on the left fide of them them that were that were fick, foftly with his right foot, they lying on their backs: and there was not so poor fick of the nor simple a man that craved this remedy of him, but he gave it him, and took the Cock he sa- Spleen. crificed, for reward of the remedy, which pleafed him very well. They fay also, that the great toe of his right foot had some secret vertue in it. For when he was dead, and that they burnt his body, all the reft being confumed to affees, his great toe was whole, and had no hurr at all: but of The fire could that, we will write more hereafter. Now, when he was feventeen years of age, thinking him-not burn Pyr-felf fure enough of his Kingdom, it chanced him to make a journey into ILLYRIA, where he rargrest toc. married one of Glaucias Daughters, with whom he had been brought up. But his back was no fooner turned, but the Molossians rebelled again against him, and drave out his friends and Pyrrus Resim fervants, and destroyed all his goods, and yielded themselves unto his adversary Neoptolemus, taken from him King Pyrrus having thus loft his Kingdome, and feeing himfelf for faken on all fides, went to D_e in his abtence. metrius (Antigonus Son) that had married his Sifter Deidamia, who in her young age was affired to Alexander the Son of Alexander the Great, and of Roxane, and was called his Wife. But when all that race was brought to wicked end, Demetrius then married her, being come to full and able age. And in that great battle which was stricken near to the City of HIPsus, where all the Kings fought together, Pyrru being then but a young man, and with Demetrius, put them all to flight that fought with him, and was worthily reputed for the valiantest Prince amongst them Pyrrus valiantall. Furthermore, when Demetrius was overcome, and had loft the battle, Pyrrus never for fook nels at the bathim, but faithfully did keep for him the Cities of GREECE, which he put into his hands. And the of Higher. afterwards when Peace was concluded betwixt Demetrius and Itolomy, Pyrrus was sent an Hoflage for Demetring into the Realm of EGYPT : where he made Prolomy know (both in Hunting and in other exercises of his person) that he was very strong, hard, and able to endure any labour. Furthermore perceiving that Berenice amongst all King Ptolomy's Wives, was best beloved and esteemed of her husband, both for her Vertue and Wisdom, he began to entertain and honour her above all the reft. For he was a man that could tell how to humble himself towards the great (by whom he might win benefit) and knew also how to creep into their credit: and in like manner was he a great fcorner and despifer of such as were his inferiours. Moreover, for that he was found marvellous honourable and of fair condition, he was preierred before all other

Berenice. Pyrrue reftored to his king. dom again. Pyrrus aivid-

young Princes, to be the Husband of Antigona, the Daughter of Queen Berenice, whom she had Pyrms matried by Philip, before the was married unto Prolomy. From thenceforth growing through the alliance of to Antigona that marriage, more and more in estimation and favour by means of his Wife Antigona, who shewthe Daughter ed her felf very vertuous and loving towards him : he found means in the end, to get both men and of Philip King money to return again into the Realm of Epikus, and to conquer it: fo was bethen very well and of his wife received of the people, and the better, for the malice they bare to Neoptolemus, because he dealer both hardly and cruelly with them. That notwithstanding, Pyrrus searing lest Neoptolemus would repair unto some of the other Kings, to seek aid against him, thought good to make peace with him. Whereupon it was agreed between them, that they should both together be Kings of Epirus. But in process of time, some of their men secretly made strife again between them, and set them at deryrrus auvio-eth the Realm fiance one with another: and the chiefest cause as it is said, that angred Pyrrus most, grew upon this: of Epirus with the Kings of Epirus had an ancient cultom of great antiquity, after they had made folemn facri-Neoptolemut. fice unto Jupiter Martiall, in a certain place in the Province of MOLOSSIDE (called PASSARON) to take their Oath, and to be sworn to the EPIROTS, that they would reign well and justly, according to the Laws and Ordinances of the Countrey: and to receive the Subjects Oaths interchangeably also, that they should defend and maintain them in their Kingdom, according to the Laws in like manner. This Ceremony was done in the presence of both the Kings, and they with their friends did both give and receive Presents each of other. At this meeting and solemnity, among other, one Gelon a most faithfull servant and assured friend unto Neoptolemus, who besides great thews of friendship and honour he did unto Pyrrus, gave him two pair of draught Oxen, which one Myrilus a Cup-bearer of Pyrrus being present, and seeing did crave of his Master. But Pyrrus denyed to give them unto him, whereat Myrtilus was very angry. Gelon perceiving that Myrtilus was angry, prayed him to sup with him that night. Now some say, he sought to abuse Myrtilus, because he was fair and young: and began to perswade him after supper to take part with Neoptolemus, and poylon Pyrrus. Myrtilus made as though he was willing to give ear to this periwation, and to be well pleafed withall. But in the mean time, he went and told his mafter of it, by whose commandment he made Alexicrates, Pyrrus chief Cup-bearer, to talk with Gelon about this practife, as though he had also given his consent to it, and was willing to be partaker of the enterprize. This did Pyrrus to have two Witneffes, to prove the pretended poyloning of him. Thus Gelon being finely deceived, and Neoptolemus also with him, both imagining they had cunningly spun the thread of their treason: Neoptolemus was so glad of it, that he could not keep it himself, but told it to certain of his friends. And on a time going to be merry with his Sister, he could not keep it in, but must be pratting of it to her, supposing no body had heard him but her felf, because there was no living creature near them, saving Phoenareta, Samons wife, the Kings chief heardman of all his beafts, and yet she was laid upon a little bed by, and turned towards the wall: fo that she seemed as though she had slept. But having heard all their talk, and no body mistrusting her: the next morning she went to Antigona King Pyrrus wife, and told her every word what she had heard Neoptolemus say to his Sister. Pyrrus hearing this, made no countenance of any thing at that time: but having made facrifice unto the gods, he bad Neoptolemus to supper to his house, where he slew him, being well informed before of the good will the chiefest men of the Realm did bear him, who wished him to dispatch Neoptolemus, and not to content himself with a piece of EPIRUS onely, but to follow his natural inclination, being born to great things: and for this cause, this suspition also falling out in the mean while, he prevented Neoptolemus and llew him first. And furthermore, remembring the pleasures he had received of Ptolomy and Berenice, he named his first Son by his Wife Antigona, Ptolomy, and having built a City in the PRES-Ecrenicilia, a Que, an Isle of Epirus, did name it Berenicida. When he had done that, imagining City of Epiras great matters in his head, but more in his hope, he first determined with himself how to win that which lay nearest unto him: and so took occasion by this means, first to set foot into the Empire of MACEDON. The eldest Son of Cassander, called Antipater, put his own Mother The flutonica to death, and drave his Brother Alexander out of his own Countrey, who fent to Demetrius for help, and called in Pyrrus also to his aid. Demetrius being troubled with other matters could not fo quickly go thither. And Pyrrus being arrived there, demanded for his charge fustained, the City of NYMPHEA, with all the Sea coasts of MACEDON: and besides all that, certain Lands also that were not belonging to the ancient Crown and Revenues of the Kings of MA-CEDON, but were added unto it by force of Arms, as Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia. All these, the young King Alexander leaving unto him, he took possession thereof, and put good Garrisons into the same in his own name: and conquering the rest of MACEDON in the name of Alexander, put his Brother Antipater to great diffress. In the mean time King Lysimachus lacking no good will to help Antipater with his force, but being busied in other matters, had not the mean to do it. Howbeit knowing very well that Pyrrus in acknowledging the great pleafures he had received of Ptolony, would deny him nothing: he determined to write counterfeit Letters to him in Ptolomy's name, and thereby instantly to pray and require him to leave off the Wars begun against Antipater, and to take of him towards the defraying of his charges, the sum of three hunchus craft to de dred Talents. Pyrrus opening the Letters, knew straight that this was but a fetch and device of Lystmachus. For King Prolomy's common manner of greeting of him, which he used at the beginning of his Letters, was not in them observed: To my Son Pyrrus, health. But in those counterfeit was,

in the tile of Prefque.

Pyrrus firft

ceive Pyrrus.

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may be repaid again unto the heirs of the lender: but yet it grieveth an honest nature, when he Certain witry cannot recompence the good will of the lender, of whom he hath received the good turn. Another fayings of Pyr- time Pyrrus being in the City of Ambracia, there were certain of his friends that gave him counfel to put a naughty man out of the City, that did nothing but speak ill of him. But he answered : It is better (quoth he) to keep him here still, speaking ill of us but to a few, then driving him away, to make him speak ill of us every where. Certain youths were brought before him on a time, who making merry together, drinking freely, were bold with the King to speak their pleasure of him in very undutifull fort. So, Pyrru asking them whether it was true they faid fo, or no: It is true, and it please your grace, faid one of them, we faid it indeed, and had not our wine failed us, we had spoken a great deal more. The King laughed at it, and pardoned them. After the death of Antigona, he married and children, many Wives to encreale his power withall, and to get more friends. For he married the Daughter of Autoleon King of PEONIA, and Bircenna the Daughter of Bardillis King of ILLYRIA, and Lanaffa the Daughter of Agathocles, Tyrant of Syracusa, that brought him for her dower the Isle of CORPHUE, which her Father had taken. By Antigona his first wife, he had a Son called Ptolomy: by Lanaffa another called Alexander ; and by Bircenna, another (the youngest of all) called Heleniss: all which though they were martial men by race and natural inclination, yet were they brought up by him in Wars, and therein trained as it were even from their cradle. They write, that one of his fons being but a boy, asked him one day, to which of them he would leave his Kingdom: Pyrrus anfwered the boy, To him that hath the sharpest sword. That was much like the tragical curse wherewith Ocdipus cursed his children:

Let them (for me) divide, both goods, yearents and land, With trenchant sword, and bloody blows, by force of mighty hand.

Pyrrus called an Eagle.

Presue invadeth Maccion.

my both by land and fea.

So cruell, hatefull, and beaftly is the nature of ambition and defire of rule. But after this battle, Pyr-THE returned home again to his Countrey full of honour and glory, his heart highly exalted, and his mind throughly contented. And as at his return the EPIROTS his subjects called him an Eagle, he answered them, If I be an Eagle, it is through you that I am so, for your weapons are the Kings wings that raifed meup. Shortly after, being advertised that Demetrius was faln fick, and in great danger of death, he fuddenly went into MACEDON, onely to invade it, and to make prey thereof: howbeit he had indeed almost taken the whole Realm, and made himself Lord of all without stroak stricken. For he came as far as the City of EDESSA, and found no refiftance; but rather to the contrary : many of the countrey willingly came to this Camp, and submitted themselves. The danger Demetrius was in to lofe his Realm, did move him more, then the disease and the sickness of his body. And on the other fide, his friends, fervants, and Captains, having gathered a great number of men of War together in a marvellous short time, marched with great speed towards Pyrrus, being earnestly bent to do some exploit against him: who being come into MACEDON but to make a road onely upon them, would not tarry them, but fled, and flying loft part of his men, because the MACEDONIANS followed him hard, and fet upon him by the way. But now, though they had driven Pyrrus thus eafily out of MACEDON. Demetrius for all that did not make light account of him : but pretending greater things (as to recover Demetrius Ar- the Lands and Dominions of his father, with an Army of an hundred thousand fighting men, and of five hundred fail which he put to the Sea) would not stand to make wars against Pyrrus, neither yet leave the MACEDONIANS (whilft he was absent) so dangerous a neighbour, and so ill to deal withall. But lacking leifure to make wars with Pyrrus, concluded a peace with him, to the end he might with the more liberty fet upon the other Kings. Thus now, the peace concluded betwixt Demetrius and Pyrus, the other Kings and Princes began to find out Demetrius intent, and why he had made fo great preparation: and being afraid thereof, wrote unto Pyrrus by their Ambassadors, that they wondered how he could let go such opportunity and occasion, and to tarry till Demetrius might with bester leisure make wars upon him. And why he chose rather to tarry and fight with him for the Altars, Temples, Sepulchers of the MOLLOSSIANS, when he should be of greater power, and have no wars elsewhere to trouble him: then now that he might eafily drive him out of MACEDON, having so many things in hand, and being troubled as he was in other places. And confidering also that very lately he had taken one of his Wives from him, with the City of Co R PHUE. For Lanaffa milliking that Pyrrus loved his other wives better than her (they being of a barbarous nation) got her unto CORPHUE: and defimatried Lang. ring to marry fome other King; fent for Demetrius, knowing that he of all other Kings would found fa Pyrna wife, be won thereunto. Whereupon Demetrius went thither and married her, and left a garrifon in his City of CORPHUE. Now these other Kings that did advertise Pyrrus in this sort, themselves did srouble Demetrius in the mean while: who tracted time, and yet went on with his preparation notwithstanding. For on the one side Ptolomy entered GREECE with a great Army by Sea, where he caused the Cities to revolt against him : and Lysimachus on the other side also, entring into high MA-CEDON by the countrey of THRACIA, burnt and spoiled all as he went. Pyrrus also arming himfelf with them, went unto the City of BEROEA, imagining (as afterwards it fell out) that Demetrins going against Lysimachus, would leave all the low countrey of MACEDON naked without any garrison or desence. And the self same night that Pyrrus departed, he imagined that King Alexander Pyrrus dream, the Great did call him, and also that he went unto him, and found him fick in his bed, of whom he had very good words and entertainment: in to much as he promited to help him throughly. And Pyrrus imagined also that he was so bold to demand of him again : How (my Lord) can you help me, that lie fick in your bed? and that Alexander made answer : With my name onely. And that moreover he

fuddenly therewithall got up on his horse Wisen, and rode before Pyrrus to guide him the way. This vision he had in his dream, which made him bold, and furthermore encouraged him to go on with his enterprize. By which occasion, marching forward with all speed, in sew days he ended his intended enterprize. By which occation, matching to tweet what an appear are the most part of his pyrran fecond gourney to the City of Beroen, which fuddenly he took at his first coming to it: the most part of his pyrran fecond Army he layed in Garrison there, the refidue he sent away under the conduct of his Captains, here and journey into there, to conquer the Cities thereabouts, Demetrius having intelligence hereof, and hearing also an Maccion. ill rumour that ran in his Camp amongst the Macedo NIAN's, durst not lead any surther, for sear left (when he should come near to Lyssmachus, being a MACEDONIAN King by nation, and a Prince efteemed for a famous Captain) they should shrink from him, and take Lysmachus part: for this cause therefore he turned again upon the sudden against Pyrrus, as against a strange Prince, and illbeloved of the MACEDONIANS. But when he came to encamp near him, many coming from BEperoved of the MACEDONIANS. Date which he came to change that he was a noble Prince, invincible in wars, and one that courteoully intreated all those he took to his party: and amongst those, there were other that were no natural MACEDONIANS born, but fet on by Pyrru, and fained themselves to be MACEDONIANS, who gave out, that now occasion was offered to fet them at liberty from \mathcal{D}_{e^-} metrius proud and stately rule, and to take King Pyrrus part, that was a courteous Prince, and one that loved Souldiers and men of War. These words made the most part of Demetrius Army very doubtfull, in so much as the MACEDONIANS looked about, to see if they could find out Fyrrus to yield themselves unto him. He had at that present lest off his head-piece : by means whereof, perceiving he was not known, he put it on again, and then they knew him afar off, by the fight of his goodly How Pyrtas ng ne was not known, ne put te ou again, and the top of his creft. Whereupon there came a piece. great number of MACEDONIANS to his part, as unto their Soveraign Lord and King, and required the watchword of him. Other put garlands of Oaken boughs about their heads, because they saw his men crowned after that fort. And some were so bold also, as to go to Demetrius himself, and tell him, that in their opinions he should do very well and wisely to give place to fortune, and refer all unto Pyrrus. Demetrius hereupon, seeing his Camp in such uproar, was so amazed, that he knew not what way to take, but stole away secretly, disguised in a threadbare cloak and a hood on his head to keep him from knowledge. Pyrrus forthwith feiled upon his Camp, took all that he found, and was prefently proclaimed in the field, King of MACEDON. Lysmachus on the other fide, came ftraight this Pyrrus protentry procraimed in the neith, rang of man cape is.

**Privation of the Realm, and therefore claim-claimed King ther after him, and faid that he had holpen to chafe **Demorring out of his Realm, and therefore claim-claimed King there after him, and therefore claim-claimed King there after him. ed half the Kingdom with him. Wherefore Pyrrus not trufting the MACEDO NIA NS too far as yet, but of Macedon. rather standing in doubt of their faith : granted Lysimachus his desire, and thereupon divided all the Cities and Provinces of the Realm of MACEDON between them. This partition was profitable for Macedon divi-Chies and Provinces of the realin of MACEDON Detween them. This partition was promable for macedon utra-them both at that prefent, and frood then to good purpose to pacific the war, that otherwise might fud-ded between dealy have risen between them. But shortly after, they found that this partition was no end of their en-priss and Ly-mity, but rather a beginning of guarrel and differnion between them. For they whose graving and unsamity, but rather a beginning of quarrel and diffention between them. For they whole avarice and unfaCoverounes tiable greedy appetite, neither the fea, the mountains, nor the unhabitable deferts could contain, nor yet hath no end. the confines that separate ASIA from Euro PE determine : how should they be content with their own, without usurping others, when their frontiers joyn so near together, that nothing divides them? Sure it is not possible. For to say truly, they are willingly together by the ears, having these two cursed things rooted in them: that they continually feek occasion how to surprize each other, and either of them envies his neighbors well doing. Howbeit in appearance they use these two terms of peace and wars, as Peace andwars, they do money : using it as they think good, not according to right and justice, but for their private profit. And truly they are men of far greater honefty, that make open war, and avow it, then those that diguife and colour the delay of their wicked purpole, by the holy name of justice or friendship : which Pyrrus did truly then verifie. For desiring to keep Demetrius down from rising another time, and Pyrrus sided that he should revive again, as escaped from a long dangerous disease: he went to aid the GRECI- the Grecinst ANS against him, and was at ATHENS, where they suffered him to come into the castle, and to do sa against him. crifice unto the goddes Minerva. But coming our of the castle again the same day, he told the wine. ATHENIANS he was greatly beholding unto them for their courteste, and the great trust they had reposed in him: wherefore to require them again, he gave them counsell, never to suffer Prince nor King from thenceforth to enter into their City, if they were wife, nor once open their gates unto them. So after that he had made Peace with Demetrius, who within short time being gone to make wars in Asia, Pyrus yet once again (perfwaded thereunto by Lysmachus) caused all Thessaly to rife against him, and went himself to set upon those Garrisons which Demetring had left in the Cities of GREECE, liking better to continue the MACEDONIANS in War, then to leave them in Peace: befides that, himself also was of such a nature, as could not long continue in peace. Demetrius thus in the end being utterly overthrown in Syria, Lysimachus seeing himself free from fear on that side, Lysimachus machanish and being at good leifure, as having nothing to trouble him otherways, went straight to make war keth war with upon Fyrras, who then remained near unto the City of EDESSA, and meeting by the way with the Private convoy of victuals coming towards him, fet upon the conducters, and rifled them wholly. By this means, first he distressed Pyrrus for want of victuals: then he corrupted the Princes of Mace-DON with Letters and Meffengers; declaring unto them, what shame they sustained to have made a ftranger their King (whose ancestors had ever been their vassals and subjects) and to have turned all those out of MACEDON, that had been familiar friends of King Alexander the Great. Many of the MACEDONIANS were won by these perswasions: which sact so seared Pyrrus, that he departed out of Macedon with his men of War, the Epinors, and other his confederates: and so lost

mans, deter-

likely which your Grace speaketh, quoth Cineas: but when we have won Sicilia, will then our mences Ora-

MACEDON by the felf fame means he wan it. Kings and Princes therefore must not blame private men, though they change and alter some time for their profit; for therein they do but follow the example of Princes, who teach them all difloyalty, treason, and infidelity, judging him most worthy of gain, that least observeth justice and equity. So Pyrrus being come home again to his Kingdom of E-PIRUS, forfaking Mac EDO N altogether, Fortune made him happy enough, and indeed he had good means to live peaceably at home, without any trouble, if he could have contented himself onely with the foveraignty over his own natural fubjects. But thinking, that if he did neither hurt other, nor that other did hurt him, he could not tell how to spend his time, and by peace he should pine away for forrow, as Homer faid of Achilles :

He languished and pin'd by taking ease andrest: And in the wars where travell was, he lived ever beft.

The Tarentines vife how to pacifie the fame, by reason of the rathnels, folly, and wickednels of their governours, he was less troubled at that time, then any of the other Kings about them, and was esteemed of every with the Roman also to be a noble Souldier, and famous Captain. The Elders and wise men of the City, utterly mine to make their General, who cryed for wars. Some other feeing them checked, and taken up by the multitude in this manner, Meton counter would no more repair to their common Assemblies. Among the rest there was one Meton, an honest ter, this Meton put an old withered Garland of flowers upon his head, and carrying a Torch in his fend for Pyrrus hand as though he had been drunk, and having a woman Minstrel before him playing on a pipe, City in Italy. to the Taren- merry that are fo disposed, whilst they may lawfully do it: and if you be wife every of you also (as dors to Pyrrus. from other GRECIANS also that dwelt in ITALY, faying that they stood in need of a wife and skiland threehundred thousand footmen being all Assembled together. These words of the Ambassadors did not onely lift up Pyrrus heart, but made the EPIROTS also marvellous desirous to go this jour-Cines the O. ney. There was in King Pyrrus Court one Ciness THE SALIAN, a man of great understanding, Traces and that had been Demostheres the Orators Scholer, who feemed to be the onely man of all other in his lian born, and time in common reputation, to be most Eloquent, following the lively image and shadow of Demostheartending in nes passing Eloquence. This Cineas, Pyrrus ever entertained about him, and sent him Ambassador to the People and Cities thereabouts: where he verrified Euripides words:

As much as trenchant blades, in mighty hand may do, So much can skill of Eloquence, atchieve and conquer to.

And therefore Pyrrus would often fay, that Cineas had won him more Towns with his Eloquence, than he himself had done by the Sword : for which he did greatly honour and employ him in all his chief affairs. Cineas perceiving that Pyrrus was marvelloully bent to thefe Wars of ITALY, findtalk with Pyr- ing him one day at leisure, discoursed with him in this sort : It is reported, and it please your Marittomoderate jefty, that the ROMANS are very good men of War, and that they command many valiant and warlick Nations: if it please the gods we do overcome them, what benefit shall we have of that Victory? Pyrrus answered him again, Thou dost ask me a question that is manifest of it felf: for when we have once overcome the ROMANS, there can neither GRECIAN nor barbarous City in all the Countrey withftand us, but we shall straight Conquer all the rest of ITALY with ease, whose Greatness, Wealth, and Power, no man knoweth better than my self. Cineas pausing a while, replied : And when we have taken ITALY, what shall we do then ? Pyrrus not finding his meaning yet, said unto him: SICILIA, as thou knowest, is hard joyning to it, and doth as it were offer it felf unto us, and is a marvellous popullos and rich Land, and caffe to be taken: for all the

And thus feeking matter of new trouble, Fortune presented him this occasion. About this time the Ro-MANS by chance made war with he TARENTINES, who could neither bear their force, nor yet dewho perswaded them to make Pyrrus General, and to send for him for to conduct these wars : because milliked that council; but fome of them were put to filence, through the noise and fury of the people, feiting the fool worshipfull Citizen, who when the day was come that the people should conclude in Council the Dewifely perlwa- cree for the calling in of Pyrrus: all the people of TARENTUM being affembled, and fet in the Theaded the Tura- cree for the calling in of Pyrrus: went dancing in this goodly aray through the midft of the whole Affembly. And there (as it happeneth commonly in every hurly burly of people that will be Mafters themselves, and where no good order is kept) some of them clapped their hands, other burst out in a laughter, and every man suffered him to do what he lift : but they all cryed out to the woman Minstrel, to play and spare not, and to Meton himself, that he should fing and come forward. So Meton made shew as though he prepared himfelf unto it: and when they had given filence to hear him fing, he spake unto them with a loud voice Metons counted in this manner: My Lords of TARENTUM, ye do wellfure, not to forbid them to play and to be many as you be) will take your liberty whilft you may enjoy it. For when King Pyrrus shall be in this City, you shall live I warrant you after another fort, and not as ye now do. These words of Meton moved many of the TARENTINES, and fuddenly there ran a rumour through all the Affembly, that he had faid truly. But they that had offended the ROMANS, fearing if peace were made, that they should be delivered into their hands, they checked the people, asking them if they were such fools, as would abide to be mocked and played withall to their teeth ; and with those words all ran upon Meton The Tarentines and drave him out of the Theatre. The Decree thus confirmed by voices of the people they fent Ambaffend Ambaña. fadors into Epirus, to carry prefents unto King Pyrrus, not onely from the TARENTINES, but full Captain, that was reputed famous in Martial Discipline. And as to the reft, for numbers of good Souldiers, they had men enough in ITALY, and were able to bring an Army into the Field, of the LUCANIANS, the MESSAPIANS, the SAMNITES, and TARENTINES, of twenty thousand horse,

warstake end? If the gods were pleased, said Pyrrus, that the Victory were atchieved, the way tors corruption werethen broad open for us to attain great conquests. For who would not afterwards go into A-FRICK, and so to CARTHAGE, which also will be an easie conquest, since Agarboeles secretly flying from Syracusa, and having passed the Seas with a few Ships, had almost taken it? And that once conquered, it is most certain there durst not one of all our enemies that now do daily vex and trouble us, lift up their heads or hands against us. No furely, said Cineas; for it is a clear case, that with to great a power we may eafily recover the Realm of MACEDON again, and command all GREECE besides, without let of any. But when we have all in our hands, what shall we do in the end? Then Pyrrul laughing, told him again: We will then (good Cineas) be quiet, and take our eafe, and make feaffsevery day, and be as merry one with another as we can possible. Cineds having brought him to that point, faid aagin to him: My Lord, what letteth us now to be quiet and merry together, fith we enjoy that prefently without further travell and trouble, which we will now go feek for abroad, with fuch shedding of blood, and so manifest danger? and yet we know not whether ever we shall attain unto it, after we have both suffered, and caused others to suffer infinite forrows and trouble. These last unto it, after we have both innered, and cannot others to inner him mind: for he was not ignorant words of Cineas, did rather offend Pyrrus, then make him to alter his mind: for he was not ignorant has he did to much A dangerous. words of circas, and rather official ryrras, then make that to after an animal; for the was not ignorant. A dangerous of the happy flate he should thereby forgo, yet could he not leave off the hope of that he did to much thing to withdefire. So he sent Circas before unto the TARENTINES, with three thousand footmen: and stand the Principle. afterwards the TARENTINES having sent him great store of stat-bottoms, Galleys, and of all ces mindforts of paffengers, he shipped into them twenty Elephants, three thousand horsemen, and two and twenty thousand soutnen, with five hundred bowmen and slings. All which thus ready, he weighed Pyrrus journey Anchors, and hoifed fails, and was no fooner in the main fea, but the North wind blew very roughly, out of feafon, and dravehim to Leeward. Notwithstanding the ship which he was in himself, by temest on the Pilots and Marriners turning to windward, and with much ado, and gravaline to the state of the pilots and Marriners turning to windward, and with much ado, and gravaline to the state of the pilots and Marriners turning to windward. by great toil of the Pilots and Marriners turning to windward, and with much ado, and marvellous the fea. dangers recovered the coast of ITALY. Howbeit the rest of his Fleet were violently dispersed here and there, whereof some of them failing in their course to ITALY, were cast into the Seas of LYRIA and SICILIA. The other not able to recover the point of APULIA, were benighted, and the Sea being high wrought, by violence cast them upon the shore, and against the rocks, and made ship-wracks of them, the Admiral onely referved, which through her strength, and the greatness of her burthen, resisted the force of the Sea that most violently beat against her. But afterwards, the wind turning and coming from the land, the Sea cruelly raging over the height of her fore-castle, in fine brought her in manifest perill of opening, and splitting, and in danger to be driven from the Coast, putting her out again to the mercy of the winds, which changed every hour. Wherefore Pyrrus caffing the perill every way, thought best to leap into the Sea. After him forthwith leapt his Guard, his Servants, and other his familiar Friends, venturing their lives to lave him. But the darkness of the night, and rage of the waves (which the shorebreaking, forced fo to rebound back upon them) with the great notife also, did so hinder their swim-

ming, that it was even day before they could recover any Land, and yet was it by means that the

wind fell. As for Pyrrus, he was so Sea-beaten, and wearied with the waves, that he was able to

their reckoning that Pyrrus should fight for them, and in the mean time they would not stir

out of their houses from bathing themselves, from banquetting, and making good chear: first of all he caused all the Parks and places of shew to be shut up, where they were wont to walk and

disport themselves, in any kind of exercise, and as they walked to talk of wars as it were in passime,

do no more: though of himself he had so great a heart and stout a courage, as was able to overcome any peril. Moreover, the Messapians (upon whose Coast the storm had cast him) ran Pyrrus cast on out to help him, and diligently laboured in all they could possible to save him, and received those upon the also certain of his Ships that had scaped, in which were a few horsemen, about two thousand country of the footmen, and two Elephants. With small force, Pyrrus marched on his journey to go by Mc Pyrus. Industry and Line Tarentum; and Cineas being advertised of his coming, went with his men to meet received of the him. Now when he was come to TARENTUM, at the first he would do nothing by force, nor a- Tarentines, regainst the good will of the inhabitants: untill such time as his Ships that had escaped the dangers formed their of the Sea, were all arrived, and the greatest part of his Army come together again. But when he vain voluptue one life. had all his Army he looked for, feeing that the people of TARENTUM could neither fave themfelves, nor be faved by any other, without straight order and compulsion, because they made

and to fight with words, but not to come to the blows. And further he forbad all feaftings, mummeries, and such other like pleasures, as at that time were out of season. He trained them out also Martial Discito exercise their weapons, and shewed himself very severe in musters, not pardoning any whose pline. names were billed to ferve in the Wars: infomuch as there were many (which unacquainted

with such rough handling and Government) forfook the City altogether, calling it a bondage, not to have liberty to live at their pleasure. Furthermore, Pyrrus having intelligence that Levinus the ROMAN Confull came against him with a great puillant Army, and that he was already entred Levinus Conful came against him with a great puillant Army, and that he was already entred ful into the land of the levinus Conful can be said to the land of the levinus Conful can be said to the land of the levinus Conful can be said to the land of the levinus Conful can be said to the land of the into the land of Lucania, where he destroyed and spoiled all the countrey before him a albeit and primary and the land of Lucania, where he destroyed and spoiled all the countrey before him a labeit and primary and the pri

his ambicious

the TARENTINES aid of their Confederates, was not as yet come, he thought it a great shame to fuffer his enemies approach so near him, and therefore taking that small number he had, brought them into the Field against Levinus. Howbeit he had an Herauld before to the ROMANS, to

and Heralica. Siris fl.

Pyrrus firit conflict with the Romans. Pyrrus wildem and forelight

understand of them, if (before they entred into this war) they could be content the controversies they had with all the GRECIANS dwelling in ITALY, might be decided by juffice, and therein to refer themselves to his arbitrement, who of himself would undertake the pacification of them. Whereunto the Conful Levinus made answer, that the ROMANS would never allow him for a Judge, neither did they fear him for an enemy. Wherefore Pyrrus going on still, came to lodge in the plain which is between the Cities of PANDOSIA, and of HERACLEA: and having news brought him that the ROMANS were encamped very near unto him on the other fide of the River of SIRIS, he inthe pain better took his horfe, and rode to the Rivers fide to view their Camp. So having throughly confidered the tween Panthia took his horfe, and rode to the Rivers fide to view their Camp. form, the fituation, and the order of the same, the manner of charging their watch, and all their falhions of doing, he wondred much thereat. And speaking to Megacles, one of his familiars about him, he faid, This order Megacles (quoth he) though it be of barbarous people, yet it is not barbaroully done, but we shall shortly prove their force. After he had thus taken his view, he began to be more carefull then he was before, and purposed to tarry till the whole aid of their Confederates were come together, leaving men at the Rivers fide of SIRIS, to keep the passage, if the enemies ventured to pals over, as they did indeed. For they made half to prevent the aid that Pyrrus looked for, and passed their footmen over upon a Bridge, and their horsemen had divers Fords of the River: infomuch as the GRECIANS fearing left they should be compassed in behind, drew back. Pyrrus advertifed thereof, and being a little troubled therewithall, commanded the Captains of his footnen prefently to put their bands in battle ray, and not to ftir till they knew his pleasure : and he himself in the mean time marched on with three thouland horse, in hope to find the ROMANS by the River side, as yet out of order, and utterly unprovided. Bur, when he saw afar off a great number of footmen with their Targets ranged in battle, on this fide the River, and their horfemen marching towards him in very good order: he caused his men to joyn close together, and himself first began the charge being easie to be known from other, if it had been no more but his passing rich gliftering Armour and Furniture, and withall, for that his valiant deeds gave manifest proof of his well deferving time and renown. For, though he valiantly bestirred his hands and body both, repulsing them he encountered withall in fight, yet he forgat not himself, nor neglected the judgment and forefight which should never be wanting in a General of an Army: but as though he had not fought at all, quietly and discreetly gave order for every thing, riding to and fro, to defend and encourage his men in those places, where he saw them in most diffress. But even in the hottest of the battle, Leonatus MACEDONIAN fpied an Italian a man of Arms, that followed Pyrrus up and down where he went, and ever kept in manner of even hand with him, to fet upon him. Wherefore he faid to Pyrrus: My Lord, do you not feethat barbarous man there upon a Bay horfe with white feet? Sure he looketh as though he meant to do fome notable feat and mischief with his own hands: for his eye is never off you, but waiteth onely upon you, being sharp set to deal with your self and none other, and therefore take heed of him. Pyrrus answered him, It is impossible Leonatus, for a man to avoid his defliny: but neither he nor any other ITALIAN whatfoever, shall have any joyto deal with me. And asthey were talking thus of the matter, the ITALIAN taking his Spear in the raiddest, and setting spurs to his horse, charged upon Pyrrus, and ran his horse through and through with the same, Leonatus at the self same instant served the ITALIANS horse in the like manner, fo as both their horfes fell dead to the ground. Howbeit Pyrrus men that were about him, faved him prefently, and flew the ITALIAN in the field, although he fought it out right valiantly. The ITALIANS name was Oplacus, born in the City of FERENTUM, and was Captain of a band of men of Arms. This mischance made King Pyrrus look the better to himself afterwards, and seeing his horfemen give back, fent prefently to hasten his footmen forward, whom he straight set in or-Pyrrar change der of battle: and delivering his Armour and cloak to one of his familiars called Megacles, and beed his Armour ing hidden as it were in Megacles Armour, returned again to the battle against the ROMANS, who valiantly refifted him, to that the victory depended long in doubt: for it is faid, that both the one fide and the other did chase, and was chased, above seven times in that conflict. The changing of the Kings Armour ferved very well for the farety of his own person, howbeit it was like to have marred all, and to have made him lofe the field. For many of his enemies fet upon Megacles, that wore the Kings Armour: and the party that flew him dead, and threw him stark to the ground, was one Dexins by name, who quickly fnatched off his head-piece, took away his cloak, and ran to Levinus the Conful, crying out aloud, that he had flain Pyrrus, and withall shewed forth the spoils he supposed to have taken from him. Which being carried about through all the Bands, and openly shewed from hand to hand, made the ROMANS marvellous joyfull, and the GRECIANS on the contrary, both afear'd and right forrowfull: untill fuch time as Pyrrus hearing of it, went and paffed along all his Bands bare headed, and bare faced, holding up his hand to his fouldiers, and giving them to understand with his own voice, that it was himself. The Elephants in the end were they indeed that won the battle, and did most distress the ROMANS: for, their horses seeing them ajar off, were fore afraid, and durst not abide them, but carried their masters back in despate of them. Pyrrus at the fight thereof, made his THESSALIAN horfemen to give charge upon Fyrus viceory them whilft they were in this diforder, and that fo luftily, as they made the ROMANS By, and fustain great flaughter. For Dionystus writeth, that there died few less, then fitteen thousand ROMANS at that battle. But Hieronymus speaketh onely of seven thousand. And of Pyrins

and cloak.

taken for P)r-

fide, Dionyfus writeth, there were flan betteen thousand. But Hieronymus faith, less then four thousand: howbeit they were all of the best men of his Army, and those whom he most trusted.

King Pyrrus presently hereupon also took the ROMANS Camp, which they forsook, and wan many of their Cities from their alliance, spoiled and overcame much of their Countrey. In so much as he came within fix and thirty miles of Rome, whither came to his aid, as confederates of the TARENTINES, the Lucanians, and Samnites, whom he rebuked because they came too late to the battle. Howbeit a man might easily see in his face, that he was not a little glad and proud to have overthrown fo great an Army of the ROMAN'S with his own men, and the aid of the TARENTINES onely. On the other side, the ROMANS hearts were so great, that they would not depose Levinus from his Consulfhip, notwithstanding the loss he had received: and Caius Fabricius faid openly, that they were not the Epirots that had overcome the ROMANS. but Pyrrus had overcome Levinus: meaning thereby, that this overthrow chanced unto them, more through the fubrilry and wife conduction of the General, then through the valiant feats and worthiness of his Army. And hereupon they speedily supplied their Legions again that were diminished, with other new souldiers in the dead mens place, and Levied a fresh force besides, speaking bravely and fiercely of this War, like men whose hearts were nothing appalled. Whereat Pyrrus marvelling much, thought good first to send to the Romans, to prove if they would give any ear to an offer of peace, knowing right well that the winning of the City of Rome was no easie matter to compass or attain, with that ilrength he presently had a and also that it would be greatly to his glory, if he could bring them to peace after this valiant Victory. And hereupon he fent Ciness fent Cineas to ROME, who spake with the chiefest of the City, and offered Presents to them and their Ambassador to Wives, in the behalf of the King his Mafter. Howbeit, neither man nor woman would receive any The Noble at his lands, but answered all with one voice, That if the peace might be general to all, they all primind of the vately would be at the Kings commandment, and would be glad of his friendthip. Moreover, when Roman, Cineas had talked in open Audience before the Senate, of many courteous offers, and had delivered them profitable capitulations of peace: they accepted none, nor shewed any affection to give ear unto them, although he offered to deliver them their Prifoners home again without ranfom, that had been taken at the battle, and promifed also to aid them in the conquest of ITALY, requiring no other recompence at their hands, faving their good wills onely to his Mafter, and afficrance for the TARENTINES, that they should not be annoyed for any thing past, without demand of other matter. Nevertheless in the end, when they had heard these offers, many of the Senators yielded, and were willing to make peace : alledging that they had already loft a great battle, and now they looked for a greater, when the force of the Confederates of ITALY, frould joyn together with King Pyrrus Power. But Appius Claudius, a famous man, who Appius Claudicame no more to the Senate, nor dealt in matters of State at all by reason of his age, and partly us difference because he was blind, when he understood of King Pyrrus offers, and of the common bruit that the Romans ran through the City, how the Senate were in mind to agree to the capitulations of peace from making propounded by Cinese, he could not abide, but caused his servants to carry him in his Chair upon Perce with Pytrus. their arms unto the Senate door, his Sons, and Sons in Law taking him in their arms, carried him into the Senate house. The Senate made silence to honour the coming in of so notable and worthy a personage: and he so soon as they had set him in his seat, began to speak in this fort : "Hitherunto with great impatience (my Lords of Rome) have I bourn the lofs "of my fight, but now, I would I were also deaf as I am blind, that I might not (as I do) hear Apput Classian "the report of your dishonourable consultations determined upon in Senate, which tend to sub- the Senate, "vert the glorious fame and reputation of ROME. What is now become of all your great and "mighty brags you blazed abroad through the whole world? That if Alexander the great him-"felf had come into ITALY, in the time that our Fathers had been in the flower of their age, and "we in the prime of our youth, they would not have faid every where that he was altogether in-"vincible, as now at this present they do : but either he should have leit his body slain here in "battle, or at the leaftwife have been driven to fly, and by his death or flying should greatly "have enlarged the renown and glory of ROME. You plainly shew it now, that all these words spoken then, were but vain and arrogant vaunts of soolish pride : considering that you "tremble for fear of the Molossians and Channians, who were ever a prey to the Ma-CEBONIANS: and that ye are afraid of Pyrrus also, who all his life time served and followed one "of the guard unto Alexander the Great, and now is come to make wars in these parts, not to aid "the GRECIANS inhabiting in ITALY, but to fly from his enemies there about his own Country, "offering you to conquer all the reft of 1TALY with an Army, wherewith he was nothing able to "keep a small part of MACEDON onely for himself. And therefore you must not perswade your "felves, that in making peace with him, you shall thereby be rid of him; but rather shall you draw others to come and fet upon you befides. For they will utterly delpife you, when they shall hear ye " are to early overcome, and that you have suffered Pyrrus to escape your hands, before you made "him feel the just reward of his bold prelumptuous attempt unto you: carrying with him for a "further hire, this advantage over you: that he hath given a great occasion both to the SAMNITES, "and TARENTINES, hereafter to mock and deride you. After that Appin had told this tale unto the Senate, every one through the whole Assembly, desired rather War then Peace. They dispatched Ciness away thereupon with this answer, that if Pyrrus fought the ROMANS friendthip, he first must depart out of ITALY, and then send unto them to treat of Peace : but so long as he remained there with his Army, the ROMANS would make War upon him; with all the force

Captains as Levinus was. They fay that Gineas, during the time of his abode at ROME, intreating for their peace, did curioully labour to confider and understand the manners, order, and life of the the Senate of

poor. Fabriches refuled King Pyrrus gifts.

A (calum.

ROMANS, and their Commonweal, discoursing thereof with the chiefest men of the City: and how afterwards he made ample report of the fame unto Pyrrus: and told him amongst other things. The Majefly of that the Senate appeared to him, a Council-house of many Kings. And furthermore (for the number of people) that he feared greatly they should fight against such a Serpent, as that which was in old time in the Marshes of LERNE, of which, when they had cut off onethead, seven other came up in the place: because the Consul Levinus had now levied another Army, twice as great as the first was. and had left at ROME also, many times as many good able men to carry Armour. After this, there Citias Fabrici- were fent Ambaffadors from ROME unto Pyrrus, and amongst other, Caius Fabricius, touching the emar ranning the state of Prisoners. Cineas told the King his Master, that this Fabricius was one of the greatest up Ambassisdor state of Prisoners. men of account in ROME, a right honest man, a good Captain, and a very valiant man of his hands, Caint Fabricia. yet poor indeed he was notwithstanding. Pyrrus taking him secretly aside, made very much of him, usa nobe Cap, and amongft other things, offered him both Gold and Silver, praying him to take it, not for any difhonest respect he meant towards him, but onely for a pledge of good will and friendship that should be between them. Fabricius would have none of his gift : fo Pyrrus left him for that time. Notwithstanding the next morning, thinking to fear him, because he had never seen Elephant before, Pyrrus commanded his men, that when they faw Fabricius and him talking together, they should bring one of his greatest Elephants, and set him hard by them, behind a hanging : which being done, at a certain fign by Pyrrus given, fuddenly the hanging was pulled back, and the Elephant with his Trunk was over Fabricius head, and gave a terrible and fearfull cry. Fabricius foftly giving back, nothing afraid, laughed, and faid to Pyrrus fmiling: Neither did your Gold (Oh King) yesterday move me, nor your Elephant to day fear me. Furthermore, whilst they were at Supper, falling in talk of divers matters, specially touching the State of GREECE, and the Philosophers there: Ciness The opinion of by chance spake of EPICURUS, and rehearsed the opinions of the EPICUREANS touching the the Epicarean gods and Government of the Commonwealth, how they placed mans chief felicity in pleasure, how they fled from all Office and Publick charge, as from a thing that hindereth the fruition of true felicity: how they maintained that the gods were immortal, neither moved with pity nor anger, and led an idle life full of all pleasures and delights, without taking any regard of mens doings. But as he still continued this discourse, Fabricius cryed out aloud, and said: The gods grant that Pyrrus and the SAMNITES were of fuch opinions, as long as they had Wars against us. Pyrrus marvelling much at the constancy and magnanimity of this man, was more defirous a great deal to have Peace with the ROMANS, than before. And privately prayed Fabricius very earnestly, that he would Treat for Peace, whereby he might atterwards come and remain with him: faying, that he would give him the chief place of honour about him, amongst all his friends. Whereunto Fabricius answered him softly : That were not good (Oh King) for your felf, quoth he: for your men that prefently do honour and esteem you, by experience if they once knew me, would rather chuse me for their King, then your felf. Such was Fabricius talk, whose words Pyrrus took not in ill part, neither was offended with them at all, as a Tyrant would have been: but did himself report to his friends and familiars the noble mind he found in him, and delivered him upon his faith onely, all the ROMAN prisoners: to the end that if the Senate would not agree unto Peace, they might yet fee their friends and keep the feaft of Saturn with them, and then to fend them back again unto him. Which the Senate established by decree, upon pain of death to all fuch as should not perform the same accordingly. Afterwards Fabricius was chosen Consul, and Phylician wit. as he was in his Camp, there came a man to him that brought him a Letter from King Pyrrus Phylicia reprocued with the Fabrian, written with his own hands: in which the Phyfician offered to poison his Matter, so he would cim, and offer promise him a good reward, for ending the wars without further danger. Fabricim detesting the witkedness of the Physician, and having made Q. Amylim his Colleague and fellow Consul also to abhor n's matter. Fabricius Letter to Pyrrus, him. The Contents of his Letter were thefe: Caius Fabricius, and Quintus Amylius Confuls of ROME, unto King Pyrrus, Greeting, You have (O King) made unfortunate choice, both of your friends him of his phy- and of your enemies, as shall appear unto you by reading of this Letter which one of yours hath writficians treason, ten unto us: for you make wars with just and honest men, and do your self trust altogether the wicked and unfaithful. Hereof therefore we have thought good to advertife you, not in respect to pleasure you, but for fear left the misfortune of your death might make us unjuftly to be accused: imagining that by treachery or treaton, we have fought to end this war, as though by valiantness we could not otherwise atchieve it. Pyrrus having read this Letter, and proved the contents thereof true, executed the Phylis cian as he had delerved: and to requite the advertisement of the Confuls, he sent Fabricius and the Pyrrufendeth Romans their prisoners, without paying of ransom, and sent Cinear again unto them, to prove if the Romans, he could obtain peace. Howbeit the Romans, because they would neither receive pleasure of their enemies, and leaft of all reward, for that they confented not unto fo wicked a deed : did not onely refule to take their pritoners of free gift, but they fent him again fo many SAMNITES, and TAREN-TINES. And furthermore, for peace and his friendship, they would give no ear to it, before thewars Pyrus fecond were ended, and that he had fent away his Army again by fea into his Kingdom of Epirus. Wherefore Tyrrus teeing no remedy, but that he must needs fight another battle, after he had somewhat refreshthe Royalnt, but to dhis Army, drew towards the City of Asculum, where he fought the fecond time with the Ro-MANS: and was brought into a marvellous ill ground for horsemen, by a very swift running River,

from whence came many Brooks and deep Marshes, informuch as his Elephants could have no space nor ground to joyn with the Battell of the Footmen, by reason whereof there was a great number of men hurt and flain on both fides. And in the end, the Battell being fought out all day long, the dark night did fever them: but the next morning, Prrm to win the advantage to fight in the plain upon the naughty ground they had fought on the day before. And by this policy having brought the ROMANS into the plain Field, he thrust in amongst his Elephants, store of shot and sling men, and then made his Army march (being very well fet in order) with great fury against his I nemies. They milling the other days turnings and places of retire, were now compelled to fight, all on a front in the plain Field: and ftriving to break into the Battell of Pyrim Footmen before the Elephants came, they desperately pressed in upon the Enemies Pikes with their Swords, not caring for their own persons what became of them, but onely looked to kill and destroy their Enemies. In the end notwithstanding, after the Battell had holden out very long, the ROMANS loft it, and they first began to break and Pyrrae victory flie on that fide that Pyrns was , by reason of the great force and fury of his Charge, and much more of the Romans. through the violence of the Elephants : against which, the ROMANS valiantness nor courage could ought prevail, but that they were driven to give them place (much like the rage of furging waves, or terrible trembling of the earth) rather then tarry to be troden underfeet, and overthrown by them, whom they were not able to hurt again, but be by them most grievoully martyred, and their troubles thereby yet nothing eafed. The chafe was not long, because they fled but into their Camp: and Hierangemente Historiographer writeth, that there died fix thousand men of the ROMANS, and of Pyrrm part about three thouland five hundred and five, as the Kings own Chronicles do witness, Ne-The Witters ym part about three incomme to mention of two Battels given near unto the City of Asculum, Pyrnu Battell, Dionyjum makes no mention of two Battels given near unto the City of Asculum, Pyrnu Battell, nor that the ROMANS were certainly overthrown : howbeit he affirment that there was one Battell onely that continued unto Sun-fet, and that they scarcely severed also when night was come on, Pyyrue being hurt on the arm with a Spear, and his carriage robbed and spoiled by the SAMNITES befides. And further, that there died in this Battell, above fitteen thousand men, as well of Fyrrus fide, as of the ROMANS part: and that at the last, both the one and the other did retire. And some say, that it was at that time Pyrrus answered one, who rejoyced with him for the Victory they had won: If we win another of the price, quoth he, we are utterly undone. For indeed then had he loft the most part of his Army he brought with him out of his Realm, and all his friends and Captains in manner every one, or at the leaft there lacked little of it : and befides that , he had no means to supply them with other from thence, and perceived also that the Confederates he had in ITALY, began to wax cold. Where the ROMA NS to the contrary, did easily renew their Army with fresh Souldiers, which they caused to come from ROME as need required (much like unto a lively Spring, the head whereof they had at home in their Countrey) and they fainted not at all for any loffes they received, but rather were they fo much the more horly bent, floutly determining to abide out the Wars, whatever betide. And thus whilest Pyrru was troubled in this fort, new hopes and new enterprifes were offered unto him, that made him doubtfull what to do. For even at a clap came Ambaffadours unto him out of Sicilia, offering to pur into his hands, the Cities of Syracusa, of Ambaffadours AGRIGENTUM, and of the LEONTINES, befeeching him to aid them to drive the CARTHA- out of Stitlita, GINIANS out of the Isle, thereby to deliver them from all the Tyranis. And on the other fide to pray aid of allo, news was brought him from Greece, how Prolomie furnamed the Lightning, was flain, and Prins. all his Army overthrown in Battell against the GAULS, and that now he should come in good hour for the MACEDONIANS, who lacked but a King. Then he curfed his hard fortune, that prefented him all at once, such fundry occasions to do great things: and as if both enterprises had been already in his hand, he made his account that of necessity he must lose one of them. So, long debating the matter with himself, which of the two ways he should conclude upon : in the end he resolved, that by the Wars of Sicilia, there was good mean to attain to the greater matters, confidering that AFRICK was not far from them. Wherefore, disposing himself that way, he sent Cineas thither immediately to make his way, and to speak to the Towns and Cities of the Countrey, as he was wont to do : and in the mean time left a strong Garrison in the City of TARENTUM, to keep it at his devotion, wherewith the TARENTINES were very angry. For they made request unto him, either to remain in their Countrey to maintain Wars with them against the ROMANS (which was their meaning why they fent for him) or else if he would needs go, at the least wife to leave their City in as good state as he found it. But he answered them again very roughly, that they should speak no more to him in it and that they should not choose but tarry his occasion. And with this Pyrras Journey answer he took Ship, and sailed towards Sicilia: where so soon as he was arrived, he found into Skilla. all that he hoped for, for the Cities did willingly put themselves into his hands. And where necesfity of Battell was offered him to imploy his Army, nothing at the beginning could fland before him. For , with thirty thousand Footmen , two thousand five hundred Horsemen, and two hundred Sail which he brought with him, he drave the CARTHAGINIANS before him, and conquered all the Countrey under their obedience. Now at that time, the City of ERIX was the strongest Private was place they had: and there were a great number of good Souldiers within to defend it. Pyrrui de-rix in Sicilia. termined to prove the affault of it, and when his Army was ready to give the Charge, he armed himfelf at all pieces from top to toe, and approaching the Walls, vowed unto Hercules to give him a folemn Sacrifice, with a Feaft of common Playes, fo that he would grant him grace to shew himself unto the GRECIANS inhabiting in SICILIA, worthy of the noble Ancestors from whence he

Homer of valiantnels,

The Mamer tines, why fo

Pyrrus return into Italy out of Sicilc.

came, of the great good fortune he had in his hands. This Vow ended, he straight made the Canne, or the great 5000 fortune and autied the barbarous People that were on the Walls, to retire with Trumpers found to the affault, and caufed the barbarous People that were on the Walls, to retire with rrumpers round to the analit, and called the barbarous reope that were on the waith, to retire with force of his flot. Then when the fealing-ladders were fet up, himfelf was the first that mounted on torce of his mor. Then when the barbarous People that refifted him. But some he threw over the Wall, where he found divers of the barbarous People that refifted him. the Walls on either fide of him, and with his Sword flew many dead about him, himfelf not once the evans on entier note of that, and the heart to look him in the face, his countenance was fo nurt: for the partiations reoper has a few few wifely, and like a man of experience, when he faid: terrible. And this doth prove that Homer spake wifely, and like a man of experience, when he faid: terrible. And this dome providing the Morall Vertues, is that which hath fometimes certain furious motions and divine provocations, which makes a man befides himfelf. So the City being taken, ous monorably performed his vowed Sacrifice to Hereules, and kept 2 Feaft of all kinds and forts of he honourably performed his vowed Sacrifice to ne nonourably periorine in the dwelt a barbarous People at that time about Messina, called the Games and Weapons. There dwelt a barbarous People at that time about Messina, called the Games and Weapons.

MAMERTINES, who did much hurt to the Grecians thereabouts, making many of them pay MANERTINES, who are made in the state of them, and all men of War and good Souldi-Tax and Tribute: for they were a great number of them, and all men of War and good Souldi-1ax and 1110ure: 101 they were a great manual of them, and given to Arms. Pyrrus ers, and had their name allo of Mars, because they were Martiall men, and given to Arms. Pyrrus ers, and nad their name and or 172113, because they were margin their collectors to death, that did led his Army against them, and overthrew them in Battell: and put their Collectors to death, that did leaving against them, and razed many of their Fortresses. And when the CARTHAGINIANS required peace and his friendship, offering him Ships and Money, pretending greater matters, he made required peace and instruments, me made them a short answer: That there was but one way to make peace and love between them, to forfake them a short answer: That there was but one way to make peace and love between them, to forfake them a most answer: Indicate was obtained any to make Mare Lybycum the border betwixt Greece Sicilia altogether, and to be contented to make Mare Lybycum the border betwixt Greece SIGILIA autogener, and to be contained to make page to proper of twist errete and them. For this good fortune, and the force he had in his hands, did fet him aboft, and further alluand them. For this good fortune, and the love that into Sicilia, afpiring first of all unto the conquest red him to follow the hope that brought him into Sicilia, aspiring first of all unto the conquest Privat cracky of Ly BIA. Now, to pass him over thither he had Ships enough, but he lacked Owers and Mariners: of Lybia. Now, to passing over times in the head only choosing the nation over a magnitude; wherefore when he would press them, then he began to deal roughly with the Cities of Sicilia, wherefore when he would press them, then he began to deal roughly with the Cities of Sicilia, wherefore when he would not obey his commandment. This and in anger compelled, and feverely punished them, that would not obey his commandment. This and manger compensed, and receivery pointing distinct and more good wills, feeking more courte-he did not at his first coming, but contrarily had won all their good wills, speaking more courtene und not at this first coming, but containing, and flewing that he trufted them altogether, and troubled them in oully to them then any other did, and flewing that he trufted them altogether, and troubled them in ouny to them then any once any one and a popular Prince, unto a violent Tyrant, he was not onely nothing. But fuddenly being alreed from a popular Prince, unto a violent Tyrant, he was not onely noming. Dut mouerny being but that worft of all is, unfaithfull and ungratefull : nevertheles, though thought cruell and rigorous, thought cruen and figures, our they fuffered it, and granted him any needfull thing he did dethey received great name by mine,) and softratus, the two chief Captains of mand. But when they faw he began to militrust Thanon and Softratus, the two chief Captains of SYRACUSA, and they who first caused him to come into SICILIA, who also at his first arrivall SYRACUSA, and they who have caused man of command of the chief aiders in helping him to delivered the City of Syracusa into his hands, and had been his chief aiders in helping him to compais that he had done in Sicilia : when, I fay, they faw he would no more carry them with him, nor leave them behind him for the miftruft he had of them, and that Softration fled from him, nin, nor leave their octima min for the limit of the limi and aniented minicit, rearing the 2 1/100 had been also have done him fome harm, then all things had put Thanon to death, miftrufting that he would also have done him some harm, then all things riau put 1 nanon to utatit, illittating that it would little, but all together at one inflant, fell out against Pyrrus: not one after another, nor by little and little, but all together at one inflant, and all the Cities generally hated him to the death, and did again some of them confederate with the The Samilter Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, to fet upon him. But when all Siand Tarentines CILIA was thus bent against him, he received Letters from the SAMNITES and TARENTINES, font for Pyring by which they advertised him, how they had much ado to defend themselves within their Cities and ftrong Holds, and that they were wholly driven out of the Field: wherefore they earneftly befought him (peedily to come to their aid. This news came happily to him, to cloak his flying, thathe might fay it was not for despair of good success in Sicilia that he went his way: but true it was indeed, that when he faw he could no longer keep it, then a Ship could frand frill among the waves, he fought fome honelt shadow to colour his departing. And that furely was the cause why he returnne tought tome moment madow to cool management out of Sicile, they fay that looking ed again into ITALY. Nevertheleis, at his departure out of Sicile, they fay that looking back upon the Isle, he said to those that were about him: O what a goodly Field for a Battell (my friends) do we leave to the ROMANS and CARTHAGINIANS, to fight the one with the other? And verily fo it fell out shortly after, as he had spoken. But the barbarous People conspiring together against Pyrru, the Carthaginians on the one fide watching his passage, gave him Battell on the Sea, in the very ftraight it felf of Messina, where he loft many of his Ships, and fled with the reft, and took the Coaft of ITALY. And there the MA MERTINES on the other fide, being gone thither before, to the number of eighteen thouland fighting men, durst not prefent him Battell in open Field, but tarried for him in certain Straights of the Mountains, and in very hard places, and fo fet upon his Rereward, and difordered all his Army. They flew two of his Elephants, and cut off a great number of his Rereward, fo as he was compelled himself in persons come from his Vant guard, to help them against the barbarous People, which were lusty valuant Pyrrus hurt on men, and old trained Souldiers. And there Pyrrus caught a blow on his head with a Sword, and tyrus nort on the was in great danger: infomuch as he was forced to retire out of the preafe and Fight: which did to much the more encourage his Enemies: amongst which there was one more adventureus then the reft, a goodly man of personage, fair armed in white Armour, who advancing himself far before his Company, cried out to the King with a bold fierce voyce, and challenged him to fight with him if hewere alive. Pyrrus being mad as it were with this bravery, turned again with his guard, in fpight of his men, hurt as he was. And befides that, he was all on a fire with choler, and his face all bloudy and terrible to behold, he went through his men, and came at the length to this barbarous Villain that had challenged him: and gave him fuch a blow on his head with all his force and power.

that what by the strength of his arm, and through the goodness of the temper and metall of the Pirras with a that what by the integral of his man, in the middelt, down to the shoulders: fo that his head being bow of his Sword, the blow clave his head right in the middelt, down to the shoulders and the other part on the other. This matter, Sword, clove Sword, the now trave its mean right and the one fhoulder, and the other part on the other. This matter this thus divided, the one part fell on the one fhoulder, and the other part on the other. This matter his themses fuddenly flayed the barbarous People, and kept them from going any further, they were fo airaid and head in the amazed, to fee fo great a blow with ones hand, and it made them think indeed, that Pyrane was middelt, and more then a man. After that, they let him go, and troubled him no more. Pyrrus holding on his faid at on his. lourney, arrived at the length in the City of TARENTUM, with twenty thouland Footmen, and thenders. three thousand Horse. And with these (joyning thereto the choilest men of the TARENTINES) he went incontinently into the Field to feek out the ROMANS, who had their Camp within the Territories of the Samnites, which were then in very hard state: for their hearts were killed, because that in many Battels and encounters with the ROMANS, they were ever overthrown. They werevery angry befides with Pyrym, for that he had forfaken them, to go his Voyage into Sici-LIA, by reason whereof there came no great number of Souldiers into his Camp. But notwithflanding, he divided all his strength into two parts, whereof he sent the one part into Lucania, to occupie one of the ROMAN Confuls that was there, to the end he should not come to aid his companion : and with the other part he went himself against Maning Curius , who lay in a very Maning Curius ftrange place of advantage, near to the City of BENEVENTO, attending the aid that should come Conful. to him out of Lucania, besides also that the Soothsayers (by the signs and tokens of the Birds and Sacrifices) did counsell him not to flir from thence. Pyrrus to the contrary, defiring to fight with Manins before his aid came unto him, which he looked for out of Lucania, took with himthe best Souldiers he had in all his Army, and the warlikest Elephants, and marched away in the night, supposing to steal upon Manins on the sudden, and give an assault unto his Camp. Now Pyrrus having a long way to go, and through a woody Countrey, his Lights and Torches failed him, by reason whereof many of his Souldiers loft their way, and they loft a great deal of time also, before they could again be gathered together: fo as in this space the night was spent, and the day once broken, the Enemies perceived plainly how he came down the hills. This at the first fight made them muse a while, and put them in a little fear: nevertheless Manius having had the signes of the Sacrifices favourable, and feeing that occasion did press him to it, went our into the Field, and fee upon the Vaward of his Enemies, and made them turn their backs. The which feared all the reft in fuch Pyrous third wife, that there were flain a great number of them in the Field, and certain Elephants also taken, Battell with This Victory made Manius Curius leave his strength and come into the plain Field, where he fet his the Romans. men in Battell ray, and overthrew his Enemies by plain force on the one fide: but on the other he Pyrrus overmen in Datten ray, and overtune and an accompanied to draw back into his own Camp, where thrown by Manine Curiar in he had left a great number of men to guard it. So when he faw them upon the Rampiers of his in Battell, Camp all armed, ready to fight, he called them out, and they coming fresh out of the places of advantage, to charge upon the Elephants, compelled them in a very short time to turn their backs. and flie through their own men, whom they put to great trouble and disorder : so as in the end, the whole Victory fell upon the ROMANS fide, and confequently by means of that Victory, followed the greatness and power of their Empire. For the ROMANS being grown more couragious by this Battell, and having increased their force, and won the reputation of men unconquerable, immediately after conquered all ITALY besides, and soon after that, all SICILIA. To this end (asyousee) came King Pyrrus vain hope he had to conquer ITALY and SICILIA, after he had fpent fix years continually in Wars, during which time his good fortune decayed, and his Army confumed. Notwithstanding, his noble courage remained always invincible, what losses foever he had fultained : and moreover whilest he lived , he was ever esteemed the chiefest of all the Kings and Princes in his time, as well for his experience and fufficiency in Wars, as also for his valiantness and hardiness of his person. But what he wan by famous deeds, he lost by vain hopes: desiring so earnefly that which he had not, as he forgot to keep that which he had. Wherefore An-player. tigonus compared him unto a Dice-player, that cafteth well, and cannot use his luck. Now having Perrus return brought back again with him into Epirus, eight thousand Footmen, and five hundred Horse. into Epirus out men, and being without Money to pay them, he devised with himself to seek out some new of truly, War to entertain those Souldiers, and keep them together. Wherefore upon a new aid of certain GAULS being come unto him, he entred into the Realm of MACEDON (which Antigenus, Demetrius Son held at that time) with intent onely to make a Forrey, and to get some spoil in the Countrey. But when he saw that he had taken divers Holds, and moreover, that two thousand men of War of the Countrey came and yeelded themselves unto him, he began to hope of better fuccess, then at the first he looked for. For upon that hope he marched against King Antizonus self, whom he met in a very straight Valley, and at his first coming, gave such a lufty Charge upon his Rereward, that he put all Antigonus Army in great disorder. For An- Pyrrus victory tigonus had placed the GAULS in the Rereward of his Army to close it in , which were a conve- of Anticonus ment number, and did valiantly defend the first Charge: and the Skirmish was so hot, that the most King of Maco of them were flain. After them the leaders of the Elephants perceiving they were environed on every fide, yeelded themselves and their Beasts. Pyrrus seeing his power to be now increased, with such a supply, trusting more to his good fortune, then any good reason might move him: thrust

PYRRUS

further into the Battell of the MACEDONIANS, who were all afraid, and troubled for the over-

all the Footmen of Antigonus turn wholly to his fide: who flying faved himfelf with a few Horfe-Antigonus thy men, and kept certain of the Cities in his Realm upon the Sea Coast. But Pyrrus in all his prospeeth from King rity judging nothing more to redound to his honour and glory, then the overthrow of the GAULS, layed ailde their goodlieft and richeft Spoils, and offered up the same in the Temple of Minerva Itenida, with this Inscription:

When Pyrrus had subdu'd, the puissant Gauls in fields, He caused of their Spoils to make, these Targets, Arms and Shields: The which he hanged up , in Temple all on high, Before Minerva (goddess here) in signe of victory: When he had overcome, the whole and hugie Hoaft, The which Antigonus did bring , into his Countries Coaft. Ne marvell should it feem , though victory he won, Since valianiness brings victory, and evermore hash done: And valianiness always, bath constantly kept place, From age to age, and time to time, in Alacus his race.

Immediately after this Battell, all the Cities of the Realm of MACEDON yeelded unto him : but when he had the City of ÆGES in his power, he used the Inhabitants thereof very hardly, and specially because he lest a great Garrison of the GAULS there, which he had in pay. This Nation is extream covetous, as then they shewed themselves: for they spared not to break up the Tombs wherein the The coretous. Kings of MACEDON lay buried, and took away all the Gold and Silver they could find: and afterwards with great infolency cast out their bones into the open wind. Pyrrus was told it, but he lightly passed it over, and made no reckoning of it: either because he deferred it till another time, by reason of the Wars he had then in hand:or elle for that he durft not meddle with punishing of these barbarous People at that time. But whatfoever the matter was, the MACEDONIANS were very angry with Pyrrus, and blamed him greatly for it. Furthermore, having not yet made all things fure in MACE-DON, not being fully polleft of the fame: new toys and hopes came in his head, and (mocking Anigonus) faid he was a mad man to go apparelled in Purple like a King, when a poor Cloak might become him like a private man. Now, Cleonymus King of SPARTA being come to procure him to bring his Army into the Countrey of Lacedemon, Pyrrus was very willing to it. This Cleonymus was of the Bloud-royall of Sparta: but because he was a cruell man, and would do all things by authority, they loved him not at SPARTA, nor trusted him at all: and therefore did they put him out, and made Areus King, a very quiet man. And this was the oldest quarrell Cleonymus had against the Common-King of Sparts, wealth of Sparts; but befides that , he had another private quarrell, which grew upon this cause, and Chenymus In his old years, Cleonymus had married a fair young Lady called Chelidonida, which was also of the Bloud-royall, and the Daughter of Leotychidet. This Lady being fallen extreamely in love with Acrotating, King Areus Son, a goodly young Gentleman, and in his lufty youth, the greatly vexed and dithonoured her Husband Ciconymus, who was over head and ears in love and jealoufie with her; for there was not one in all SPARTA, but plainly knew that his Wife made none account of him. And thus his home forrows, being joyned with his outward common griefs, even for fpight, defiring a revenge, in choler he went to procure Pyrrus to come unto SPARTA, to reftore him again to his Kingdom. Hereupon he brought him into LACEDÆNONIA forthwith, with five and twenty thousand Footmen, two thousand Horse, and sour and twenty Elephants: by which preparation, though by nothing elie, the World might plainly fee, that Pyrrus came with a mind not to reftore Cleanymus again unto Sparta, but of intent to conquer for himself (if he could) all the Countrey of Pero-Pyrrus firsts PONNESUS. For in words he denied it to the LACED. EMONIANS themselves, who sent Ambalfadours unto him, when he was in the City of MEGALLPOLIS, where he told them that he was come into Peloponnesus, to fet the Towns and Cities at liberty, which Antigenus kept in bondage:

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one of the Ambassadours called Mondricians, replied again unto him in the LACONIAN Tongue: flost answer to If thou be a god, thou wilt dous no hurt, because we have not offended thee: and if thou be a man, King Pyrras, thou shalt meet with another that shall be better then thy self. Then he marched directly to Spar-TA, where Cleanyours gave him counfell even at the first, to affault it. But he would not so do, fearing (as they faid) that if he did it by night, his Souldiers would fack the City: and faid it should be Pyrras befere time enough to affault it the next day at broad day light, because there were but few men within the Town , and belide they were very ill provided. And furthermore , King Arens himfelf was not there, but gone into CRETA to aid the GORTINIANS, who had Wars in his own Country. And doubtless that onely was the faving of Sparta from taking, that they made no reckoning to affault it hotly: because they thought it was not able to make relistance. For Pyrrus camped before the Town, throughly periwaded with himfelf, that he should find none to fight with him :

and Cleenymus friends and Servants also did prepare his lodging there, as if Pyrrus should have come

and that his true intent and meaning was to fend his young Sons into SPARTA (to they would be

contented) to the end they might be trained after the LACONIAN manner, and from their youth

have this advantage above all other Kings , to have been well brought up. But feigning these things,

and abusing those that came to meet him on his way, they took no heed of him, till he came within

the Coaft of Laconia, into the which he was no fooner entred, but he began to wafte and fpoil the

whole Country. And when the Amhassadours of SPARTA reproved and found fault with him, for

that he made Wars upon them in fuch fort, before he had openly proclaimed it: he made them an-

fwer, No more have you your felves used to proclaim that, which you purposed to do to others. Then

to supper to him, and lodged with him. When night was come, the LACEDEMONIANS counselto upper to thin a same to age. The period of the control of the c But the Women themselves were against it, and there was one among them called Archidamia, who The courage But the women into the Senate-houle with a Sword in her hand, to fpeak unto them in the name of all the reft, of the women and faid: That they did their Wives great wrong, if they thought them to faint-hearted, as to live after et Sparta. SPARTA was destroyed. Afterwards it was agreed in Councill, that they should cast a Trench before the Enemies Camp, and that at both ends of the fame they should bury Carts in the ground unto the middeft of the wheels, to the end that being faft fer in the ground, they should stay the Elephanes, and keep them from passing further. And when they began to go in hand withall, there came Wives Women and Maids unto them, fome of them their clothes girtup round about them, and others all in their wrought in the fmocks, to work at this Trench with the old men, advising the young men that should fight the next morning, to reft themselves in the mean while. So the Women took the third part of the Trench to task, which was fix cubits broad, four cubits deep, and eight hundred foot long, as Philareus faith, or little less as Hieronymus writeth. Then when the break of day appeared, and the Enemies removed to come to the affault: the Women themselves letched the Weapons, which they put into the young mens hands, and delivered them the task of the Trench ready made, which they before had undertaken, praying them valiantly to keep and defend it, telling them withall, how great a pleasure it Women endertaken, praying them values, fighting in view and fight of their native Countrey, and what great felicity and honour it is to die in the arms of his Mother and Wife, after he had fought valiantly like an men to fight. honest man, and worthy of the magnanimity of Sparta, But Chelidonida being gone afide, had tied a halter with a riding knot about her neck, ready to ftrangle and hang her felf, rather then to fall into the hands of Clerymus, if by change the City should come to be taken. Now Pyrrus mar Pyrrus Battell. the internal of Circulum, against the front of the Spartans, who being a great number also, did tarry his coming on the other side of the Trench: the which, besides that it was very ill to pass over, did lett the Souldiers to fight steadily in order of Battell, because the earth bevery in to pais over, and return comments of the Wherefore Trolomie, King Tyrru Son, passing newly cast up, did yeeld under their feet. Wherefore Trolomie, King Tyrru Son, passing all along the Trench fide with two thousand GAULS, and all the choice men of the CHAONIANS, affayed if he could get over to the other fide at one of the ends of the Trench where the Carts were: which being fet very deep into the ground, and one joyned unto another, they did not onely hinder the affaylants, but the defendants also. Howbeit in the end, the Gauss began to pluck off the wheels of these Carts, and to draw them into the River. But Acrosatus, King Arem Son, a young man, feeing the danger, ran through the City with a Troup of three hundred lufty Youths young man, the parties are the period of the low way till he came even to give the Charge upon them: whereby they were enforced to turn their faces towards him, one running in anothers neck, and fo in great diforder were thruft into the Trenches, and under the Carts: infomuch as at the last, with much ado, and great bloudshed, Acrosatus and his Company drave them back, and repulfed them. Now the Women and old men, that were on the other fide of the Trench, faw plainly before their face, how valiantly Acrotain had repulfed the Gauls. Wherefore after Acrotatin had done this Exploit, he returned again through the Acrotatus vali-City unto the place from whence he came, all on a goar bloud: couragious and lively, for the Vi. annets. droy he came newly from. The women of Sparta thought Account far more noble and fairer to behold, then ever he was: fo that they all thought Chelidonida happy to have fuch a friend and lover. And there were certain old men, that followed him crying after him, Go thy way, Acreratus, and enjoy thy Love Chelidonida, beget noble Children of her unto Sparta. The Fight was cruell on that fide where Pyrrus was, and many of the SPARTAN'S fought very valiantly. Howbeit, amongst other, there was one named Phillius, who after he had fought long, and slain many of his Enemies with his own hands, that forced to passover the Trench, perceiving that his heart fainted for the great number of wounds he had upon him, called one of them that were in the rank next behind him, and giving him his place, fell down dead in the arms of his friends, because his Enenies should not have his body. In the end, the Battell having continued all the day long, the night did feparace them: and Pyrrus, being laid in his bed, had this Vision in his sleep. He thought he stroke Pyrrus dream, the City of LACED. MON with lightning, that he utterly confumed it: whereat he was so passing glad, that even with the very joy he awaked: and thereupon forthwith commanded his Captains to make their men ready to the affault, and told his Dream unto his familiars, supposing that our of doubt it did betoken he should in that approach take the City. All that heard it, believed it was so, faving one Lysimachus, who to the contrary said, that this Vision liked him not, because the places finitten with lightning are holy, and it is not lawfull to enter into them: by reason whereof he was also asraid, that the gods did fignific unto him, that he should not enter into the City of Sparta. Pyrrus answered him: That, faid he, is a matter disputable to and fro in an open Assembly of People, for there is no manner of certainty in it. But furthermore, every man must take his Weapon in his hand, and fet this Sentence before his eyes:

A right good thing it is, that he would hazard life, In just defence of Masters Cause, with Spear and blondy Knife.

Alluding unto Homers Verses, which he wrote for the defence of his Countrey. And saying thus, he role, and at the break of day led his Army unto the affault. On the other fide also, the LACE-DEMONIANS with a marvellous courage and magnanimity, far greater then their force, bestirred themselves wonderfully to make resistance, having their Wives by them, that gave them their Gg3

PYRRVS.

Weapons wherewith they fought, and were ready at hand to give meat and drink to them that needed, and did also withdraw those that were hurt to cure them. The MACEDONIANS likewise for their part, endeavoured themselves with all their might to fill up the Trench with Wood and other things, which they caft upon the dead Bodies and Armours lying in the bottom of the Ditch : and the LACEDEMONIANS again, laboured all they could possible to lett them. But in this great broil, one perceived Pyrrus on horfeback to have leaprthe Trench, paft over the ftrength of the Carts, and made force to enter into the City. Wherefore those that were appointed to defend that part of the Trench, cried out straight, and the women fell a shrieking, and running as if all had been lost. And as Pyrru passed surther, striking down with his own hands all that stood before him, a CRETAN fhot at him, and stroke his Horse through both sides: who leaping out of the prease for pain of his wound, dying, carried Pyrrm away, and threw him upon the hanging of a fteep hill, where he was in Pyrrus in dan- great danger to fall from the top. This put all his servants and friends about him in a marvellous fear, of his life, at and therewithall the LACEDEMONIANS feeing them in this fear and trouble, ran immediately unto that place, and with force of thos drave them all out of the Trench. After this retire, Tyrus caufed all affault to ceafe, hoping the LACEDEMONIANS in the end would yeeld, confidering there were many of them slain in the two days past, and all the rest in a manner hurt. Howbeit, the good fortune of the City (whether it were to prove the valiantness of the Inhabitants themselves, or at the leaft to shew what power they were of , even in their greatest need and diffres, when the LACE-D.EMONIANS had small hope left) brought one Aminias Phocian from CORINTH, one of King Antigonia Captains, with a great Band of men, and put them into the City to aid them : and ftraight after him, as foon as he was entred, King Arem arrived also on the other fide from CRE-King Areurat- TA, and two thouland Souldiers with him. So the women went home to their Houles, making their rived in Sparts reckoning that they should not need any more to trouble themselves with Wars. They gave the old men liberty also to go and rest themselves, who being past all age to fight, for necessity sake yet were driven to arm themselves, and take Weapon in hand : and in order of Battell placed the newcome Souldiers in their rooms, Pyrrus understanding that new Supplies were come, grew to greater Romach then before, and enforced all that he could to win the Town by affault. But in the end, when to his cost he found that he wan nothing but blows, he gave over the Siege, and went to spoil all the Country about, determining to lie there in Garrison all the Winter. He could not for all this Sedition in the avoid his deftiny: for there rose a sedition in the City of Argos between two of the chiefest Ci-City of Arges, tizens, Aristess and Aristipps: and because Aristess thought that King Antigonss did favour his Enemy Arifippus, he made hafte to fend first unto Pyrrus, whose nature and disposition was such that he did continually heap hope upon hope, ever taking the prefent prosperity, for an occasion to hope after greater to come. And if it fell outhe was a loler, then he fought to recover himself, and to reftore his loss by some other new attempts. So that neither for being Conquerour, nor overcome, he would ever be quiet, but always troubled some, and himself also: by reason whereof, he suddenly Pyrrurrepulfed departed towards Arcos. But King Arem having laid Ambushes for him in divers places, and or cupied also the straightest and hardest passages, by the which he was to pass, gave a Charge upon goethunto Ar- the Gaules and Molossians, which were in the tail of his Army. Now, the felf-same day Pyrru was warned by a Soothfayer, who facrificing had found the Liver of the facrificed Beaft intercted : that it betokened the lofs of some most near unto him. But when he heard the noise of the charge given, he thought not on the warning of the Soothfayer, but commanded his Son to take his houlhold Servants with him, and to go thinher; and he himfelf in the mean time with as great hafte as he could, made the reft of his Army to march, to get them quickly out of this dangerous way. The Fray was very hot about Prolomit, Pyrrus Son, for they were all the chiefmen of the Lacedemonians with whom he had to do, led by a valiant Captain, called Engless. But Prolomic King as he fought valiantly against those that stood before him, there was a Souldier of CRETA called Crafus, born in the City of APTERA, a man very ready of his hand, and light of foot, who fain by Gra- running along by him, ftroke him fuch a blow on his fide, that he fell down dead in the place. This Prince Prolomie being flain, his Company began straight to flie: and the LACEDEMONIANS followed the chase so horly, that they took no heed of themselves, untill they saw they were in the plain Field far from their Footmen. Wherefore , Pyrrus unto whom the death of his Son was newly reported, being on fire with forrow and pallion, turned fuddenly upon them with the men of Arms of the MOLOSSIANS, and being the first that came unto them, made a marvellous slaughter among them. For, notwithstanding that every where before that time he was terrible and invincible, having his Sword in hishand; yet then he did shew more proof of his valiantness, strength, and courage, then he had ever done before. And when he had fet spurs to his Horse against Exalcm to close with him: Enalem turned on the one fide, and gave Pyrrm fuch a blow with his Sword, that he miffed little the cutting off his bridle hand : for he cut indeed all the rains of the bridle afunder. But Pyrrus ftraight ran him through the body with his Spear, and lighting off from his Horse, he put all the Troup of the LACEDEMONIANS to the Sword that were about the body of Enalem, being all chofen men. Thus the ambition of the Captains was cause of that loss unto their Eualeus. Countrey for nothing, confidering that the Wars against them were ended. But Pyrrus having now as it were made Sacrifice of these poor bodies of the LACEDAMONIANS, for the soul of his dead Son, and fought thus wonderfully also, to honour his Funerals, converting a great part of his forrow for his death, into anger and wrath against the Enemies : he afterwards held on his way directly towards ARGOS. And norwithflanding that King Antigonus had already feized the Hills

that were over the Valley, he lodged near unto the City of NAUPLIA: and the next morning following fent an Herauld unto Antigonm, and gave him defiance, calling him wicked man, and challenged him to come down into the Valley to fight with him, to try which of them two should be King. Antigoniu made him answer, that he made Wars as much with time as with Weapon: and turther-dinigrams snmore, that if Pyrrus were weary of his life, he had ways enough open to put himfelf to death. The five to Pyrrus change of August also fent Ambassadours unto them both to pray them to denote the hour both to pray the hour both to pray the hour both to be a second to be a s Citizens of Argos also fent Ambassadours unto them both, to pray them to depart, fith they knew that there was nothing for them to fee in the City of ARGOS, and that they would let it be a neuter, and friend unto them both. King Anisgonus agreed unto it, and gave them his Son for Hostage. Pyrrus also made them fair promise to do so too, but because he gave no caution nor sufficient pledge to perform it, they mistrusted him the more. Then there fell out many great and wonderfull to kens, as well unto Pyrrm, as unto the ARGIVES. For Pyrrm having facrificed Oxen, their heads Tokens of being stricken off from their bodies, they thrust out their tongues, and licked up their own bloud, Prival death. And within the City of Arcos, a Sifter of the Temple of Apollo Lycias, called Apollonide, ran through the streets, crying out that she saw the City sull of murther, and bloud running all about, and an Eagle that came unto the fray, howbeit she vanished away suddenly, and no body knew what became of her. Pyrru then coming hard to the Walls of Argos in the night, and finding one of the Gates called Diamperes, opened by Arifleas, he put in his GAULES: who possessed the Market-place before the Citizens knew any thing of it. But because the Gate was too low to pass the Pyrrus Fight Elephants through with their Towers upon their backs, they were driven to take them off, and af- in the City of terwards when they were within, to put them on in the dark, and in tumult: by reason whereof Argon. they loft much time, so that the Citizens in the end perceived it, and ran incontinently unto the they loft much time, to that the Chizens make end perceived it, and ran incontinently unto the Caffle of Afpides, and into other strong places of the City. And therewithall, they sent with pre-Asile in Arginetic and the base of the Castle in Arginetic and the strong places of the City and the strong places of the City. fent speed unto Antigonsa, to pray him to come and help them, and so he did: and after he was got. come hard to the Walls, he remained without with the Scouts, and in the mean time fent his Son with his chiefeft Captains into the Town, who brought a great number of good Souldiers, and men of War with him. At the same time also arrived Arem King of SPARTA, with a thousand of the CRETANS, and most lusty SPARTANS: all which joyning together, came to give a Charge upon the GAULES that were in the Market-place, who put them in a marvellous fear and hazard, Pyrrus entring on that fide also of the City called Cylabaris with terrible noyse and cries, when he understood that the GAULES answered him not lustily and couragiously, he doubted straight that it was the voyce of men diftreffed, and that had their hands full. Wherefore, he came on with speed to relieve them, thrusting the Horsemen forward that marched before him with great danger and pain, by reason of the holes and finks, and water conduits, whereof the City was full. By this mean there was a wonderfull confusion amongst them, as may be thought fighting by night, where no man faw what he had to do, nor could hear what was commanded, by reafon of the great noise they made, straying here and there up and down the streets, the one feattered from the other : neither could the Captains fet their men in order , as well for the darkness of the night, as also for the confused tumult that was all the City over, and for that the ftreets also were very narrow. And therefore they remained on both fides without doing any thing looking for day light: at the drawing whereof, Fyrrm perceived the Castle of Aspides, full of his armed Enemies. And furthermore, fuddenly as he was come into the Market-place, amongst many other goodly common Works set out to beautifie the same, he spied the Images of a Bull and a Wolf in Copper, the which fought one with another. This fight made him afraid, because at that A Boll and present he remembred a Prophecie that had been told him, that his end and death should be when Wolfin cophe saw a Wolf and Bull fight together. The Arg 1 years report, that these Images were fet up in the Market-place for the remembrance of a certain chance that hand handened in the City of the Market-place, for the remembrance of a certain chance that had happened in their Country. Argo fighting For when Danam came thither first, by the way called Pyramia (as one would fay, Land fown with regether. Corn) in the Countrey of THYREATIDE, he faw as he went, a Wolf fight with a Bull: where- Danase want upon he flayed to fee what the end of their fight would come to, supposing the case in himself, that the City of the Wolf was of his fide because that being a ftranger as he was he came to forming the near Afgor from the Wolf was of his fide, because that being a stranger as he was, he came to setupon the natu- King Gelanor. rall Inhabitants of the Countrey. The Wolf in the end obtained the victory: wherefore Danam Apollo Lycin. making his Prayer unto Apollo Lycias, followed on his Enterprife, and had fo good fuccels, that he drave Gelanor out of ARCOS, who at that time was King of the ARGIVES. And thus you Gelanor King hear the cause why they say these Images of the Wolf and Bull were set up in the Market-place of of the Argives. Argos. Pyrru being half discouraged with the fight of them, and also because nothing tell out well according to his expectation, thought best to retire: but fearing the straightness of the Gates of the City, he fent unto his Son Heleniu, whom he had left without the City with the greatest Heleniu, Pyrpart of his force and Army, commanding him to overthrow a piece of the Wall, that his men might 744, \$00. the more readily get out, and that he might receive them, if their Enemies by chance did hinder their coming out. But the Meffenger whom he fent, was so hasty and fearfull, with the tumult that troubled him in going out, that he did not well understand what Fyrrus said unto him, but reported his Mesfage quite contrary. Whereupon the young Prince Helenss taking the best Souldiers he had with him, and the rest of his Elephants, entred into the City to help his Father, who was now giving back: and so long as he had room to fight at ease, retiring still, he valiantly repulsed those that set upon him, turning his face oft unto them. But when he was driven unto the ftreet that went from the Marketplace to the Gate of the City, he was kept in with his own men that entred at the same Gate to help him. But they could not hear when Pyrru cried out, and bade them go back, the noise was so great :

The strange love of an Elekeeper.

King Pyrras

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Antizonus

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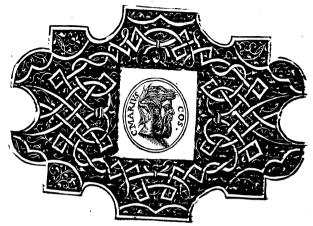
wards Pyrras

and though the first had heard him, and would have gone back, yet they that were behind, and did fill thrult forward into the preafe, did not permit them. Befides this moreover, the biggeft of all the Elephants by misfortune fell down overthwart the Gate, where he grinding his teeth, did hinder thole also, that would have come out and given back. Furthermore, another of the Elephants that were entred before into the City, called *Nicon* (as much to say, as conquering) feeking his Government of the city of the cit nour that was firicken down to the ground from his back with terrible blows, ran upon them that came back upon him, overthrowing friends and foes one in anothers neck, till at the length having found the body of his Mafter flain, he lift him up from the ground with his tronk, and carrying him upon his two tushes, returned back with great fury, treading all under feet he found in his way. Thus every man being thronged and crowded up together in this fort, there was not one that could help himself; for it feemed to be a mass and heap of a multitude, and one whole body thut together, which fometime thrust forward, and fometime gave back, as the fway went. They fought not fo much against their Enemies , who set upon them behind : but they did themselves more hurt then their Enemies did. For if any drew out his Sword, or based his Pike, he could neither feabard the one again, nor lift up the other, but thruft it full upon his own fellows that came in to help them, and so killed themselves one trusting upon another. Wherefore Pyrius seeing his People thus troubled and harried to and fro, took his Crown from his head which he wore upon his Helmet, that made him known of his men afar off, and gave it unto one of his familiars that was next unto him: and trufting then to the goodness of his Horse, flew upon his Enemies that followed him. It fortuned that one hurt him with a Pike, but the wound was neither dangerous nor great: wherefore Pyrrm fet upon him that had hurt him, who was an Argian born, a man of mean coadition, and a poor old Womans Son, whose Mother at that present time was gotten up to the top of the tiles of a House, as all other Women of the City were, to see the Fight. And the perceiving that it was her Son whom Pyrrus came upon, was so atrighted to see him in that danger, that she took a tile, and with both her hands caft it upon Pyrrm. The tile falling off from his head by reason of his Head-piece, lighted till in the nape of his neck, and brake his neck-bone afunder: wherewith he was fuddenly fo benummed, that he loft his fight with the blow, the rains of his bridle fell out of his hand, and himfelf fell from his Horse to the ground, by Liejmmias Tomb, before any manknew what he was, at the leaft the common People. Untill at the last there came one Zopyrus that was in pay with Antigenus, and two or threeother Souldiers also that ran straight to the place, and knowing him, dragged his body into a Gate, even as he was coming again to himself out of this trance. This Zopyrus drew out a SLAVON Sword he wore by his fide, to strike off his head. But Pyrrus cast such a grim countenance on him between his eyes, that made him to afraid, and his hand to to shake therewith, that being thus amazed, he did not strike him right in the place where he should have cut off his head, but killed him under his mouth about his chin, fo that he was a great while ere he could ftrike off his head. The matter was straight blown abroad amongst divers : whereupon Alejonens running King Antiso- thither, asked for the head that he might know it again. But when he had it, he ran prefently unto his Father withall, and found him talking with his familiar friends, and caft Pyrrus head before him. Antigonus looking uponit, when he knew it, laid upon his Son with his staff, and called him cruell murderer and unnaturall barbarous beaft: and so hiding his eyes with his Cloak, wept for pity (remembring the fortune of his Grandfather Anigona;, and of his Father Demetrius) and then caused Pyrns head and body to be honourably burnt and buried. Afterwards Alegoneus meeting Heleuss (King Pyrrus Son) in very poor efface, mufled up with a poor short Cloak, used him very courteoutly with gentle words, and brought him to his Father. Antigonus feeing his Son bringing of him, faid unto him : This part now (my Son) is better then the first, and pleaseth me a great deal more. But yet thou haft not done all thou shouldest : for thou shouldest have taken from him his beggarly Cloak he weareth, which doth more fhame us that are the gainers, then him that is the lofer. After he had spoken these words, Antigonus embraced Helinus, and having apparelled him in good fort, fent him home with honourable Convoy into the Realm of EPIRUS. Furthermore, feizing all Pyrrus Camp and Army, he courteoutly used all his friends and Servants.

The end of the life of Pyrrus.

THE

THE LIFE OF CAIUS MARIUS.



Anno Mundi. 3862.

Ant. Christ.



is not known what was the third name of Cains Marius, no more then of Quinius Sertorius, who had all SPAIN in his hands at one time: nor of Lucius Mammius, he that destroyed the City of CORINTH. For this Name of Achaitus that was given unto Mummius, of Africanus unto Scipio, and of Numidicus unto Metelliss: were all Surnames given them, The names of by reason of the Conquests they wan. By this reason Posiaonius think- the Romanes. eth to overcome them that fay, that the third Name the ROMANS have, is their proper Name : as Camillus, Marcellus, Cato. For if it fell out fo, faid he, then it must needs follow, that they which have two Names,

should have no proper Name. But on the other side also, he doth not confider that by the like reason he should say, that women have no Names: for there is not a woman in ROME that is called by her first Name, which Posidonius judgeth to be the proper Name of the Ro-NANS. And that of the other two, the one is the common Name of all the House or Family, as of the POMPEIANS, of the MANLIANS, and of the CORNELIANS, like as the HERACLI-DES and the PELOPIDES are amongst the GRECIANS: and the other is a Surname taken of the deeds, or of the nature, form, or shape of the body, or of some other like accident, as are these Surnames, Macrimus, Torquatus, and Sylla. Even as amongst the GRECIANS likewife, Mnemon, which fignifieth having good memory: Grypos, having a crooked note: Callinices, conquering. But as for that, the dwerfity of cuftom would deliver objection sufficient to the contrary, to him that lifted. And furthermore, as touching the favour of Marius face, we have feen an Image of his in Marble at RA- Marius favour, VENNA, a City of the GAULS, which doth lively represent that rough severity of nature and manners, which they say was in him. For being born a rough man by nature, and given to the Wars, and having followed the same altogether from his youth, more then the civil life: when he came to Authority, he could not bridle his anger and cholerick nature. And they fay furthermore, that he never learned the Greek Tongue, nor used it in any matters of weight: as though it had been a norskill of the mockery to fludy to learn the Tongue, the Mafters whereof lived in bondage under others. After Greek Tongue, his fecond Triumph, in the dedication of a certain Temple, he made Greek Playes to shew the ROMANS pastime : and came into the Theater , howbeit he did but fit down onely , and went his way straight. Wherefore methinks, that as Plato was wont to say oft unto Xenocrates the Philosopher, who was of a currish nature, had his head ever occupied, and too severe: * *Xenocrates, my friend, I pray thee do Sacrifice to the Graces. So if any man could have perfusaded Marins to have facility to the Acceptance of ced to the Maris, and to the GRECIAN Graces: (that is to fay, that he had known the Greek to Xenterstee, Tongue) to fo many famous and glorious deeds as he did, both in Peace and Wars, he had not joyned so unfortunate and miserable an end as he made, through his choler and extream ambition,

make (hipwrack of all, in a most cruell, bloudy, and unnaturall rage. The which is easily known in

ty, and to learn the civility and manners of Rome, having been brought up always before in a little

poor Village called Cirrofaton, within the Territory of the City of Arros: where he led

a hard Countrey life, in respect of those that lived pleasantly and finely in the Cities, but otherwise

well reformed, and nearest unto the manners of the ancient ROMANS. The first Journeyhe made

unto the Wars, was against the Celtiberians in Spain, under Scipio African, when

he went to befiege the City of Numantia: where his Captains in short time found that he was a

better Souldier then any other of his companions. For he did marvellous eafily receive the reformati-

on of manners, and the Discipline of Wars which Scipio advanced amongst his Souldiers, that were

conjecturing the end, by feeing of the beginning. Well, it fortuned to, that these words of Scipio

and therewithall prefently to call Marius before them to yeeld a reason of his doing. So was it agreed

upon in Senate. Now Marius coming into the Senate, was not abashed at any thing, as some other young man would have been, that had but newly begun to enter into the World as he did, and ha-

ving no other notable calling or quality in him, faving his vertue onely to commend him; but taking

boldness of himself (as the noble acts he afterwards did , gave shew of his valour) he openly

threatned the Confull Cotts to fend him to Prison, if he did not presently withdraw the conclusion he had caused to be resolved upon. The Consult then turning himself unto Cacilius Merellus, as-

ked how he liked it? Metellus standing up, spake in the behalf of the Consull: and then Marius

calling a Serjeant out, commanded him to take Metellin felf, and to carry him to Prison. Metal-

Its appealed to the other Tribunes, but never a one would take his matter in hand : fo that the Se-

nate when all was done, were compelled to call back the conclusion that before was taken. Then

judgement of to flew from his youth that one day he should come to be a great man, and the other also for wisely

Marius Parents, market in particular of their livings by favore their brows. His Father as himfelf, was and Country. and Country. called Cains: Fulcinia washis Mother. And this was the cause why he began to late to haunt the (i-

Marius firit the Wars.

ill trained before, and given over to all pleasure. And they say, that in the sight of his Generall he fought hand to hand with one of his Enemies, and flew him: upon which occasion, Scipio to make him love him, did offer him many courtefies and pleafures. But specially one day above the rest, having made him sup with him at his Table, some one after Supper falling in talk of Captains that were in ROME at that time : one that flood by Scipio, asked him (either because indeed he flood in doubt, or else for that he would curry favour with Scipio) what other Captain the ROMANS Thould have after his death, like unto him. Scipio having Marins by him, gently clapped him upon scipio Africas the shoulders, and said: Peradventure this shall be he. Thus happily were they both born, the one

(by report) above all things elie put Marius in a good hope, as if they had been spoken by the Oracle of fome god, and made him bold to deal in matters of State and Common-wealth: where by means of the favour and countenance Cacilius Mesellus gave him (whose house his Father and he had always followed and honoured) he obtained the office of Tribuneship. In this Office he preferred Martar Tri-

a Law touching the manner how to give the voyces in election of the Magistrates, which did seem to take from the Nobility the Authority they had in Judgement, And therefore the Confull Cotta Repped up against it, and perswaded the Senate to resist that Law, and not suffer it to be authorised, bune of the Costa Confull.

Marim returning with great honour into the Market-place among the Assembly of the People, caufed this Law to pass and be authorized: and every man held opinion of him that he would prove a ftout man, and such a one, as would not stoop for any fear, nor shrink for bashfulness, but would beard the Senate in favour of the People. Notwithstanding he shortly after changed opinion, and altered the first, by another act he made: for when another went about to have a Law made, to distribute Corn unto every Citizen without payment of any penny, he was vehemently against it, and overthrew it! fo that thereby he came to be alike honoured and efteened of either party, as he that would neither pleasure the one, nor the other, to the prejudice of the Common-wealth. After he had been Tribune, he fued for the chiefest Office of Ædilis. Of the Ædilis there are two forts : the first is called Lealitas Curulu, so named, because of certain Chairs that have croo-Filing Cu- ked feet, upon which they fit when they give audience. The other is of lefs dignity, and that is called Malitas Popularis. And when they have chosen the first and greater Ædilis at ROME, they presently proceed the same day also in the Market-place unto election of the lesser. Marius see-Fairer. Marian denied ing plainly that he was put by the chiefeft of the Ædiles, turned again straight yet to demand the to be Ædilis. Second: but this was milliked in him, and they took him for too bold, too fhameless, and too prefumptuous a man. So that in one felt-day he had two denials and repulses, which never man Maria chosen but himself before had. And nevertheless, all this could not cut his comb, but shortly after he fued also for the Pratorship, and he lacked but a little of the denial of that; yet in the end, being last of all chosen, he was accused to have bribed the People, and bought their voyces for Money. And furely amongst many other, this prefumption was very great: that they saw a man of Coffins S.Ab.100 within the Bars where the election is made, running to and fro among them that gave their voyces, because this Sabacon was Morim very great friend. The matter came before the Judges, and Sabacon was examined upon it: whereunto he answered, that for the great extream hear he felt, he was very dry, and asked for cold water to drink, and that his man had brought him some and your put off in a pot where he was, howbeit that he went his way as foon as ever he had drunk. This Subacon was afterwards put out of the Senate by the next Cenfors, and many judge that he was worthy

of this infamy, for that he was perjured in judgement, or because he was so subject and given to his pleasure. Caim Herennim was also called for a winness against Marins: but he did alledge for his Csins Herennie excuse, that the Law and custome did dispense with the Patron, to be a witness against his follower in pleaced in and Client; and he was quit by the Judges. For the ROMANS always call those Fatrons, who Marins behalf rake the protection of meaner then themselves into their hands: saving that Marins indeed with the saving in the saving the decided with the saving th take the protection of meaner then themselves into their hands: saying, that Marius redecessors, Patron and and Marius himself, had ever been followers of the House of the HERENNIANS. The Judges Client. received his answer, and allowed thereof. But Marin spake against it, alledging that since he had received this honour to bear Office in the Common-wealth, he was now grown from this base condition, to be any more a follower of any man: the which is not true in all. For every Office of a Magistrate doth not exempt him that hath the Office nor yet his Posterity to be under the Patronage of another, nor doth discharge him from the duty of honouring them; but of necessity he must be a Magistrate, which the Law doth permit to sit in the crooked Chair called Curulis, that is to say, carried upon a Chariot through the City. But notwithstanding that at the first hearing of this Cause, Marius had but ill fuccels, and that the Judges were against him all they could: yet in the end for all that, at the laft hearing of this matter, Marius, contrary to all mens opinions, was discharged because the Judges opinions with and against him fell to be of like number. He used himself very orderly in his Office of Pratorship, and after his year was out, when it came to divide the Provinces Maring Sts in by lot , SPAIN fell unto him , which is beyond the River of Batis: where it is reported , that he Spain. fowred all the Countrey thereabours of Theeves and Robbers, which notwithstanding was yet very The opinion cruell and savage, for the rude, barbarous, and uncivil manner and fashion of life of the Inhabitures of Symiats in cruell and favage, for the rude, barbarous, and uncivill manner and fashion of life of the Inhabitants of Spaniar old time. there. For the Spaniards were of opinion even at that time, that it was a goodly thing to live Hoquence and upon theft and robbery. At his return to ROME out of SPAIN, defiring to deal in matters of riches raifed the Common-wealth, he faw that he had neither eloquence nor riches, which were the two means, by men to authority the commonwealth, are law that a man and a company the state of the state of the state of the which those that were at that time in credit and authority, did carry the People even as they would.

How Marine Credit and ethic credit and authority of the law found in him, of his credit and ethic c great pains and travell he took continually, and of the simplicity of his life: which were causes matten grew. to bring him to honour and preferment, infomuch as he married very highly. For he married Julia, Marins Inlia, that was of the noblest House of the Cafars, and Aunt unto Julius Cafar: who afterwards Wife. came to be the chiefest man of all the ROMANS, and who by reason of that alliance between Marins temper them feemed in somethings to follow Marins as we have written in his I if. them, feemed in somethings to follow Marius, as we have written in his Life. Marius was a man ence. of great temperance and patience, as may be judged by an act he did, putting himself into the hands of thyrurgions. For his shanks and legs were full of great swollen veins, and being angry because it was no pleasant thing to behold, he determined to put himself into the hands of Chyrurgions to be cured. And first, laying out one of his legs to the Chyrurgion to work upon, he would not be bound as others are in like case: but patiently abode all the extream pains a man must of necessity feel being cue, without stirring, groaning, or fighing, still keeping his countenance, and faid never a word. But when the Chyrurgion had done with his first leg, and would have gone to the other, he would not give it him: Nay, faid he, I fee the Cure is not worth the pain I must abide. Afterwards Cecil. 18 Metellus the Consult, being appointed to go into Africk Cacillus Metel. to make War with King Jugurth, took Marius with him for one of his Lieutenants. Marius lus Confide. being there, feeing notable good fervice to be done, and occasion to shew his manhood, was Marins Metelnot of mind in this Voyage to increase Metellas honour and reputation, as other Lieutenants did: lus Lieutenants not of mind in this voyage to metalis that called him forth for his Lieutenant, but Fortune her man the war and thought that it was not Metalis that called him forth for his Lieutenant, but Fortune her gaing #ganto felf that presented him a fit occasion to raise him to greatness, and (as it were) did lead him by the hand into a goodly Field, to put him to the proof of that he could do. And for this cause therefore, he endeavoured himself to shew all the possible proofs of valiantness and honour he could. For the Wars being great continually there, he never for fear refused any attempt or fervice, how dangerous or painfull foever it were, neither disdained to take any fervice in hand, were it never to little: but exceeding all other his fellows and companions in wildom and forefight in that which was to be done, and striving with the meanest Souldiers in living hardly and painfully, he wan the good-will and favour of every man. For to fay truly, it is a great comfort and refreshing to Souldiers that labour, to have companions that labour willingly with them. For that they think, that their company labouring with them, doth in manner take away the compulfion and The labour necessity. Furthermore, it pleaseth the ROMAN Souldier marvellously to see the Generall eat and presence of the Generall openly of the same bread he eateth, or that he lieth on a hard bed as he doth, or that himself is the maketh the first man to set his hand to any work when a Trench is to be cast, or their Camp to be fortified. For Souldiers work they do not fo much efteem the Captains that honour and reward them, as they do those that in willinglydangerous attempts, labour and venture their lives with them. And further, they do far better love them that take pains with them, then those that suffer them to live idlely by them. Marine performing all this, and winning thereby the love and good-wills of his Souldiers: he straight filled all LYBIA and the City of ROME with his glory, so that he was in every mans mouth. For they that were in the Camp in Africk, wrote unto them that were at Rome, that they should never see the end of those Wars against this barbarous King, if they gave not the charge unto Marins, and chose him Marins the au-

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Confull. These things milliked Metellin very much, but specially the misfortune that came upon Tur-thour of Turpipilius did marvelloully trouble him : which fell out in this fort : Turpilius was Metellus friend, yea lius falle accuhe and all his Parents had followed Metellin in this War, being Mafter of the Works in his Camp, fation and Metelliss made him Governour over the City of VACCA, a goodly great City : and he using death.

Vocca a great City. The cause of Turpilius.

Turpilius wrongfully put to death.

Marius firft time of being Confull.

the inhabitants of the same very gently and courteously, miltrusted nothing till he was fallen into the hands of his Enemies through their Treason. For they had brought King Jugueth into their City unknown to him, howbeit they did him no hurt, but onely begged him of the King, and let him go his way fafe. And this was the cause why they actured Turpiliu of Treason: Marius being one of the supposed this Judges in the Councill, was not contented to be bitter to him himself, but moved many of the treaton against his Judges in the Councill, was not contented to be bitter to him himself, but moved many of the Council besides to be against him : so that Metellus by the voyces of the People, was driven against his will to condemn him to fuffer as a Traytor: and (horrly after it was found and proved, that Turpiliu was wrongfully condemned and pur 10. death. To fay truly, there was not one of the Councill but were very forry with Metellus, who marvelloully impatiently took the death of the poor innocent. But Marim contrarily rejoyced, and took it upon him that he pursued his death, and was not afhamed to make open vaunts, that he had hanged a fury about Metellus neck, to revenge his friends bloud, whom he guiltlefs had caufed to be put to death. After that time they became mortall enemies. And they say, that one day Metellus to mock him withall, faid unto him: O good man, thou wilt leave us then, and return to ROME to fue for the Confulfhip: and canft thou not be Displeasure contented to tarry to be Consull with my Son? Now his Son at that time was but a boy. But betwitt Metel-howfoever the matter went, Marina left him not fo, but laboured for leave all he could possible. And Metellus after he had used many delays and excuses, at the length gave him leave, twelve days onely before the day of election of the Confuls. Wherefore Marine made hafte, and in two days and a night came from the Camp to UTICA upon the Sea fide, which is a marvellous way from it: and there before he took Ship, did Sacrifices unto the gods, and the Soothfayer told him, that the gods by the figns of his Sacrifices, did promife him uncredibile prosperity, and so great, as he himself durft not hope after. These words made Marius heart greater: whereupon hehoited Sail, and having a passing good gale of wind in the poop of the Ship, passed the Seas in four days, and being landed, rode poste to ROME. When he was arrived, he went to shew himself unto the People; who were marvellous defirous to fee him. And being brought by one of the Tribunes of the People unto the Pulpit for Orations, after many acculations which he objected against Mitelim, in the end he befought the People to choose him Confull, promising that within sew days he would either kill, or take King Jugarib Prisoner. Whereupon he was chosen Consull without any contradiction, And fo foon as he was proclaimed, he began immediately to leaviemen of War, causing many poor men that had nothing, and many Slaves also, to be enrolled against the order of ancient custom: where other Captains before him did receive no fuch manner of men, and did no more fuffer unworthy men to be Souldiers, then they did allow of unworthy Officers in the Common-wealth: indoing the which every one of them that were enrolled, left their Goods behind them, as a pledge of their good service abroad in the Wars. Yet this was not the matter that made Marius to be most hated, but they were his front proud words full of contempt of others, that did chiefly offend the No-Maries offend-blemen in the City. For he proclaimed it every where abroad as it were, that his Confulfhip was a ed the Nobili- spoil he had gotten of the effeminate rich Noblemen through his valiantness, and that the wounds which he had upon his body for the fervice of the Common-weal, were those that recommended him to the People, and were his strength, and not the Monuments of the dead, nor the Images and Statues of others. And off times naming Albinus, and otherwhile Beffix, both Noblemen, and of great Houses, who having been Generals of the ROMAN Army, had very ill fortune in the Countrey of LyBIA: he called them cowards and simple Souldiers, asking them that were about him , if they did not think that their Ancestors would rather have wished to have left their Children that came of them like unto himfelf, then such as they had been: considering that they themselves had won honour and glory, not for that they were defeended of noble bloud, but through their deferved vertue and valiant deeds. Now Marine spake not these words in a toolish bravery, and for vain glory onely, to purchase the ill will of the Nobility for nothing : but the common People being very glad to fee him shame and despight the Senate, and measuring always the greatness of his courage with his haughty fierce words, they egged him forward still not to spare the Nobility, and to reprove the great men; so that he ever held with the Commonalty. And furthermore, when he was passed over again into Africk, it spighted Metellus to the heart, because that he having ended all the War, that there remained almost no more to take or win, Marius should come in that fortto take away the Glory and Triumph out of his hands, having fought to rife and increase by unthankfulness towards him. He would not come to him therefore, but went another way, conquering of and left the Army with Rutilius one of his Lieutenants, to deliver the fame unto him. Howbeit, the revenge of this ingratitude, lighted in the end upon Marius own neck : for Sylls took out of Marini hands the honour of ending this War, even as Marini had taken it from Metellia. But how , and after what fort , I will repeat it in few words , because we have written the particula-Bocchie King rities more at large in the life of Sylla. Bocchies King of high NUMIDIA, was Father-in-lawumo of Numities, King Jugarth, unto whom he gave no great aid, whilest he made Wars with the ROMANS, bedelivered 3a cause he hated his unfaithfulnes, and feared left he would make himself greater then he was: but in the garbinato 51- end, after 7 nearth had fled, and wandred up and down in every place, he was constrained of very nearth. ceffiry to cast his last hope and anker upon him, as his finall refuge, and so repair unto him. King Bocchus received him rather for shame, because he durst not punish him, then for any love or good will he bare him: and having him in his hands, feemed openly to intreat Marins for him, and fecretly to write the contrary unto him. But in the mean time, he practifed Treason under-hand, and fent privily for Lucius Sylla , who then was Quartor (to say , high Treasurer) under Marins,

and of whom he had received certain pleasures in those Wars, Sylla trusting to this Burbarous King, went at his fending for to him: But when he was come, King Bocchus repented him of his Laring S/Ka promife, and altered his mind, flanding many daies in doubt with himself how to reforc, whe Cartles under ther he should deliver King Jugareth, or keep Sylla himself: yet at the last he went on with his Sacion purpose and intended treaton, and delivered King Jugarth alive into Sylla's hands. And this was the first original cause of the pestilent and mortall enmity that grew afterwards betwitt Marin and Sylla, and was like to have utterly overthrown the City of ROME, and to have razed the foundation of the Empire unto the ground. For many envying the glory of Marin, gave it out The critical every where, that this Act of the taking of King Jugarth, appertained onely unto Sylla: and Sylla caule of the chimlelf caused a Ring to be made, which he wore commonly, and had graven upon the Space via Wars behimself caused a Ring to be made, which he wore commonly, and had graven upon the Stone of with Wars be the fame, how Bocchus delivered Jugurib into his hands. And afterwards he made it alwaies his and splia. Seal to dispice Marin withall, who was an ambitious and proud man, and could abide no companion to be partaker of the glory of his doings : and Sylla did it especially at the procurement of Enemies and ill willers, who gave the glory of the beginning and chief exploits of this War, unto Merellus; and the last and finall conclusion unto Sylla, to the end that the People should not have Marius in lo great eftimation and good opinion, as they had before. But all this envy, detraction and hatred against Marius, was soon after extinguished and troden under foot, by reafon of the great danger that fell upon all ITALY out of the West: and they never spake of it afterwards, knowing that the Commonwealth stood in need of a good (aptain, and that they began to look about, and confider who should be that great Wise Pilot, that might fave and preferre it from fo great and dangerous a storm of War. For there was not a Noble man of all the ancient Houses of Rome, that durst undertake to offer himself to demand the Consulship: but Marius being ablent, was chofen Confull the second time. 1 or Jugurib was no sooner taken, but news came to Rome of the coming down of the Teurons, and of the Cimeres, the which would not be beleeved at the first, by reason of the infinite number of the fighting men which was faid to be in their company, and for the uncredible force and Power of the Arinies which was justified to come: but afterwards they knew plainly, that the rumour that ran abroad was The coming less then the truth fell our indeed. For they were three hundred thousand fighting men all Ar- into truth med, who brought with them also another multitude as great (or more) of Women and Children; the Tentons which wandred up and down feeking Countries and Towns to dwell and live in, as they heard and combret, fed the heft part of ITALY, which they had taken away from the Thuscane, Now to Gyrodie the Tectors fed the best part of ITALY, which they had taken away from the Thuscans. Now to say truly, and Cimbres no man knew of what Nation they were, nor from whence they came: as well for that they had Three hadno friendship with any other People, as also because they came out of a far (ountrey, as a Cloud dred thouland of People that was spread all over GAUL and ITALY. It was doubted much they were a People men. of Germany, dwelling about the Northfide: and this they conjectured by view of the greatness of their Bodies, and also for that they had dark blew eyes and red, besides that the GRECIANS in their Tongue do call Theeves and Robbers, Cimbres. Other fay, Celtica, for the great length and largness of the Countrey, ftretching it self from the Coast of the great Ocean Sea, and Cimbri. from the North parts, drawing towards the Marifhes MOEOTIDES, and the East, runneth into SCYTHIA, OF TARTAREA PONTICA: and that for neighbourhood these two Nations joyned together, and went out of their Country, not that they made this great voyage all at one time, but at many fundry times, marching yearly in the Spring further and further into the Countrey. And thus by continuance of time, they passed by force of Arms through all the firm Land of Europe: and that for this cause, although they had many particular Names according to the diversity of their Nations , yet all this Mass and multitude of People gathered together , were called notwithstanding, the Army of the Celtoscythes, as who would fay, the Celtotartares. Other hold opinion that the Nation of the CIMMERIANS, who were known in old time for ancient GRECI- Cimmerii. ANS, the one part of them were not very great in respect of the whole, the which being sled (or driven out of their Country for some civill diffention) were compelled by the TARTARES to pass beyond the Marishes MOEOTIDES, into the Countries of ASIA, under the conduction of a Captain called Ligdamis. But the refidue of them, which were a far greater number, and more Warlike men, they dwelt in the furtheft parts of the Earth, adjoyning to the great Ocean Sea, in a dark shadowed Countrey covered with wonderfull Forrests, of fuch length, and so great and thick, and the Trees so high, that the Sun can have no Power upon the ground, and they joyn hard upon the great Forrest of HERCYNIA. And furthermore, they are under fuch a climate, where the Pole is of such a height by the inclination of the Circles equidiftant, which they call Parallels, that it is not far from the Point that answereth directly to the plummet upon the head of the Inhabitants: and where the daies are Equinoctiall. They do divide all their time in two parts, the which giveth Homer occafion to fame, that when Ulyffer would call upon the dead, he went into the Countrey of the CIM-MERIANS, as into the Countrey of Hell. And this is the cause why they fay these Barbarous People left their own Countries to come into ITALY, which from the beginning were called CIMMERIANS, and afterwards they fay (and not without great likelihood) that they were furnamed CIMBRES: howbeit that is spoken rather by a likely conjecture, then by any affured troth of History. And as for the multitude of men, the most part of Historiographers do Write, that they were rather more then less, then we have spoken of : and that they were so hardy and Valiant, that nothing could frand before them, they did to great things by the strength of their hands, where

Mariar cholen they had defroyed ROME, and facked all ITALY. The ROMANS hearing of this out of all parts, Considire to they man dentroyed notice, and the conduction and leading of these Wars, and chose him Consult the Condition and leading of these Wars, and chose him Consult the cond time acainst the Law.

Law must give place to common bene-

Marius Tri-Juzurth.

How Marins Souldiers.

fions by the which they choic Scippo Confull, against the course and time appointed by the Law, not for any fear they stood in to lose their own Countrey, but for the defire they had to destroy the Countrey of the CARTHAGINIANS, by reason whereof the People proceeded to Election. And Marins bringing home his Army again out of Lybia into lTALY, took possession of his Rome for King Confulflip the first day of January (on which day the ROMANS begin their year) and therewithall made his Triumph into the City of ROME, thewing that to the ROMANS, which they thought never to have feen : and that was, King Juneth Priloner, who was fo fibrill a man, and could to well frame himfelt unto his fortune, and with his craft and fubtilty was of fo great courage besides, that none of his knemics ever hoped to have had him alive. But it is said, that after he was led in this Triumph, he fell mad straight upon it : and the Pomp of Triumph being ended, he was carried into Prilon, where the Sergeants for haft to have the spoil of him, tore his apparel by force from off his back: and because they would take away his rich Gold Ear-rings that hung at his Ears, they pulled away with them the tip of his Ear, and then cast him naked to the bortom of a deep Dungeon, his wits being altogether troubled. Yet when they did throw him down, laughing he laid : O Hercules, how cold are your Stoves? He lived there yet fix daies, fighting withhunger, and defiring alwaies to prolong his miferable Life unto the laft hour the which was a just deferved punishment for his wicked Life. In this Triumph were carried (as they fay) three thousand and seven hundred Pound weight in Gold, and of Silver Niggors, five thoufand feven hundred and feventy five Pound weight : and more in Gold and ready Coin, eight and twenty thouland and feven hundred Crowns. After this Triumph Marius cauled the Senate to Affemble within the Capitoll, where he entred into the company with his Triumphing Robe, either because he forgot it, or elfe of too gross and uncivill arrogancy : but perceiving that all the Askanbly milliked or it, he rofe fuddenly, and took his long Confulls Gown, and then returned quickly again into his place. Furthermore, Marius departing to go to the Wars, thought to train his Army by the way, and to harden his Souldiers unto labour, caufing them to run every way, making great long journeys, compelling each Souldier to carry his own Furniture, and to prepare him accessary Victuals to find himself withall : so that ever after they made a Proverb of it, and called Marins Moils. fuch as were painfull and willing to do that which they were commanded without grudging, Marins Moils. Other notwithstanding do shew another cause and beginning of this Proverb : for they fay, that Scipio lying at the fiege of the City of Numantia, would not onely takeview of the Armour and Horsesof Service that were in his Army, but also of the Moils and other Beasts of burden , because he would iee how they were kept and jurnished. So Marius brought his Horse and Moil to the Muster which he kept himself, far, fair, and very well dreft; and his Moils bair fo flick and fmooth, and therewithall to lufty and trim, as none of the reft were like unto them. Scipio took great pleafure to fee thefe Beafts fo well kept, and in fo good plight : infomuch as he fp.ke of it afterwards many a time and oft. And upon his words , this manner of talk was taken up ever after, and became a common Proverb: when they mean to mock any man that is painfull, and given to fore labour, making as though they would praise him, they call him Marian Moil. Furthermore, it was a happy turn for Marins (in mine opinion) that these Barbarous People (like in force to the beating back of the raging Seas) turned their first fury towards SPAIN: and that he in the mean space had time and leasure to train and exercise his Souldiers to make them bold, and withall, himself to be throughly known amongst them. For when by little and little they had learned not to offend, nor difobey, then they found his rough commanding, and sharp severity in punishing such as slacked their duty, both profitable and very necessary, besides that it was also just and reasonable. Again his great jury, his sharp words, and his serce looks, after they had a while been used to them, by little and little they seemed nothing so fearfull to them, as to their Enemies. But the thing that pleafed the Souldiers more then all the reft, was his juffice and upright dealing : whereof they report such an example : Marine had a Nephew of his in his Camp, called Caim Lucius, who had charge of men in the Army. This Lucius was taken for a marvellous honeft man, faving that he had this foul Vice in him, that he would be suddenly in love with fair young Boys: and as at that time he fell in love with a trim young stripling, called Tre-

CAIUS MARIUS.

they fought with any, so violently and so suddenly that they seemed to be like a Lightning Fire all

about where they came. By means whereof, they met with no man that durft reinft them, but

feraped together and carried away all that they found, hand over head : and there were many Ro-

MAN Captains appointed Covernours to keep that which the ROMANS held in GAUL Ec-

yond the Mountains, who with great Armies were fhamefully overthrown by them. The co-

wardliness of thosewhom they had overcome, was the chiefest cause that moved them to direct

their journey to Rome. For when they had vanquished the first they had fought withall, and got-

fecond time: notwithflanding that it was directly against the Law, that did exprelly forbid any

man to be chosen being absent, and untill also a certain time appointed had past between the

vacation and Election, before they could chuie him Officer twice in one Office. Some alledged

this Law, of intent to hinder the Election : but the People repulled them, objecting to the contra-

ry, that this was not the first time the Law had given place to the benefit of the Commonwealth,

and that the occasion offered to abrogate the Law at that prefent, was no less then former occa-

Marius commended for his justice.

bonius, that ferved under him, and having many times lewdly entired him, and never could obrain his purpose, at the last fent for him one night by his Servant. The young man might not difobey his Captain being fent for, but prefently went unto him. When he was come into his Tent and that his Captain did strive with all his force to do him villany : he drew out his Sword, and killed him in the place. And this was done when Marins was out of his Camp : who fo foon as he returned, caused the Marshall to bring the young man before him. Many stepped forth straight to accuse him, but no man to desend him. Wherefore he boldly began to tell his tale himself. and to Name many Witneffes, who had both feen and known how his dead Captain had of tentimes offered him dishonour, and how that he had continually refifted his abominable motion, and would never yeeld himself unto him, for any Gift or Prefent he could offer him. Wherefore Marius commending him greatly, and being very glad of it, caused presently one of those Crowns to be brought unto him, which are used to be given to them, that in a day of Battell have done fome Valiant deed, and he himself did Crown Trebonius withall, as one that had done a Noble Act, and at such a time, as good and honest examples were requisite. This judgement of Marius being carried to ROME, flood him to great good purpose towards the obtaining of his third Condulthip: beside also that they looked for the coming back of these Barbarous People about the Spring, with whom the ROMAN Souldiers would not fight under any other Captain then Marius. Howbeit they came not fo foon again as they looked for them, but Ma-Marius third rins passed over also the year of his third Consulsiip. So time coming about again for the Consulsiio. Election of the new Confulls and his companion also being dead, he was driven to go himself Manias Acilius Election of the new Confulls and his companion and being ucau, he was utiven to go mained unto Rome, leaving the charge of his Camp in his ablence unto Manins Acidius. At that time Lieuceanat of unto Rome, leaving the charge of his Camp in his ablence unto Manins Acidius. At that time Lieuceanat of the Tri. there were many Noble men that fued for the Confulfhip: but Lucius Saturninus one of the Tri- der Maria. bunes, who had the Communalty under his Girdle as he would himfelf, more then any of the Lucius summiother Tribunes, and being won under hand by Marius, made many Orations, in the which must Tribune, he perswaded the People to chuse Marius Consult the fourth time. Marius to the contrary, seemed to refuse it, saying, that he would none of it, though the People chose him. Whereupon Saturninus called him Traitor, crying out, That his refutall in fuch a danger and time of necessity, was an apparent part to betray the Commonwealth, It was found straight that this was a gross pack betwixt Saturninus and Marius, by such as could fee day at a little hole. Nevertheless, the People confidering that their Prefent troubles required Marius skill and good Fortune in the Wars, they made him Confull the fourth time, and joyned Canulus Lucturius Confull with him, a man Marine fourth that was greatly honoured of the Nobility, and not missisked also of the common People. Marius controlling having News of the approaching of the Barbarous People, passed over the Alpes with great speed, with Candus and fortifying his Camp by the River of RHONE, he brought great provision of all kinds of Victu-Ludatine. als thither with him, left being straighted by lack thereof, he should be forced to come to Battell at any other time but even as he would himself, and as it should seem good unto him. And where before that time the transporting of Victualls unto his Camp by Sea was very long, and dangerous. and a marvellous great charge befides : he made it very flort and easie by this means. The mouth of the River of RHONE had gathered together fo much Mud, and fuch store of Sand, which the waves of the Sea had cast on heaps together, that the same was become very high and deep : fo as the banks made the entry into it very narrow, hard, and dangerous for great Ships of burden that came from the Sea. Marius confidering this matter, fet his men on work while they had nothing to do, and made them dig a large Trench and deep Channell, into the which he turned a great part of the River, and carried it to a convenientiplace of the Coast, where the Water fell into the Sea by an open gulf, whereby he made it able to carry the greatest Ships that were : and besides that, it was in a very fill quiet place, not being troubled with winds nor waves. The Channell carrieth yet Marine Chanhis Name, and is called Marius Channell or Trench. These Barbarous People divided themselves in-nell, to two Armies to pass into ITALY, so that it sell out to the one part which were the CIMERES, to The Cimbres go through high GERMANIE, and to force that passage which Catulus kept : and unto the other went through part, which were the Teutons and Ambrons, to pass through the Countrey of the Geno. Germany into VESIANS by the Sea side against Marius. Now the CIMBRES having the greater compass to The Teuton The Teuton of the Country of the Geno. fetch about, flayed longer, and remained behind: but the TEUTONS and the AMERONS going and dustrant their way first, had in few daies dispatched their journey they had to go, to bring them to the Camp fell upon Mawhere the ROMANS lay, unto whom they presented themselves by infinite numbers, with ter- rias to pass rible faces to behold, and their cries and voices far contrary unto other mens. They took in a imo Italy, marvellous deal of Ground in length to Companion and for come forth to define Maring and the though the marvellous deal of Ground in length to Camp upon , and fo came forth to defie Marius , and proterriory of voke him to Battell in open Field. Marius made no reckoning of all their bragging defiances, but Genus. kept his men together within his Camp, taking on terribly with them that would rashly take upon them to move ought to the contrary, and which through impatience of choler would needs go forth to fight, calling them Traitors to their Countrey. For faid he, we are not come to fight for our private glory, neither to win Triumphs nor Victories for our selves : but we must feek by all means to divert and pur by this great shower of Wars from us, and this Lightning and Tempest, that it overcome not all ITALY. These words he spake unto the private Captains which were under him, as unto men of behaviour and quality: but as for the common Souldiers, he made them fland upon the Trenches of his Camp, one after another to behold the Enemies, and to acquaint themselves with fight of their faces, their countenance, and marching, and not to be abraid of their voices, and the manner of their speech, which was wonderfull strange and beastly : and also that

gods.

CAIUS MARIUS. they might know the fashion of their Weapons, and how they handled them. And by this order and ordinary viewing of them, in time he made the things that feemed fearfull unto his men at the first fight, to be afterwards very familiar: fo that they made no more wondering at them. For he judged the thing which indeed is true, that a rare and new matter never feen before, for lack of judgement and understanding maketh things unknown to us, more horrible and fearfull then they a c : and to the contrary, that cultom taketh away a great deal of fear and terror of those things, which by nature are indeed fearfull. The which was feen then by experience. For they being daily acquainted to look upon these Barbarous People, it did not onely diminish some part of the former year of the ROMAN Souldiers: but furthermore, they whetting their choller with the fierce untollerable threats and brags of these Barbarous brutish People, did set their hearts afire to fight with them, because they did not onely waste and destroy all the Countrey about them, but besides that, came to give affault even unto their Camp, with fuch a boldness, that the ROMAN Souldiers could no longer fuffer them, and they letted not to speak words that came to Marius ears himself. What cowardliness hath Marius ever known in us, that he keeps us thus from fighting, and under lock and Key as it were, in the guard of Porters, as if we were Women? Let us therefore shew our selves like Men; and go ask him if he look for any other Souldiers, besides our selves to defend ITALY: and it he have determined to employ us as Pioners onely, when he would caft a trench to rid away the mud, or to turn a River contrary. For therein hath he onely hitherto employed us in great labour, and they are the notable works he hash done in his two Confulfhips, whereof he maketh his boast unto them at ROME. Is he asraid they should take him as they did Carba and Capio, whom the Enemies have overthrown? He must not be afraid of that : for he is a Captain of another manner of valour and reputation then they were, and his Army much better then theirs was. But howfover it be, yet were it much better (in proving) to lofe fomething, then to be idle, and to fuffer our friends and confederates to be destroyed and sacked before our eyes. Marius was marvellous glad to hear his men complain thus, and did comfort them, and told them that he did nothing miftruft their courage and valiantness: howbeit that through the Counsell of certain Prophecies and Oracles of the gods, Martha a Wile he did expect time and place fit for Victory. For he ever carried a Syrian Woman in a Litter about with him, called Martha, with great reverence, whom they faid had the fpirit of Prophecy in her : and that he did ever Sacrifice unto the gods by her order, and at fuch time as fhe willed him to do it. This SYRIAN Woman went first to speak with the Senate about these matters, and did Prophetefs. foretell and Prognosticate what should follow : but the Senate would not hear her, and made her to be driven away. Whereupon the went unto the Women, and made them fee proof of fome things the vaunted of, and specially Marim Wife, at whose feet the was set one day in Assembly of the common Plays, to fee the Sword Players fight for Life and death : for the told her certainly which of them should overcome. Whereupon this Lady sent her unto her Husband Marius, who made great reckoning of her, and carried her ever in a Litter with him wherefoever he went. She was althe attire of Marius Sacrifices, apparelled in a Gown of Purple in grain, clasped to her with Claspes, and held a Spear in her hand wound all about with Nofegays and Garlands of flowers tied on with Laces. This manner of geft made many doubt whether Marim shewed this Woman openly , beof Sacrifice. leeving indeed that the had the gift of Prophecy : or elfe that knowing the contarry, he made as though he did beleeve it, to help her faining. But that which Alexander the MINDIAN wrote the varieties touching Vultures, is a thing greatly to be wondered at : For he faid, there were two of them follows the Vultures ed Marius in his Wars, and that they ever shewed themselves, and missed not, when he should win any great Battell, and that they did know them by Lattin collars they ware about their necks, which the Souldiers had tied about them, and afterwards let them go where they would: by reason whereof, they did know the Souldiers again, and it feemed also that they faluted them, and were very glad when they saw them, and perswaded themselves, that it was a sign and token of good luck to follow. Many figns and tokens were feen before the Battell : howbeit all the reft were ordinary fights, fa-Wonders feen ving that which was reported to be feen at Tudertum, and Ameria, two Cities of Itali. For fay they, there were feen Spears and Targets in the night, burning like fire in the Element, which first were carried up and down here and there, and then met together even as men move and stir that fight one with another, untill at the length, the one giving back, and the other following after, they all vanished away, and consumed towards the West. About the self same time alio, there came from the City of PESSINUNTA, Barabaces, the chief Prieft of the great Mother of the gods, who brought News, that the goddess had spoken to him within her sanctuary, and told him that Mether of the the Victory of this War should iall out on the ROMANS side. The Senate beleeved it, and ordained that they should build a Temple unto the godders, to give her thanks for the Victory which she did promise them. Rarabaces also would have presented himself unto the People in open Assembly, to tell them as much. But there was one Aulus Pompeins a Tribune, that would not fuffer him to doit, cal-Addar Position Ing him tumbler or jugler, and violently thrust him behind the Pulpit for Orations: but the mischance that fell upon Pompeins afterwards, made them the more to beleeve Barabuces words. For Pompeins the Tribune no fooner came home to his Houle, but a great vehement Ague took him, whereof he died the feventh day after, as all the world could witness. Now the TEUTONS perceiving that Marius ftirred not at all out of his Camp, they proved to affault him : howbeit they were fo well received with Shor and flings, that after they had loft certain of their men, they gave it over, and determined to go further, perfuading themselves that they might eatily pass the Alpes without danger. Wherefore trussing up all their baggage, they passed by Marius Camp: at which time it

appeared more certainly then before, that they were a marvellous great multitude of People, by the length of time which they took to pass their way. For it is faid, they were passing by his Camp fix daies continually together. And as they came raking by the ROMANS Camp, they asked them in mockery, If they would write to fend home any thing to their Wives; for they would be with them ere it were long. When they were all paffed and gone, and continued on their journey ftill, Marius also raised his Camp, and followed them fair and softly foot by foot, and ever kept hard at their tail as near as he could, alwaies fortifying his Camp very well, and ever chufing ftrong places of fituation and advantage to lodge in, that they might be fafe in the night time. So they marched on in this fort, untill they came unto the City of Aix, from whence they had not far to go, but they entred straight into the Mountains of the Alpes: wherefore Marius prepared now to fight with them, and chose out a place that was very strong of situation to lodge his Camp in. to fight with ment, and those some property to the end to quicken his mens howbeit there lacked Water. And they fay he did it of purpose, to the end to quicken his mens Marias book courage the more thereby. Many repined at it, and told him that they should stand in great dan-words to his ger to abide marvellous thirst if they lodged there. Whereunto he made answer: shewing them Souldiers, and the River that ran hard by the Enemies Camp; faying withall, That they must go thither and buy their answer. Drink with their Blood. The Souldiers replied again : And why then do ye not lead us thither, whileft our Blood is yet moift? He gently answered them again : Because the first thing we do, we must fortific our Camp. The Souldiers though they were angry with him, yet they obeyed him : but the flaves having neither Drink for themtelves , nor for their Cattell , gathered together a Troop of them, and went towards the giver: fome of them carrying Axes, other Hatchets. other Swords and Spears, with their Pots to carry Water, determining to fight with the Barbarous People, if otherwise they could not come by it. A few of the Barbarous People at the first fought with them, because the most part of their company were at Dinner; after they had bathed, and others were still in the Bathe washing themselves, finding in that place many Springs of hot natural Bathes. Thus the ROMANS found many of the Barbarous People making merry, and taking their pleasure about these Bathes, for the great delight they took to confider the pleasantness of the place : when they heard the noise of them that tought, they began to run one after another unto the place from whence the noise came. Wherefore it was a hard thing for Marius any longer to keep the ROMAN Souldiers in from going to their help, for that they feared their flaves should have been slain of the Barbarous People : and moreover, because the valiantest Souldiers of their Enemies, called the Ambrons (who before had overcome Manlius and Capio, two ROMAN Captains with their Armies, and that made of themselves Thirty thousand fighting men) ran to Arms, being very heavy of their Bodies, as having filled their bellies well, but otherwife Valiant and couragious fellows, and more lively then they had wont to be, by reason of the Wine they had drunk; they ran not juriously to fight out of order, neither did they cry out confusedly, but marching all together in good array, making a noise with their harnels all after one fort, they oft rehearfed their own Name, AMBRONS, AMBRONS : which was, either to call one another of them, or else to lear the ROMANS with their Name onely. The ITALIANS also on the other side, being the first that came down to fight with them, were the LIGURIANS, dwelling upon the coast of GENUA, who hearing this noise and cry of theirs, plainly understanding them : answered them again with the like noise and cry , LIGURIANS , LIGURI-ANS, LIGURIANS, faying, that it was the true furname of all their Nation. And so before they joyned together, this cry was redoubled many a time on either fide : and the Captains of both parts made their Souldiers cry out all together, contending for envy one against another, who should cry it loudest. This contention of crying, inflamed the Souldiers courages the more. Now the AM-RRONS having the River to pass, were by this means put out of order, and before they could put RRONS having the fever to pais, were by this means par out the Ligurians ran with great themselves in Battell ray again, after they had passed the River, the Ligurians ran with great Battell betwite fury to fet upon the foremost: and after them, (to aid the LIGURIANS that had begun the Battell betwing the fury to fet upon the foremost: and after them, and the furnishment of the fu charge) the ROMANS themselves sell also upon the AMERONS, coming down from the places of and Marine. advantage upon these Barbarous People, and compelled them by this means to turn their backs, and flie. So the greatest slaughter they made, fortuned upon the bank of the River, whereinto they Marius overthrust one another in such sort, that all the River ran blood, being filled with dead Bodies. And they come the Antthat could get over the River again, and were on the other fide, durft not gather together any more brons. to fland to delence : fo as the ROMANS flew them, and drave them into their Camp, even unto to trank to defence; no as the NORLANS new mean, them with Swords and Axes in their hands, their carriage. Then their Women came out against them with Swords and Axes in their hands, grinding their teeth : and crying out for forrow and anger, they charged afwell upon their own nels of the People that fled, as upon them that chaled them : the one as Traitors, and the other as Enemies: Women, Furthermore, they thrust themselves amongst them that fought, and strove by force to pluck the ROMANS Targets out of their hands, and took hold of their naked Swords bare handed, abiding with an invincible courage to be hacked and mangled with their Swords. And thus was the fust Battell given (as they fay) by the River fide , rather by chance unlooked for , then by any fer purpole, or through the Generalls counsell. Now the ROMANS after they had overcome the most part of the Ambrons, retiring back by reason the night had overtaken them, did not (asthey were wont after they had given fuch an overthrow) fing Songs of Victory and Triumph, nor make good chear in their Tents one with another, and least of all sleep : (which is the best and sweetest refreshing for men that have fought happily) but contrarily, they watched all that night with great fear and trouble, because their Camp was not trenched and fortified, and because they knew

Hh 3

also that there remained almost innumerable Thousands of Barbarous People, that had not yet

fought: befides also, that the AMBRONS that lad fled and escaped from the overthrow, did howl

out all night with loud cries, which were nothing like mens lamentations and fighs, but rather like wild Beafts bellowing and roaring. So that the Bellowing of fuch a great multitude of beaftly People, mingled together with threats and wailings, made the Mountains thereabouts and the running Riverto rebound again of the found and eccho of their cries marvelloully: by reason whereof, all the valley that lay between both, thundred to hear the horrible and fearfull trembling. This made the ROMAN Souldiers afraid, and Marius himself in some doubt: because they looked to have been fought withall the fame night, being altogether troubled and out of order. Notwithftanding, the Barbarous People did not affault them that night, nor the next day following, but onely prepared themselves unto Battell. And in the mean time Marius knowing that there were above the place where they were camped, certain Caves and little Valleys covered with Wood: he fecretly fent Claudius Marcellus thither with Three thousand Footmen well Armed, and commanded him to keep close in ambush, untill he saw that the Barbarous People were fighting with him, and that then he should come and set upon their rereward. The residue of his Army, they supped when time came, and after supper reposed themselves. The next morning at the break of day, Marius brought his men into the Field out of his Fort : where he put them in order of Battell, fend-Mariat fecond ing his Horfemen before to draw the Enemies out to skirmish. The Teurons seeing them come, had not the patience to tarry till the ROMANS were come down into the plain to fight without advantage, but Arming themselves in haste, and in a rage, ran up the Hill to the ROMANS, where they stood in Battell ray. Marius taking good regard to that they did, sent here and there unto the private Captains, charging them they fhould not ftir, and onely to temporize and torbear, until the Enemies came within a stones cast of them : and that they should then throw their Darts at them, and afterwards draw their Swords, and repulse the Barbarous People with their Shields. For he did foresee, that when they should climb up against the Hill (upon the hanging whereof the Ro-MANS had fet their Battell) that their blows would not be of great force, nor their order and ranks could frand close together to any effect or purpose: because they could not have sure footing, nor marchaffuredly, but would eafily be thrown backward if they were never fo little repulfed : by reason of the hanging of the Hill. Marius gave this order unto his folk, and therewithall was himself the first man that put it in execution : for he was as trim a Warrier, and as valiant a Souldier, as any man in all his Army: befides, not one amongst them all would venture further, and be more bold then himself. So when the ROMANS had refisted them, and staid them suddenly, going with fury to have won the Hill, perceiving themselves to be repulsed, they gave back by little and little, until they came into the Field, and then began the foremost of them to gather together, and to put themselves in Battell ray upon the plain, when suddenly they heard the notife and charging of them that were in the tail of their Army. For Claudius Marcellus failed not to take the occasion when it was offered him, because that the noise of the first charge coming up against the Hills thereabouts, under the which he lay in ambush, gave him advertisement thereof: whereupon he caufed his men prefently to shew; and running with great cries, came to give a charge upon those which were in the tail of the Barbarous People, putting the hindmost to the Sword. They made their fellows whose backs were next unto them, to turn their faces, and so from man to man, till at the length in short time all their Battell began to waver in disorder : and they made no great resistance, Marian Victor when they faw they were so charged before and behind, but began straight to slie for lite. The Ro-NANS following them hard at the heels, killed and took Prisoners above a Hundred thousand of ry of the Teuthem , and took moreover their Carts , their Tents , and all their carriage. Which the whole Army tons and Amby confent agreed to prefentunto Marius, excepting nothing, faving that which was imbezeiled and conveighed away under hand. Now, though this was a marvellous Honourable and right Noble Present, yet they thought it not a recompence sufficient for that he had deserved, for the valour he had shewed of a famous Captain, in leading of his Army, and for the good order he kept in this War: fo happy thought they themselves to have elcaped fo great a danger. Notwithstanding, fome Writers do not agree, that the spoil of the Barbarous People was given unto Marius : ror that there were also so great a number of men slain as we have spoken of. But they say, that after this Battell, the MARSILIANS did inclose their Vines, with hedges made of dead mens bones; and that the bodies being rotten and confumed upon the Fields through the great rain that fell upon them the winter following, the ground waxed to fat, and did foak the greate to deep in the fame, that the fummer following, they did bear an incredible quantity of all forts of Fruits. And by this means were Archilocus words proved true, that the arable Land doth wax fat with fuch rottenness

or putrifaction. And it is faid also, that ordinarily after great Battells, there falleth great store of

wash, and cleanle the ground, defiled and polluted with mans bloud: or else it happeneth by naturall

cause: tor that the overthrow of fo many dead bodies, and of the bloud spilt, ingendreth a moil,

grofs, and heavy vapour, which doth thicken the Air (that by nature is changeable, and casie to

alter) from a very small or little beginning, unto an exceeding great change. After this Battell,

Marius caused the harness and spoils of the Barbarous People to be laid aside, that were left whole

and fair to fight, to beautifie and enrich the Pomp of his Triumph. Then he caused the rest to be

gathered together on a great heap, and laid upon a flack of Wood, to make a Noble Sacrifice unto

the gods, all his Army being armed about him, crowned with Garlands of Triumph, and himself

and holding a Torch burning in both his hands, which he first listed up unto Heaven. And as he was turning down the Torch to put fire to the flack of Wood, they faw some of his friends a good way off on Horfe-back, coming post unto him: then suddenly there was a great filence made of all the Assembly, every man definous to hear what good News they had brought. When they were come And lighted off their Horfes, they ran straight to embrace Marius, and brought him News that he Marius the life was chosen Confull the fifth time: and presented him the Letters sent him from ROME confirming time Consul. the fame. And thus, this new joy falling out befides the Victory, the private Souldiers did fhew the great joy and pleasure they took in both, with great shours and Beating upon their harness: and the Captains also crowned Marin again with new Garlands of Lawrell which they put about his head : and that done, he put fire under the flack of Wood, and ended his Sacrifice. But that which never fuffered men quietly to enjoy the good hap of any Victory clearly, but in this mortall Life doth ever mingle the ill with the good, be it either Fortune or spite of fatall deftiny, or else the necessity of the natural causes of earthly things: did shortly after this great joy bring News unto Marius, of his companion Carulus Luctarius the other Confull, who was like a Cloud in a fair bright day, and brought the City of ROME again into a new fear and trouble. For Catulus that went against the CIMBRES, thought it was not for him to keep the straights of the Mountains, in hope to let the Barbarous People for passing : because that in so doing, he had been compelled to divide his Army into many parts, and had weakened himself very much it he had taken that course. Wherefore coming a little on this side the Alpes towards ITALY, he planted himself upon Athesis sha the River of ATHES1S, and built a Bridge upon it, to pass and repass over his men when he would, and fet up at either end of the Bridge two ftrong Forts well fortified, that he might more commodioully help the places on the other fide of the River, if the Barbarous People by chance would offer to force them, after they had gotten out of the straights of the Mountains. Now, these Barbarous People had fuch a glory in themselves, and disdamed their Enemies so much, that more to thew their force and boldness, then of any necessity that compelled them, or for any benefit they got by it: they suffered it to snow upon them being stark naked, and did climb up to the top of the Mountains, through great heaps of Ice and Snow. And when they were at the very top of all, they laid their long broad Targets under their Bodies, and lay along upon them, fliding down the free p high Rocks, that had certain hangings over of an infinite height. In the end, they came to the Camp near unto the ROMANS by the Rivers fide, and confidered how they might pass it over: and began to fill it up, tearing down (like Giants) great Hills of earth which they found thereabouts, brought thither great Trees which they pulled up whole by the roots, threw in great pieces of Rocks which they brake, and whole Towers of earth after them to stop and break the course of the River. But besides all this, they threw great Timber into the River, which being carried down the aream, came with fuch a force, and hit against the posts of the Bridge so violently, that they shaked the Ro-MANS Bridge marvelloufly. Whereupon many of the Souldiers of the great Camp were afraid, Canha Ludis. and forfaking it, began to retire. But then did Catulus, like a perfect good Captain flow, that five Confull he made lefs account of his own private Honour and efficient in then he did of the generall Honour fliethfrom the and forfaking it, pegan to fetife. Don internal Columns, then he did of the generall Honour fliethfon in made lefs account of his own private Honour and efficiently, then he did of the generall Honour Cimbres. of all his Souldiers. For, feeing that he could not perfivade his men by any reason to tarry, and that in this fear they dislodged, in disorder against his will : he himself commanded the standard bearer of the Eagle to march on, and ran to the foremost that went their way, and marched himfelf before them all, to the intent that the shame of this retire should altogether light upon him, and not upon his Countrey: and that it might appear the ROMANS did follow their Captain, and not flie away. The Barbarous People therefore affaulting the Fort at the end of the Bridge of the River of Athesis, took it, and all the men that were in it. And because the ROMANS defended it like valiant men, and had luftily ventured their lives to the death for defence of their Countrey: the Barbarous Pecple let them go upon composition, which they sware to keep faithfully, by their Bull of Copper. This Bull afterwards was taken when they loft the Battell, and carried (as they fay) into Carulus Luttatius House, as the chiefest thing of the Victory. 1 urthermore, the Barbarous People finding the Countrey open without any detence, feattered here and there, and deftroyedall where they came. Whereupon the ROMANS lent for Marins to ROME to go against Marins refused tuem : and after he was arrived, every man thought he should have entered in Triumph, because to enter in Triumph also the Senate did grant it him very willingly. But he would not do it, either because he would not deprive his Souldiers and the Captains that had fought under him, of any part of the Honour that was due unto them, they being absent : or because that he would warrant the People from the present danger they were in, by laying afide the glory of his former Victories, into the hands of the good Fortune of ROME, in certain hope to take it again afterwards, by a more honourable and perfect confirmation of the fecond. Wherefore after he had made an Oration to the People and Senate, according to the time, he went his way immediately towards Canulus Luitarius, whose coming according to the time, he went his way immediately considered in Gaul beyond the Moundid comfort himmuch: and fent also for his Army that was yet in Gaul beyond the Moundid comfort himmuch: tains. And after his Army was come, he passed the River of Po, to keep the Barbarous People towards Citafrom hurring ITALY on this fide the Po. Now the CIMBRES still deferred to give Battell, be- linking in the link cause they looked for the Teutons, and said: that they marvelled much what they meant to tar- to hely him. ry fo long : either because they knew not indeed of their overthrow , or else for that they would not Po. fie. feem to know it, because they handled them cruelly that brought the News of their deaths. At the length, they fent unto Marius to ask him Lands and Town fufficient to keep them and

great Batteils. rain. Either it is by mean of some God, that pouring down pure Rain Water, doth purific,

The Cimbres

march against

Candus.

The Romans Battell.

The Battell of the Cimbres.

their Brethren. Marins asked their Ambaffadours what Brethren they meant. They answered that they were the TEUTONS. Whereat the standers by began to laugh: and Marins finely mocked Martin mock they will be a fixed to the for those Brethren, said he, for we have given them ground enough, to the simbres. them, faying: Care not for those Brethren, said he, for we have given them ground enough, which they will keep for ever. These Ambassadours found his mock straight, and began to revise and threaten him, that the CIMBRES thould prefently make him repent it, and the TEUTONS fo foon as they arrived. Why, faid Marim unto them again, they are come already: and there were no honefly in you, if you should go your way and not salute them, fince they are your Brethren. And as he fpake these words, he commanded his men to bring him the Kings of the Teurons bound and chained, that had been taken within the Mountains of the Alpes by the SE LUANI. The CIMBRES understanding this by report of their Ambassadours, presently marched towards Marius, who stirred not at all, but onely fortified and kept his Camp. They say, that it was for this Battell that Marius first invented the new device he brought in for the Dart which the Maries device ROMANS were wont alwaies to throw against the Lucmies at the first charge. For, before the for altering the faff of the Dart was faftened unto the Iron, and the Iron unto the ftaff, with two little Iron Pins that passed through the Wood: and then Marins left one of the Iron Pins as it was before, and taking away the other, put a little thin Pin of Wood easie to be broken, in place of the same; making it craftily, to the end that when the Dart was thrown, and fluck in the Enemies Target, it should not stand right forward, but bow downwards towards the Iron, that the woodden Pin being broken, the staff of the Dart should hang downwards, holding yet by the Iron Pin running quite through at the point. So Baorix King of the CIMBRES, coming near to Marius Camp with a Bauerix King into Brain Composition of the Cimbrer. finall number of Horfemen, fent him defiance, and willed him to appoint a day and place for Battell, that they might try it out, who should be owners of the Country. Whereunto Marius made answer, that it was not the manner of the ROMANS to counfell with their Enemies, of the time and place when they should give Battell : but neverthelefs, he would not flick to pleasure the CIMERES fo much. And thus they agreed between them, that it should be the third day following, in the plain of Verfelles, which was very commodious for the Horsemen of the Ro-MANS; and also for the Barbarous People to put out at will their great number of fighting men. So both Armies failed not to meet according to appointment, but appeared ranged in Battell, the one before the other. Caralus Lucturius the other Confull, had in his Camp Twenty thousand and Three hundred Souldiers : and Marins had in his Camp Two and thirty thousand fighting men, thoutand and which he placed in the two wings of the Battell , flutting in Catulus with his men in the midft ; 2s Sylla writeth it, who was prefent at the same : faying, that Marius did it of malice, for the hope he had to overthrow his Enemies with the two wings of the Battell, to the end that the whole Victory should light upon his two wings, and that Carulus and his men in the midst should have no part thereof. For he could not fo much as front the Enemy, because that commonly when the front of a Battell is of fuch a breadth, the two wings are ever ftretched out before, and are made like the creffaut of a Moon, where the midft is thickest and farthest in. And it is written also in other Stories, that Cambus himself accusing the malice of Marius, becausehedd fo, spake it to excuse his own difhonour. As for the CIMBRES, the Troops of their Footmen coming out of their Forts leafurely, did put themfelves into a fquadron, as broad as long, for in every fide they occupied almost thirty Furlong : but their Horsemen , which were Fisteen thouland , marched before in sumpuous furniture. For they had Helmets on their heads fashioned like wild Beafts necks, and strange Bevers or Buffes to the lame, and ware on their Helmets great high blumes of Feathers, as they had been wings : which to fight made them appear taller and bigger men then they were. Furthermore, they had good Curaces on their backs, and carried great white Targets before them : and for weapons offensive, every man had two Darts in his hand to bestow afar off, and when they came to hand ftrokes, they had great heavy Swords, which they fought withall near hand. But at that time they did march directly in rank against the Army of the ROMANS, but turned a little on the right hand, meaning to inclose the ROMANS between them and their Footmen that were on the lett hand. The ROMAN Captains found their policy straight, but they could not keep their Souldiers back: for there was one that cried, The Enemies fled, and immediately all the reft began to run after. In the mean time, the Footmen of the Barbarous People that were like to a Sea before them, came forwards still: and then Marius, having washed his hands, and litting them to heaven, promited and vowed a folemn Sacrifice unto the gods of an hundred Oxen. Catulus also made a vow, lifting up his hands to Heaven in like manner, that he would build a Temple unto Fortune for that day : and it is reported, that Marius having Sacrificed, when they shewed him the intrails of the Bealts Sacrificed, he cried out aloud, The Victory is mine. But when they came to give the charge, Marius had a great misfortune happened him, powred upon him by Gods justice, who turned his craft against himself, as Sylla writeth : for there rose very credibly so great a dust, that both Armies loft the fight one of another. And hereupon Marins being the first that ran to be gin the charge, and having placed his men about him, miffed to meet with his Enemies : and being passed beyond their Battell, wandred a great while up and down the Field, whilest the Barbarous People fought against Catulus. So that the greatest fury of the Battell was against Catulus and his Army: in the which Sylla writeth he was himfelf, and faith, that the heat and the Sun, which was full in the CIMERES faces, did the ROMANS marvellous pleasure at that time. For the Barbarous People being very hard brought up to away with cold (because they were born and bred in a cold Countrey, thadowed altogether with Wood and Trees, as we have faid) were to the con-

CAIUS MARIUS.

trary very tender against the heat, and did melt sweating against the Sun, and gaped straight for breath, putting their Targets before their faces: for it was also in the heart of Sunmer, about The Field the feven and twentieth day of the moneth of July that this Battell was given; and this dust also made fought the 17. the ROMANS the bolder, and kept them that they could not fee the innumerable multitude of their of \$\vec{\pi}{\pi} \vec{\pi}\$. Enemies far from them. And every man running to fet upon them that came against him, they were joyned together in fight, before that the light of their Enemies could make them afraid. And furthermore, they were fo good Souldiers, and fo able to take pains, that how extream foever the heat was, no man was feen fiweat nor blow, though they ran at the first to fet upon them: and this hath Catulus Luctatius himself left in writing unto the praise of his Souldiers. So were the most part of the Barbarous People, and specially of the best Souldiers, slain in the Field. And because they should not open and break their ranks, the foremost ranks were all tied and bound together with Girdles, Leather thongs, and long Chains of Iron : and they that fled, were chafed and followed into their Camp by the ROMANS, where they met with horrible and fearfull things to behold. For, their Wives being upon the top of their Carts, apparelled all in black, full things to benoid. For, then writes being upon the opposite their Fathers, other their Husbands or flew all those that fled, without regard of Persons; some their Fathers, other their Husbands or Horrible crue. their Brethren, and strangling the little young Babes with their own hands, they cast them under the clay of Wetheir partners, and transferred the Horfe legs, and afterward flew themselves. And they say, that there was a Woman hanged at the end of a Cart Ladder, having hanged up two of her Children by the necks at her heels. And that the men also, for lack of a Tree to hang themselves on, tied slipping Halters about their necks, unto the horns and feet of the Oxen, and that they did prick them afterwards with goads to make them fling and leap fo long, that dragging them all about, them afterwards with goods to make them they killed them. Now though numbers were flain by Prifoners 60. this mean, yet were there Threefcore thousand of them taken Prisoners, and the number of them thousand that were slain, came to twice as many more. In this manner Marius Souldiers spoiled the Camp Men slain of the Cimbres: but the spoils of dead men that were were sain in the Field, with their Ensigns fixfore thouand Trumpets, were all brought (as it is faid) unto Catulas Camp, which was a plain Teftimo. fand. ny to shew that Catulus and his Souldiers had won the Field. Strife rifing thus between the Souldiers of both Comps about it : that the matter might be tried friendly between them, they made the Ambassadours of PARMA their Arbitratours , who were by chance at that time in the Army, Catalus Luccatius Souldiers led the Ambassadours to the place where the overthrow was given, thewing them the Enemies bodies pierced through with their Pikes, which were easie to be known, because Carulus had made them grave their Names upon their Pikes. For all this, Marius went away with the Honour of this great Victory, as well for the first Battell he wan alone, when he overthrew the TEUTONS and the AMERONS, as for his great calling, having been Confull five times. And completion furthermore, the common People at ROME, called him the third founder of the City of ROME, thinking themselves now delivered from as great a danger, as before time they had been from the ancient Gauls : And every man Feafting at home with his Wife and Children, offered the beft diffies of Meat they had to Supper, unto the gods and unto Marius: and would needs have him lone to Triumph for both Victories. But he would not in any case, but Triumphed into the City with Catalas Luctarius, meaning to shew himself courteous and moderate in so great prosperity: and peradventure also fearing Catulus Souldiers, who were in readiness and prepared (if Marius would have deprived their Captain of that Honour) to lett him also of his Triumph. And thus you see how he passed his fifth Consulship. After that, he made more earnest sure for the fixth Consulship then ever any other did for his first : feeking the Peoples good wills by all the fair means he could to please them, humbling himself unto them, not onely more then became his Estate and calling, but directly also against his own nature conterfeiting a courteous Popular manner, being clean contrary to his disposition. His ambition made him timorous to deal in matters of the State concerning the City. For that courage and boldness which he had in Battell against the Enemy, he lost it quite when he was in an Affembly of People in the City: and was eafily put out of his bias, with the first blame or praise he heard given him. And though they report, that on a time when he made a Thousand Camerines free of the City of Rome, because they had done Valiant service in the Wars, that there were some that did accuse him, faying, that it was a thing done against all Law : he answered them, that for the noise of the Armor, he could not hear the Law. Notwithstanding , it feemeth that indeed he was greatly afraid of the fury of the People in an Affembly of the City. For in time of Wars, he ever stood upon his reputation and Authority, knowing that they had need of him; but in Peace and civill Government, because he would rather be the chiefest man then the honestest man, he would creep into the Peoples bosomes to get their favour and good will. And thus through his evil behaviour, he brought all the Nobility generally to be his Enemies. But he seared nor mistrusted none so much, as he did Metellus, for the great unthankiull part he remembred he had plaid him: and the rather also, because he knew him to be a just and true dealing man, and one that was ever against these People-pleasers and flatterers. Marius therefore pra-Metellus a-Cifed all the waies he could, to get Metellus to be banished ROME. Wherefore, to compass his gainst People intent, he fell in friendship with Glaucia and one Staturninas, two of the most bold, most desperate, Pleasers. and most harebraind young men that were in all ROME, who had all the rabblement of Rogues and beggers, and fuch tumultuous People at their commandment: by whose means he made new Popular Laws, and caufed the Souldiers to be called home out of the Wars, and mingled them with the

A dust raifed that neither Army could fee one another.

The Sun full

People of the City in common Affemblies, to trouble and vex Merellus. Moreover Rusilins,

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cus Confull Valerius Corvimus fix times Confull.

The Law Agraria. An Article for the Oaths of the Senate to confirm what should pass by

Marius double

Timorous policy causeth tlant in Ver-

Metellus ba-

Marius double dealing between the

an honest and true Writer, (howbeit an Enemy unto Marius) writeth, that he obtained his fixth Confulfhip by corruption of Money, which he caused to be distributed amongst the Tribes of the People : and that he bought it for ready Money to put by Metellus, and to have Valerius Flacens Flacing Flac not for his fellow and companion in the Contulfhip, but rather for a Minister of his Will. There was never ROMAN to whom the People granted the Confulfhip fix times, except it were unto Valerius Corvinus onely. But for him, they fay that there was Five and forty years between his the first Confullitip and the last. Where Marius since the first year of his Consulship, continued five years together by good Fortune one after another. But in his last Consulfhip, he wan himself great hate and malice, because he did many foul faults to please Saturninus withall: as amongst others, when he bare with Saturninus, who murdered Nonius his Competitor in the Tribunethip. Afterwards when Saurninus was cholen Tribune of the People, he perferred a Law for diffribution of the Lands among the common People, and unto that Law he had specially added one Article : that all the Lords of the Senate thould come openly to fwear, that they should keep and observe from point to point, that which the People by their voices should decree, and should not deny it in any jot. But Marius in open enate, made as though he would withfrand this Article, laying, that neither he nor any other Wife man of judgement would take this Oath: for faid he, if the Law beevil, then they should do the Senate open wrong to compell them by force to grant it, and not for their own good wills. But he spake not that, meaning to do as he said: for it was but a bait he had hid for Metellus onely, which he could hardly escape. For, imagintot it was out a battle had bate to? According that to tell a fine lie, was a piece of Vertue, and of a good wit: he was throughly refolved with himself, not to pass for any thing he had spoken in the Senate. And to the contrary also, knowing well enough that Metellus was a grave wife man, who efteemed that to be just and true (as To lie cunningly, Marias Pindarias (aid) is the beginning and foundation of great Vertue: he thought he would overreach him, making him affirm before the Senate that he would not swear, knowing also that the People would hate him deadly, if he would refuse afterwards to swear. And so indeed it happened, For Metellus having affured them then that he would not fwear, the Senate break up upon it. And thortly after, Saurnings the Tribune calling the Senators unto the Pulpir for Orations, to compell them to swear before the People: Marius went thither to offer himself to swear. Whereupon the People making filence, liftened attentively to hear what he would fay. But Marius not regarding his large promife and brags made before the Senate, faid then, his neck was not fo long that mg instange promine and prags made octobe and search, and then, an inche was not to long that he would be would prejudice the Commonwealth in a matter of fo great importance: but that he would fivear, and obey the Law, if it were a Law. This fhifting fubrilty he added to it, to cloke and fover is shame: and when he had faid so, he took his Oath. The People seeing him swear were marvellous glad, and praifed him with clapping of their hands: but the Nobility hanging down their heads, were ashamed of him, and were marvellous angry in their hearts with him, that he had so cowardly and shamefully gone from his word. Thereupon all the Senate took their Oaths, one after another against their wills, because they were afraid of the People: faving Metellus, whom, neither Parents, nor friends perswafton and intreasy could once move to swear, for any punishment that Saurnings had imposed upon them which refused to take the Oath, but continued one man Metallia conf. ftill according to his nature, and would never yeeld unto it, offering to abide any pain, rather then to be brought to confent to a dishonest matter unbeseeming his Estate. And thereupon went out of the Affembly, and talking with them that did accompany him, told them, that to do eril it was too easie a thing: and to do good without danger, it was also a common matter: but to do well with danger, that was the part of an honeft and Vertuous man. Saurninus then commanded the Confulls by Edict of the People, that they should banish Metellus by found of Trumpet, with speciall commandment, that no man should let him have Fire nor Water, nor lodge him prifaying touch with speciall commandment, that no man should let him have Fire nor Water, nor lodge him pring well doing, vately nor openly. The common People, they were ready to have fallen upon him, and to have killed him: but the Noble men being offended for the injury they had offered him, gathered together about him to fave him, if any would offer him violence. Metellus himself was so good a man, that he would not any civil diffention should rife for his sake : and therefore he absented himtelf trom ROME, wherein he did like a wife man. For faid he, either things will amend, and the People then repenting themselves of the wrong they have done me, will call me horse again; or ele things standing as they do now, it shall be best for me to be surthest off. But for his travell in his exile, how much he was beloved and honoured, and how fweetly he paffed his time studying Philosophy in the City of RHODES, shall be declared more at large in his Life. Now on the other fide, Marins to recompence the pleasure Saturninus had done him, being driven to let him have his will in all things, did not fortee what an intollerable plague he brought unto the Commonwealth, giving the bridle to a desperate man, who every way, by force, by Sword and murder, plainly fought to usurp Tyrannicall Power, with the utter deftruction and subversion of the whole Commonwealth. And so bearing reverence on the one fide unto the Nobility, and defiring on the other fide to gratifie the common People: he played a shamefull part, and shewed himself a double dealing man. For one night the Nobility and chiefest Citizens coming to his House, to perswade him to bridle Saturations infolency and boldness: at the self same time also Saturninus going thither to speak with him, he caused him to be let in at a back door, the Noble men not being privy to his coming. Andlo Marius procure Marius telling the Nobility, and then Saturninus, that he was troubled with a loofness of his Body, under this pretence whipped up and down, now to the one, then to the other, and did no thing elle but set them surther out one against another, then they were before. Nevertheless, the

Senate being marvellous angry with his naughty double dealing, and the order of Knights taking part with the Senate, Marius in the end was compelled to Arm the People in the Market-place, to fuppress them that were up, and drave them into the Capitoll; where for lack of Water, they were compelled to yeeld themselves at the length, because he had cut off the Pipes and Conduits, by the which the Water ran unto the Capitoll. By reason whereof, they being unable to continue any longer, called Marius unto them, and yeelded themselves to him, under the affurance of the faith Natrol to of the common People. But although Marius did what he could possible to his uttermost Power the faith of the to fave them, he could not prevail, nor do them pleafure: for they were no fooner come down common into the Market-place, but they were all put to death. Whereupon he having nour purchased him. Poorle. into the Marker-place, but they were all put to death. Whereupon he having now purchased himfelf the ill will of the People and Nobility both, when time came about that new Cenfors should be chosen, every man looked that he would have been one of the suters : howbeit he sued not for it, for fear of repulse, but suffered others to be chosen of far less dignity and calling then himfelf. Wherein notwithstanding he gloried, faying, that he would not sue to be Censor, because he would not have the ill will of many, for examining too flraightly their lives and manners. Again, a decree being preferred to repeal Metellus banishment, Marius did what he could possible, Metellus return by word and deed to hinder it : howbeit, feeing in the end he could not have his will, he let it alone, from banish-The People having thus willingly revoked Metellus banithment, Marius heart would not ferve him ment. to fee Metellus return again, for the malice he bare him : wherefore he took the Seas to go into Cappadocia and Galatia, under colour to pay certain Sacrifices to the Mother of Marine jourthe gods, which he had vowed unto her. But this was not the very caufe that made him to under-ney into Garage take this journey, for he had another fecret meaning in it. For his nature not being framed to live passia and in Peace, and to govern civill matters, and having attained to his greatness by a many codes. in Peace, and to govern civill matters, and having attained to his greatness by Arms, and suppofing that his glory and Authority confumed and decreased altogether living idlely in Peace, he fought to device new occasion of Wars, hoping if he could fire up the Kings of Asia, and specially Atthridates, (who without his procurement was feared much, that one day he would make Wars against the ROMANS) that he should then undoubtedly without let of any man be chosen Generall to make Wars with him; and withall alfo, that by that means he should have occasion to fill the City of ROME with new Triumphs; and his House with the spoils of the great Kingdom of PONT, and with the riches of the King. Now Mithridates diffosing himself to entertain Marius, with all the Honour and courtefies he could possible shew him : Marius in the end notwithflanding would not once give him a good look, nor a courteous word again, but churlifhly find unto Misbridates at his departure from him : Thou must determine one of these two, King Mithridates: either to make thy felf stronger then the ROMANS, or else to look to do what words to Mis they command thee, without refiftance. These words amazed Mithridates, who had heard fay thridates before, that the ROMANS would speak their minds freely: howbeit he never saw nor proved it before, untill that time. After Marius was returned unto ROME, he built a House near unto the Market-place, because he would not (as he faid himself) that such as came unto him, should trouble themselves in going far to bring him home to his House : or elic for that he thought this would be an occasion that divers would come to falure him , as they did other Senators. Howbeit, that was not the cause indeed: but the onely cause was, for that he had no naturall grace nor civilhisy to entertain men courteoufly that came unto him, and that he lacked behaviour belides to rule a Commonwealth: and therefore in time of Peace they made no more reckoning of him then they did of an old rufty harnels or implement, that was good for nothing but for the Wars onely. And for all other that professed Arms as himself did, no man grieved him so much to be called forward to Office and State before himself, as Syna did. For he was ready to burst for spite, to see that the Noble men did all what they could to prefer Sylla, for the malice and ill will they barehim: and that Sylla's first rising and perferment grew, by the quarrells and contentions he had with him. And specially when Bocchus King of Numidia was Proclaimed by the Senate, a friend and confederate of the ROMAN People, he offered up Statues of Victories, carrying tokens of Triumph federate of the ROMAN People, he offered up Statues of Victories, carrying tokens of Triumph The capte of into the Temple of the Capitoll: and placed near unto them also, an Image of Gold of King f_{μ} the capitol the difference gurth, which, he delivered by his own hands unto Sylla. And this made Marius stark mad for brown hards pite and jealousie, who could not abide that another should take upon him the glory of his doings: us and 5,44. infomuch as he determined to pluck those Images down and to carry them away by force. Sylla on the other fide ftomached Marius, and would not fuffer him to take them out of the place where they were : fo that this civill fedition had taken present effect, had not the Wars of their confederates fallen out between , and restrained them for a time. For the best Souldiers and most Warlike People of all ITALY, and of greatest Power, they altogether role against the ROMANS, of the Confe, and had well near overthrown their whole Empire. For they were not onely of great force and detates. Power, and well Armed: but their Captains also, for Valiantness and Skill, did in manner equall the worthiness of the ROMANS. For this War fell out wonderfully, by reason of the calanity and misfortune that happened in it : but it wan Sylla as much fame and reputation, as it did Marius shame and dishonour. For he shewed himself very could and slow in all his enterprises, still delaying time, either because age had mortified his active heat, and killed that quick ready dispofition of body that was wont to be in him, being then above threefcore and five years old : or elfe as he faid himself, because he was waxen gowty, and had ach in his veins and finews, that he could not well stir his body, and that for shame: because he would not tarry behind in this War, be did more then his years could away withall. Notwithstanding, as he was, yet he wan a great Battell, where-

CAIUS MARIUS.

Marius an-

in were flain fix thousand of their Enemies : and fo long as the Wars endured, he never gave them advantage of him, but patiently fuffered them fometime to intrench him, and to mock him, and gave him vile words, challenging him out to fight, and yet all this would not provoke him. It is faid also, that Pompedius Silo, who was the chiefest Captain of reputation and Authority the Enemies had, faid unto Marim on a time: If thou be Marim, fo great a Captain as they fav challenge, and thou art, leave thy Camp and come out to Battell. Nay, faid Mariu to him again: If thou be a great Captian, pluck me out by the Ears, and compell me to come to Battell. Another time when the Enemies gave them occasion to give a great charge upon them with advantage : the Ro-MANS were faint-hearted, and durft not fer upon them. Wherefore, after both the one and the other were retired, Marius cauled his men to Assemble, and spake unto them in this fort : I cannot tell which of the two I should reckon most cowards : you your felves, or your Enemies : for they durst not once see your backs, nor you them in the faces. In the end notwithstanding, he was compelled to refign his charge, being able to ferve no longer for the weakness and debility of his Body. Now all the Rebells of IT ALY being put down, many at ROME (by the Orators means) did tue to have the charge of the Wars against Mithridates : and among them, a Tribune of the People called Sulpitius, (a very bold and rafh man) beyond all mens hope and opinion preferred Marins, and perfwaded them to givehim the charge of these Wars, with title and Authority of Vice-confull. The People thereupon were divided in two parts : for the one fide food for Marins, and the other would have Sylla take the charge, faying, that Marins was to think now upon the hot Bathes at BAIES, to look to cure his old Body, brought low with rhewm Mons Milenan, and age, as himself said. For Marius had a goodly stately House in those parts near unto the Mount of MISENE, which was far more fine and curiously turnished then became a Captain that had been in so many foughten Battells and dangers. They say that Cornelia afterwards bought that fine House for the sum of seventhousand five hundred Crowns; and shortly after also, Lucullus bought it again for two hundred and frity thousand Crowns : to so great excess was vanity and curiofity grown in very fhort time at ROME. Notwithstanding all this, Marim too ambittoutly firring like a pallionate young man againft the weaknefs and debility of his age, never miffed day Marius ambut he would be in the Field of Mars to exercise himself among the young men, shewing his Body disposed and ready to handle all kind of Weapons, and to ride Horses: albeit that in his latter time, he had no great health of Body, because he was very heavy and sad. There were that liked that palling well in him, and went of purpole into the Field to fee what pains he took, ftriving to excell the reft. Howbeit those of the better fort were very forry to see his avarice and ambition, confidering specially, that being of a poor man become very rich, and of a right mean Person a great Estate, that he could not now contain his prosperity within reasonable bounds, nor yet content himfelt to be efteemed and honoured, quietly enjoying all he had won, and which at that prefent he did posses: but as if he had been very poor and needy, after he had received sulpiting guard and Minister to destroy the Commonwealth, which was the infolent and rash Sulpitins: who al-

fuch great Honour and Triumphs, would yet carry out his age to floutly, even into Cap-PADOCIA, and unto the Realm of Pont, to go fight there against Archelam, and Neopolew.us., Lieutenants of King Mithridates. Indeed he alledged some reasons to excuse himseli, but they were altogether vain : for he faid that he defired in Person to bring up his Son in exercise of Arms, and to teach him the discipline of Wars. That discovered the secret hidden plague, which of long time had lurked in ROME, Marins specially having now met with a fit Instrument together followed Saturnium doings, faving that he was found too cowardly and fainthearted in all his enterprifes, and for that did Marim justly reprove him. But Sulpitim, because he would not dally nor delay time, had ever fix hundred young Gentlemen of the order of Knights, whom he uled as his guard about him, and called them the guard against the Senate. And one day as the Confulls kept their common Affembly in the Market-place , Sulpitins coming in Armed upon them, made them both take their heels, and get them packing : and as they fled, one of the Confulls Sons being taken tardy, was flain. Sylla being the other Confull, and perceiving that he was followed hard at hand unto Marius House, ran into the same against the opinion of all the world : whereof they that ran after him not being aware, passed by the House. And it is reported that Marius himself conveyed Sylla fafely out at a back door, and that he being scaped thus, went unto his Camp. Notwithflanding, Sylla himself in his Commentaries doth not say, that he was saved in Marius House when he fled : but that he was brought thither to give his confent unto a matter which Sulpius would have forced him unto against his will, presenting him naked Swords on every side. And he writeth also, that being thus forcibly brought unto Marins Houle, he was kept there in this fear, untill fuch time as returning into the Market-place, he was compelled to revoke again the Adjornment of justice, which he and his companion by Edict had commanded. This done, Sulpitius then being the stronger, caused the Commissions and sharge of this War against Mithridates to be a fligned unto Marius by the voice of the People. Therefore Marius giving order for his departure, fent two of his Colonels before to take the Army of Sylla: who having won his Souldiers heats before, and stirred them up against Marius, brought them on with him directly towards Rome, being no less then five and thirry thousand fighting men: who setting upon the Captains Marius had sent unto them, slew them in the Field. In revenge whereof Marius again in Rome put many of Sylla's friends and followers to death, and proclaimed open liberty by found of Trimpet , to all flaves and bondmen that would take Arms for him : but there were never but there

onely that offered themselves. Whereupon, having made a little resistance unto Sylla when he came into ROME, he was foon after compelled to runhis way. Marius was no fooner out of the City, but Matini hyent they that were in his company for faking him, dispersed themselves here and there being dark night; and from Rome, Marius himself got to a house of his in the Countrey, called Salonium, and sent his Son to one of his Father in Law Mutim Farms, not far fromthence, to make fome provision for victuals. But Marins in the mean time, went before to Ostla, where one of his friends Numerim had prepared him a flip, in the which he imbarked immediately, not tarrying for his Son, and hoifed fail, having onely Grani-14 his Wives Son with him. In the mean time the younger Marius being at his Father in Law Mutim Farm, stayed so long in getting of provision, in truiling of it up, and carrying it away, that broad day light had like to have discovered him : for the enemies had advertisement whether he was gone, whereupon certain horfemen were fent thither fupposing to have found him. But the keeper of the house having an inckling of their coming, and preventing them also before they came, suddenly yoked his Oxen to the Cart, which he loaded with Beans and hid this younger Marius under the fame. And pricking the Oxen forward with his Goad, fet out, and met them as they went towards the City, and delivered Marius in this fort into his Wives house : and there taking such things as he needed, when the night following came, went towards the fea, and took ship, finding one cross-failed, bound towards Africk. Marius the Father failing on still, had a very good wind to point along the coast of ITALY: notwithstanding, being afraid of one Geminius, a chief man of TERRACINE, who hated Marins the fon him to the death he gave the Mariners warning increased between a different rates hand of the party hand of the many the hand of the ha him to the death, he gave the Mariners warning thereof betimes, and willed them to take heed of landing fride. at TERRACINE. The Mariners were very willing to obey him, but the wind stood full against them coming from the Main, which raifed a great storm, and they feared much that their Vessel which was but a Boat, would not brook the feas: besides that, he himself was very sick in his stomach, and sore sea-beaten: notwithstanding at the length with the greatest difficulty that might be, they recovered the coast over against the City of CIRCES. In the mean time, the storm increased still, and their victuals failed them: whereupon they were compelled to land, and went wandring up and down not knowing what to do, nor what way to take. But as it falleth out commonly in fuch like cases of extremity, they thought it always the best safety for them, to sly from the place where they were, and to hope of that which they saw not : for if the sea were there enemy, the land was so likewise. To meet with men they were afraid: and not to meet with them on the other fide lacking victuals, was indeed the greater danger. Nevertheless, in the end they met with heard-men that could give them nothing to eat, but knowing Marius, warned him to get out of the way as foon as he could possible, because it was not long fince that there passed by a great troop of Horsemen that sought him all about. And being brought unto such perplexity, that he knew not where to bestow himself, and specially for that the poor men he had in his company were almost starved for hunger : he got out of the high way notwithstanding, and fought out a very thick Wood, where he passed all that night in great forrow, and the next morning being compelled of necessiry, determined yet to employ his body before all his strength failed. Thus he wandred on along the sea coast, still comforting them that followed him the best he could, and praying them not to despair, but to refer themselves to him, even untill the last hope, trusting in certain Prophefies which the Soothfayers had told him of long time before. For when he was but very young, and dwelling in the Countrey, he gathered up in the lap of his Gown, the airy of an Eagle, in the Marius found and owening in the Country, in gameter of the South and Mother much wondring, asked the South an airy which were feven young Eagles: whereat his Father and Mother much wondring, asked the South Eagles. fayers what that meant. They answered, that their Son should one day be one of the greatest men in the world, and that out of doubt he should obtain seven times in his life the chiefest Office of dignity in his Countrey. And for that matter, it is faid, that fo in deed it came to pass. Other hold opinion, that fuch as were about Marius at that time, in that prefent place, and elfewhere, during the time of his flying: they hearing him tell this tale, believed it, and afterwards put it down in writing, as a true thing, although of troth it is both false and fained. For, they say that the Eagle never hath but two young ones: by reason whereof it is maintained also, that the Poet Musans hath lyed, in that which he hath written in these verses:

> The Eagle lays three eggs, and two she hatcheth forth: But yet she bringeth up but one that any thing is worth.

How many eggs the Eagle

How loever it was, it is certain that Marius many times during the time of his flying faid, that he was affured he should come unto the seventh Consulship. When they were come near now to the City of MINTURNES, about two miles and an half from it, they might perceive a Troop of horsemen coming by the fea fide, and two ships on the fea that fell upon the coast by good hap. Wherefore they all began to run (fo long as they had breath and strength) towards the seas, into the which they threw themfelves, and got by swimming unto one of the ships where Granius was: and they croffed over unto the Ifle that is right against it called ENARIA. Now for Marius, who was heavy and fick of body, two of his servants holp to hold him up always above water, with the greatest pain and difficulty in the world : and at the last they laboured so throughly, that they put him into the other ship at the self fame present when the horsemen came unto the sea side; who cryed out aloud to the Mariners to land again, or elfethrow Marius over-board, and then to go where they would. Marius on the other fide humbly befought them with tears, not to do fo : whereby the Mafters of the ship in a short space were in many minds whether to do it, or not to do it. In the end notwithstanding, they answered the horfemen, they would not throw him over-board : fo the horfemen went their way in a great rage. But as foon as they were gone, the Master of the Ship changing his mind, drew towards

Marius fedi-

Marius fet aland, and for-Jaken of the Mariners.

land, and cast Anchor about the mouth of the River of Liris, where it leaveth her banks, and maketh great Marshes: and therethey told Marius he should do well to go on land to eat somewhat, and refresh his fick body, till the wind served them to make sail, which doubtless said they, will be at a certain hour when the fea-wind falls and becomes calm, and that there rifeth a little wind from the land, ingendred by the vapours of the Marthes, which will ferve the turn very well to take Seas again. Marius tollowing their counfel, and thinking they had meant good faith, was fet on land upon the Rivers bank: and there laid him down upon the grafs, nothing suspecting that which happened arter to him. For the Mariners prefently taking their ship again, and hoisting up their Anchors failed straight away, and fled: judging it no honesty for them to have delivered Marius into the hands of his enemies, nor fafety for themselves to have faved him. Marius finding himself all alone, and forfaken of every man, lay on the ground a great while, and faid never a word : yet at the length taking heart a little to him, got up once again on his feet, and painfully wandered up and down, where was neither way nor path at all, overthwart deep Marshes and great Ditches full of water and mud, till he came at the length to a poor old mans Cottage, dwelling there in these Marshes, and falling at his feet, befought him to help to fave and succour a poor afflicted man, with promise that one day he would give him a better recompence then he looked for, if he might escape this present danger wherein he was. The old man, whether for that he had known Marius aforetime, or that feeing him (by conjecture onely) judged him to be fome great perfonage, told him that if he meant but to lie down, and rest himself a little, his poor Cabin would serve that turn reasonably well: but if he meant to wander thus, to fly his enemies that followed him, he would then bring him into a more fecret place, and farther off from noise. Marius prayed him that he would do fo much for him: and the good man

Mariar hidden brought him into the Marsh, unto a low place by the Rivers side, where he made him lie down, and in the Marshes, unto a low place by then covered him with a great deal of Reed and Bent, and other such light things as could not hurr him. He had not long been there, but he heard a great noise coming towards the Cabin of the poor old man: for Geminius of TERRACINE had fent men all about to feek for him, whereof some

by chance came that way, and put the poor man in a fear, and threatned him that he had received and hidden an enemy of the ROMANS. Marius hearing that, rose out of the place where the old man had laid him, and stripping himself stark naked, went into a part of the Marsh where the water was Marias takea. full of mire and mud, and there was found of those that searched for him: who taking him out of the flime all naked as he was, carried him into the City of MINTURNES, and delivered him there into the Governors hands. Open Proclamation was made by the Senate through all ITALY, that they should apprehend Marins, and kill him wheresoever they found him. Notwithstanding, the Governors and Magistrates of MINTURNES thought good first to consult thereupon among themselves, and in the mean time they delivered him into the fate cultody of a woman called Famia, whom they thought to have been a bitter enemy of his, for an old grudge fhe had to him, which was this. Familia fometime had a husband called Timius, whom the was willing to leave, for they could not agree, and required her Dower of him again, which was very great. Her husband again faid, fhe had plaid the whore. The matter was brought before Marius in his fixth Confulfhip, who had given judgement upon it. Both parties being heard, and the Law profecuted on either fide, it was found that this Fannia was a naughty woman of her body, and that her Husband knowing it well enough before, yet he took her with her faults, and long time lived with her. Wherefore Marius being angry with them both, gave fentence that the husband should repay back her dower, and that for her naughty life, she should pay four farthings. This notwithstanding, when Fannia saw Marius, she grudged him not Families course for that, and leaft of all had any revenging mind in her towards him, but contrarily did comfort and tefic unto Ma help him what she could with that she had. Marius thanked her marvellously for it, and had her than the had.

One hired to

hope well: because shemet with so good luck as he was coming to her house, and in this manner. As they were leading of him, when he came near unto Fanniaes houle, her door being open, there came an Ass running out to go to drink at a Conduit not far from thence : and meeting Marius by the way, looked upon him with a livefull countenance, first of all stopping suddenly before him, and then beginning to bray out aloud, and to leap and skip by him. Whereupon Marius straight conjecturing with himfelf, faid, that the gods did fignifie unto him, that he should save himself sooner by water then by land : because the As leaving him, ran to drink, and cared not to eat. So when he had told Fannia this tale, he defired to rest, and prayed them to let him alone, and shut the Chamber door to him. But the Magistrates of the City having consulted together about him, in the end resolved they must defer no longer time, but dispatch him out of the way presently. Now when they were 3greed upon it, they could not find a man in the City that durft take upon him to kill him: but a man of Arms of the Gauls, or one of the CIMBRES (for we find both the one and the other in writing) that went thither with his fword drawn in his hand. Now, that place of the Chamber wherein Marius lay was very dark, and as it is reported, the man of Arms thought he faw two burning flames come out of Marius eyes, and heard a voice out of that dark corner, faying unto him: O tellow, thou, dareft thou to kill Cains Marius? The barbarous GAUL hearing these words, ran out of the Chamber presently, casting his sword in the midst of the floor, and cryed out these words onely: I cannot kill Caius Marius. This made the MINTURNIANS afraid in the City at the first, but afterwards it moved them to compassion. So they were angry with themselves, and did repent them that they converted their counsel to so cruel and unkinda deed, against one that had preserved all I-TALY: and to deny him aid in fo extream necessity, it was too great a fin. Therefore let us let him go, faid they to themselves, where he will, and suffer him to take his fortune appointed him elsewhere; and

let us pray to the gods to pardon this offence of ours, to have thrust Marins naked and beggarly out of our City. For these considerations, the MINTURNIANS went all together to Marius where he The Minturnians. was, and flood about him, determining to fee him fafely conducted unto the Sea fide. Now though any inffered every man was ready and willing to pleafure him, some with one thing, some with another, and that Maria to go they did haften him all they could possible, yet they were a good while a going thinter : because there his way with mey due material man at they could positively yet they was a wood called Marica, that lay right in their way between their City and the Sea-coast, which they Maria, 161.4. greatly reverence, and think it a Sacriledge to carry any thing out of that Wood, that was once brought into it. On the other fide, to leave to go through this Wood, and to compass it round about, it would ask a marvellous long time. So they standing all in doubt what they should do, one of the ancientest nien of the City spake aloud unto them, and said: that there was no way forbidden them, that went about to fave Marius life. Then Marius himself being the foremost man, taking up some of the fardels which they carried with him to pleasure him in the ship, went through the Wood. All other things neceffary being thus readily prepared for him with like good will, and specially the ship which one Bellows had ordained for him: he caused all this story to be painted in a Table at large, which he gave unto the Temple, out of the which he departed when he took thip. After he was departed thence, Marius the c. the wind by good fortune carried him into the Isle of ENARIA, where he found Granius and some det flyething other of his friends, with whom he took Sea again, and pointed towards Africe. But lacking Africe. water, they were compelled to Land in SICILIA, in the territory of the City of ERIX: where by chance there lay a ROMAN Quæftor, who kept that coast. Marius being landed there, scaped very narrowly that he was not taken of him: for he flew fixteen of his men that came out with him to take water. So Marius getting him thence with all speed, crossed the Seas, untill he arrived in the Isle of MENYNGE, where he first understood that his Son was faved with Cethegus, and that they were both together gone to Hiempfall King of the NUMIDIANS to befeech him for aid. This gave him a little courage, and made him bold to pass out of that Isle, into the coast of CARTHAGE. Now at that time, Sextilius a ROMAN Prator was Governour of AFRICK, unto whom Marius had never done good nor hurt, and therefore he hoped, that for pity onely he might perhaps have help at his hand. Howbeit he was no fooner landed with a few of his men, but a Sergeant came and faid unto him: Sextilim, Prætor and Governour of Lybia, doth forbid thee to land in all this Province: 0therwise he telleth thee, that he will obey the Senates commandment, and pursue thee as an enemy of the ROMANS. Marius hearing this commandment, was so angry and forry both, that he could not readily tell what answer to make him, and paused a good while, and faid never a word, still eying the Sergeant with a grim look: untill he asked him what answer he would make to the Przetors commandment. Marius then fetching a deep figh from his heart, gave him this answer: Thou shalt tell mandment. Marius then fetching a deep figh from his neart, gave min this answer: I nou mair ten Sextilius, that thou haft feen Caius Marius banished out of his Countrey, fitting amongst the ruines. Marius wife answer of forof the City of Carthage. By this answer, he wifely layed the example of the ruine and deftru-Ction of that great City of CARTHAGE, before Sexuilius eyes, and the change of his fortune, to stancy, warn Sextilius that the like might fall upon him. In the mean time, Hiempfall King of the NUMIDI-ANS, not knowing how to resolve, did honourably intreat young Marius and his company: but when they were willing to go their way, he always found new occasion to stay them, and was very glad to fee that he started not for any opportunity or good occasion that was offered: notwithstanding there fortuned a happy mean unto them, whereby they faved themselves. And this it was, This Marius the younger being a fair complexioned young man, it pittied one of the Kings Concubines to fee him so hardly dealt withall. This pity of hers was a shadow to cloak the love she bare him, but Marius would not hearken at the first to her enticements, and refused her. Yet in the end, perceiving that there was no other way for him to escape thence, and confidering that she did all things for their avail, more diligently and lovingly then the would have done, if the had not meant further matter unto him, then onely to enjoy the pleature of him: he then accepted her love and kindness, so as at the length the taught him a way how to fly, and fave himself and his friends. Hereupon he went to his father, and Marius the after they had embraced and falured each other, and going along the sea fide, they found two Scorpi- younger escaons fighting together. Marius took this for an ill fign: whereupon they quickly took a fisher boat, Peth Hiemfills and went into the Isle of CERCINA, which is no great distance off from firm land. They had no hands. fooner hoifed up Anchor, but they faw the horsemen which King Hiempfall had sent unto the place from whence they were departed: and that was one of the greatest dangers that Marius ever escaped. In the mean time there was news at Rome, that Sylla made war against King Mithridates Lieurenants: and furthermore, that the Confuls being up in Arms the one against the other, Octavius wan the battle, Cinna driven and being the stronger, had driven out Cinna who fought to have usurped tyrannical power, and had out of Rame by made Cornelius Merula Conful in his place : and that Cinna on the other fide leavyed men out of o. Odsvius. ther parts of ITALY, and made wars upon them that were in ROME. Maring hearing of this diffention, thought good to return as foon as he could possible into ITALY. And affembling certain horsemen of the Nation of the Maurusians in Africk, and certain Italians that had faved themfelves there, unto the number of a thousand men in all : he took sea, and landed in a Haven of Thus-CANE called TELAMON; and being landed, proclaimed by found of Trumpet, liberty to all flaves and bondmen that would come to him. So the labourers, herdmen and neat-herds of all that Marsh, for the onely name and reputation of Marim, ran to the fea fide from all parts: of the which he having chosen out the stoutest and lustiest of them, wan them so by fair words, that having gathered a great company together in few days, he made forty fail of them. Furthermore, knowing that Octavius was a marvellous honest man, that would have no authority otherwise then Law and reason

Marius joynwith Cinna.

would: and that Cinna to the contrary was suspected of Sylla, and that he fought to bring in change and innovation to the Commonwealth: he determined to joyn his forcewith Cinna. So Marius fent first unto Cinna, to let him understand that he would obey him as Consul, and be ready to do all that he should command him. Cinna received him, and gave him the Title and Authority of Vice-Conful, and fent him Serjeants to carry Axes and Rods before him, with all other figns of Publick Authority. But Marisus refused them, and faid, that pomp became not his miserable fortune : for he ever went in a poor thread-bare Gown, and had let his hair grow ftill after he was banished, being about threefore and ten years old, and had a fober gate with him, to make men pity him the more that faw him. But under all this counterfeit pity of his he never changed his natural look, which was ever more fearfull and terrible then otherwife. And where he spake but little, and went very demurely and foberly, that shewed rather a cankered courage with him, then a mind humbled by his banishment. Thus when he had faluted Cinna, and spoken to the Souldiers, he then began to fet things abroach, and made a wonderfull change in few days. For first of all, with his ships he cut off all the victuals by Sea, and robbed the Merchants that carried Corn and other victuals to ROME: fo that in thort space he was mafter Purveyer for all necessary provision and victuals. After this he went along the coast, and took all the Cities upon the Sea fide, and at the length wan Ostia also by treafon, put the most part of them in the Town to the sword, and spoiled all their goods: and afterwards making a Bridge upon the River of TIBER, took from his enemies all hope to have any manner of Provision by Sea. That done, he went directly towards Rome with his Army, where first he wan Officials ness the hill called Jamiculum through Officius fault: who overthrew himfelf in his doings, not fo much for lack of reasonable skill of Wars, as through his unprofitable curiosity and strictness in tence of the City of Rome observing the Law. For when divers did persuade him to set the bondmen at liberty to take Arms for defence of the Commonwealth: he answered, that he would never give bondmen the Law and Priviledge of a ROMAN Citizen, having driven Caim Marim out of ROME, to maintain the Authority of the Law. But when Cecilius Metellin was come to ROME, the Son of that Metellins Numidicus, that having begun the Wars in Lybia against King Jugurth, was put out by Marius: the Souldiers forfook Offaviss immediately, and came unto him, because they took him to be a better Captain, and defired also to have a Leader that could tell how to command them to fave the City, and the Common-wealth. For they promifed to fight valiantly, and perfuaded themselves that they should overcome their enemies, so that they had a skilfull and valiant Captain that could order them. Metellus milliking their offer, commanded them in anger to return again unto the Conful: but they for spite went unto the enemies. Metellus on the other side, seeing no good order taken in the City to refift the enemies, got him out of ROME. But Offavius being perfurated by certain Soothmuch given to fayers and CHALDEAN Sacrificers, who promifed him all should go well with him, tarried still in ROME: for that man being otherwise, as wife as any ROMAN of his time, and one that dealt as Octavist veruprightly in his Confulthip, not carried away with flattering tales, and one also that followed the Ancient Orders and Customs as infallible rules and example, neither breaking ner omitting any part thereof: methinks yet had this imperfection, that he frequented the Soothfayers, Wife men, and Aftronomers, more then menskilfull in Arms and Government. Wherefore, before that Marius himfelt came into the City, Oftwiss was by force pluckt out of the Pulpit for Orations, and flain prefenly by Marins Souldiers whom he had fent before into the City. And it is faid also, that when he was slain, they found a figure of a CHALDEAN Prophecy in his bosom: and here is to be noted a official flain great contrariety in thele two notable men, Othavius and Marius. The first lost his life by trusting by Marius foulto Soothfaying, and the second prospered, and rose again, because he did not despite the Art of Divination. The state of Rome standing then in this manner, the Senate consulting together, sen Ambassadors unto Cinna and Marius, to pray them to come peaceably into Rome, and not imbrue their hands with the blood of their Citizens. Ginna fitting in his Chair as Conful, gave them audience, and made them a very reasonable and courteous answer. Marius standing by him spake never a word: but shewed by his fowr look that he would straight fill Rome with murder and blood. So when the Ambassadors were gone, Cinna came into Rome environed with a great number of fouldiers Cinnsana Ma but Marins staid suddenly at the gate, speaking parely in anger, and parely in mockery, that he was a banished man, and driven out of his Countrey by Law : and therefore if they would have him come into ROME again, they should first by a contrary. Decree abollish and revoke that of his banishment, as if he had been a Religious observer of the Laws, and as though ROME had at that present enjoyed their Freedome and Liberty. Thus he made the People affemble in the Market place to proceed to the confirmation of his calling home again. But before three or four Tribes had time to give their voices, difguifing the matter no longer, and shewing plainly that he meant not to be lawfully called home again from exile: he came into Rome with a Guard about him, of the verieft Rascals and most shameless slaves, called the BARDLEIANS, who came to him from all parts: Maring caused and they for the least word he spake, or at the twinckling of his eye, or at a nod of his head made to them, flew many men through his commandment, and at the length flew Ancharius a Senator

(that had been Prætor) at Marius feet with their swords, because onely that Marius did not falute him when he came one day to speak with him. After this murther, they continued killing all them

diers. A great contraricty in Aitronomy.

that Marius did not falute, and speak unto : for that was the very fign he had given them to kill them Maring cruely, openly in the streets before everyman, so that his very friends were arraid of being murthered, when they came to falute him. Thus a great number of men being flain, Cinna in the end began to be fatisfied and to appeale his anger. But Marius anger and unsatiable desire of revenge increafed more and more, so that he spared not one if he suspected him never so little : and there was nei-

A Lions very Den is dreadfull to behold, Though he himself be gone abroad, and be not there in hold. But fearing most of all that he should no more sleep and take his rest, he gave himself to make

her Town nor high way, that was not full of Scouts and Spies to hunt them out that hid themselves and fled. Then experience taught them, that no friend is faithfull, and to be trufted, if fortune frown ne- Small truft of ver so little: for there were very few that did not betray their friends that fled to them for succour, friends in ad-And therefore do Cormans fervants for much the more deferve praife, who having feeretly hidden their verfus. Mafter in his house, did hang the dead body of some common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck, and having pur a neis of common person by the neck purpose the Gold Ring on his finger, they shewed him to the BARDLEIANS, Marins Guard, and buried him tas fervants to instead of their own Master, without suspition of any man that it was a fained thing: and so Cormuts: their master. being hidden by his fervants, was fafely conveyed into the Country of GAUL. Mark Anthony the Orator had also found out a faithfull friend, yet was he unfortunate. This faithfull friend of his, was a poor simple man, who had received one of the chiefest men of ROME into his house to keep him close there: he being desirous to make him the best chear he could with that little he had, sent one of his men to the next Tavern to fetch Wine, who tasting the Winemore curioully then he was wont to do, called for better. The Drawer asked him why the new ordinary Wine would not ferve him, but he must needs have of the beft and deareft: the foolish fellow simply answered him (telling him as his familiar needs have of the out and tender and friend) that his mafter did feaft Mark Anthony, who was hidden very fecreity in his house. He was M. Antenius no fooner gone with his Wine, and his back turned, but the vile traiterous Drawer ran unto Marins, the Orator, bewho was fet at Supper when he came. The Drawer being brought unto him, promifed him to deli- travel by a ver Mark Anthony into his hands. Maritu hearing of that, was fo jocond, that he cryed out and Tavetner. clapt his hands together for joy: and would have rifen from the board, and gone thither himfelf in perfon, had not his triends kept him back. But he fent Anniu one of his Captains thither with a certain number of fouldiers, and commanded them to bring him his head quickly. So they went thither, and when they were come to the house which the Drawer had brought them to, Annius tarried beneath at the door, and the fouldiers went up the stairs into the Chamber, and finding Anthony there, they began to encourage one another to kill him, not one of them having the heart to lay hands upon him. For Anthony's tongue was as fweet as a Syrene, and had fuch an excellent grace in speaking, that when he The force of began to speak unto the Souldiers, and to pray them to save his life: there was not one of them so hard eloquence. hearted, as once to touch him, no not onely to look him in the face, but looking downwards, fell a weeping. Annius perceiving they tarried long, and came not down, went himlelf up into the Chamber, and found Anthony talking to his Souldiers, and them weeping, his sweet eloquent tongue had so melted their hearts: but he rating them, ran furioully upon him, and strake off his head with his own hands. And Catulus Luctatius also, that had been Conful with Marius, and had triumphed over the CIMBRES with him, seeing himself in this peril, sent men to entreat Marin for him : but his answer Wasever, He must needs die. So Catulus locked himself into a little Chamber, and made a great fre Catulus Lufts: of Charcole to be kindled, and with the imoak thereof choaked himfelf. Now after their heads were this killed cut off, they threw out the naked bodies into the streets, and trode them under their feet: the which himself. was not onely a pitifull, but a fearfull fight to all that faw them. But after all this yet, there was nothing that grieved the people so much, as the horrible lechery and abominable cruelty of his Guard of the BARDLEIANS, who coming into mens houses by force, after they had slain the Masters, defiled their young children, and ravished their Wives and Maids, and no man would once reprove their cruelty, lechery, and unsatiable avarice: untill Cinna and Sertorius in the end set upon them as they slept in The Bardieilechery, and unfatiable avarice: until Cinna and Sertorius in the end set upon them as they hept in their Camp, and flew them every one. But in this extremity, as if all things had been reftored unto their Caprains their first estate, news came again from all parts to Rome, that Sylla having ended his War against for their cuel-King Mithridates, and recovered the Provinces which he had usurped, returned into ITALY with a tygreat power. This caused these evils and unspeakable miseries to cease a little, because the wicked doers of the same, looked they should have wars on their backs ere it were long. Whereupon Marius was chosen Consul the seventh time. He going out of his house openly the first day of January, being the beginning of the year, to take possession of his Consulship, caused one Sextus Lucinus to be thrown down headlong from the Rock TARPEIAN, which feemed to be a great fign and certain token of the evils and mileries that fell out afterwards the felf same year upon them for their faction, unto all the City befide. But Marius being fore broken with his former troubles, and his mind oppreffed with extream forrow and grief, could not now at this last time of need pluck up his heart to him again, when he came to think of this new War toward that threatned him, and of the dangers, griefs, and troubles he should enter into, more great and perillous then any he had passed before. For through the great experience he had in Wars, he trembled for fear when he began to think of it, confidering that he had to fight, not with Octavius, nor with Merula, Captains of a Company of Rebels gathered together: but with a noble Sylla, that had driven him out of ROME before, and that came now from driving the puissant King Misbridates, unto the furthest part of the Realm of Pont, and of the fea Euxinum. Thus, deeply weighing and confidering the fame, and specially when he looked back upon his long time of banishment, how vagabond like he wandred up and down in other Countries, and remembred the great misfortunes he had paffed, and the fundry dangers he fell so often into, being pursued still by fea and by land: it grieved him to the heart, and made him fo unquiet, that he could not fleep in the night, or if he flept, had fearfull dreams that troubled him, and still he thought he heard a voice buz-

thoughts and fears.

CAIUS MARIUS.

unreasonable banquets, and to drink more then his years could bear, seeking to win sleep by this means, Device to win to avoid care the better. But at the length there came one from the Sea, that gave him certain intelligence of all : and that was an increase of a new fear unto him. And thus he being now extreamly troubled, partly for fear of the thing to come, and partly also for the over heavy burden of his prefent ill, there needed but little more aggravation, to fall into the difease whereof he died, which was a Pleurisie: as Possdonius the Philosopher writeth; who faith plainly, that he went into his Chamber when he was fick, and spake unto him about matters of his Ambassade, for the which he came to ROME. Yet another Hiftoriographer Cains Pifo writeth, that Marins walking one day after supper with his friends, fell in talk of his fortune from the beginning of his Life, telling them at large how often fortune had turned with and against him: concluding, that it is no wife mans part to trust her any more. tune nad turned with and against min: concluding, that it is no whe mans part to that first more. So when he had done, he took his leave of them, and laid him down upon his bed, where he lay fick Marias the farefeven days together, and on the feventh day died. Some write that his ambition appeared plainly, by a strangeraving that took him in his head during his sickness: for he thought that he made wars with Mithridates, and shewed in his bed all the gestures and movings of his body, as if he had been in a battle, crying the same cries out aloud, which he was wont to cry when he was in the extreamest fight, The desire he had to have taken this charge in hand against Mithridates, was so deeply settled in his mind through extream ambition and jealousie that polleft him, that being then threescore and ten year

old, after he had been the first man that ever was chosen seven times Consul in Rome, and also after

all this he died for forrow, lamenting his hard fortune, as it he had died before his time, and before that

Marius mad ambition.

One, after the man occur the title man that the was chosen revenues comment that he had gotten a world of goods and riches together that might have furficed many Kings: yet for

Plato's words

lowing, it appeareth that

mistaken in

one of the lives

he had done and ended that which he had defired. But this was clean contrary unto that the wife Plato did, when he drew near to his death. For he gave God thanks for his fatal end and good fortune. First, for that he had made him a reasonable man, and no brute beast: secondly, a Greek, and no barbarous man: and furthermore, for that he was born in Secrates time. It is reported also, that one Aniquer of THARSIS, calling to mind a little before his death the good fortune he had in his life time, did not forget among other things, to tell of the happy Navigation he made, coming from his Countrey unto A-THENS: which did witness that he put upon the file of his good accounts for a fingular great grace, all favour fortune had shewed him, and that he kept it in perpetual memory, being the onely and most assured treasure a man can have, to keep those gifts that nature or fortune do bestow on him. But contrariwife unthankfull fools unto God and nature both, do forget with time the memory of their former benefits, and laying up nothing, nor keeping it in perpetual memory, are always void of goods and full of hope, gaping ftill for things to come, and leaving in the mean time the thing prefent, though reafon persuades them the contrary. For fortune may easily let them of the thing to come, but she cannot take that from them which is already past: and yet they utterly forget the certain benefit of fortune, as a thing nothing belonging unto them, and dream always of that which is uncertain. And fure it chanceth to them by great reason: for, having gathered outward goods together, and locking them up before they have built and laid a fure grounded foundation of reason through good Learning, they Note, that in cannot afterwards fill nor quench their unfatiable greedy coverous mind. Thus ended Marius his Life, Note, that in Camporance was not a little glad, 5yll's Life fol. the feventeenth day of his feventh Confulship, whereof all the City of ROME was not a little glad, and took heart again unto them, supposing they had then been delivered from a bloody cruel tyranny. But within few days after they knew it to their coft, that they had changed an old mafter taken out of the world, for a younger that came but newly to them: fuch extream unnatural cruelties and muthers younger was befreged in the did Marim the younger commit, after the death of his father Marim, murthering in manner all the City of Prac chiefest noble men of ROME. At the first, they took him for a valiant and hardy young man, wherenells, and not upon they named him the Son of Mars: but shortly after his deeds did shew the contrary, and then not promite area. in Perufacians we upon they named nim the Son of Venus. In the end he was flut in, and befreged by Sylla, in the City of Psread here. So RUSIA, where he did what he could possible to fave his life, but all was in vain: and lastly, seeing no feement to be way to escape, the City being taken, he slew himself with his own hands.

The end of Caius Marius Life.

THE LIFE OF LYSANDER.



Ann. Mund. 3546.

Ant. Christ. 203.



N the treasury of the ACANTHIANS, which is in the Temple of Apollo at DEL3 PHOS, there is this infcription: Brasidas, and the ACANTHIANS, with the spoil of the ATHENIANS. That inscription maketh many men think, that the image of stone that standeth within the chamber by the door thereof, is the image of Brafidas: howbeit in truth it is the lively image of Lyfander himself, Lyfanders made with a great bush of hair, and thick long Beard after the old ancient fashi- i mage. on. And where some say that the ARGIVES, after they were overcome and had

loft a great battle, did all of them shave themselves in token and sign of common forrow: and that the LACEDAMONIANS on the other fide to flew the joy of their Victory, did let all their hairs grow, that is not true, no more then this is true which other do report of the BACCHIA-DES: who being flee from Corinth unto Lacedemon, the Lacedemonians found them fo ill favouredly difguifed and deformed, because their heads were all shaven, that thereupon they had a defire to let their hair and beards grow. For that was one of the Ordinances of Lycurgus, who faid, that Lycurgus the the long buth of hair maketh them that are naturally fair, the pleasanter to look upon: and upon those Authorosweatthat are ill favoured, more ugly and fearfull to fee to. And furthermore, it is faid that Ariffeelitists, the ing long hir. Father of I when the was not of the Barul blood of the Kings of Salary a though be comed the Barul blood of the Kings of Salary at though be comed the Barul blood of the Kings of Salary at though be comed the Barul blood of the Kings of Salary at though be comed the Barul blood of the Kings of Salary at though be comed the Barul blood of the Kings of Salary at though be comed to the Commodition of t Father of Lyfander, was not of the Royal blood of the Kings of SPARTA, though he came of the Race ty of wearing of the Heraclides: and that his Son Lyfander was very meanly and poorly brought up, being as obedilong bain. ent to the Laws and Statutes of his Countrey, as any other man was, thewing himfelf always very ftrong Liftanders kinand conftant against all vanity and pleasure, saving onely in matters of honour and courtese, which they died. offer unto those that deserve well. For they think it no shame nor dishonesty in SPARTA, that the const that deserve well. young men do suffer themselves to be overcome with that delight and pleasure: but do bring up their chil-nian children. dren, that from their youth they would have them to have some tast and feeling of honour, delighting to be praised, and forry to be discommended. For they make no account of him that is not moved with the one nor the other, but take him to be of a base cowardly nature, that hath no manner of mind to do good. And therefore it is to be thought, that the ambition and froutness that was bred in Lyfander, proceeded of the LACONIAN discipline and education he had, and not so much of his own nature. But indeed of his own nature he was a right Courtier, and could tell how to entertain and flatter great States and Nobility, far better then the common manner of the natural Spartans: and moreover for his private benefit, he could eafily bear with the ftourness of greater men of Authority then hundelf, which some judge to be a great point of wisdom, to know how to deal in matters of State.

THE

Wise men be

Aristotle in a place where he sauh, that the greatest with commonly are subject unto Melancholy (as Socrates, Plato, and Hercules were) writeth, that Lyfander in his latter age fell into the Melancholy difeafe, but not in his youth. He had also this singular gift above all other, that in his poverty he always kept that honelt modelty with him, as he would never be overcome nor corrupted with Lyfanter a deLyfanter a deGold nor Silver: and yet he filled his Countrey with riches and covetousness, which lost him the refigiter of tiches putation he had won, because himself made none account of riches nor getting. For, bringing ftore of Gold and Silver into his Countrey after he had overcome the ATHENIANS, he referved not unto himfelf one Drachma onely. And furthermore, when Dionysius the Tyran of Syracusa had on a time fent goodly rich Gowns out of Sicilia to his Daughters: he refused them, saying, that he was afraid such Gowns would make them sowler. Nevertheless, shortly after being sent Ambassador out of his Countrey to the same Tyrant, Dionysius having sent him two Gowns, praying him to choose which he would, to carry to his Daughter : he answered that she her self could best chuse which was the fitter, and so carried both with him. But now to come to his doings in warlike causes, the wars of Peloponnesus fell out marvellous long. For after the overthrow of the Army which the ATHENIANS had fent into SICILIA, when every man thought they had utterly loft all their force by Sea, and that by all conjecture they should soon after lose all by Land also: Alcibiades returning from his exile to deal again in matters of the

nysius liberality

Lyfander enlar-

Sardis a City in Lydia.

State, made an exceeding great change and alteration. For he fet the ATHENIANS affore again, and made them as ftrong by Sea as the LACEDAMONIANS: who thereupon began to quake for fear, and to look eitfoons for a fresh war, perceiving that they stood in need of a great power, and of a better Captain then ever they had before. Whereupon they made Lysander their Admiral, who arriving in the City of EPHESUS, found them very well affected towards him, and marvellous willing Lacedamonian and ready to take the Lacedemonians part : howbeit otherwise in very poor state, and ready almost to take up all the barbarous manners and fashions of the Persians, because they did continually frequent them, being envyroned round about with the Countrey of Lydia, where the King of Persia's Captains were ever refident. Wherefore having planted his Camp there, ha brought thither Merchants ships out of all parts, and set up an arsenal or store-house to build Gallies in : To that in short space, by oft recourse of Merchants that began to trade thither, he quickned their Havens, and fet up their staple again for the Trassick of Merchandize, and filled every private Artificers house with an honest trade to make them rich by, so that ever after it grew in continual hope to come unto that flourishing state and greatness, in the which we see it at this present. Furthermore, Lysunder being advertised that Cyrus, one of the great Kings of Persia's Sons, was come unto the City of Sardis, he went thither to speak with him, and to complain of Tifaphernes: who having commandment given him from the King to aid the LACEDEMONIANS, and to help to expulse the ATHENIANS, and to drive them from the sea, seemed to deal but coldly and faintly against them, for the favour he bare to Alcibiades. For, in furnishing the LACEDAMONIANS very scantly with money, he was the cause that all their Army by Sea went to wrack. Cyrus for his own part was very glad that he heard complaints of Tifaphernes, and that they spake against him: because he was an ill man, and the rather for that he had himself a little old grudge to him. Wherefore he loved Lyfander marvellous well, as well for the complaints he made of Tsfaphernes, as also for the pleasure he took in his company, because he was a man that could wonderfully please and delight Noble men: by which means having won the favour of this young Prince, he did perfuade, and also encourage him to follow this War. And when Lyfander was upon his departure to take his leave of him, Cyrus feafted him, and afterwards prayed him not to refuse the offer of his liberality: and that was, that he would freely ask him what he would, affuring him he should not be denied any thing. Whereunto Lyfander answered him. Sithence I see (Cyrus) you are so willing to pleasure us, I beseech you, and do also counsel you then to encrease the ordinary pay of our Mariners, one half peny a day: to the end that where now they have but three half pence, they may hence-Lyfandertook forth receive two pence a day. Cyrus was glad to hear Lyfanders bounty, and the encrease that money for pay he would make, and caused ten thousand Daricks to be delivered him : by mean whereof he added to of his fouldiers the ordinary pay of the Mariners, the increase of a half penya day. This liberality, within few days after emptied all their enemies Gallies of their men. For the most part of their Mariners and Galleymen went where they might have the best pay: and such as remained behind, became very dull, lazy, and feditious, daily troubling their Captains and Governours. Now though Lyfander had drawn his Enemies men from them by this policy, and had done them this great hurt, yet he durft not fight it out by Sea, fearing the worthiness of Alcibiades, who was a valiant man, and had greater flore of fhips than he had; and besides that, was never overcome by Land nor by Sea in any battle where he was General. So it chanced that Alcibiades went out of the Isle of Samos unto the City of PHOCEA, which standeth upon firm land directly over against SAMOS, and leaving the whole charge of his Fleet in his absence, with Antiochus his Pilot: he being more hardy then wise, in scorn and derision of Lyfander, went with two Galleys onely into the Haven of EPHESUS, and went by the Arfenal (where all their ships lay in Dock) with great noise and laughing. This put Lyfander in such a heat and chaie, that first of all he put a few Galleys to the Sea, and had him in chase with them. But afterwards, perceiving that the other Captains of the ATHENIANS came out one after another to the refeue, he armed other Galleys alfo: to that supplying still with a few on either side, at length they came to main battle, which Lyfander wan, and having taken fitteen of their Galleys, he fet up a token of triumph and victory. When the people of ATHENS heard the news of this overthrow,

they were fo angry with Alcibiades, that they deposed him presently of his charge; and the joildiers also that lay in Camp in the Isle of Samos, began to millike him, and to speak ill of him. Whereupon he presently left his camp, and went into the Countrey of CHERRONESUS IN LIRRA-CIA. This battle was more spoken of then there was cause, by reason of Alcibiades reputation. Charter far Furthermore, Lyfander caufing the flourest and boldest men of every City, above the common fort Thracia. to come to EPHESUS unto him: laid their fecret foundations of great change and alteration, which he established afterwards in the governments of Cities. For he perswaded his private friends to make Tribes amongst themselves, to win them friends, and to practile to get the rule of their Cities into their hands: promifing them, that fo foon as the ATHENIANS were overthrown, they themfelves also should be delivered from subjection of their people, and every one of them should bear chief rule in their Countrey. And this he performed to them all, and made every one of them prove his words true : for he preferred all them that had been his old friends, unto the best offices and charges, not sparing to do against all right and reason: so that they were advanced by it. And for this cause every man came to take his part, and they all sought and desired to gratific and please him : hoping, that what great matter soever fell out, they might affure themselves that they should obtain it of him, when he came to have the Government in his own hands, And therefore they nothing rejoyced at Callicrat.das coming, who came to succeed him in the office of the Admiral: neither afterwards also, when they saw by experience that he was as honest and just a man as could be. Neither did they like his manner of governing, which was plain and without any Art or cunning. But they commended the perfection of his Vertue, as they would have done the image of some demi-god made after the old fashion, which had been of fingular Callieratidus beauty. But in the mean time, they wished for Lysander, as well for the tender love and good. Lysander, such will he bare to his friends and them, as also for the profit and commodity they got by him. So cellor in his will he bare to his triends and them, as also for the profit and commodify they got by film. So when Lyfarder took the Seas to return home again, all they that were in the Camp, were as for mirally, mirally, ry as could be possible, infomuch as the tears stood in their eyes; and he on the other side studied Poinness comto make them worse affected unto Callicratidas. For amongst many other things, he sent the rest mended for a of the money back again to SARDIS, which Grus had given him to pay the Mariners: faying, vertue, but of the money back again to sands), small the would have it, and find the means to en liked as an old that salieratidas should go himself to ask it, if he would have it, and find the means to en image of a god terrain his men. And lastly, when he was ready to imbark, he protested before all them that the shad been were prefent, that he did deliver, leave, and affign over the Army into his hands, command-excellent fair. ing all the Sea. But Callicratidas, to overcome his falle ambition, and foul boafting lie, answe- The spite of red him again and faid: If that be true thou fayeft, comethen and deliver me the Galleys in the Lylander to City of MILETUM, asthou goeft by, before the Ille of Samos: for fith thou commandeft all the Callieratides, Sea, we shall not need to fear our enemies that are in Samos. Lyfander thereto replyed, that the Army was no more at his commandment; and that he had the charge over them: and fo departed thence, taking his coursedirectly unto Peloponnesus, and leit Callicratidus in great perplexity: for he had brought no money out of his Countrey with him, neither could he compell the Cities to furnish him with any, seeing that they were at that time too much troubled already. Then had he no other way but to go to the Lieutenants of the King of Persia, to ask them money, as Lyfander had done. But he was the unmeeteft man for it that could be possible; for he was of a noble and liberal Nature, and thought it less dishonour and reproach unto the GRECI-ANS, to be overcome by the GRECIANS, then to go flatter the barbarous people, and feek to No:hing cthem that had Gold and Silver enough, but otherwise no goodness nor honefty. In the end notwith fleemed with flanding, making vertue of necessity, he took his insured towards I vertal and ward disable, the Barbaiang flanding, making vertue of necessity, he took his journey towards Lydia, and went directly to but Money. Cyrus Court: where at his first coming, he willed them to let him understand, that Callicratidas the Admiral of the LACEDÆMONIANS would speak with him. One of the Souldiers that warded at the gate, told him : My friend, fir stranger, Cyrus is not at leisure now, for he is set at dinner. Callicratidas answered plainly again: No force, I will tarry here till he have dined. The barbarous Callia ratidas PERSIANS hearing this, took him for some plain lout, and so he went his way at the first time patience. with a mock at their hands. But the fecond time, when they would not let him come in at the Gate, he fell in a rage, and returned back (as he came) to the City of EPHESUS, curfing and banning them that at the first had so much imbased themselves, as to go sue to the barbarous people, teaching them to be proud and stately for their goods and riches: swearing before them all that were present, that so soon as he came to Sparta again, he would do all that he could possible to parific the GRECIANS, and fet them at peace one with another, to the end they might be fearfull to the barbarous people, and also that they should meddle with them no more, nor need their aid to destroy one another. But Callicratidas having the noble heart of a Spartan, and being to be compared in justice, valiancy, and greatness of courage, with the most excellentest GRECIANS in his time, dyed shortly after in a battle by Sea, which he loft upon the Isles ARGI - The death of NUSES. Wherefore, the Confederates of the LACEDEMONIANS feeing that their state was in Calleratides. declining, they all together fent an Ambassade unto Sparta, by which they made request to the Council, that they would fend Lyfander again for their Admiral: promifing that they would do all things with better courage and good will under his conduction, then they would under any other Captain they could fend them. So much did Grus also write unto them. But because there was an express Law, forbidding that one man should be twice Admiral, and besides, they being willing to grant the request of their Confederates, made one Aracus their Admiral, but in effeet gave Lysander the whole authority of all things : who was marvellous welcome unto them,

Device to win fleep.

unreasonable banquets, and to drink more then his years could bear, seeking to win sleep by this means, to avoid care the better. But at the length there came one from the Sea, that gave him certain intelligence of all: and that was an increase of a new fear unto him. And thus he being now extreamly troubled, partly for fear of the thing to come, and partly also for the over heavy burden of his present ill, there needed but little more aggravation, to fall into the difease whereof he died, which was a Pleurisie; as Possdanius the Philosopher writeth; who saith plainly, that he went into his Chamber when he was fick, and spake unto him about matters of his Ambassade, for the which he came to ROME. Yet another Hiftoriographer Cains Pifo writeth, that Marins walking one day after supper with his friends, fell in talk of his fortune from the beginning of his Life, telling them at large how often fortune had turned with and against him: concluding, that it is no wife mans part to trust her any more. So when he had done, he took his leave of them, and laid him down upon his bed, where he lay fick so which he had using the feventh day died. Some write that his ambition appeared plainly, by a strangeraving that took him in his head during his sickness; for he thought that he made wars with Mishridates, and shewed in his bed all the gestures and movings of his body, as if he had been in a battle, crying the same cries out aloud, which he was wont to cry when he was in the extreamest fight, The desire he had to have taken this charge in hand against Mithridates, was so deeply seiled in his mind through extream ambition and jealousie that polleft him, that being then threescore and ten year old, after he had been the first man that ever was chosen seven times Consul in Rome, and also after

Marius mad ambition.

Marius the fa-

Plato's words at his death.

A note against that he had gotten a world of goods and riches together that might have sufficed many Kings: yet for all this he died for forrow, lamenting his hard fortune, as if he had died before his time, and before that he had done and ended that which he had defired. But this was clean contrary unto that the wife Plato did, when he drew near to his death. For he gave God thanks for his fatal end and good fortune. First, for that he had made him a reasonable man, and no brute beast: secondly, a Greek, and no barbarous man: and furthermore, for that he was born in Socrates time. It is reported also, that one Anispater of THARSIS, calling to mind a little before his death the good fortune he had in his life time, did not forget among other things, to tell of the happy Navigation he made, coming from his Countrey unto A-THENS: which did witness that he put upon the file of his good accounts for a fingular great grace, all favour fortune had shewed him, and that he kept it in perpetual memory, being the onely and most affured treasurea man can have, to keep those gifts that nature or fortune do bestow on him. But contrariwife unthankfull fools unto God and nature both, do forget with time the memory of their former benefits, and laying up nothing, nor keeping it in perpetual memory, are always void of goods and full of hope, gaping ftill for things to come, and leaving in the mean time the thing prefent, though reafon perswades them the contrary. For fortune may easily let them of the thing to come, but she cannot take that from them which is already past: and yet they utterly forget the certain benefit of fortune, as a thing nothing belonging unto them, and dream always of that which is uncertain. And fure itune, as a uning notining octoringing unto tuent, and uream always or that which is uncertain. And ture it chances to them by great reason: for, having gathered outward goods together, and locking them up before they have built and laid a sure grounded foundation of reason through good Learning, they up before they have built and laid a sure grounded foundation of reason through good Learning, they up that in cannot afterwards fill nor quench their unsatiable greedy covetous mind. Thus ended Marius his Life, Note, that in cannot ancewards not not quench when dimensione greenly covered all the City of Rome was not a little glad, sylles Life fol. the feventeenth day of his feventh Confulthip, whereof all the City of Rome was not a little glad, lowing, it ap- and took heart again unto them, supposing they had then been delivered from a bloody cruel tyranny. But within few days after they knew it to their cost, that they had changed an old mafter taken out of the world, for a younger that came but newly to them: fuch extream unnatural cruelties and murthers younger was befreged in the did Marin the younger commit, after the death of his father Marin, murthering in manner all the

City of Pra- chiefest noble men of ROME. At the first, they took him for a valiant and hardy young man, wheremelte, and not upon they named him the Son of Mars: but shortly after his deeds did shew the contrary, and then read here, So as the City seemeth to be mistaken in one of the lives

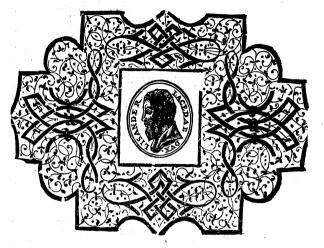
The end of Caius Marius Life.

way to escape, the City being taken, he slew himself with his own hands,

they called him the Son of Venus. In the end he was shut in, and besieged by Sylla, in the City of Ps-

RUSIA, where he did what he could possible to fave his life, but all was in vain: and lastly, seeing no

THE LIFE OF LYSANDER.



Ann. Mund. 3546.

Ant. Christ.

N the treasury of the ACANTHIANS, which is in the Temple of Apollo at DEL-PHOS, there is this infcription: Brasidas, and the ACANTHIANS, with the spoil of the ATHENIANS. That inscription maketh many men think, that the image of stone that standeth within the chamber by the door thereof, is the image of Brasidas: howbeit in truth it is the lively image of Lysander himself, Lysanders made with a great bush of hair, and thick long Beard after the old ancient fashi-image. on. And where some say that the ARGIVES, after they were overcome and had loft a great battle, did all of them shave themselves in token and sign of common

forrow; and that the LACEDAMONIANS on the other fide to flew the joy of their Victory, did let all their hairs grow, that is not true, no more then this is true which other do report of the BACCHIA-DES: Who being fled from CORINTH unto LACEDEMON, the LACEDEMONIANS found them fo ill favouredly difguised and deformed, because their heads were all shaven, that thereupon they had a defire to let their hair and beards grow. For that was one of the Ordinances of Lycurgus, who faid, that Lycurgus the the long bush of hair maketh them that are naturally fair, the pleasanter to look upon: and upon those Authorosweat; that are ill favoured, more ugly and fearfull to fee to. And furthermore, it is faid that Arifoclisus, the ing long hair. Father of Lylander, was not of the Royal blood of the Rings of Spansa, though be came of the Royal The commodi-Father of Lyfander, was not of the Royal blood of the Kings of SPARTA, though he came of the Race ty of wearing of the Heraclides: and that his Son Lyfander was very meanly and poorly brought up, being as obedi- long bair. ent to the Laws and Statutes of his Countrey, as any other man was, thewing himlelf always very strong Listanders kinand constant against all vanity and pleasure, saving onely in matters of honour and courtesie, which they direct offer unto those that deferve well. For they think it no shame nor dishonesty in Sparta, that the Theeducatiyoung men do fuffer themselves to be overcome with that delight and pleasure; but do bring up their chil-nian children. dren, that from their youth they would have them to have some tast and feeling of honour, delighting to be praifed, and forry to be discommended. For they make no account of him that is not moved with the one nor the other, but take him to be of a base cowardly nature, that hath no manner of mind to do good. And therefore it is to be thought, that the ambition and stoutness that was bred in Lyfander, proceeded of the LACONIAN discipline and education he had, and not so much of his own nature. But indeed of his own nature he was a right Courtier, and could tell how to entertain and flatter great States and Nobility, far better then the common manner of the natural Spartans: and moreover Lifanders for his private benefit, he could eafily bear with the ftoutness of greater men of Authority then himself, which some judge to be a great point of wildom, to know how to deal in matters of State.

Aristotle

THE

LYSANDER.

Wife men be

Lyfanders

Aristotle in a place where he saith, that the greatest wits commonly are subject unto Melancholy (as Socrates, Plato, and Hercules were) writeth, that Lyfander in his latter age fell into the Melancholy disease, but not in his youth. He had also this singular gift above all other, that in his poverty he words of Dio-

Lyfander enlargeth the City of Ephefus.

Sardis a City in Lydia.

thenians by

always kept that honest modesty with him, as he would never be overcome nor corrupted with Lyfander a de- Gold nor Silver : and yet he filled his Countrey with riches and coverousness, which lost him the reputation he had won, because himself made none account of riches nor getting. For, bringing store of Gold and Silver into his Countrey after he had overcome the ATHENIANS, he reserved not unto himself one Drachma onely. And furthermore, when Dionysius the Tyranz of SYRACUSA had on a time fent goodly rich Gowns out of SICILIA to his Daughters: he refuled them, faying, that he was afraid fuch Gowns would make them fowler. Nevertheless, shortly after being fent Ambassador out of his Countrey to the same Tyrant, Dionysius having sent him two Gowns, praying him to choose which he would, to carry to his Daughter : he answered that she her self could best chuse which was the fitter, and so carried both with him. But now to come to his doings in warlike causes, the wars of Peloponnesus fell out marvellous long. For after the overthrow of the Army which the Athenians had fent into Sicilia, when every man thought they had utterly loft all their force by Sea, and that by all conjecture they should soon after lose all by Land also: Alcibiades returning from his exile to deal again in matters of the State, made an exceeding great change and alteration. For he fet the ATHENIANS aflote again, and made them as strong by Sea as the LACED & MONIANS: who thereupon began to quake for fear, and to look eftsoons for a fresh war, perceiving that they stood in need of a great power, and of a better Captain then ever they had before. Whereupon they made Lyfander their Admiral, who miral for the arriving in the City of EPHE sus, found them very well affected towards him, and marvellous willing Lacedamonians and ready to take the LACEDEMONIANS part : howbeit otherwise in very poor state, and ready almost to take up all the barbarous manners and fashions of the Persians, because they did continually frequent them, being envyroned round about with the Countrey of Lydia, where the King of Persia's Captains were ever resident. Wherefore having planted his Camp there, ha brought thither Merchants ships out of all parts, and set up an arsenal or store-house to build Gallies in : To that in short space, by oft recourse of Merchants that began to trade thither, he quickned their Havens, and set up their staple again for the Traffick of Merchandize, and filled every private Artificers house with an honest trade to make them rich by, so that ever after it grew in continual hope to come unto that flourithing state and greatness, in the which we see it at this present. Furthermore, Lysander being advertised that Cyrus, one of the great Kings of PERSIA'S Sons, was come unto the City of SARDIS, he went thither to speak with him, and to complain of Tifaphernes: who having commandment given him from the King to aid the LACEDEMONIANS, and to help to expulse the ATHENIANS, and to drive them from the sea, seemed to deal but coldly and faintly against them, for the favour he bare to Alcibiades. For, in furnishing the LACEDAMONIANS very scantly with money, he was the cause that all their Army by Sea went to wrack. Cyrus for his own part was very glad that he heard complaints of Tifaphernes, and that they spake against him: because he was an ill man and the rather for that he had himself a little old grudge to him. Where-fore he loved Lyfander marvellous well, as well for the complaints he made of Tifaphernes, as also for the pleasure he took in his company, because he was a man that could wonderfully please and delight Noble men: by which means having won the favour of this young Prince, he did perswade, and also encourage him to follow this War. And when Lysander was upon his departure to take his leave of him, Cyrus feasted him, and afterwards prayed him not to refuse the offer of his liberality: and that was, that he would freely ask him what he would, affuring him he should not be denied any thing. Whereunto Lysander answered him. Sithence I see (Cyrus) you are so willing to pleasure us, I beseech you, and do also counsel you then to encrease the ordinary pay of our Mariners, one half peny a day : to the end that where now they have but three half pence, they may hence-Lyfandertook forth receive two pence a day. Cyrus was glad to hear Lyfanders bounty, and the encrease that money for pay he would make, and caused ten thousand Daricks to be delivered him : by mean whereof he added to of his fouldiers the ordinary pay of the Mariners, the increase of a half peny a day. This liberality, within few days after emptied all their enemies Gallies of their men. For the most part of their Mariners and Galleymen went where they might have the best pay: and such as remained behind, became very dull, lazy, and feditious, daily troubling their Captains and Governours. Now though Lysander had drawn his Enemies men from them by this policy, and had done them this great hurt, yet he durst not fight it out by Sea, fearing the worthiness of Alcibiades, who was a valiant man, and had greater store of ships than he had , and besides that, was never overcome by Land nor by Sea in any battle where he was General. So it chanced that Alcibiades went out of the Ille of SAMOS unto the City of PHOCEA, which standeth upon firm land directly over against Samos, and leaving the whole charge of his Fleet in his absence, with Antiochus his Pilot : he being more hardy then wise, in scorn and derision of Lyfander, went with two Galleys onely into the Haven of EPHESUS, and went by the Arfenal (where all their ships lay in Dock) with great noise and laughing. This put Lyfander in such a heat and chase, that first of all he put a sew Galleys to the Sea, and had him in chase with them. But asterwards, perceiving that the other Captains of the ATHENIANS came out one after another to the rescue, he armed other Galleys also: so that supplying still with a few on either side, at length they came to main battle, which Lysander wan, and having taken fifteen of their Galleys, he fet up a token of triumph and victory. When the people of ATHENS heard the news of this overthrow, they were so angry with Alcibiades, that they deposed him prefently of his charge; and the souldiers also that lay in Camp in the Isle of Samos, began to mislike him, and to speak ill of him, Whereupon he presently left his camp, and went into the Countrey of CHERRONESUS in THRA-

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was of a noble and liberal Nature, and thought it less dishonour and reproach unto the GRECI-ANS, to be overcome by the GRECIANS, then to go flatter the barbarous people, and feek to Nothing ethem that had Gold and Silver enough, but otherwiseno goodness nor honesty. In the end notwith-steemed with standing, making verme of necessity, he took his insurery towards I you and went disable to the Barbaians standing, making vertue of necessity, he took his journey towards Lydia, and went directly to but Money.

Cyrus Court: where at his first coming, he willed them to let him understand, that Callicratidas the Admiral of the LACEDEMONIANS would speak with him. One of the Souldiers that warded at the gare, told him: My friend, fir stranger, Cyrus is not at leisure now, for he is set at dinner. Callicraridas answered plainly again: No force, I will tarry here till he have dined. The barbarous Callinguidas

PERSIANS hearing this, took him for some plain lout, and so he went his way at the first time patience. with a mock at their hands. But the fecond time, when they would not let him come in at the Gate, he fell in a rage, and returned back (as he came) to the City of EPHESUS, curfing and banning them that at the first had so much imbased themselves, as to go sue to the barbarous people, teaching them to be proud and stately for their goods and riches: swearing before them all that were present, that so soon as he came to SPARTA again, he would do all that he could possible

to pacific the GRECIANS, and fet them at peace one with another, to the end they might be fearfull to the barbarous people, and also that they should meddle with them no more, nor need their aid to deftroy one another. But Callicratidas having the noble heart of a SPARTAN, and being to be compared in justice, valiancy, and greatness of courage, with the most excellentest

GRECIANS in his time, dyed shortly after in a battle by Sea, which he lost upon the Illes ARGI- The death of NUSES. Wherefore, the Confederates of the LACEDEMONIANS feeing that their state was in Californian. declining, they all together fent an Ambassade unto SPARTA, by which they made request to the Council, that they would fend Lysander again for their Admiral: promifing that they would do

all things with better courage and good will under his conduction, then they would under any other Captain they could fend them. So much did Cyrus also write unto them. But because there was an express Law, forbidding that one man should be twice Admiral, and besides, they being willing to grant the request of their Consederates, made one Aracus their Admiral, but in effeet gave Lysander the whole authority of all things : who was marvellous welcome unto them,

LYSAND

A wife faving of Lyfander.

The wicked diffembling and double dealing of Ly-

Lyfanders acts by fea.

and specially unto the heads and Rulers of Cities, which long before had withed for his coming : because that by his means they hoped to make their authority greater, and altogether to take away the authority from the people. But they that loved plain dealing, and open magnanimity in the manners of a Governour and General, when they came to compare Lyfander with Callicra-Lyfander crafty eidas, they found that Lyfander had a fine fubtil head, and did more in wars with his policy and fuband deceitfull. tilty, then by any other means. And moreover that he efteemed justice, when it fell out profitable : and took profit, for juffice and honefty, not thinking that plain dealing was of better force then craft, but measuring the value of the one and the other, by the profit that came out of them, and mocking of them that faid, that the race of Hereules should not make wars with craft and subtilty. For, faid he, when the Lions skin will not ferve, we must help it with the case of a Fox. And hereunto agreeth that which they write he did in the City of MILETUM. For his friends and familiars to whom he had promited aid for destruction of the peoples authority, and to drive their enemies out of the City: they having changed their minds, and being reconciled unto their advertaries, he openly made great thew of gladnels, and feemed as though he would help to agree them together: but fecretly being alone, he took them up sharply, and told them that they were cowards to do it, and did procure them to the contrary, to fet upon the people. And then when he understood that there was commotion among them in the City, he ran thither suddenly as it were to appeale it. But when he was also come into the City, the first he met with of them that would alter the state of the Government, and take the Authority from the people, he fell out withall, and gave them rough words, commanding with extreamity that they should follow him, as though he would have done fome great punishment. And again, meeting with them of the contrary part, he willed them also that they should not be afraid, nor doubt that any man should do them hurt where he was. This was a wicked and malicious practife of him, to stay the chiefest of them that were most affected to the popular faction, to the end that afterwards he might put them all to death, as he did: for they that trufting to his words remained quiet in the City, were all put to death. Moreover, Androclidas touching this matter, hath left in writing that which Lyfander was wont to fay: by the which it appeareth, that he made very little reckoning garded no per-jury, following to be perjured. For he faid, that children should be deceived with the play of Kayles, and men the example of with Oaths of men, following therein Polycrates the Tyrant of Samos, but without reason: for he Paperater the was a lawfull Captain, and the other a violent usurper of Tyrannical power. Furthermore, it Tyrant of Sa was not done like attue LACONIAN, to behave himself towards the gods none otherwise, then towards men, but rather worfe, and more injuriously. For he that deceiveth his enemy, and breatowards men, but rather worfe, and more injuriously. For he that deceiveth his enemy, and breatowards men, but that he careth not for God. Cyrus Cynu liberali- therefore having tent for Lyfander to come to SARDIS to him, gave him money largely, and prory to Lylander, mifed him more; and because he would more honourably shew the good will he had to gratifie him, told him, that if the King his Father would give him nothing, yet he would give him of his own. And furthermore, when all other means failed to help him with money, that rather then he should lack, he would melt his own chair to make money of (which he fat in when he gave audience in matters of Justice) being altogether of Gold and Silver. And to be short, when he was going into Media to the King his Father, he gave Lyfander power to receive the Taxes and ordinary tributes of the Cities under his Government, and made him Lieutenant of all his Countrey. And laftly, bidding him farewell, prayed him that he would not give battle by Sea unto the A-THENIANS, untill he returned from the Court: and that before his coming again, he would have authority to levy a great number of ships, as well out of Phoenicia, as out of Cilicia. Wherefore whilst Gru was in his journey, Lyfander not being able to fight with his enemies with like number of ships, nor also to lie still and do nothing with so good a number of Gallies, went and scoured the Seas, where he took certain Islands, and robbed also ÆGINA and SALA-MINA. From thence he went and landed on the firm Land in the Countrey of ATTICA, and did his duty there unto Agu King of LACEDEMONIA, who came purpolely from the Fort of Decelea to the sea side to see him, because their Army by land also should see what power they had by fea, and how it ruled more by fea then they would. Nevertheless, being advertised that the Fleet of the ATHENIANS followed hard after him, he took another course to fly back again into ASIA by the Isles: and returning again, found all the Countrey of HELLES PONT without men of war. So he laid siege before the City of LAMPSACUS, and did affault it with his Gallies by fea : and Thorax being come thither also at the felf fame time in great haft, with his Army by land gave the affault on his side. Thus was the City taken by force, which Lyfander left to the spoil of the Souldiers. Now in the mean time the Fleet of the ATHENIANS (which was an hundred and fourtere fail) came to an Anchor before the City of ELBUNTE, in the Countrey of CHERRO-NESUS: and news being brought them that the City of LAMPSACUS was taken, they came with all speed possible unto the City of SESTOS, where getting fresh Cates and Victuals, they coafted all along the coast unto a certain place called the Goats River, directly over against the Fleet of their enemies, which lay yet at Anchor before the City of LAMPS ACUS. Now there was a Cap-Philades coacl tain of the ATHENIANS amongst other, called Philades, he that perswaded the ATHENIANS advice unto the to cut off the priloners Thumbs of their right hands that were taken in the Wars, to the end they should no more handle the Pike, but onely serve to pull the Oar. Both the one and the other rested that day, hoping to have battle without fail the next morning. But Lyfander having another meaning with him , commanded the Mafters and Mariners notwithftanding , that they

we bacile the next morning by break of day, because every and should keep themselves in order of battle, making no Lyfanders craste man should get noise at all, attending what he would command them : and further made the Army by land al- in marine fight fo to be ranged in battle ray, by the Sea fide. The next morning at Sun-rifing, the ATHENI-ANS began to row with all their Gallies fet in order of battle in a front. But Lyfander, though he had his ships in order to fight, the prores lying towards the enemies before day, rowed not for all that against them, but sending our Pinnaces unto the first Gallies, commanded them straightly that they should not stir at all, but keep themselves in order, making no noise, nor rowing against the Enemy. Though the ATHENIANS also were retired in the night, he would not give the Souldiers leave to come to land out of the Gallies, before he had fent first two or three Gallies to descry the Fleet of his Enemies: who brought him word that they had seen the ATHENIANS take Land. The next morning they did the like, the third day, and the fourth also all in one fort: fo that the ATHENIANS began to be bold of themselves, and to despise their enemies, imagining they lay thus close for fear of them, and durst not come forward. In the mean time, Alcibiades Alcibiades (who lay at that time in the Countrey of CHERRONESUS, in certain places which he had consquered) came riding to the Camp of the ATHENIANS, to tell the Captains and Generals of Country the Agree the creek that the country of the Captains of Captains and Captains of Capta the Army, the great faults they committed. First, for that they had cast Anchor, and kept their Athensisms. fhips in an open place, where there was no manner of fuccour, nor harbour to retire unto upon any ftorm: and worst of all, because that they were to fetch their victuals far off, at the City of SE-STOS, unto which Haven they should rather draw themselves, considering that they had but a little way to go, and also they should have the City to back them, which would furnish them with all things necessary: and beside that, they should be further off from their enemies, which were governed by one General onely that did command them all, and were so well trained that at a whiftle they were ready straight to execute his commandment. Alcibiades perswasions to these Captains of the ATHENIANS were not onely milliked, but furthermore there was one called Tydeus, that answered him very leudly: That he had nothing to do to command the Army, but other that had the charge of them. Alcibiades mistrusting thereby some treason, quietly went his way. The fifth day, the ATHENIANS having made the fame countenance to prefent battle unto their enemies, and retiring the same night as of custome, very negligently, and in ill order, as men that made no reckoning of their enemies: Lyfander fent again certain Galliots to descry them, commanding the Captains of the same, that when they perceived the ATHE-NIANS had left their Gallies and taken land, they should then return back with all possible speed they could, and being midway over the straights, that they should lift up a Copper Target into the air, upon the top of a Pike in the fore-deck, for a fign to make all the whole fleet to row in battle. Now Lyfander himself in the mean time went in person from Galley to Galley, perswading the fign of batand exhorting every Captain, that they should put their Galliots, Mariners, and souldiers in good tleby Sea. readiness, to the end that when the fign should be litted up, they should row with all their might in battle against the enemies. Wherefore, so soon as the Copper Target was set up in the air, and that Lysander had made his Trumpet found out of the Admiral, for a token to hale out

into the fea: the Gallies immediately began to row for life in envy one of another, and the foot-

men that were upon the land, ran with speed also to the top of a high cliff near unto the sea,

to see what would be the end of the fight, because the distance from one side to the other in that

place was not fully two miles; which they had foon cut over, and in a little space, through the

things in this danger, called fome by their names, others he intreated, and the rest he compelled

to take their Gallies. But all his diligence was to no purpose, because the souldiers were wholly

feattered here and there. For fo foon as they were fet aland out of their Gallies at their return,

some went to buy provision, other went a walking in the Fields, some were set at Supper in their

Cabins, and other were laid down to fleep, nothing miftrufting that which happened to them,

the mean time, the PELOPONNESIANS falling upon the other Gallies, took fome of them

empty, and brake the others as the Souldiers began to come aboard upon them. And as for the

men, some were slain by their ships as they ran unto them like naked men without weapon, and

out of order, thinking to have faved themselves: other were killed in flying, because the enemies landed and had them in chase. And there were taken alive of them, three thousand prisoners

with the Captains. Lyfander moreover took all the whole Fleet of their Ships, the holy Galley

LAMPSACUS, having won a great victory with little labour, and had cut off in a small time, the

long continuing and most divers war that ever was, and had brought forth so many sundry strange events of fortune, as are uncredible. For there had been infinite battles fought both

by Sea and Land, and had altered many fundry times, and there was flain at that time moe Captains,

great diligence and force of rowing with their Oars. So Conon the chief Captain of the A- Conon Admiral THENIANS perceiving from the shore this great Fleet coming with a full force to affault them: of the Athenihe then cryed out to the fouldiers that they should run to their ship, and being in a rage to see ans.

through their Captains ignorance and lack of experience. But when the enemies were rea- Lylanders vidy to joyn and fall upon them with great cries and noise of Oars, Conon having eight Gallies, ctory of the stole secretly out of the Fleet, and flying unto Euagoras, saved himself in the Isle of Cyprus. In Athenians.

excepted, called Paralos, and the eight that fled with Conon: and after he had destroyed all the Paralos, the Camp of the ATHENIANS, he fastned the Gallies that were taken, unto the Keel of his Gallies, holy Gally of and returned with fongs of triumph, with the found of Flutes and Hoboys, towards the City of Athens.

The Stars of Caltor and Pollux. opinion of the Stars.

Whee folling Stars be.

that fell.

then in all the other Wars of GREECE together: all determined, by the good wildom and conduction of one one that this great overthrow was given by the gods, and faid: That at the great overthrow was given by the gods, and faid: That at the out of the Haven of LAMPSACUS, to go fet upon the Fleet of the Enemies, they perceived over Lyfanders Galley the two fires which they call the Stars of Caffar and Pollux: the one on the one fide of the Galley, and the other on the other fide. They fay also, that the fall of the stone was a token, that did fignifie this great overthrow. For about that time (as many hold opinion) there fell A flore fellour our of the air a marvellous great flone, in the place they call the Goats River, which flone is feen yet unto this day, holden in great reverence by the inhabitants of the City of CHERRONESUS. It is faid also, that Anaxagoras did Prognosticate, that one of the bodies tied unto the vault of the Heaven, should be plucked; away, and should fall to the ground by a sliding and shaking that should happen. For he faid, that the Stars were not in their proper place where they were first created, considering that they were heavy bodies, and of the nature of ftone: howbeit that they did shine by reflection of the fire Elementary, and had been drawn up thither by force, where they were kept by the great violence of the circular motion of the Element, even at the beginning of the world they had been staid and let from falling down beneath, at that time when the separation was made of the cold and heavy bodies, from the other substance of the Universal World. There is another opinion of certain Philosophers, where there is more likelihood then in that. For they say, that those which we call falling Stars, be no fluxions nor derivations of the fire Elementary, which are put out in the air, in a manner fo foon as they be lighted; nor also an inflammation or combustion of any part of the air, which by overmuch quantity thereof doth spread upwards: but they are Celestial bodies, which by some slackness of strength, or falling from the ordinary course of Heaven, are thrown and cast down here beneath, not always in any part of the earth inhabited, but more ofter abroad in the great Ocean fea, which is the cause that we do not fee them. Notwithstanding, Anaxagoras words are confirmed by Damachus, who writeth in his book of Religion, that the space of three-Danachurellis from and fifteen years together, before that this ftone did fall, they saw a great lump of fire conmony of the fiery flone feen tinually in the air like a cloud inflamed, the which tarried not in any one place, but went and nery none teen came with divers broken removings, by the driving whereof there came out lightnings of fire that fell in many places, and gave light in falling, as the Stars do that fall. In the end, when this great body of fire fell in that part of the earth, the inhabitants of the Countrey, after that they were a little boldned from their fear and wonder, came to the place to fee what it was: and they found no manner of shew or appearance of fire: but onely a very great stone lying upon the ground, but nothing in comparison of the least part of that which the compass of this body of fire did shew, if we may fo name it. Sure herein, Damachus words had need of favourable hearers. But again if they be true, then he utterly confuteth their arguments, that maintain that it was a piece of a Rock, which the force of a boifterous wind did tear from the top of a mountain, and carried in the air, fo long as this whirlwind continued: but fo foon as that was down, and calm again, the stone fell immediately. Neither do we fay, that this lightning body, which appeared so many days in the Element, was very fire indeed, which comming to diffolve and to be put out, did beget this violent storm and boisterous wind in the Element, that had the force to tear the stone in funder, and to cast it down. Nevertheless, this matter requireth better discourse in some other Book then this. But now to our story. When the three thouland ATHENIANS that were taken prisoners at that overthrow, were condemned by the Council to be put to death : Lyjander calling Philocles, one of the Captains of the ATHENIANS, asked him what pain he would Philocles con- judge him worthy of, that gave the Citizens fo cruel and wicked Counfel. Philocles being nothing tain of the A- abalhed to fee himfelf in that mifery, answered him: Accuse not them that have no judge to hear their cause: but since the gods have given thee grace to be Conqueror, do with us, as we would have done with thee, if we had overcome thee. When he had faid so, he went to wash himself, and then put on a fair Cloak upon him, as if he would have gone to some feast: and went luftily the foremost man to execution, leading his Countreymen the way, as Theophrastus writeth. After this done, Lyfander with all his Fleet went by all the Cities of the fea coast, where he commanded fo many ATHENIANS as he found, that they should get them to ATHENS, letting them underftand that he would not pardon a man of them, but put them all to death as many as he found out of their City. And this he did of policy to bring them all within the precinct of the walls of ATHENS, because he might so much the sooner famish them for lack of victuals: for otherwise they would have troubled him fore, if they had had wherewithall to have maintained a long fiege. But in all the Cities as he passed by, if they were governed by the Authority of the People, or if that there were any other kind of Government, he left in every one of them a LACEDAMONI-AN Captain or Governour, with a Council of ten Officers, of them that had been before in league and amity with him: the which he did aswell in the Cities that had ever been confederates and friends unto the LACEDEMONIANS, as in them that not long before had been their enemies. So he went failing all along the coafts, fair and foitly making no bafte, stablishing in manner a general principality over all GREECE. For he did not make them Officers that were the Richeft, the Nobleft, or Honestest men, but such as were his friends, out of those Tribes which he had placed in every City: Liftenders cou- and to them he gave authority to punish, and reward such as they liked of, and would be present him felf in person to help them to put those to death whom they would execute, or otherwise expulse or banish their Countrey. But this gave the GRECIANS small hope of good or gracious governLYSANDER.

ment under the rule of the LACEDEMONIANS. Wherefore me thinks that Theopompus the Comi- Theopompus the call Poet doted, when he compared the LACED&MONIANS unto Taverners, faying, that they Comical pohad given the GRECIANS a tafte of the sweet Drink of Liberty, and that afterwards they had ensitying of mingled it with Vineger. For, the taffe they gave the GRECIAN's of their Government from the niant. beginning, was very sharp unto them: because Lyfander took the Rule and Authority of Government out of the Peoples hands, and gave it unto a few of the boldeft, and most fedicious men in every City. Thus having spent a great time in this Voyage, to make these alterations, he sent news before to LACEDEMON, that he was coming with two hundred Sail. He spake also with the Kings, Apli and Paufanias, in the Countrey of ATTICA, perfwading himself that he should win the City of ATHENS at the first affault. Bur when he saw that his expectation failed, and that the ATHENI-ANS did valiantly refift him, he returned once again with his Fleet into ASIA, where he made an end of changing and altering the manner of Government through every City in equall manner, ftablishing a Councell of ten Officers onely in every one of them, and putting every where many Citizens to death, and banishing many also. Among others, he drave all the SAMIANS out of their Countrey, and reftored again all them that had been banished before : and the City of SESTOS alfo, being yet in the ATHENIANS hands, he took it from them. And furthermore, he would not fuffer the naturall Sestians to dwell there, but drave them away, and gave their City, their Houfes and Lands, unto Ship-mafters, Officers of Galleys, and Galley-flaves, that had been in the Wars withhim. But therein the LACED EMONIANS were against him, and this was the first thing that they did forbid him : for they reftored the SESTIANS, against his will, unto their Lands and Goods again. But as the GRECIANS were very much offended, to fee the parts Lysander played : fo were they all very glad again, to fee these others which he afterwards did. For he restored the EGINE-TES again to their Lands and Houses, who had been put from them a long time. He restored also the MELIANS, and the SCIONEIANS to their Lands again, which the ATHENIANS had gotten from them, and drave out the ATHENIANS. Furthermore, Lyfander being advertised, that the Citizens and Inhabitants of ATHENS were pinched fore for lack of Victualls, he returned again, and came into the Haven of PIREA: by means whereof he kept the City fo straight, that he made them yeeld upon fuch Conditions as he himfelf would. Howbeit there are certain LACEDAMONI The Athenian ANS that fay, Lyfander wrote unto the Ephores: The City of ATHENS is taken: and that the & yield up Athens phori wrote again unto him : It is well that it is taken. But this is but a tale deviled to make the mat- to L. fander. ter feem better : for indeed the capitulations which the Ephori fent unto him, were these : The Lords of the Councell of LACEDEMON have thus decreed: That ye do raze the Fortification of the Haot the Counter of Lace Land over throw also the long Wall that joyneth the Haven to the City: The manner of perce offer. That ye yeeld up and redeliver all the Cities which ye do hold, and content your felves with your ed by the Lacelives and Countrey onely. This doing ye shall have peace, so that ye perform our demands. That demonians to ye shall receive those which are banished : and for the number of Ships, ye shall dispose of them as the Athenians, we shall will you. The Athenian's agreed upon the Articles contained in that Bill, sollowing the councell of Theramenes the Son of Agnon. Who when a young Orator called Cleomenes, did openly ask him in anger, if he were fo bold to dare to do, or fay, any thing contrary unto that which Themistocles had done before time, to affent unto the LACEDEMONIANS, that the Wall which he built in despight of them, should by their commandment now be razed : he answered him openly again : Young man, my friend, I do nothing contrary to Themistocles doings : for like as he heretofore did build the Wall, for the fafety and benefit of all the Citizens and People that were in ATHENS at that time : even so do we that are here now, for the self-same cause pluck it down and raze it. And if it be true that Walls do make Cities happy, then it must needs follow that the Anorable By-City of SPARTA which never had any Walls, should be the unfortunateit of all other. So Lyfan- ing for the der having received all the ATHENIANS Ships but twelve, and the Walls of the City alfo to use Wallsof Cities them at his pleasure : on the sixteenth day of March (on which day in old time the ATHENIANS had won the Battell by Sea, within the Straight of SALAMINA, against the King of PERSIA) he counselled them straight to change the form of their Government. The People could not brook that motion, and were marvellously offended withall. Whereupon Lysander sent to declare unto them, that they had broken the Articles of the Peace made between them, for that their Walls were yet flanding, the ten dates being expired in which they had promifed to overthrow them: and therefore that he would once again refer it to the determination of the Councell, how they should be used. that had broken the Articles and Covenants of the first Peace. Other fay, that immediately he referred it unto the deliberation of the Councell of their Confederates, that is to fay : whether they should altogether deftroy the City, and make the Inhabitants thereof Slaves and Bondmen, or no. In this Erlanding cru-Councell, it is reported that there was was a THEBAN called Eriambiu, whose opinion was, that they ell storic a should utterly raze the City, and make the Countrey a Defart : fo that it should never after serve for grinds the Aother thing, but for pafturage of Beafts. But during this diet and Councell, there was a Banquet theniana made, whereunto all the Captains and chief Officers of the Army being bidden, there was a Pho-CIAN, a Singer of Songs, that fang the entry of the Chorus to the Tragedy of Elettra, made by the Poet Europides, which began in this fort:

Electra noble Dame, and Daughter to a King, Even Agamemnon, King of Greece, whose fame so wide did ring : I come now to your Courts, which lye both wide and vaft. By spoil of Wars depopulate, destroyed and disgrast.

fick fofined their cruel

Athens.

tain of the Caltle of A-Autolytus a cunning wrest-

The Greekish Coyn was marked with an Owl. Gylippus banishment. Lacedæmon. The Iron Money of Lacedemonia.

> At what time the Lucedamo-Gold and Silver again.

> > The ill life of the Magiitrates , the cause of disorder in a Commonwealth,

These words moved all the hearers with compatition, so that the most part of them thought it were The fweet ma too great a fin to destroy to noble a City, which brought forth to many famous wife men, and great persons. Wherefore Lyfander, when the ATHENIANS had infimited themselves altogether to his will, caufed all the Women-players of Pipes or Shalmes to come out of the City, and gathered all win, caused an time vyonici-prayers of rapes of spiannes to come out of their inftruments he made those together which he had in his own Camp allo, and with the found of their inftruments he made the Walls and Fortifications of the City of ATHENS to be pulled down to the very ground, and piry.

the Walls and Fortingations of the Chybrid them in the prefence of the Confederates of the LACEDAMO

Lylander overfet all their Galleys on fire, and burnt them in the prefence of the Confederates of the LACEDAMO threw the walls NIANS, who danced and played in the mean feafon with Garlands of Flowers on their heads, in 10ken that that day was a beginning of their full and perfect liberty. Immediately after he changed also the flate of the Government, establishing a Councell of thirty Magistrates in the City, and other ten also in the Haven of Pirkes, having all equal and like authority: and therewithal made Callibia a Gentleman of SPARTA Captain of the Caffle there, and left a good Garrilon of the LACEDENO-NIANS with him. This Callibras one day life up his fraff he had in his hand to ffrike Autolycus with-Callibras Capallo all, a ftrong made man to wreftle: whereupon Kenophon the Philosopher made his Book in old time, called Convivium. But Autolycus that was a cunning wreftler, having all the fleights of wreftling, fuddenly tripped Callibins with his leg, and lifting him up at the arms end, caft him to the ground. Howbeit Lyfander was not angry with Autolycus for it, but reproved Callibras, relling him that he should have remembred (if he had been wife) that he had the government of freemen, and not of Bondmen. Notwithstanding, thorstly after the thirty Governours of the City, to strike Calibins, put this Auto-lycus to death. When Lyfander had done all these things, he took Sea again, and Went into the Countrey of Thracia, and lent by Gylippus before unto Sparta (who had been Captain and Generall of the SYRACUSIANS in SICILIA) all the Gold and Silver that was left in his hands, with all Money to spire the Prefents befides which had been privately given him, and with the Crowns also that had been pretaby Gilipur, fented him; which were marvellous in number, as it is to be thought, for that many came to prefent him, confidering the great power he had, and that in manner he was chief and fole Prince of all GRECE.

This Gylppus did rip the fearns of every bag in the bottom where the Money was, and took a good tims oyappus un tip me cams of every one and afterwards fewed them up again, not thinking that there had been fum out of every of them: and afterwards fewed them up again, bed part of the Money he car- a border upon every bag, upon the which was declared, the number and kinds of Gold and Silver that ried to Sparts. were therein. Now when he was come to Spart a, he hid the Money he had ftolne under the house were increase. From the many and delivered the bags he had brought into the hands of the Ephori, flewing them eavings, and went and delivered the bags he had brought into the hands of the Ephori, flewing them eavings, and went and derivered the bags in that a bought and the hands of the Ephors, intering them Lyjanders Seal, which he had let to every one of them. The Ephors having opened the bags, and told Lyjanders, found that the furn agreed not with the borders of the contents: and yet could not tell the Money, found that the furn agreed not with the borders of the contents: where the fault was. But a Servant of Gylippan told them in dark words, faying: that under the tiles where the tall was a state of the Coin of Gold of his Mafters house there lay a great number of Owls. Now the greatest part of the Coin of Gold and Silver which was currant through GREECE, was stamped with the mark of an Owl, by reason of the ATHENIANS. Thus Gylippus after to many noble exploits done in Wars, committing to fhamefull and vile a deed, was banished out of his Countrey of LACEDEMONIA. But the wifest men of Sparta, and of deepeft judgement, tearing the power of Gold and Silver, and feeing by proof of Gylippus doings, that it had fuch power to make one of their chiefest men fall through coverousness: they greatly blamed Ly/ander for bringing of it into LACEDEMON, befreeching the Ephori that they would fend all his Gold and Silver out of Sparta, as a plague, provocation; and wicked bait, to rupted Gripp would rend an ins your aim onver our of or a language, protocation, aim winks dain, we put, one of the make them do evil: declaring unto them, that they should use no other Money, but their own onely. pur, one or are make mention even a declaring onto them, man and determination of the Councell. Theopompus writeth, that Sciraphidu was he that did move the Councell of the Ephors in it. Howbeit Ephorus calleth him Phlogidat, who was the first that spake against it in the Councell, that they should not admit nor receive into the City of Sparta, any Money of Gold or Silver: but should onely content themselves with their own Countrey Iron Coyn, the which first of all, coming from the fire red hor, was quenched with Vineger, to the end they should be forged no more, nor imployed unto any other use. For it was fo eager and brittle by means of this temper, that they could no more convert it to any other purpole : and befide, it was very heavy and unhandsome to remove, confidering that a great heap and quantity of it, was but of fmall value. And it feemeth they did use of old time, certain little Iron Money, and in some places Copper Money, called Obelifci, from whence the small pieces of Money now extant are called Oboli, whereof fix made a Drachma, fo tearmed for that it was as much as the hand could gripe. Nevertheless, at the earnest suit of LyJanders friends that stood against it, and held hard with him, it was decreed in the Councell, that the Money should remain in the City, and ordained that it should be currant onely but for the affairs of the Commonwealth. And if it were found, that any private man did either lock up, or keep any Money, that he should suffer death for it : as if Lycurg w when he made his Laws, feared Gold or Silver, and not the coverousness and avarice which the Gold and Silver bringeth with it. The which was not taken away fo much, prohibiting private men to have it : as it was engendred onely by a toleration of getting it. For, the profit which they saw it brought withall, made it to be esteemed and desired. For it was unpossible they should despite a thing privately for unprofitable, which they saw reckoned of commonly, as a thing very necessary: and that they should think it would not serve their turn privately, feeing it to commonly effeemed and defired. But we are rather to think, that private mens manners are confirmed according to the common uses and customs of Cities, then that the faults and vices of private men do fill Cities and Commonweals with ill qualities. And it is more likely, that the parts are marred and corrupted with an infection of the whole, when it falleth out ill:

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then that the parts corrupted should draw the whole to corruption. For to the contrary, the faults of a part destroyed, which might be prejudiciall unto the whole, are often times redressed and corrected by the other parts, whole and entire. But they that took this resolution in their Councell at that time, to have Money in the Commonwealth, made fear of punishment, and of the Law, to be the outward watchmen of Citizens houses, to keep that no Money should come into them. But all this while they made no inward provision, to keep the entry of their souls from all passion and greedy defires of Money : but to the contrary, they made them all to have a covetous defire to be rich, as if it were a great and honourable thing. But for that we have heretofore in other places reproved the LACEDEMONIANS. And moreover Lyfander caused a Statue of Brass to be made like himself of the spoil he had gotten of the Enemies, to set it up in the City of DELPHOS, and for every private Captain of the Galleys in like case, and the two Stars of Castor and Pollux in Gold besides, which vanished away a little before the Battell of Leuctres; and no man knew what became of them. A- A Galley of gain, in the Chamber of the Treasury of Brasidas, and of the ACANTHIANS, there was also a Galley Gold and Ivomade of Gold and Ivory, of two cubits long, which Cyrus fent unto him after the Victory he had won 14. by Sea of the ATHENIANS. And furthermore, Alexandrides the Historiographer born at DEL-PHOS, writeth, that the felf-same Lyfander had lest there to be kept safe, a Talent of Silver, two and fifty Mina's, and eleven pieces of Gold called Stateres. But all this accordeth not with that which all the other Historiographers write, agreeing of his poverty. But Lyfander being aloft then, and of greater power then ever any GRECIAN was before him, carried a greater port and countenance then became his ability. For as Daris writeth, he was the first of the GRECIANS unto whom they did ever erect any Lylanders ho-Altars, and offer Sacrifice unto as a god, and in honour of whom they did first fing any Hymnes: nours and pride and at this day there is yet good memory of one which began in this manner:

The noble Captains praise, we mean to celebrate Of Greece: that Land which is divine in every kind of state: Even he which was both born, and brought to high renown. Within the noble wealthy walls of Sparta stately Town,

The Samians by publick Decree ordained, that the Feafts of Juno, which were called in their City Hercea, should be called Lysandria. Lysander had ever one Charilus a Spart An Poet about him to write and fet forth all his doings in verle. Another Poet called Antilochia, one day made certain Verfes in his praise : which pleased him so well , that he gave him his hat full of Silver. There were two other Poets, Antimachin Colophonian, and Niceratin born at Heraclea, which did both write Verses to honour him, striving whether of them should do best. Lysander judged the Crown and Victory unto Niceratus: wherewith Antimachus was so angry, that he razed out all that he had written of him. But Plato who at that time was young, and loved Antimachus because he was an exPlato's saying cellent Poet, did comfort him, and told him that ignorance did blind the understanding of the ignoof the ignorant rant, as blindness doth the fight of the blind. Aristonus an excellent Player of the Cithern, and Ignorance one that had fix times wan the Prizes of the Pythian Games : to win Lyfanders layour, promifed compared with one that had its times want the prize of his Art again, he would cause himself to be proclaimed Ly binnens.

him, that if ever he wan the prize of his Art again, he would cause himself to be proclaimed Ly binnens.

Lysanders fanders shader. This ambition of Lysander was very odious and grievous, onely unto great persons, bition, pride, bition, pride and men of hiseftate : but besides his ambition, in the end he became very proud and cruell, through and cruely, the flatteries of his followers, and them that courted him: fo that he exceeded in recompencing his friends, as also in punishing of his enemies. For, to gratifie his triends and familiars, he gave them absolute power and authority of life and death in their Towns and Cities: and to pacific and appeale his anger where he once hated, there was no other way but death, without all possibility of parden. And that he plainly shewed afterwards in the City of MILETUM, where, fearing least they would flie that took part with the People, and because he would have them appear that hid themselves : he gave his word, and sware that he would do them no hurt at all. The poor men gave credit to his word: but so soon as they came out and did appear, he deliveved them all into the hands of their adversaries, (which were the chiefest of the Nobility) to put them all to death: and they were no less than Lylander brake eight hundred men one with another. He caused great murders of People also to be done in other oath, and pro-Cities: for he did not onely put them to death that had privately offended him, but numbers be-cuted the death fides, onely to fatisfie and revenge the private quarrels, enmitties and covetoulness of his friends, of eight hunwhom he had in every place. And therefore was Eteocles LACEDAMONIAN greatly commended dred People. for his faying: That GREECE could not abide two Lyfanders. Theophrastus writeth also, that the of Lyfander. very like was spoken of Alcibiades by Archestratus. Howbeit in Alcibiades there was nothing but his infolency and vain-glory that men milliked : but in Lysander, a severe nature, and sharp conditions, that made his power fearfull and intolerable. Nevertheless, the LACEDÆMONIANS passed over all other complaints exhibited against him, saving when they heard the complaints of Pharnabazus, who purposely sent Ambassadours unto them, to complain of the wrongs and injuries Lyfander had done him, spoyling and destroying the Countrey under his Government: then juries Lyfander had done him, fpoyling and destroying the Countrey under his Government; then the Epioni being offended with him, clapped up Thorax in prison, one of his friends and Cap death for of-death for oftains that had served under him and finding that he had both Gold and Silver in his House confending the trary to the Law, put him to death. And to himself they fent immediately that which they call Law. Scytala, (as who would fay, the scroll written upon a round staff) commanding him that he should return immediately upon receipt thereof. The Scytala is in this fort : When the Ephori do fend a Generall, or an Admirall to the Wars, they cause two little round staves to be made of the like bigness and length, of which the Ephori do keep the one, and the other they give to him

The Laconian Scytala what manner thing it is, and how used.

whom they fend to the Wars. These two little staves they call Scytales. Now when they will advertife their Generall fecretly of matters of importance, they take a fcroll of parchment, long and narrow like a leather thong, and wreath it about the round fraff, leaving novoid space between the borders of the fcroll. Afterwards when they have bound them fast together, then they write upon the Parchment thus rolled what they will, and when they have done writing, unfold it and fend it to their Generall, who cannot elle possibly read it to know what is written (because the letters are not joyned together, nor follow in order, but are feattered here and there) until he take his little roll of wood which was given him at his departure: and then wreathing the feroll of parchment about it which he receiveth, the folding and wreaths of the parchment falling just into the felf-fame place as they were first folded, the letters also come to joyn one with another, as they ought to do. This little scroll of parchment also is called as the roll of wood, Scytala, even as we commonly fee in many places, that the thing measured, is also called by the name of the measure. When this parchment scroll was brought unto Lysander, who was then in the Countrey of HELLES PONT, he was marvelloufly troubled withall, fearing above all other things, the acculations of Pharnabazus: so he fought means to speak with him before he departed, hoping thereby to make his peace with him. When they were together, Lyfander prayed him he would write another Letter unto the Lords of Sparta, contrary to his first, how that he had done him no hurt at all, and that he had no cause to complain of him: but he did not remember that he was a Cretan (as the common Proverb faith) that could deceive another Cretan. For Pharnabazus having promifed him that he would perform his defire, wrote a Letter openly, purporting the effect of Lyfanders request: but behind he had another of contrary effect, so like on the outlide unto the other, that by fight no man could difcern the one from the other. And when he came to put to his Seal, he changed the first with the last that was hidden, and gave it him. When Lyfander carrie Lyfander came unto Sparta, he went as the manner is, straight to the Palace where the Senate eth Letters - kept, and gave his Letters unto the Ephores, thinking that by them he should have been cleared from gainst himself. all danger of the greatest accufations they could have burdened him withall: because that Pharnaba-Zus was very well thought on of the Lords of LACEDEMONIA, for that he did ever fhew himself willing and ready to help them in all their Wars, more then any other of the Kings Lieutenants of Persia. The Ephors having read this Letter, they shewed it unto him. Then did Lysander plainly fee, that the common Proverb was true:

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That Ulysses was not subtill alone.

Lyfunder goes

Thereupon he went home to his house marvelloully troubled: but within few daies after returning to the Palace again to speak with the Lords of the Councell, he told them that he must needs make a voyage unto the Temple of Jupiter Anmon, to discharge certain Sacrifices, which he had vowed and promiled to him before he had won the Battells. Some fay, that indeed Tupiter Ammon appeared to him in a dream as he did befrege the City of the APHYTEIANS, in the Countrey of THRACIA, and that by his commandment he raifed the Siege, and charged them of the City, that they should thank Jupiter Ammon , and do Sacrifice unto him : by reason whereof they think that he meant good faith, when he fued for license to make this Voyage into Ly BIA, to perform the vows which he had made. But the most part did certainly beleeve, that he made fuit to go this journey, for a cloak and colour onely to absent himself, because he seared the Ephores, and that he could not indure the yoke and subjection which he must abide remaining at home, neither could like to be commanded. And this was the true caule of his fuit to go this voyage: much like unto a Horfe taken out of a fresh Pasture and goodly Meadows, to bring him into a stable, and make him to be journeyed as he was before. Nevertheless, Ephorus writeth another cause, the which I will recite hereafter. In the end, Lyfander having hardly obtained license, took Ship and hoised Sail: but during his absence, the Kings of LACEDEMON remembring that he kept all the Cities at his commandment, by means of the friends he had in every City, whom he had made chief Governours of the same, and that by their means he came in manner to be absolute Prince over all GREECE, they took upon them to redeliver the Government of the Towns and Cities again into the hands of the People, and also to pur down his friends whom he had stablished there. And hereupon fell our great insurrection again : for first of all, they that were banished from ATHENS, having surprised and taken the Castle of Phyla, upon the sudden did fet upon the thirty Governours Tyrants (whom Lyfander had placed there) and overcame them in Battell. Whereupon Lyfander straight returned to SPARTA, and perswaded the LACEDEMONI-ANS to refer the Government to the number of a few, and to punish the infolency of the People. So by his procurement, they fent first an hundred Talents unto the thirty Tyrants for an aid to maintain this War, and appointed Lyfander himself Generall. But the two Kings of Sparta envying him, and fearing left he should take the City of ATHENS again, they determined that one of them would go. Whereupon Paufanias went thither immediately, who in appearance feemed to maintain the Tyrants against the People : but in effect, he did his endeavour to appeale this War, for fear lest Lylander by means of his friends and followers should once again come to have the City of A-THENS in his power, the which he might easily do. And thus having agreed the ATHENIANS again one with another, and pacified all faction and commotion among them, he plucked up the root of Lyfanders ambition. But shortly after the ATHENIANS rebelling again against the La-CEDEMONIANS, Paufanias himself was reproved, because he yeelded so much to the boldness and insolency of the People, which were bridled and restrained before, by the Authority of the small number of the Governours : and to the contrary , they gave Lyfander the honour to be Generall, who ruled not in this rebellion to please mens minds and to content them, neither with fond oftentation of glory, but severely, for the profit and commodity of SPARTA. It is true, he.

would give great words, and was terrible to them that refifted him. As he answered the ARGIVES one day, who contended for their Confines with the LACEDEMONIANS, and feemed to alledge Lyfanders terthe best reasons. Even they (said he) that shall prove the stronger hereby (shewing them his Sword) rible words, shall be they that shall plead their cause best for their confines. Another time, when a MEGARIAN had told his mind boldly enough in open Councell, he answered him: Thy words (good friend) had need of a City, meaning thereby that he was of too mean a Town to use so great words. And to the BOEOTIANS also, who were in doubt to profess themselves friends or enemies : he sent unto them, to know if he should passthrough their Countrey with his Pikes upwards or downwards, And when the CORINTHIANS also were revolted from their alliance, he brought his Army hard unto their walls: but when he saw his men were afraid, and made courtesse whether they should go to the affault or not : by chance spying a Hare coming out of the Town-ditches, he said unto them : Are ye not ashamed to be asraid to go and assault your Enemies, that are so cowardly and slothfull, that Hares do keep their forms at ease within the circuit of their walls? Now King Agis being deceased, he left behind him his Brother Agesilaus, and his supposed Son Leorychides. Wherefore Lyfander that had loved Agefilam aforetime, gave him councell to fland for the right of the Crown. The death of as lawfull heir and next of the bloud, descending of the race of Hercules: because it was suspected king desir that Leorychides was Alcibiades Son, who secretly had kept Timaa Agis Wife, at what time he was Lislander depr. banished out of his Countrey, and came then to remain in Sparta. And Agis self also, conclu- weth Leosychiding by reckoning of the time of his absence, that his Wise could not be with child by him, made des of his no reckoning of Leotychides: (and had openly shewed it all the rest of his life time) that he did not Kingdom. acknowledge him for his Son, untill fuch time as falling fick of that dilease whereof he died, he was carried to the City of HEREA : and there lying in his death bed, at the humble fuit of Leotychides himself, and partly at the instant request of his friends, who were importunate with him, he did acknowledge Leotychides for his Son in the presence of divers, whom he prayed to be witnesses unto the Lords of LACEDEMON, of his acceptation and acknowledging of him to be his Son: which they all did in favour of Leotychides. For all that, Agefilaus took it upon bim, by the fupport and maintenance of Lysanders favour. Howbeit, Diopithes a wise man, and known to be skilfull in ancient Prophecies, did great hurt to Agesilaus side, by an ancient Oracle which he alledged against a defect Agefilans had, which was his lameness:

O Spartan People you, which bear high haughty hearts. And look aloft : take heed I fay, look well unto your Marts : Lest whiles you stand upright, and guide your State by grace. . Some halting Kingdom privily come creeping in apace. By that means might you move, great troubles, cark, and care, And mischiefs heap upon your head, before you be aware : . And plunged should you be, even over head and ears, With waste of Wars, which here on Earth doth perish many Peers.

Many by occasion of this Gracle, fell to take Leotychides part : but Lysander declared unto them. that Diopithes did not conftrue the meaning of the Oracle well. For God, faid he, cared not whether he halted of one leg or no, that should come to be King of LACEDEMON : but indeed, the Crown and Kingdom should halt and be lame, if bastards not lawfully begotten, should come to reign over the true naturall iffue and right line of Hercules. By these perswasions, Lysander with his great countenance and authority besides, wan all men to his opinion : so that Agesilam by this means, was proclaimed King of LACEDEMON. This done, Lysander began straight to counsell him to make Wars in ASIA, putting him in hope that he should destroy the Kingdom of Persia, and should come to be the great- Through Lyest man of the world. Moreover, he wrote unto his friends in the Cities of As 1 A, that they should fend fanders workunto the LACEDEMONIANS to require King Agestians for their Generall, to make wars against the ing, Agestians barbarous People. Which they did, and fent Ambaffadours purposely unto SPARTA to sue that they was made King might have him : the which was no less honour procured unto Agestlaus by Lifanders means, then that he did, in making him to be chosen King. But men ambitious by nature, being otherwise not unapt nor unfit to command, have this imperfection: that through the jealoufie of glory, they do common- Ambition abily envy their equals, the which doth greatly hinder them from doing any notable thing. For, they take deth no equall, them for their enemies, envying their vertue, whose service and means might help them to great matters. Thus Agefilam being chosen Generall of this Enterprize, took Lyfander with him in this Journey, among the thirty Counfellors which were given unto him to affift him : and made speciall choice of him, as by whole councell he hoped most to be governed, and to have him nearest about him, and his chiefest friend. But when they were arrived in ASIA, they of the Countrey having no acquaintance with Agefilaus, feldome spake with him, or but little : and to the contrary, having known Lyfander of long time, they followed him, and waited upon him to his Tent or Lodging , some to honour him , because they were his friends ; others for fear , because they did mistrust him. Even much like as it falleth out oftentimes in the Theaters, when they play Tragedies there, that he that shall play the person of some Messenger or Servant, shall be the best Player, and shall have the best voyce to be heard above all others : and to the contrary , that he which hath the Royall Band about his head, and the Scepter in his hand, a man doth feant hear him speak. Even so it fell out then : for all the Dignity due unto him that commanded all, was shewed onely to the Councellors : and there remained to the King no more, but the Royall Name onely of a King, without any Power. Therefore methinks that this undifcreet and importunate Kk 3

Azelilaus privy grudge to Ly-

Lyfanders wif- him, or to follow him, but to go to the King, and unto those that could do them better pleasure then

Lyfander Surveyor of the Victuals. Lyfanders talk with King Agesilausafter the Laconian (peaking.

eth innovation loully grieved and offended with Agefilaus, and hating more then before, all the State and Governin the State of Sparta.

Lacedamon.

the Crown, faving two Families onely, the Eurytiontides, and the Agiades. The other Families, albeit they were all for nobility of bloud descended out of one self-house, yet had they no more right of the Kings of nor interest unto the Realm, then the residue of the People : for the Dignities that were attained unto by vertue, were given unto the Inhabitants that could deferve them. Lyfander then being one of those which was defeended of the true race of Hercules, who notwithstanding had no interest in the Crown: when he saw himself alost, and called to great honour through his samous acts and merits, and that he had won many friends, and great credit and authority by dealing in matters of the State : it grieved him much , to fee that they which were no nobler them himfelf , should be Kings it that City which he had increased by his vertue, and that he could not have so much power as to take from thele two Houses, the Eurytiontides and the Agiades, the Prerogative that the Kings should be chosen onely our of one of these two Houses, and to cast it upon the off-spring of Hercules. Some fay again, that he would not onely have enlarged that Prerogative unto the liftee of Herculus, but unto all the naturall Spartan's alfo: because that Hercules race should not onely defire this reward of honour, but even they also that followed his steps in vertue, which had made him equal with the gods in honour. For he doubted nor, but if they would dispose the Crown in this fort, that there was no man in the City of SPART A that should sooner be chosen King then himself: whereupon he attempted first to perswade his Citizens by very good reasons, and to bring this about the better, he conned an Oration without Book , penned by Cleon Halicarnaffens, made him for this purpose. But afterwards weighing with himself, that so great and strange a change as he would bring in , had need of fome better and stronger help : he began to frame a device, as they say , to move the People by , much after the manner they use in Tragedies, framing engines to bring some god to come down from Heavenunto them, and this was his reigned invention. He deviled certain Oracles and Prophecies, thin-Lifander dev king that all Cleons thetorick would fland him in no flead, if first of all he did not fill the Citizens feth file Ora-king that all Cleons thetorick would fland him in no flead, if first of all he did not fill the Citizens ces, and cor- hearts with fome superstition and fear of the gods, that he might bring them afterwards more easily unto reason. And Ephorus faith, that he proved first to corrupt the Nun with Money, that given all the Oracles and Answers in the Temple of Apollo at DELPHOS : and that afterwards, he would rupteth Soothhave won the Nun also at the Temple of DODONE with Money, by Phereeles practice. And that fayers with Money.

LYSANDER

ambition of Lyfander, did well deserve reproof, even to make him to be contented onely with the

fecond place of honour next unto the King. But for Agefilans again, through extream covetoul-

nels and jealoutie of glory, to calt Lyfander altogether off, and to let fo light by his friend and

Benefactor, that furely became not him neither. For first of all, Agesilaus never gave Lysander oc-

casion to do any thing, neither did commit any matter of weight unto him, that might be honourable

for him : but which is worft of all, if he perceived that he had taken any mens causes in hand, and that

he did favourthem, he did alwaies fend them back again into their Countrey, denying their fuit,

without that they could obtain any thing they fued for, lefs then the meanest persons that could

without that they come obtain any times that, the and little, and taking from him all authority by have come, extinguishing Lyfanders credit by little and little, and taking from him all authority by

this means. Wherefore, Lyfander perceiving how he was thus refused and rejected in all things,

feeing that the countenance and favour which he thought to shew unto his friends, fell out hurtiull

unto them: left off to folicite their matters any more, and prayed them to forbear to come unto

himlelf, and specially those that honoured him. When they heard that, many defisted to trouble

him any more in matters of importance, but not to do him all the honour they could, and continued

ftill to accompany him, when he went out to walk, or otherwife to exercise himself: the which did

aggravate and increase Agesilans anger more against him, for the envy he bare unto his glory. And

where he gave very honourable charge and commission in the Wars, oftentimes unto very mean

Souldiers to execute, or Cities to govern : he appointed Lyfander Surveyer generall of all the or-

disary Provision of Victuals, and distributer of flesh. And then mocking the IONIANS that did

honour him so much : Let them go now, said he, and honour my sless-distributer. Wherefore Ly-

Sander seeing it high time to speak, went unto Agesilaus, and told him in sew words after the LA-

CONIAN manner: Truly Agefilaus, thou hast learned well to abase thy friends. Indeed, said he

again, so have I, when they will be greater then my selt : 'and to the contrary, they that maintain

and increase my Honour and Authority, it is reason that I esteem of them. Yea marry, said Ly-

fander, but perhaps I have not done as thou fayeft, yet I pray thee give me fuch an Office, as I may

be least hated, and most profitable for thee : though it be but in respect of strangers eyes that look

upon us both. After this talk between them, Agesstans sent him his Lieutenant into the Countrey of

HELLES PONT, where Lyfander still kept this anger secret in his heart against him, but for all that,

did not leave to do all that he could for the benefit of his Mafters affairs. As amongst many other

things, he caused a PERSIAN Captain called Spiebridates, to rebell against his Master, who was a

valiant man of his hands, and a great Enemy of Pharmabazus, and had an Army allo, which he

brought with him unto Agefilans. Now concerning this War, this was all that he did in that Jour-

ment of the City of SPARTA: by reason whereof, he determined to put that in practice, which he

had long time thought upon concerning the alteration of Government, and his enterprize was this:

Amongst the off-spring and Issue of Hercules, who were mingled with the DORIANS, and retur-

ned again into the Country of Peloponnesus, the greatest number and chiefest of them, dwelled in the City of SPARTA: howbeit all they that came of that race had no right of succession to

Wherefore he returned again to SPARTA not long after, with little honour, being marvel-

he being rejected by them both, went lastly unto the Temple of Jupiter Ammon : and that there he spake unto the Priests, and offered them great store of Money for the same purpose. But they were so offended with Lylander, that they fent men of purpose to SPARTA, to accuse him, that he would have corrupted them with Money. The Councell clearing Lyfander of this accufation, the Lybians his accusers at their departing said: We will one day judge more justly, then you my Lords of LACE-DEMON have done now, when you shall come to dwell in our Countrey of LYBIA: supposing there was an ancient Prophecy that faid, the LACEDEMONIANS one day should come to dwell in the Countrey of Ly BIA. But we shall do better to write the whole Story at large of this practife, subtilty, and malicious device, which was no matter of small importance, nor lightly grounded: but as in a Mathematicall Proposition, there were many great conjectures and presuppositions, and many long circumstances to bring it to conclusion, the which I will dilate from point to point, delivering that which an Hiftoriographer and Philosopher both hath written. There was in the Marches of the Lysaders Realm of Pont, a woman that faid, she was gotten with child by Apollo, the which many (as it is feigned device to be thought) would not beleeve at all, and many also did beleeve it : so that she being delivered of a to possess the goodly Son, divers Noblemen and of great estate were carefull to bring him up, and to have him Kingdom. raught. This child I know not whereupon, nor how, was named Silenus: and Lyfander fetching the plot of his device from thence, added to all the rest of himself, to go on with his practice. Now he had many (and they no small men) that made his way to frame this jest, giving out a rumour of the birth of this child, without any suspicion gathered out of the intent of this rumour. And furthermore, they brought other news from DELPHOS, which they dispersed abroad through the City of Spar-TA, to wit, that the Priests of the Temple kept secret books of very ancient Oracles, which they themfelves durst not touch nor handle, neither might any man read them, unless he were begotten of the feed of Apollo, who should come after a long time, and make his birth appear unto the Priests that kept these Papers, and that by some secret mark and token, which they had amongst them: and thereby being known for Apollo's Son, he might then take the Books and read the ancient Revelations and Prophecies of the same. These things prepared in this fort, there was order taken, that Silenus should come and ask for these Books, as though he were the Son of Apollo : and that the Priests which were privy to this practice, should make as though they did diligently examine him of every thing, and how he was born. And that at the length, after they had seemed to know all, they should deliver these Prophecies unto him, as if he had been indeed Apollo's Son: and that he should openly read them in the presence of many witnesses. And among the rest of the Prophecies : that he should read that specially, for the which this long paltry seigned drift was framed, touching the Kingdom of LACEDEMONIA: that it was better, and meetlier for the SPARTANS they should choose them for their Kings, whom they found the meetest men of all their Magistrates. But when Silenus was come to full age, and brought into GREECE of purpose to perform this practice, all the mystery was marred by the faint heart of one of the players and companions of Lyfander, who holp him to countenance this device : who when the matter should have taken effect, shrunk for sear, and let the mystery alone. This notwithstanding, nothing was betrayed in Lyfanders life time, till after his death. For he died before King Agefilans returned out of ASIA, being fallen into Wars with BOEOTIA The Wars of before his death, or rather having himself made GREECE to fall into Wars. They do report it Bastia. either way : and some lay the fault upon him, other upon the THEBANS, and other upon them both: and they burthen the THEBANS withall, because they did utterly overthrow the common Sacrifices which Agesilaus made in the City of Aulide. And they say alio, that Androclides and Amphitheus did raile this War among the GRECIANS, being before corrupted with Money by the King of Divers causes PERSIA, to bring Wars upon the LACEDEMONIANS in GREECE: and began to invade and furmifed of the deftroy the Countrey of the Phocians. Other fay, that Lyfander was very angry with the The thefe Wars. BANS, because they onely of all other their consederates, did ask the tenth part of all the spoil which was won in the War against the ATHENIANS : and that they were not pleased that Lysander had fent the Money away unto SPARTA. But above all , Lyfander did malice them most , because they were the first that made way for the ATHENIANS to be delivered from the oppression of thirty Tyrants, whom he had stablished Governours in ATHENS, and in whose favour (to make them to be dreaded the more) the LACEDEMONIANS had ordained by a common Edict, that they that An Edict abe dreaded the more) the LACEDEMONIANS mad organized by a common funct, that they that were banifhed, and did flee from Athens, might lawfully be taken and apprehended in what place a might demonstrate the might be a might be a might lawfully be taken and apprehended in what place a might demonstrate the might be a might be a might be taken and apprehended in what place a might be a might be taken and apprehended in what place a might be taken and apprehended in what place a might be a might be taken and apprehended in what place and the might be a might be taken and apprehended in what place a might be a might be taken and apprehended in what place a might be a foever they fled unto; and that who foever should refift or lett them to do it, they should be proclaifrom Athens, med Rebels, and open Enemies unto the LACEDEMONIANS. Again, to contrary this Edict, the THEBANS made another very like, and meet for the glorious deeds of Bacchus and Hercules their Ant dict made Ancestors, for whom it was made: that every House and City through the Countrey of BOEOTIA, by the Thebans should be open for the ATHENIANS that would come thither; and that he than would not help a in favour of banished man from ATHENIA against him that would take him away by force thould be food and the banished banished man from ATHENS, against him that would take him away by force, should be fined and men, amerced at a talent. And also if there were any Souldiers that went unto ATHENS, through the Countrey of BOEOTIA, that the THERANS should not see nor hear it. This was no dissimulation to speak of, that they should ordain things with so gentle words, and so meet for the People of GREECE, and then that the deeds should not answer unto their Edicts and Proclamations. For Thrasybulus, and his fellows of the Conspiracy, who kept the Castle of Phyla, they departed from THEBES, with Armour and Money, and the THEBANS did help them to begin and practice their enterprise so secretly, that it was not discovered. These were the causes why Lyfanders was so earnestly

bent against the Thebans, and his choler being so extream, by reason of his melancholiness that

LYSANDER

grew daily upon him more and more through his age, he folicited the Ephores so, that he persua-Lysanders Jour ded them to fend a Garrison thither: and himself taking the charge of them, undertook the Journey Lypanarry jour act them to have a Carterion times a summary from King Paufanias also with an Army thither, who was ney unto Bat- ftraight with his men. But afterwards they fent King Paufanias also with an Army thither, who was to fetch a great compais about to enter into the Countrey of BOEOTIA, by Mount Citheron : and Citharon Mont. Lyfander should go to meet him through the Countrey of Phocides, with a great Company of Souldiers besides. Now as Lyfander went, he took the City of the ORCHOMENIANS, who willingly yeelded themselves to him as soon as he came thither. From thence he went to the City of LEBADIA, which he spoyled: and from thence he wrote unto King Pausanias, that departing from PLATES, he should march directly to the City of ALIARTE, where he should not fail to meet him the next morning by break of day at the Town Walls. These Letters were intercepted by certain Scours of the THEBANS, who met with the Messenger that carried them. Thus the THEBANS having intelligence of their purpose, left their City in custodyunto the ATHENIANS who were come to aid them, and departed out of THEBES about midnight, and marched all night with great fpeed, that they came to ALIARTE in the morning a little betore Lyfander, and put half their men into the City. Now for Lyfander, he was determined at the first to keep his men upon a hill which is near to the City, and there to tarry the coming of King Paufanias. But afterwards when he faw that the day was far spent, and that he came not, he could tarry no longer, but arming himself, after he had made an Oration unto the Confederates which he had brought with him, he marched on with his men in Battell ray, longer then large, by the high way that went unto the City. In the mean feafon, the THEBANS that were leit without the City, leaving ALIARTE on the left hand, did fet upon Lyand I REBANS that were her wanted the Fountain called Ciffusa: where the Poets seign that the fanders Rereward of his Army against the Fountain called Ciffusa: Nurles of Bacchus did wath him, when he came out of his Mothers womb, because the water that cometh out of it (though it be very clear and fweet to drink) hath notwithstanding (I cannot tell by what means) a colour like wine: and not far from thence there grow great-plenty of Styrap-trees, The which the ALIARTIANS do alledge, to prove that Radamanthus heretolore dwelt in that part, and do flew his Sepulcher there yet to this day, which they call Alea. And hard by that also, there and no new in Separation interfer to the man, which was buried (as they fay) in that place, and was married to Radamanthus, after the death of Amphirryon. But the TheBANS who were within the City with the A-LIARTIANS, stirred not until they saw that Lyfander with the first of his Troup was near unto Lyfander stein the Town Walls: and then opening the Gates on the sudden, they made a Salley out upon Lyfander, by the Thaban and slew him with his Soothfayer and a few other, because the most part of the Vaward fled into the Areagth of the Battell. Howbeit the Thebans gave them not over so, but sollowed them so vali-

To ask leave of the Enemy to bury the dead, is dishonourable.

Lyfanders Tomb.

antly, that they brake their order, and made them all flie through the Mountains, after they had flain three thousand of them in the Field : so were there three hundred THE BANS also slain there, who followed their Enemies so fiercely, till they recovered straight narrow waies, of great strength for them.

These three hundred were in manner all those that were suspected in These to favour the LACS. DEMONIANS fecretly: wherefore, for the defire they had to take away this opinion from their Citizens, they hazarded themselves to no purpose, and were cast away in this chase. King Pausanias heard news of this overthrow, going from PLATES unto THESPIES, and went on further, marching still in Battell ray towards ALIARTE, where Thrasybulus also arrived at the self-same time, bringing the aid of the ATHENIANS from THEBES. And when Paufanias was purposed to send to ask license of the Enemies to take away the bodies of their men which they had slain, to the intent to bury them: the old Spartans that were in his Army, milliking it much, at the first were angry in themselves. But afterwards they went unto the King himself, to tell him that he dishonoured Spag-TA, to offer to take up Lysanders body by his Enemies leave and favour, and that he should valiantly recover him by force of Arms, and honourably bury him, after that he had overcome their Enemies: or elseif it were their fortune to be overthrown, that yet it should be more honourable for them to lie dead in the Field by their Captain, then to ask leave to take up his body. But notwithflanding all theic words of the old men, King Panfanias feeing that it was a hard matter to overcome the THE-BANS in Battell, now that they had gotten the Victory, and furthermore, that the body of Lyfander lay hard by the walls of ALIARTE, and that he could not come to take it away without great danger, although they should win the Battell : he fent a Herauld to the Enemies, and having made truce for certain daies, he led his Armyaway, and took up Lyfanders body with him, and buried him after they were out of the confines of BOEOTIA, within the Territory of the PANOPEIANS : where untill this day his Tomb remaineth upon the high way, going from DELPHOS unto the City of CHE-RONEA. Thus Paufanias Camp being lodged there, it is faid there was a PHOCIAN, who reporting the Battell unto one that was not there, faid that the Enemies came to give a Charge upon them, as Lyfander had passed the Oplites. The other wondring at that, there was a SPARTAN a very friend of Lyfanders by, having heard all their talk, asked him what that was which he called Oplites: for that he had not heard that word named before. What ? answered the PHOCIAN to him again, Even there it was where the Enemies did overthrow the first of our men which were slain in the Fields: for the River that runneth by the walls of the City, is called Oplites. The Spartan hearing that, burft our in weeping for forrow, faying: Then | fee it is unpossible for a man to avoid his deftiny. For Deltiny inevi- Lyfander aforetime had an Oracle that told him thus:

Lyfander, take good heed, come not I thee advise, Near Oplites that Rivers banks, in any kind of wife. Nor near the Dragon he, which is the Earth her Son Who at the length will thee affault, and on thy back will run.

How-

Howbeit some take it, that this River of Oplites is not that which passeth by the Walls of ALIARTE, but it is the River that runneth near unto the City of CHOERONEA, and falleth into the River of Philarus ft. Phliarus, hard by the City; and they say that in old time it was called Hoplia, but now they call it Isomantus. He that siew Lyfander, was an Allartian called Neochorus, who carried a Dragon Neochorus slew painted upon his Target: and this was that which the Oracle of likelihood did signifie. They say Lyfander. alfo, that in the time of the Wars of PELOPONNESUS, the THEBANS had an Oracle from the Temple of Apollo Ismenias: which Oracle did prophetic the Battell which they wan, by the Castle of DELIUM, and the Battell of ALIABTE alfo, which was thirty years after that. The effect of that Oracle was this:

When thou thy nets frak fpread, the metues for to intrap. Boware thou come not near unto a little hill by bay, Of Orchalide. Nor near to any his confines: For there the crafty foxes keep, their dens and privy mines.

He called the Territory that is about DELIUM, the uttermost confines, because BOROTIA doth Orchalid: Mont confine there with the Countrey of ATTICA, and the hill Orchalide which is now called Alopecon (to fay the Fox den) which lieth on that fide of the City of ALIARTE, that looketh towards Mount Helicon. Liviander being flain, the SPARTANS took his death fo ill, that they would have Helicon Monsi Mount selector. If you was being in any Law: who durft not abide the trial, but fled upto the City Paulanias exile of Free 19, where he ended the reft of his life within the fanctuary of the Temple of Minerus. When Life and the reft of his life within the fanctuary of the Temple of Minerus. When Life and the cold and his Vertue far more famous; then when he lived. For when they saw; that for all the Gold and Silver which find passed through his hands; for all his great Authority and countenance that he had carried, and for all that he made and for any Cities and Towns did come to honour him: and briefly, for all that he had had so great and deafter his puffant a kingdom in manner in his hands: yet he did never in rich nor increase his House with bothe with better the first hands: puissant a Kingdom in manner in his hands: yet he did never inrich nor increase his House with so death. much as one farthing. So writeth This perpus, whom we should rather believe when he praiseth, then when he discommended: for commonly he taketh more delight to dispraise, then to praise any. It fortuned not long after, as Ephorus writeth, that the LACEDEMONIANS and their Confederates fell at variance together, whereupon Lyfanders Letters were to be feen that were in his House. King Agessiaus going thither to peruse them, amongst other Writings, found the Oration penned by Lysanderscoun-Cleon Halicarnassen, which Lysander had prepared to persuade the Spartans to change their fell son attended. Government, and to declare unto them that they should revoke the Prerogative which the Eurytion-dom, tides and the Agiades had : that the Kings of SPARTA could not be chosen but out of those two Families, and to leave the Prerogative at liberty, that the chiefelt Magistrates might be lawfully chosen Kings of SPARTA. Agefilaus stood indifferent to have shewed this Oration openly to the People, Lacratidas wifthat the SPARTANS might fee what manner a Citizen Lysander had been in his heart. But La-dom, forbearcratidas, a grave wife man, and Prefident at that time of the Councell of the Ephori, would not fuffer him: faying, that he should not dig Lysander out of his grave again, but rather bury his Oration the dead with him, that was so passingly well and eloquently penned to perswade. Yet notwithstanding, they Lysander hodid him great honour after his death : amongst others, condemned two Citizens in a great sum of noured by the Money, that were made fure to two of his Daughters while he lived, and refused to marry them when his death. he was dead, feeing their Father died fo poor : because they fought to match in his House, supposing singleness of he had been rich, and for look them afterwards for their Fathers poverty, when they faw he died a good life, late marriand just man. Thus we see, that at SPARTA there was a punishment for them that did not marry, or age, and ill that married too late, or that married ill: and unto this puralhment were they most subject that fought nished by the great Matches for covetoulnels of Goods. This is all we have to write of Lyfanders Life and Acts.

The end of the Life of Lylander.

THE

THELIFE OF SYLLA.



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Ucius Cornelius Sylla was of the race of the Patricians, who be the Noblemen and Gentlemen of ROME: and there was one of his Ancestors called Rufinus, that obtained the Dignity of Confull. He notwithstanding his Confulthip, wan more difhonour by defame, then he obtained honour by Dignity of Confull. For they finding in his house above ten pounds worth of Plate, contrary to the Law at that time expresly forbidding it; he was expulsed the Senate, and loft his place there, after which difhonour once received, his Islue never role, on yet recovered it. And Sylla himfelf had very little left him by his Father:

fo that in his youth he was fain to hire another mans house, and fate at a small rent, as afterwards he was twitted in the teeth withall, when they faw him richer then they thought he had deferved. For when he gloried and boafted of the Victory at his return from the Wars of Africk, there was a Nobleman that faid unto him : Why, how is it possible thou shouldest be an honest man, that having nothing left thee by thy Father, thou art now come to have so much? Now, though ROME had left her ancient juftice and pureness of life, wherewith the brought up her People in former times, and that their hearts were poyloned with covetous defire of vain fuperfluous delights: yet notwithftanding it was a foul reproach to them that did not maintain themselves in the poverty of their Fathers, as unto them that did confume their Patrimony, and bring all to naught which their Parents had left them. But afterwards also when he carried the whole sway in Rome, and that he had put so many men to death: a Freeman being born of the Slaves infranchifed, and being ready to be thrown down the rock Tarpeian, because he had saved and hidden one of the outlaws and men proclaimed to be put to death wherefoever they were found, cast it in Sylla's teeth, how that they had lived and dwelt together a long time in one felf-house, he having payed a thousand Nummo's for the rent of the uppermost rooms of the fame house, and Sylla three thousand for all the neathermost rooms. So that between both their wealths, there was but onely two thousand and fifty Drachma's of ATHENS difference. And this is that we find in writing of his first wealth. As for his stature and person, that appeareth sufficiently by the Statues and Images that were made for him which yet remain. Eut for his eyes, they were like fire, and wonderfull red : and the colour of his face withall, made them the more fearfull to behold. For he was copper-nofed, and that was full of white streaks here and there : whereupon they say that the Surname of Sylla was given him, by reason of his colour. And there was a Jefter at ATHENS that meth red when

finely mocked him in his Verse: Sylla to like a black-berry sprinkled with meal.

It is not amils to fearch out the naturall disposition of this man by such outward marks and tokens, It is faid also, that he was so naturally given to mock and jeft, that being a young man unknown, he would never be out of the company of Players, Fools, and Tumblers, but still eating and tippar ple colour. ling with them in diffolute manner. And afterwards also when he was in his chiefest Authority, he would commonly eat and drink with the most impudent jefters and scoffers, and all such rake-hells. and made profession of counterfeit mirth, and would fixive with the baddest of them to give the finest states foot. mocks : wherein he did not onely a thing uncomely for his years, and dishonoured the Majesty of his hang. Office and Dignity, but thereby also grew careless and negligent in matters of great importance. whereunto he should have taken good regard. For after he was once set at his Table, he was not to be moved any more in matters of weight. Now, though from the Table he was commonly found both very active, painfull, and fevere; yes falling into fuch company, by drinking, bowling, and making good cheer, he fuddenly became another manner of man. So that without all compass of modefly and judgement, he was too familiar and conversant with players, jefters, tumblers, and dancers : who when they had him in that vein, might do what they would with him. Of this rioting came (in s. Ma's rolupmine opinion) his vice of lechery, whereunto hewas greatly given, and eafily drawn after love and mondards. pleasure, in such fort, as his gray hairs could not restrain his voluptuous life. His unlawfull lusting love began in his young years, with one Metrobiu a common player, which stretched on increasing his amorous desire until his latter age. For at the first he loved Nicopolis a rich Curtizen : and frequenting her company by oft access, beside that he spent the prime of his beauty and youth in feasting her with great delight and passing pleasure, she afterwards became in love with him, fo that when the died, the made Sylla her Heir of all the had. He was Heir also unto his Mother-in-law , who loved him as her own begotten Son : and by these two good haps he was stept up to prety wealth. Afterwards being chosen Quaftor (to fay Treasurer) the first time that Marin was Consull, he imbarked with him in his Journey into Africk, to war with King Ingurib. When he was arrived at the Camp, he shewed himself a man of great service in all other things, but in this especially, that he could wifely use the benefit of any occasion offered him, and thereby wan Bocchus King of the NUMIDIAN'S to be his fast and faithfull friend : whose Ambassadours, that scaped from a company of Nuntition thieves, he courteoully entertained, and having given them goodly Prefents, sent them back again with a fafe Convoy. Now concerning King Bocchus, he had The cause of goodly Preferres, with fitten out a grant of long time both hated and feared King Jugarth his Son-in-law: informuch, that after he was over-flip unto Syllas come in Battell, and came to him for fuccour, Bocchus practifed Treason against him, and for this cause sent secretly for, Sylla, desiring rather that Jugarth should be taken by Sylla, then by himself, Sylla brake this matter unto Marine, of whom having received a small number of Souldiers to accompany him (without respect of perill or danger) went and committed himself to the faith and fidelity of one barbarous King, to take another : confidering also that the King whom he trufted. was so unjust of his word, even unto his nearest friends and consederates. Now Bocchus having Jugurib and Sylla both in his power, and brought himself to that pitch, that of necessity he must betray the one or the other : after he had raken good breath to refolve which of the two he should deal withall, in the end went on with his first plot and device of Treason, and so delivered Jugurth into

Prifoner. These things misliked Marius much: but notwithstanding, judging that Sylla was not to much envyed as himself, he took him with him unto the Wars. Marius in his second Confulship,

made Sylla one of his Lieutenants: and in his third Consulship, he had charge under him of a thou-

he perswaded them to remain good friends and consederates of the ROMANS. For this his good

fervice, he found that Marius grew in great misliking with him, because from thenceforth he ne-

ver gave him any honourable charge, or occasion to shew good service: but to the contrary, did

what he could to hinder his rifing. Wherefore, Syllaafterwards took Catulus Luctatius part,

who was companion with Marius in his Confulfhip. This Catulus was a very honest man, but

fonewhat flack and cold in Martiall matters, which was the cause that indeed he did commit unto

Sylla all the speciall service and matters of weight in his charge: whereupon he gave him occasion

Sylla's hands. Indeed Marius triumphed for taking of King Jugurth : but his evil willers, for the Jugurth delivefright and grudge they bare him, did attribute the glory and honour of Jugurehs taking wholly unto by King Boc-Sylla. That fecretly went to Marius heart, and specially for that Sylla being high minded by nature chus. (coming then but newly from a bale, obscure, and unknown life, to be known and well accepted of The honour of the People of Rome, and to take also what honour meant) became so ambitious and covetous of Jugaribitaglory, that he caused the story to be graven in a Ring, which he did ever after use to wear and seal king ascribed withall : wherein King Jugurib was delivered of Bocchus unto Sylla, and Sylla also receiving Jugurib unto Sylla.

fand Footmen, and did many notable and profitable exploits for him. When Sylla was his Lieute- Sylla's noble nant, he took one Copillus, a Generall of the GAIL'S Tectolages. And when he was Colonell deeds under of a thousand Footmen, he so wrought the MARSIANS (a populous Nation of ITALY) that Marius.

not onely to increase his estimation, but also his credit and power. For by force of Arms, he con- sylla's doings

quered the most part of the barbarous People which inhabited the Mountains of the Alpes : and under Cambus Catulus Camp lacking Victuals, having Commission, he made a marvellous great quantity of

Provision to be brought thither, infomuch as Catulus Camp being plentifully victualled, they fent their store and surplusage unto Marin Souldiers, the which Sylla himself writeth, did much miflike Marius. And this is the first cause of their enmity. The which being grounded upon so light The first cause occasion, was followed with Civill Wars, great effusion of bloud, and with incurable factions and of enmity, bediffentions, that it ended at the length with a cruell tyranny, and confusion of all the ROMAN twist sylls and State and Empire. This doth prove that Euripides the Poet was a wife man, and one that fore-Marius.

faw the ruines of Commonweals, when he counfelled, and also commanded Governours to the Ambition to ambition, as a most pestilent and mortall fury unto them that are once infected withall. Now Sylla he fled, as a thinking that the Reputation he had gotten already in the Wars, would have made his way open mortall fury.

Stlla cholen

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to prefer him to fome honourable Office in the City of ROME : he was no fonce returned from the Wars, but he would needs prove the Peoples good wills unto him, and procured his name to be billed among them that fued for the Pratorfhip of the City (that is to fay) the Office of the ordinary Judge that ministreth Justice unto the Citizens t but he was rejected by the voyce of the People. For the which he laid the fault upon the meaner fort, faying, that the Commonalty knew well enough the friendship he had with King Bocchiu, and that therefore they hoping that if he were made Ædilis before he came to be Prator, he would make them fee noble hanings and great fightings of wild Beafts of Ly BIA : and that therefore they did choose other Practors, and put him by his suit, in hope to compell him by this means to be first of all Ædilis. Howbeit it seemeth that he doth nor confess the truth of his refusall : for his own act doth condemn himself : because the next year following he was chosen Prator, partly for that he wan the People with courteste, and partly with Money. So he falling out with Cefar upon that occasion, in his anger threatned him that he would use the Power and Authority of his Office upon him. But Cefer smiling, answered him, Thou hast reason to call it thine Office, for indeed it is thine, because thou hast bought it. But after the time of his Pratorship was expired, he was fent with an Army into CAPPADOCIA, colouring his Voyage thither with Commission to restore Ariobarzanes into his Kingdom again : howbeit the onely cause of his Journey was indeed to suppress King Misbridates a little, who took too many things in band, and increased his Power and Dominion with a new Signiory of no less greatness then that which he had before. In truth he brought no great Army out of ITALY with him, but he was faithfully holpen by the Confederates of the ROMANS in every place, through whose aid he overthrew a great number of the CAPPADOCIANS, and afterwards also a great number of the ARME-NIANS, which came in like cale to aid them : to that he expulsed Gordin King of PHRYGIA OUT of CAPPADOCIA, and reftored Ariobarzanes to his Realm again. After which Victory, Syla remained by the River of Euphrates, and thither came unto him one Orobaz Ms 2 PART HIAN, Ambai-Uroneque Am-PARTHIAN'S were never friends before : and that with other things shewed the great good fortune Sylla had, that the PARTHIANS came first to him by his means to feek friendship with the ROL the King of the Parthians MANS. They say, that receiving this Ambassadour Orobazus, he made three Chairs to be brought out, the one for King Ariobarxanes, the other for Orobarus the Ambaffadour, and the third for himfelf, which he placed in the midft between them both, and fitting down in the fame, gave audience unto the Ambassadour: for which cause the King of PARTHIA afterwards put Orobazus to death. Some do commend Systa for this act, for that he kept his State in such Majesty among the barbarous People. Other do reprove his ambition in it, shewing himself stately out of time, and to no purpole. We do read that a Soothfayer of CHALDEA being in Grebazus Train, having diligently viewed and confidered the physiognomy of Sylla, and all his other movings and gestures of mind and body, to judge not by the climate of the Countrey, but according to the rules of his Art, what his nature should be : all well considered of, he said that Sylla one day must needs come to be a great man, and that he marvelled how he could fuffer it, that he was not even then the chiefest man of the World. When Sylla was returned again to Rome, one Cenforinas accused him of Extortion, that he had carried away a great fum of Money with him, contrary to the Law, out of one of their Confederates Countrey: howbeit he profecuted not his accufation, but gave it over. In the mean time the enmity begun betwirt him and Marius, kindled again upon a new occasion of King Bocchus ambition : who partly to creep further into the Peoples favour of ROME, and partly also for to gratific Sylla, gave and dedicated terrain Images of Victory, carrying tokens of Triumph unto the Temple of Jupiter Capitolin, and next unto them also the Image of Jugurth, which he delivered into the hands of Sylla, being all of pure Gold. This did to offend Marius, that he attempted to take them away by force: but others did defend the cause of Sylla. So that for the quarrell of these two, the City of ROME taking Arms, had like to have brought all to ruine; had not the Wars of the Confederates of ITALY been, which of long time did kindle and fmoke, but at the length brake out into open flame and fedition for that time. In this marvellous great War which fell out very dangerous, by fundry misfortunes and great losses to the ROMANS, Marius did no notable exploit : whereby it appeareth , that the vertue of warlike Difcipline hath need of a ftrong, lufty, and able body. For Sylla to the contrary, having done notable fervice, and obtained many profitable Victories, wan the fame and effimation among the ROMANS, of a noble Souldier, and worthy Captain: and among the Enemies themselves, of a most fortunate man. Norwithstanding, Sylla did not as Timotheus ATHENIAN, the Son of Conon had done: who, when his adversaries and ill willers did attribute his noble deeds unto the favour of Fortune, and did paint Fortune in Tables, that brought him all the Cities taken and fnared in nets

Sylla accufed

unto Sylla.

Civil Wars

whileft he flept, he took it in very ill part, and was marvellous angry with them that did it, faying, that they robbed him of the glory that justly belonged unto him. Wherefore one day shealan would when this Timetheus was returned from the Wars with great Victories, after he had openly not attribute acquainted the ATHENIAMS with the whole discourse of his doings in his Voyage, he said the slory of his the glory of his unto them: My Lords of ATHENS, Fortune hath had no part in all this which I have told doing to Forunt unto you. Hercupon the gods, it should feem, were so angry with this soolish ambition of Ti-53/H gave For mothers, that he never afterwards did any worthy thing, but all went utterly against the hair tune the how with him: until at the length he came to be so hated of the People, that in the end they banisate at all the same to be so hated of the People, that in the end they banisate at the same to be so hated of the People, that in the end they banisate at the same to be so hated of the People, that in the end they banisate at the same to be so hated of the People, that in the end they banisate at the same to be so hated of the People, that in the end they banisate at the same to be so hated of the People, that in the end they banisate at the same to be so hated of the People. near of all his fied him from ATHENS. But Sylls to the contrary, did not onely patiently abide their words,

that faid , he was a happy man , and fingularly beloved of Fortune : but also increasing this opinion, and glorying as at a speciall grace of the gods, did attribute the Honour of his doings unto Fortune, either for a vain glory, or for that he had in fancy, that the gods did profper him in all his doings. For he wrote himself in his Commentaries, that the enterprises which he hazarded most hotly according to the sudden occasion offered, did better prosper with him, then those which by good advice he had determined of. Furthermore, when he faid that he was better born unto Fortune, then to the Wars: it feemeth that he confeffed all his prosperity came rather by Fortune, then by his worthiness. And to conclude, it appeareth that he did wholly fubmit himself unto Fortune, acknowledging that he did altogether depend upon her; confidering that he did attribute it to the speciall grace and favour of the gods. that he never disagreed with Metellus his Father in Law, who was a man of like Dignity and Authority as himself was. For where it was thought he would have been a great hinderer of his doings, he found him very courteous and gentle in his behalf, in all that they had to deal in together by reason of the society of their Office. And surthermore, in his Commentaries which he dedicated unto Lucellus, he counfelled him to think nothing more certain and affured then that which the gods should reveal unto him, and command him in his nights Dream. He writeth also, that sylla's belief when he was fent with an Army unto the Wars of the confederates, the Earth suddenly opened in Dreams. about LAVERNA, out of the which immediately came a marvellous bright flame of Fire that ascended up to the Element. The Wife men being asked their Opinions about the same, made Astrange fight answer, that a very honest man, and also a marvellous fair man of complexion taking soveraign appeared to Authority in his hands, should pacifie all tumults and feditions which were at that time in ROME. Whereupon Sylla faid it was himself whom the gods meant, because that amongst other things he had the fingular gift of beauty, that his hair was as yellow as Gold : and he was not ashamed to name himself an honest man, after he had won so many notable great Victories. Thus have we sufficiently spoken of the trust he had in the favour of the gods. And Furthermore he seemed to be very contrary in his manners, and unlike to himself. For if he took away much in one place, he gave as much more also in another. Some he preferred without cause : and others he put down without reason. He would be very gentle unto them of whom he would have ought: sylas strange of and unto those that fought of him, he would stand much upon his Honour, and look for great conditions. reverence. Whereby men could hardly difcern his nature, whether pride or flattery did more abound in him. And as for the inequality he used in punishing of them that had offended him: sometimes he hanged up men for very small and light causes: some other times again to the contrary, he patiently abode the most grievous offences in the world, and lightly pardoned and forgave fuch faults as were in no wife to be forgiven; and afterwards again would punish right small crimes, with murthers, effusion of bloud, and confiscation of goods. This judgement may be given of him: that by nature he had a malicious and a revenging mind : yet notwithstanding he qualified that naturall bitterness with reason, giving place to necessity, and his benefit. For in this War of the confederates, his Souldiers flew Albinus one of his Lieutenants, beating him to death with Staves and Stones, being a man of goodly quality, and one that had been Prætor. This great offence he passed over with silence, using no manner of punishment, and turned it to a boaft in the end, faying that his men were the more obedient and diligent in any piece of service that was to be done, and that he made them amend their faults by worthy fervice. And furthermore, he did not regard them that did reprove him: but having determined with himself to destroy Mirius. and to procure that he might be chosen Generall in the Wars against King Mithridates, because that this War of the confederates was now ended : for this cause he flattered and curried favour with his Souldiers that served under him. At his return to Rome from these Wars of the con- sylla chosen federates, he was chosen Consull with Q. Pompeius, being then fifty years old and married with Consull. Caciliaa Noble Lady, and Metellin Daughter, who was then chief Bishop of Rome, for which Metellins chief marriage the common People fang fongs and Ballads up and down Rome against him: and many of Bishop of the Noble men envyed him for it, thinking him unworthy of fo Noble a Lady, whom they thought ried man. worthy to be Confull, as Titus Livius faith. Now she was not his onely Wife, for he had a young Wife before called Ilia, by whom he had a Daughter. After he had married Elia, then a third called Calia, Sylla's Wives, whom he put away because she brought him no Children. But notwithstanding she went honourably away from him, with very good words of her, belides many other goodly rich Gifts he gave her: howbeit shortly after he married Metella : which made the world suspect that Calia was put away for her naughtiness. Howfoever it was, Sylla did ever Honour and love Metella: in so much as the People of Rome afterwards making fute, that they that were banished for Marins saction, might be called home again: and being denied, and refused by Sylla, they cried out with open voice for Metella, praying her to help them to obtain their request. And it seemeth also that when he had taken the City of ATHENS, he dealt more cruelly with them, because that some of them had seoffed at Metella from the Walls: howbeit that was afterwards. So Sylla making his reckoning at that time that the Consulship was a small matter, in comparison of that which he looked for in the time to come : was marvellous desirous to go against Mithridates. But herein Marius also, of a mad furious ambition and covetousness of glory, stood against him, and sued to go that journey in like manner, being subject to those passions, which never wax old, as we may daily see by experience. For being Marius fond now a heavy man, fickly of Body, and broken in service abroad in the Wars, from the which he came ambition; but newly home, and bruifed moreover with age: did notwithstanding yet aspire to have the

Wonderfull figns feen before the civill

eight worlds.

The wickednefs of Sulpitius the Tri-

> Marius and Sulpitius fedi-

All Law ceafed for a time by reason of Sulpitius op-pressions and wicked Laws.

charge of the Wars to far off beyond the Seas. Wherefore to obtain his purpose whileh Sylla was gone a little unto the Camp to give order for certain things that were to be done, he remainwas gone a titue unto the Camp to previous to return times that were to occurre, the remaining in the City, did practife this pertilent mortall fedition, which alone did more hurr unto the City of Rome, then all the Enemies that Rome ever had: the which the gods themselves had foreshewed by many figns and tokens. For Fire took of it felf in the Staves of the Enfigns, which they had much ado to quench. Three Ravens brought their young ones into the high way, and they may much auto to quench. The fight of many People, and afterwards carried the garbage they left of them into their Nefts. Rats also having knawn some Jewels of Gold in a Church, the Sextons setting a Trap for them, as a Rat was taken full of young, and kindled five young Rats in the Trap, of the which she eat up three. But more yet, on a fair bright day when there was no Cloud seen or the winter the case of the state of the s their wits, for fear of fo great a noise. Whereupon the Wisemen and Soothsayers of Thuscan being asked their Opinions, they answered: that this fo ftrange and wonderfull a figne did foreshew the change of theworld, and the departure out of this into another Life: for they hold opinion, that there should be eight worlds, all contrary one unto another, in manners and fashions of Life: unto every one of the which, faid they, God hath determined a certain time of continuance: but that they should all end their course within the space of the revolution of the great year : and when the one is ended, and the other ready to begin, there shall appear such strange signs on when the one is charact, and the other ready to begin; there man appear then trange light on the Earth, or in the Element. So that fuch as have studied that science, do certainly know, as soon as men be born, which are meer contrary unto the first in their lives and manners, and which are as men or porn, which are men containing the gods, then those which lived in former age. For they says that amongst great changes and alterations which are done in those places from one age unto athat amongh great changes and anterconstant of things to come, doth grow in reputation, and nother, the frience of divination and foretelling of things to come, doth grow in reputation, and meeteth in their predictions, when it pleafeth God to fend most certain and manifest signs, to know and foretell things to come. And in contrariwife allo in another age it groweth to contempt, and lofeth her reputation, for that it is very rash, and failed to meet with the most part of her and toteth her reputation, not mad it is very tain, and talled to meet with the most part of her predictions, because the hath but obscure means, and all her Instruments defaced, to know what should come. And these be the fables which the wifest Southlayers of Thuscan reported abroad, and they specially who seemed to have some singular speculation above others. But as the oroau, and they specially with the Soothfayers of thele wonders, being Affembled together within the Temple of the goddes Bellona, a Sparrow came flying into the Church in fight of them all, and carried a Grafhopper in her bill, and parted it in the middelt, and left one part within the Temple, and carried the other away with her. Whereupon the Wile men and Interpreters of fuch wonders, faid, that they doubted a commotion and a rifing of the Countrey-men against the Commons of the City, because the common People of the City do cry out continually like Grashoppers, and the Husbandmen do keep themselves upon their Lands in the Countrey. Thus Marine grew great and very familiar with Sulpitim, one of the Tribunes of the People, who in all kinds of wickedness and mischief that a man can reckon, would give place to no living creature: fo that a man withcunics and minimized that a man an account of the he had but the question is rather wherein he himfelf was not the worft of all others. For hewas full repleat with all kindsof cruelty, avarice, and rafines, and that so extreamly, as he cared not what villany and wickedness he openly committed, for that the fame might turn to his profit. For he had fet up a Table in the open Market-place, where he fold freedom, making flaves and ftrangers denizons of Rome for their Money: and for that purpose he entertained a guard of three thousand about him, besides a band of young Gentlemen of the order of Knights that attended always upon his Perfon ready at his commandment, whom he called the guard against the Senare. And furthermore, himself baving passed a Law by the voice of the People, that no Senatour should borrow nor owe above two thousand Drachmas: it was found that at the hour of his death, he dyed three millions of Drachmas in debt. This man now like a furious raging beaft, being left by Marina amongst the People, turned all things topic turvey, by force of Arms and main firength. He made also many wicked Laws to pass by voice of the People, and amongst others, that one specially, whereby he gave Marin Commillion to make Wars against King Mitbridates. For which extream oppressions and dealings of Sulpisius, the two Confuls (Sylla and Quintus Pompeisus) lest off to hear publick causes, and ceafed the common course of Law and justice. And as they were one day occupied about the adjournment of the Law, in an open Affembly in the Market-place, before the Temple of Caffor and Pollax: Salpitim the Tribune came upon them with his Souldiers, and flew many People, and among others, the Confull Pompeins own Son, and the Father himself being Confull, had much ado to fave his Life by flying. And Szilla the other Confull, was also purfued even into Marine House, where he was compelled to promife before his departure, prefently to go and revoke the adjournment of the law which he had before commanded. Thus Sulpitime having deprived Pompeins of his Confulfhip, did not depose Sylla, but onely took from him the charge he had given him to make Wars against Mithridates, and transferred that unto Marim. And fending Colonels to the City of NOLA to receive the Army that lay there, and to bring them unto Marim, Sylla prevented them, and fled to the Camp before them, and told the Souldiers all what had paft, as it was indeed: who when they heard it, fell all to a tumult, and flew Marim Colonels with Stones. Marium on the other fide put all Sylla's friends to death at ROME, and took the spoyl of their goods and Houses: so was there nothing else but flying from the Camp to ROME, and from

ROME to the Camp again. The Senate were in manner befides themselves, not being able to govern as they would, but driven to obey Marin and Sulpitim commandments. Who being advertifed that Sylla was coming towards ROME, fent straight two Prators unto him, Bratim and Servilius, to command him as from the Senate, to approach no nearer. These two Prætors spake a little two boldly unto Sylla: whereupon the Souldiers fell to a mutiny, in such fort, that they flood indifferent whether to kill them prefently in the Field, or no: howbeit they brake their Axes and bundels of Rods, which were carried before them, and took their Purple Robes wherewith they were apparelled as Magistrates, from them, and sent them home thus shamefully handled and intreated. Upon their return now to ROME, their fad filence onely, and themselves so stripped besides of all their marks and tokens of Prætoriall dignity, made all menthen to judge that they brought no other News, but fuch as were the worst that possible could be: and that there was no way then left to pacifie the fedition, which was now altogether uncurable. Wherefore Marius and his followers began to make himself strong by force : and Sylla with his Companion Quintus Ponpeins, departed in the mean time from the City Nola, and brought fix entire Legions on with him , who defired no other thing but to make haft to march to ROME-ward. Howbeit Sylla frood Sylla marchesh in doubt with himself what to do, thinking of the great danger that might follow. Untill such with fix Legitime as his foothfayer Pofthumius having confidered the figns and tokens of the Sacrifices, which ons 57/1. had made upon this determination, gave him both his hands, and bad him bind them hard, Posthamins the and shur him up saft, untill the day of Battell should be past: saying, that he was contented to and thut him up tatt, until the day of batter mound be part, laying, that he was continued to prognoflicate furfier death, if he had not good fuccess, and that out of hand, to his great Honour. And it is victory unto faid also, that the same night there appeared unto Sy a in a Dream the goddess Bellona, whom Sylla. the ROMANS do greatly Honour, following therein the Cappadocians; and I know not sould be Vision whether it be the Moon, Minerva, or Enyo the goddels of Battels. So he thought, that she in his dream. coming to him did put lightning into his hand, commanding him that he should lighten upon his Enemies, naming them one after another by their proper Names: and that they being stricken with this lightning, fell down dead beforehim, and no man knew what became of them. This Vision incouraged Sylla very much, and having reported the fame to Pempeius, his fellow Confull and Companion, the next morning he marched with his Army to ROME. When he was at PICINES, there came other Ambassadours unto him, to pray him in the Name of the Senate that he would not come to ROME in this heat and fury, declaring therewithall that the Senate would grant him all things that should be meet and reasonable. When Sylla had heard the message, he answered them, that he would Camp there : and so commanded the Marshals to divide the fquadrons according to their manner. The Ambassadours beleeving that he would have done so indeed, returned again to ROME: howbeit their backs were no fooner turned, but Sylla straight fent Lucius Basillus, and Cains Munmius, before to seize one of the Gates of ROME, and the Walls which were on the fide of Mount Efquilin, and he himself also in Person with all possible fpeed marched after them. Bafillus entred Rome, and wan the Gate by force. But the common People unarmed, got them up straight to the top of their Houses, and with Tiles and stones staved and kept him, not onely for entring any further: but also drave him back again, even to the very Walls of the City, In this hurly burly came Sylla himself to Rome, who seeing apparently in what state Sylla fet the things flood, cryed out to his men, and bade them fet fire on the Houses: and himself taking a Houses on fire Torch light in his hand, shewed them the way what they should do, appointing his Archers and in Rome. Darters to hurl and bestow their Darts and other fiery instruments, to the tops of the Houses. Herein he was foo much overcome with unreasonable choler, passion, and defire of revenge : for feeking onely to plague his Enemies, he took no regard to friends, to Parents or confederates, neither had he yer any manner of remorfe or pity : fuch and so fiery was his anger then, that he put no kind of difference between those that had offended, and them that had done him no hurt at all. By this means was Marius driven into the City; unto the Temple of the Earth, where he made open Proclamation by found of Trumpet, that he would make free all the flaves that would come to his part. But forthwith came his Enemies, fet upon him, and prest him so near, that he was constrai- Marint and ned utterly to fly and forfake the City. Then Sylla affembling the Senate, caused Marius and cer- Sulpinias contain others, together with Sulpitius Tribune of the People, to be condemned to death. Sul- demned to pitius was betrayed by a flave of his own, whom Sylla made free according to his promife past Treason justify by publick Edict: but when he had made him free, he caused him to be thrown down headlong rewarded. from the Rock Tarpeian. And not contented with this , he promifed by Proclamation a great Theingratuale fum of Money to him that would kill Marius: a very ingrate and unthankfull part, confidering of Sills that Marins not many days before, having \$5/la in his own House, in his hands and custody de reproved. livered him from perill, and fet him in safety. Which if at that time he had not done, but had suffered Salpitius to have slain him, himself had been soveraign Lord of the whole without all contradiction, and might have ruled all things at his own will and pleasure. But Sylla shortly after upon the like advantage, used no such manner of requitall or gravity towards him, which bred a secret milliking amongst the Senate: howbeit the common People made open shew of the evill will they bare unto Sylla, by rejecting one Nonius his Nephew, and one Servi s, who upon confidence of his favour, presented themselves to sue for certain Offices. And besides the shame of this

refufall, to spite him the more, they chose others in their steads, whose Honour and prefer-

ment they right well knew that Sylla would not onely millike, but be much offended withail.

Howbeit he wifely diffembling the matter, seemed to be very glad, saying that by this means

Lucius Cinna Confull. Cinna iware to be Sylla's friend.

Mithridates. power.

Sills took the lewe's and ready Money out of all the Temples of Greece, and brought it to him to Athens.

the People of Rome enjoyned a full and perfect liberty, that in fuch cases of election they might freely do what themselves listed. And to mitigate somewhat the Peoples ill will towardshim, he determined to chuse Lucius Cinna Confull, who was of a contrary faction unto him: having first bound him by folemn Oath and curse to savour his doings and whole proceedings. Whereupon Cinna went up to the Capitoll, and there holding a Stone in his hand, did folerandy fwear and promife, that he would be Sylla's faithfull friend: befeeching the gods if he did the contrary, that he might be thrown out of ROME, even as he threw that Stone out of his hand; and with thosewords, threw it to the ground before many People. But notwithstanding all these curses, Cinna was no fooner entred into his Confulship, but presently he began to change and alter all. For amongst other things, he would needs have Sylla accused: and procured Verginina one of the Tribunes of the People, to be his accuser. But Sylla left him with his Judges, and went to make Wars against Mithridates. And it is faid, that about the time that Syllatook Ship, and departed out of ITALY, there fortuned many tokens and warnings of the gods unto King Mitridates, who was at that prefent in the City of PERGAMUS: as amongst others that the PER-GAMENIANS to Honour Mithridates withall, having made an Image of Victory, carrying a Garland of Triumph in her hand, which was let down from aloft with Engines : to foon as the was ready to put the Garland upon his head, the Image brake, and the Crown fell to the groundin the middeft of the Theater, and burst all to pieces. Whereby all the People that were prefers, were stricken with a marvellous fear, and Mithridates himself began to missike this evill luck: although all things at that time fell out more fortunately then he looked for. For he had taken ASIA from the ROMANS, and BITHYNIA and CAPPADOCIA, from the Kings which he had driven out : and at that time remained in the City of PERGAMUS , to devide the riches and great Territories among his friends. As touching his Sons, the eldeft governed the Realm of PONTUS, and BOSPHORUS which he inherited from his predecessors, even unto the deferts beyond the Marishes of Mecotides, without trouble or molectation of any man. The other also, Deciding the Marines of Michael Army in Conquering of Thracia, and Macedon, His Ca-Ariarathes, was with a great Army in Conquering of Thracia, and Macedon, His Caprains and Lieutenants moreover, did many notable Conquests in divers places, with a great Power: amongst the which, Archelaus being Lord and Master of all the Sea for the great number of Ships he had, Conquered the Illes CYCLADES, and all those beyond the head of MALEA, and specially amongst others, the Ille of Euboea. And beginning at the City of ATHENS, had made all the Nations of GREECE to rebell, even unto THESSALY, faving that he received forme loss by the City of CHERONEA. Where Brutius Sura, one of the Lieutenants of Sentias Governour of MACEDON (a man of great Wiledom and Valiantness) came against him, and flayed him from going any further, overturning the whole Countrey of BOEOTIA like a furious raging River. And fetting upon Archelam by the City of CHERONEA, overthrew him in three feverall Battels: repulsed, and enforced him to take the Seas again. But as Bratim was following him in chafe, Lucius Lucullus fent him commandment to give place unto Sylla, to follow those Wars against Mithridates, according to the charge and Commission in that behalf given him. Whereupon Bratisu Sura went out of the Country of BOEOTIA, and returned towards his Generall Senting, notwithstanding his affairs prospered better then he could have wished, and that all GREECE were very willing to revolt, for the reputation of his Wildom and goodnels. Howbeit the things that we before have spoken of , were the most notable matters that Brutius did in those parts. Sylla now upon his arrivall, recovered immediately all the other Cities of GREECE: who being advertifed of his coming, fent prefently to pray him to come to their aid, Sylla befiegeth the City of Athens onely excepted, which was compelled by the Tyrant Arifion, to take the City of A- part with Mitbridates. Sylla thereupon with all his Power went thither, befieged the Haven of PIREA round, caufing it to be battered and affaulted on every fide, with all forts of Engines and Instruments of battery: whereas if he could have had patience but a little longer, he might have had the high Town by famine, without putting himfelf in any manner of danger, the fame being brought to such extream dearth and searcity of all kind of Victuals. But the haste that he made to return again to ROME, for fear of the new change which he heard of daily from thence, compelled him to hazard this War in that fort with great danger, many Battels, and infinite charge: confidering also, that befides all other provision and Furniture, he had twenty thousand Mules and Mulets labouring daily to furnith his Engins of battery. And when all other Wood failed him , because his Engins were oftentimes marred after they were made, fome breaking of themselves by reason of their weight, others confumed with fire thrown from the Enemies : at the length he fell to the holy Wood, and cur down the Trees of the Academia, being better ftored and farmished, then any other Park of pleasure in all the Suburbs of the City, and felled down all the Wood of the Park Lycrum. And standing in need of a great sum of Money to entertain this War withall, he dealt allowith the holieft Temples of all GREECE, causing them to bring him from the Temples of EPIDAURUM and OLYMPUS, all the richeft and most precious Jewels they had. He Wrote moreover unto the Counfell of the AMPHICTIONS holden in the City of DELPHOS, to bring him the ready Money they had in the Temple of Apollo, for that it should be kept in better safety withhim, then if it still remained there: promiting befides, that if he should by occasion be compelled to use it, he would restore as much again unto them: and for this purpose he sent Captia PHOCIAN, one of his very friends and familiars, and commanded him to weigh all that he took. So Caphis went unto Delphos: but when he came thither, being afraid to touch the holy

things, in presence of the Counsell of the AMPHICTYONS he wept, that the tears ran down by his cheeks, as a man compelled to do such an Act against his will. And when some that were pre- caphis superfent, told Caphie that they heard the found of Apollo's Cithern, in the Temple : whether he be- fittion for leeved it was so indeed, or because he would put this superstitious tear into Sylla's head, he wrote touching the to him of it. But Sylla mocking him, fent him word, that he marvelled he could not confider, holy things, that Singing and Playing on the Cithern, were tokens rather of joy then of anger, and therefore that he should not tail to proceed further, and bring him those things which he commanded, for that (faid he) Apollo did give them him. Now for the other Jewels of the Temple of Apollo, the common People knew not that they were fent unto Sylla: but the Silver tun, which onely was that, that remained of the offerings of the Kings, the AMPHICTYONS were fain to break that in pieces, because it was so great and Massie, that the Beasts of draught could not draw it whole as it was. This Act made them to remember the other ancient ROMAN Captains, as Flaminius, Manius Acilius, and Panlus Amylius: of the which, the one having driven King Antiochin out of GREECE, and the rest also having overthrown the Kings of MACEDON, they never once touched the Gold and Silver of the Temples of GREECE: but contrarily fent they never once touched the Gold and Silver of the Temples of Street and Solution of the their offerings thither, and had them all in great Honour and reverence. But as to them, they dation of the were all Captains lawfully chosen and sent to their charges: their Souldiers well trained, and obe-ancient Roman. dient at commandment, void of rebellion, or any manner of mutiny. And for themselves, were Captains for Kings in greatness of courage and magnanimity of mind: but in expence of their Persons, very ordering of spare and scant , without any lavish , but needfull and necessary , proportioned by reason , and their souldiers, thinking more shame to flatter their Souldiers, then fear their Enemies. Now the Captains and also for thinking more shame to flatter their models contrarily in Sylla's time, fought not their preferment in the Common-wealth by Vertue, but by expences, force, and having greater Wars one with another, then with strangers their Enemies, were compelled to flatter their Souldiers whom they should command, and to buy their pains and service. feeding them still with large and great expences, to please and content them. Wherein they did not confider, that they brought their Countrey into bondage, and made themselves slaves of the vilest People of the World, whilest that in the mean time they fought to command by all means positible those which in many respects were far better then themselves. And this was the cause that both drave Marius out of ROME, and made him also to return again against Sylla. This self syllathe first fame cause made Cinna to kill Ottavius, and Fimbria to slay Flaccus: of which evils Sylla was manthat spoilthe very first and onely Author, spending out of all reason, and giving the Souldiers largely that served vice of soulunder him, to win their good wills the more, and thereby also to allure them. By reason whereof, diers, by over-Sylla had need of Mountains of Money, and specially at the siege where he was : both to make much liberty frangers Traytors, and besides, to furnish and satisfie his own dissolute Souldiers : for he had such and sufferance. an earnest desire to take the City of ATHENS, that he could not possibly be dissiwaded from it. And either it was of a certain vain ambition he had to fight against the ancient reputation of that City, being then but a shadow to that it had been : or else of a very anger, for the mocks and gibes which the Tyrant Ariftion gave in his foreches from the Walls, against him and Metella, to spitchim the more withall. This Tyrant Ariftion was full of all cruelty and wickedness, having taken up all the notion the worlt qualities and greatest imperfections of King Mithridates, and heaped them wholly together Tyrant Ariin himself: by reason whereof the poor City of ATHENS which had escaped from so many Wars, stion. Tyrannies, and civill diffentions untill that prefent time, was by him as by an uncurable difease, brought unto all extremity : for a bushell of Wheat was worth a thousand Drachmas, and men were driven for famine to eat Feverfew that grew about the Caftle : and they caused old Shoes and old Oyl Pots to be sodden, to deliver some savour unto that they did eat, whilest the Tyrant himself did nothing all day long but cram in Meat, and Drink drunk, dance, maske, scoff, and flout at the Enemies, suffering the holy Lamp of Minerva in the mean season to go out for lack of Oyl, And when the Nun of the same Temple sent unto him for a quarter of a bushell of Wheat , he sent a quarter of a bulhell of Pepper. And when the Counfellors of the City, the Priests and Religious came to the Caftle, holding up their hands, and befeeching him to take some pity of the City, and fall to composition with Sylla: he made them to be driven away and scattered with Slings. In the end: very late and yer with great ado, be fent two or three of his quaffing Companions unto Sylla, who when they were come to him, made no demand of Composition for the Town but began to praise and magnifie the deeds of Thefew, of Eumolpus, and of the ATHENIANS against the MEDES. Whereupon Sylla made them this answer: My goodly Orators, return you again with all your rherorick ! for the ROMANS fent me not hither to learn nor to fludy, but to overcome and conquer those that are rebelled against them. In the mean time there were certain spies in the City, that heard old men talking together in a place called Ceramicus, blaming the Tyrant because he kept no better Watch on that fide of the Wall that was directly over against the Heptachalchon, which was the onely place where the Enemies might easilieft get up upon the Walls. Those spies went straight unto Sylla and told him what they had heard the old men fay. Sylla tracted no time, but came to the place in the night to fee it; and perceiving that it was to be taken, fet the matter straight abroach, And himself writes in his Commentaries, that the first man that scaled the Walls, was Marcus Teim who finding a souldier ready to refift him, gave him fuch a fore blow with his Sword upon his Marcus Teins. Headpiece, that his Sword brake in two; and yet notwithstanding that he saw himself naked and difarmed of a Sword, did not for all that give back, but flood ftill to it, and kept the place fo long, by Sylla.

The flaughter of the Atheni taking of the City.

> Anthesterion March. The time of Nocs Flood.

Atlition the Tyrant yeeld-

ry burnt by ten thousand Cares with confifted in Horimen and in their Carts with Sithes.

> Parnaffus Hill. The City of Tithora.

tenfius met at Patronide. The plain of Elates

Wall to be pulled down between the Haven of PIREA, and the holy Haven and having before made the breach very plain, entred into the City about midnight with a wonderfull fearfull order, making a marvellous noise with a number of Horns, and sounding of Trumpers, and all his Army with him in order of Battell, crying, To the fack, to the fack : kill, kill. For he had given the the Town in fpoil, and to put all to the Sword. The Souldiers therefore ran through the Streets with their Swords drawn, making an uncredible flaughter : fo that to this day they be not acknown, nor do not declare what number of Perfons were flain; but to shew the greatness of the murder that there was committed, the place is yet extant to be seen where the Bloud ran. For befides them that were flain through all the City, the Bloud of them onely that were flain in the Market-stead, did wet all the ground of Ceramics, even unto the very place called Dipylon: and some fay also, that it ran by the Gates into the Suburbs of the City. But if the multitude of the People that were flain in this fort were great, much more (or so many at the least) it is said were those that slew themselves, for the forrow and compassion they had to see their Countrey in fuch pitifull state, supposing certainly that their City was now come to utter ruine and destruction, This opinion made the noblest men of the City to despair of their own safety, and seared to live any longer, because they thought they should find no mercy, nor moderation of cruelty in Sylla. Notwithstanding, partly at the requests of Midias and Calliphon, who were banished men from ATHENS, and fell at Sylla's feet upon their knees: and partly also at the requests of the Ro-MAN Senators that were in his Camp, who prayed him to pardon the Body of the City, and the rather, for that he had already quenched the thirst of his ravening mind sufficiently well : after that he had faid fomewhat in praise of the ancient ATHENIANS, he concluded in the end, to give the greater number unto the smaller, and the living to the dead. Sylla writeth himself in his Commentaries, that he took the City of ATHENS on the very felf day of the calends of March, which cometh to agree with the first day of the Moneth that we call Anthesterion, on the which day by chance many things are done at ATHENS in meniory of Noes Flood, and of the universall destruction of the whole world, that was in Old time by rage of Waters, falling out even in that very Moneth. When the City was thus taken, the tyrant Ariftien fled into the Caftle, where he was belieged by Curio, whom Sylla left there of purpole about that matter. And after he had a great time kept it, at the last constrained thereunto for lack of Water, he yeelded. The Castle was no fooner given up, but immediately by Gods providence, the weather miraculoully altered. For the self same day, and the very felf instant that Curio carried the Tyrant Arission out of the Casse, the Element being very fair and clear, the Clouds suddenly gathered together, and there fell such a marvellous glut of rain, that all the Castle was full of Water. Shortly after also, Sylla baving gotten the Haven of PIREA, burnt the greatest part of the Buildings: amongst others Philos Armo, was the Arfenall and Armory, which Philo in Old time had caused to be built, being of a strange and wonderfull edifice. In the meantime, Taxilles, one of the Lieutenants of King Mithridates, coming from Thracia and Macedon, with a hundred thousand Footmen, ten thousand Horsmen, and fourscore and ten thousand Carts of War all Armed with Sithes: sent unto a nunated thouland Foor Archelaus to joyn with him , lying yet at Anker in the Haven of Muny Chia, and not wilmen, ten thou ling to leave the Sea, nor come to fight with the ROMANS, but feeking rather to draw these men, ten thou ling to leave the Sea, nor come to fight with the ROMANS, but seeking rather to draw these men, ten thou ling to leave the Sea, nor come to fight with the ROMANS, but seeking rather to draw these men, ten thou ling to leave the Sea, nor come to fight with the ROMANS, but seeking rather to draw these men, ten thou ling to leave the Sea, nor come to fight with the ROMANS, but seeking rather to draw these men, ten thou ling to leave the Sea, nor come to fight with the ROMANS, but seeking rather to draw these men, ten thou ling to leave the Sea, nor come to fight with the ROMANS, but seeking rather to draw these men, ten thou ling to leave the Sea, nor come to fight with the ROMANS, but seeking rather to draw these men, ten thou ling to leave the Sea, nor come to fight with the ROMANS, but seeking rather to draw these men, ten thou ling to leave the Sea, nor come to fight with the ROMANS, but seeking rather to draw these men, ten the sea of the sea better then himself, departed out of the Countrey of ATTICA (a very barren loyl, and indeed not able to keep him in time of Peace) and went into BOEOTIA: wherein most men thought he committed great errour to leave ATTICA, which is a very hard Countrey for Horsemen, and to go into BOEOTIA, 2 plain Champion: and so much the rather, because he knew well enough the Barbarians that the chiefest strength of the Barbarous People consisted in their Horsmen, and their Armed Carts with Sithes. But to avoid famine, and lack of Victuals as we have faid, he was compelled to feek Battell. Furthermore, he had another cause also that made him astraid, and compelled him to go: and that was Hortensim a famous Captain, and very valiant also, who brought him aid out of THESSALIE; and the Barbarous People lay in wait for him in his way, in the Straight of THERMY POLES. And these were the causes that made Sylle take his way into BOEOTIA. The Straight But in the mean time, Caphie that was our Countrey-man, deceiving the Barbarous People, guided Hortensia another way by Mount PARNASSUS, and brought him under the City of TITHORA, which was not then fo great a City as now at this present it is, but was a Castle onely, situated upon the point of a Rock, hewn all about : whether the PHOCIANS in Old time flying, King Aerxii coming upon them, retired themselves for their safety. Horiensian lodged there, and there did also both defend and repulse his Enemies, so long as day-light lasted: and when the night came on, got down through very hard ftony ways, unto the City of PATRONIDE, where he joyned with Sylla, who came to meet him with all his Power. Thus being joyned together, they Camped upon a Hill that standeth about the middest of the plain of ELATEA: the foyle was very good, and well replenished with great store of Trees and Water at the soot of the same. The Hill is called PHILOBEOTUS, the nature and fination whereof, Sylla doth marvelloufly com-Their whole mend. When they were Camped, they feemed but a handfull in the Eye of their Enemies: and no Army together more they were indeed, for they had not above fifteen hundred. Horse, and less then fifteen thousand Footmen. Whereupon the other Captains their Enemies, against Archelam mind, brought out their bands into the Field, and filled all the Valley and plain thereabouts with Horimen, with Carts, with Shields and Targets, so that the Air was even cut a funder as it were with the

cryes of fo many fundry Nations which all together did put themselves in violence of the no Battell ray. The sumptuousness of their Furniture moreover, was not altogether superfluous and The brave Ar unprofitable, but ferved greatly to fear the beholders. For the gliftering of their Harnels, so mour and furunprohitable, but lerved greatly to tear the beholders. For the granting of their richly trimmed and fet forth with Gold and Silver, the colours of their Arming Coats upon their Thracians and Curaces, after the fathion of the MEDES and SCYTHIAMS, mingled with the bright gliftering Macedonians, Steel and shining Copper, gave such a shew as they went and removed too and fro, that made a serving under light as clear as if all had been on a very Fire, a fearfull thing to look upon. Infomuch as the Taxilles King ROMANS durft not fo much as once go out of the Trenches of their Camp, nor Sylla with all his Atthributes perswasion could take away this great conceived fear from them; wherefore (and because also he Lieutenant. would not compell them to go forth in this fear) he was driven not to ftir, but close to abide, (though it grieved him greatly) to see the Barbarous People so proudly and villainously laugh him and his men to fcorn. Howbeit the difdain and fcoffing of his Enemies, ftood him to great good purpose afterwards: for they making now no account of him, kept small Watch and Ward, strayed up and down diforderly befides, though otherwise they were not very obedient unto their Cap- Many Comtains, being many Commanders, and few good followers: by reason whereof, a small number manders make kept in the Camp, and all the reft of the great multitude entired with the gain they made by spoy-disobedient ling and facking of Towns thereabouts, dispersed themselves many days journey from their Camp. For it is faid, that at that very time they destroyed the City of PANOPAIA, sacked the City of LEBADIA, and spoiled the Temple without commandment or licence of any of all their Captains to do it. In the mean while, Sylla feeing fo many Cities and Towns spoiled and destroyed. took it both grievously and also angerly : howbeit he suffered not his men to lye idle, but kept them in labour, to turn the course of the River of Cephisus, and to cast great Trenches, not suffering Cephisus st any man to take east or reft, but contrarily with great severity punished such as went faintly and lazily sylla straight to work, to the end that being wearied with the pain they took after fo many works, they would Souldiers. rather prove to hazard Battell, as it fell out indeed. For the third day after they had begun thus A good volice to labour, as Sylla passed by them, they cried out unto him, to lead them against their Enemies, to weary fearto labour, as Sylla paned by them, they like our about ries of men wearied rather with labour, full Soudiers. But this answer was unto them again: That those were but cries of men wearied rather with labour, with extream then defirous to fight. Notwithstanding, if it be so indeed, and that you have so good a will to labour wherefight as you make shew of: then I will, said hethat you Armyour selves presently, and get you to by to make yonder place : shewing them therewithall where the Cattle of the PARAPOTAMIANS stood in them definous Old time, which then (the City being destroyed) was no more but the top of a Stony Mountain to fight. cut all about, and severed from the Mount of Edylium by the breadth of the River of Assus that runcut all about and fevered from the Mount of Edystum by the breath of the River of Cephilius, and Edyslum Mons; neth betwire, and which at the very foot of the same Mountain falleth into the River of Cephilius, and Affais fl. both these Rivers running in one, carrying a swift Stream, do make the knap of the said Hill very ftrong of fituation to lodge a Campupon. And therefore Sylla feeing the Souldiers of his Enemies Camp, marching with their Copper Fargets to take up that place to lodge in: to prevent them. and to get it before them (as indeed be did) he marched shither in all hafte possible, and got it even with the earnest good will of all his Souldiers. idrehelam being to repulsed from thence, nurned his way towards the City of Choeronea. Whereupon cemain of the Choeroneans that were in 57Ha's Camp, befought him that he would not forfake their City, and leave it to their Enemy. Sylla desiring to gratific them therein, sent Gabinins one of his Colonels with a Legion, and therewithall gave the Choeroneans leave to gothither, who did what they could possible to Sylla fendeth get into the City before Gabinius: but that they could not, such was the diligence and honesty of Gabinius with get into the City Detore Garmina: Distinstincy Council to be and was in building a legion to the man, as he feemed more definous of their fafery, then they were themselves. Nevertheles, aid Charonast. Tubes doth not call the Colonell that was sent thinker Gabinius , but Hircins. And thus was the City of CHOERONEA preferved from the danger is stood in at that time. In the mean time came very good News to the ROMANS, both of Oracles and Prophecies, which promited them Victory Oracles and from the Temple of LEBANDIA, and the Cave of Trophonius: of which Prophecies, those Prophecies of Countrey-men make great mention. But Silla in the tenth Book of his Commentaries writeth, Victory unto that Sainem Tiem, a man of quality and Name amongst them that scafficked into the Countrey of Sylla. GREECE, came unto him after he had won the Battell of CHOERONEA, to tell him that Trophonius gave him to understand, that shortly after he should have a second Battell, and that he should yet again have another Victory in the same place. After him another man of War called Sal- Salvenius a oversion, sold him also what success he should have in the Wars of ITALY, saying, that he knew Souldier. it by revelation: and both these men agreed in the manner of the Revelation. For they faid, that they had seen a god, in Majefty, beauty and greatness, like unto the Image of Jupiter Olympias. Finite Olympias of August Olympias. Syda having palled the River of Affus, went to lodge at the foot of Mount Edylum, hard by Archelam, Acontium, who had placed and fortified his Camp between the two Mountains of Acontium and of Edylium, Edylium joyning to the City of the Assians. The place where Archelans Camped beareth his own Name Mountains, Archelans unto this day. One day after Sylla had changed his lodging , he left Murana in his Camp with a Legion, and two Cohoris, to keep the Enemies still occupied that were in great trouble and he himself in the mean time went and Sacrificed by the River of Cephidus. His Sacrifice being ended, he marched cowards the City of Choeronea, to take the force he had there under Gabinius, and to know the Mountain also called Thurium, which the Enemies had taken. It is a knap of a Thurium mone Mothtain very steep and sharp of all fides, with a narrow point like a Pine Apple, by reason attreOrthopawhereof we do call it Orthopagum. At the foot of the same runneth the River called Morion, and Morion fl. there is also the Temple of Apollo Surnamed Thurins : and they say , that this Surname of Thuring Apollo Thuring

396 was given unto him of the Name of Thurss, who was Mother of Charon, of the City of CHOERONEA. Other think that the Cowwhich was given to Cadmus for a guide, CORPORTED OF the Carry of that Place: which hath ever fince kept the Name, for that the PHOENICIANS Founder of the came to him in that Place: which hath ever fince kept the Name, for that the PHOENICIANS City of Cherr- call a Cow, Thor. Now when Sylla came near unto Choeronea, the Colonell Gabinius whom he had fent thither with a Garrilon to defend the fame, went to meet him, with his men very well Armed, wearing a Laurell Garland: and Sylla after he had faluted him and his Souldiers, made an Oration unto them, exhorting them to do their duty in fighting. And as he was in his Oration, there came two Citizens of Choeronea to him, one his Name was Omoloichu, and the other Anaxidamus, who promifed him to drive the Enemies from Mount Thurium which they had taken, if he would but give them some small number of Souldiers. For there was a little Path-way, which the Would but give them for the mining at a place called Petrochus, hard by the Temple of the Musses, by the which they might easily go to the top of this Mountain Thursum: fo that following that Path, it would bring them over the Barbarous Peoples heads, and they might eafily kill them with stones, or at the least they should drive them maugre their heads down into the Valley. Gabimins affuring Sylla that they were both very valiant men, and such he might boldly trust unto: Sylla gave them men, and commanded them to execute their enterprise: and he himself in the mean sea-57/1/2 ordereth fon went and fet his men in order of Battell in the plain, dividing his Horsmen on the wings, placed himself in the right wing, appointing the left unto Murans. Galba and Hortensins his Lieutenants, were placed in the tail with certain bands of the rereguard, which they kept upon the Hills, to watch and lett that the Enemies should not enclose them behind : because they perceived a far off that the Enemies put forth a great number of Horimen and Footmen light Armed in the wings, to the end that the Points of their Battell might the more easily bow and enlarge themselves, to compass in the ROMANS on the back side. Now in the mean time, these two CHOERONE-ANS whom Sylla had fent under Hireins their Captain, having compassed about the Mountain Thurium, before the Enemies were aware of them, fuddenly came to flew themselves upon the top of the Mountain, which did fo fear the Barbarous People, that they began immediately to flie, one of them for the most part killing another. There was no relistance, but flying down the Mountains, fellupon the Points of their own Partifants and Pikes, and one of them thrufting in anothers neck, tumbled headlong down the Mountain together, having their Enemies besides on their backs, which drave them from the Hill, and strake them behind where they lay open unto them: so as there were slain three thousand of them about this Mountain Thurium. And as for them that fought to fave themselves by flight, Murana that was already set in Battell ray, met with some, cut them off by the way, and slew them downright. The other fled directly to their Camp, and came in great companies, thrufting into the Battell of their Footmen, put the most part of them quite out of order, and marvelloully troubled their Captains before they could fet them again in order: which was one of the chiefest causes of their overthrow. For Sylla went and gave a charge upon them in this trouble and disorder, and had quickly won the ground that was between both Armies, whereby he took away the force of all their Armed Carts with Sithes, which are then of greatest force, when they have the longest courie, to give them a swift and violent stroke in their chafe: whereas when their course is but shore; the blow is so much the weaker and of less strength, even as Arrows are, that afar off enternor deep into the thing they be shor at : as at that time The force of the Armed it fell our with the Barbarous People. For their first Carts set forth so faintly, and came on with so Carts with in long courie, feeble a force, that the ROMANS fent them back, and eafily repulfed them, with great flaughter, and clapping of hands one to another, as they commonly ule in the ordinary Games of Horse-run-Sylla's conflict ning at ROME. When they had thus repulled the Carts, the Battell of Sylla's Footmen began synas connect to charge the Barbarous People; who basing their Pikes, stood close one to another, because they with Archelaus to charge the Barbarous People; who basing their Pikes, stood close one to another, because they would not be broken; and the ROMANS on the other fide, bestowed first their Darts among them, and then fuddenly drew out their Swords in the heat they were in, and put afide the Enemies' Pikes, whereby they might come nearer to their Bodies. There were fifteen thousand flaves in the front of the Battell of the Barbarous People , whom Mithridates Lieutenant had made free by open Proclamation, and had divided them by bands, amongst the other Footmen. By occasion whereof, there was a ROMAN Centurion spake pleasantly at that time, saying, That he never saw flaves before have liberty to fpeak and do like free men, but onely at Saturn's Feaft. Neverthe-Slaves made freely authori- lefs, they against the nature of slaves, were very valiant to abide the shock, and the ROMAN rrecoy authors Footmen could not fo readily break nor enter into them, nor make them give back, because they tensms in the flood very close one to another, and their ranks were of such a length besides; untill such time as the ROMANS that were behind the first ranks, did so pelt them with their slings, burling Stones, beflowing their Darts and Arrows upon them, that in the end they compelled them all to turn their backs and fly amain. And when Arebelaus did first threst out the right wing of his Army, suppoling to enclose the ROMANS behind, Hortenfins straight ways caused the bands he had with him to run and charge upon the Flanks: which Archelam perceiving, made the Horimen he had about him, turn their faces forthwith, which were in number above two thousand: infomuch as

Hortenfius being set upon with all his Troop, was compelled to retire by little and little towards the Mountain, perceiving himself far from the Battell of his Footmen, and environed round

about with his Enemies. Sylla feeing that , being in the right wing of his Battell , and having not

yet fought, went straight to the rescue of Hortensium. But Archelam conjecturing by the dust

which the Horses raised, what the matter was : lest Horsensium there, and with speed returned

again towards the right wing of his Enemies, from whence Sylla was gone, hoping he had left it unfurnished of a sufficient Captain to command them. Taxilles on the other fide, caused his Copper Targets also to march against Murana: so as the noise they made on both sides, caused the Mountains to ring again, wherewithall Sylla stayed, standing in doubt which way to take. At the last he resolved to return to the place from whence he came, and sent Hontenging with four Enfigns to aid Murene: and himself with the fifth in great speed went towards the right wing of his Army, the which was now already bickering, and joyned with their Enemies, fighting hand to hand with Archelaus. By reason whereof, when Sylla was come with his aid, shey sylla's victory did easily distress them, and after they had broken their array. They did the soll ship of Milwilluts did easily diffres them : and after they had broken their array, they chaled them a flying for Lite Lieutenaus. to the River, and unto the Mountain Acontium. But Sylla notwithanding forgat not Murana, but went again to his relief; and finding that he on his fide had also put the Enemies to flight, followed him with the chale of them that fled. There was a marvellous flaughter made in that Field of the Barbarous People, and many of them supposing to have recovered their Camp, were flain by the way: so as of all that infinite multitude of fighting men, there escaped onely ten thousand, who saved theinselves by flying unto the City of CHALCIDE. Sylla for his part writeth, that he could make reckoning of no more but fourteen of his Souldiers onely that were flain, whereof there came two again to him the fame night. Wherefore in the marks of Triumph which he fet up for tokens of that Victory, he caused to be written on the top thereof, Mars, Victory, and Venus: fignifying thereby, that he had overcome in these Wars as much by good fortune. as by force, policy, or Martiall discipline. These marks of Triumph were set up for the Battell as by totte, pointy, or mattern ancepture where Archelana began to flye, even unto the River and the head when the wan in the plain Field, in that place where Archelana began to flye, even unto the River won in the of Molus. And he fet up another also on the top of Mount Thurium, where the Barbarous People plain of Ewere set upon behind : and there is written in Greek Letters .: That the valiant deeds of Omologic latea. chus and Anaxidamus, gave way to the winning of this Victory. Sylla for the joy of this great Molus fl. won Battell , caused Mustitians to Play in the City of THEBES, where he builded a Stage for all the Musitians near unto the Fountain OEdipus, and certain Noble GRECIANS were appointed Judges of that Musick, whom he caused to be sent for out of other Cities, because he mortally hated the THEBANS: infomuch as he took from them half their Lands, which he confecrated unto Apollo Pythias, and Jupiter Olympias, appointing that of the revenue thereof, they should redeliver Apollo Pythias. and pay back the Money which he had taken and carried away from out of their Temples. Sylla af- Jupiter Olymter this having intelligence that Flaceus, one of his Enemies, was chosen Consull at Rome, and pion. had passed the Sea Ionium with an Army, under pretence to make War against King Mithridates, sull wente-but indeed to make Wan with himself: took his journey towards Thessaly to meet him, gaint sold. But when he was in the City of MELITEA, there came News to him out of all parts, that there was a new and second Army of the Kings arrived, no less then the first, the which spoiled and destroyed all the Countrey which he had left behind him. For Dorylaus one of King Mithri- Dorilaus Midates Lieutenants , was arrived in the City of CHALCIDE with a great fleet of Ships, having thridates Gebrought thither with him fourfcore shouland fighting men, the best trained, the best Armed and appointed Souldiers that were in all his Kingdom of PONTUS in ASIA : and from thence went into BOFOTIA, had all that Countrey at commandment, and fought to fight with Sylla, notwithstanding that Archelaus alledged many reasons to diffiwade him from it : and surthermore, gave it out in every place, that so many thousand of Souldiers could not have been cast away in the first Battell, without some notable treason. Whereupon Sylla returned with all possible speed, and made Dorylaw know before many days paffed over his head, that Archelaw was a wife man, and knew well enough the worthiness and valiant courage of the ROMANS. And Dorylaus having had but a little proof unely in certain light skirmishes which he made against Sylla, about Tilphosion in THESSALY: himself was the first that could say then, it was not for them to hazard Battell. but rather to draw out the Wars in length, and supplant the ROMANS with charge and expence. And yet notwithstanding, the commodity of the great large plain that lyeth all about ORCHO-MENE, where they were encamped, gave great encouragement to Archilam, who judged it a very fit place to give Battell in , specially because he was the stronger of Horsmen in the Field. For all the The goodly plaines that are within the Countrey of BOEOTIA; the greatest and largest of them, is the plain plain before near to the City of ORCHOMENE, which is altogether without Trees, and runneth out in length the City of unto the Marshes where the River of Melas disperseth it felf abroad. The head of the same River Orchomene. is not far from the City of ORCHOMENE, and that River of all other Rivers of GREECE, from The River of the were head whence it cornects is possible, and had be fellowed by the control of the were head whence it cornects is possible, and had be fellowed by the control of the were head whence it cornects is possible and had be fellowed by the control of the were head whence it cornects in the control of the were head whence it cornects in the control of the were head whence it cornects in the control of the were head whence it cornects in the control of the were head whence it cornects in the control of the were head whence it cornects in the control of the were head whence it cornects in the cornects in the were head whence it cornects in the cornects in the cornects in the cornects in the were head whence it cornects in the cornect in the the very head whence it cometh, is navigable: and hath befides another fingular property, that it ri-tire thereof. feth and swelleth even in the longest Summer days , as the River of Nilus doth, and bringeth forth the felf same Plants and Trees, saving that they bear no Fruit, neither are they so great as those of ÆGYPT. This River hath no long course, because that the most part of the Water runneth into lakes and Marishes covered with Brambles and Briars, and there is but a very little part of it that falleth into the River of Cephifus, in the place that the Reeds grow where they make good Flutes withall. When they were camped one near to another, Archelaus lay quietly and stirred not: but Sylla presently cast great Trenches from one side to another, to stop the way against their Enemies, that they could not come into that great plain, where they might have taken what ground they would for their men of Arms, and have driven the ROMANS into the Marithes. The Barbarous People not being able to endure that, so soon as their Captains had given them liberty, discharged with such a fury, that they did not onely featter them that wrought in Sylla's Trenches, but put the most part

Diogence

sylla's Victoty of Mithri.

meeting.

Peace conclu-

of their guard also that stood in Battell ray to defend them, in a marvellobs rear , who also began to fly. Which Syla perceiving, lighted fraight from his Horfe, and taking an Enfigr in his hand, ran through the middeft of his men that fled; untill he came to his Enemies; and crying out, Syllas words faid unto them: O my ROMAN Souldiers, mine Honour commandeth me to die here, and thereto animate his fore when any man asketh you where you forfook your Captain; remember that you answer; It was at Orchomene. They were so ashamed at these words, that he made them turn: befides that, there came two Cohorts unto him from the right wing of his Battell, who under his leading gave such a hot charge upon their Enemies, that they fled forthwith upon it. That done, Syllia retired with his men, and made them dine : and thereupon by and by fet them again to the Trenches to enclose his Enemies Camp, who then came out in better order then they did before there was Diogenes, Archilaus Wives Son slain, fighting valiantly before them all; in the right wing of their Battell. And the bow-men being pressed so near by the ROMANS, that their Bowes viould do no good, took their Arrows in their hands in flead of Swords, and ftrake their Enemies with them, to force them to give back, untill fuch time as at the last they were all driven into their (amp, where they passed that night in great forrow, as well for the loss of them that were flain, as also for the number of those that were hurt. The next morning, Sylla leading his men again towards the Camp of his Enemies, went on still continuing his Trenches: and certain of them being come out to skirmish with them, he fet upon them to luftily, that at the first charge he put them to flight. That brought such a fear to all the whole Camp of the Enemies, that not a man durft abide any longer: fo as Sylla valiantly following on his Victory, fluffled in among them as they fled, and in the end took altogether. Straightway all the Marishes were filled mong ment as they are a ment and an are that took an agent and the lake full of dead Bodies: fo that untill this prefent day they find there in that place many Bows of the Barbarous People, Morians, pieces of Taffes, and Swords drowned in place many nows of the national reopie, mortains, pieces of raises, and swords drowned in the mud of the Marishes, notwithstanding that it is well-near two hundred years ago fince this well-near two hundred years ago fince this of Sylla orecrame Battell was stricken. And thus much for the Wars about the Cities of Choeronea and Arabelaus in ORCHOMENE. Now the Wars being past in this fort in GREECE, Cinna, and Carbo dealt very cruelly and unnaturally at ROME with the Noblemen and greatest Persons; by reason whereof, Datters at Charactes and many flying their Tyranny, went to Sylla's Camp, as unto the Haven of their health and fulness of felicity, fo that in short time Syllahad an Assembly of a ROMAN Senate about him, Metella her felf, his Wife, having stolen away very hardly with her Children, came to bring him News that his Houses in the City and Countrey both, were all burnt and destroyed by his Enemies: praying him that he would go and help them that yet remained at ROME. Sylla upon hearing of these News, fell in great perplexity. For on the one fide, it grieved him to fee his Countrey fo milerably afflicted: and on the other fide, he knew not well how he might go, leaving fo great an enterprise that war was, and specially against a King of such might and Power as Mishridates shewed he himself to be. And being in the dumps, there came one Archelism a Merchantto him, born in the Girm of Power in the Archelism a Merchantto him, born in the City of Delium, who brought him a fecret message from the other Archelam, King m the City of Dellow, who orough him a rected menage from the office at Architam and himfelf might meet and talk together. So at the length they met by the Sea fide, near unto the City of Delium, where there is a Temple of Apollo. Arekelans began to enter the talk with him, declaring unto Sylla, that he would wish him to leave the Conquest of Asia, and of the belaur at their Realm of PONT, and to return into his Countrey to the civil Wars at ROME: and in fo doing, the King would furnish him, not onely with as much Money, but with as many Ships and men, as he himself would defire. Sylla upon this motion told him again, that he would wish him to forlake Mithridates service, and to make himself King, offering to Proclaim him a friend and confederate of the ROMANS, fo that he would deliver him all the Navy which then he had in his hands. Archelam feemed much to abbor to hear him speak of treason. But Sylla going on with his tale, replied again unto him: Why Archelam, faid he, thou that art a CAPPADOLIAN, and Servant to a Barbarous King, or his Friend at the leaft: haft thou fo good a heart with thee that for all the benefits I offer thee, thou wilt not once commit an ill act ? And art thou indeed fo bold to speak to me of treason, which am the ROMANS Lieutenant Generall, and Sylla? As if thou wert not he, that at the Battell of CHOERONEA didft fave thy felf by flying, with a small number lest thee of fix score thousand fighting men, which thou before hadst in thy Camp: and that hid thy felf two days together in the Marishes of ORCHOMENE, leaving the Fields of BOBOTIA with such heaps of dead Bodies , that no man could pass for them? After this reply, Archelass altered his speech, and falling down at Sylla's feet, humbly befought him to end this War, and to make Peace with Mithridates. Whereunto Sylla answered; that he was very well contented withall. And thereupon Peace was concluded between them under conditions: that Mithridates should depart from ASIA the less, and from PAPHLA GONIA, that he should refore BITHYNIA unto Nicomedes, and CAPPADOCIA unto Ariobarzanes, that he should pay two thouland Talents to the ROMANS, and give them threefcore and ten Gallies, with all their Furniture. And upon this, Sylla would also affure him the rest of his Realm : and would cause him to be chears in Mi-Proclaimed a friend of the ROMANS. These Articles being past by agreement betwist them, Syllas taking his journey through THESSALY and MACEDON, into the Countrey of HELLESPONT, carried Archelau with him, whom he honourably intreated. For Archelau falling dangeroully field of a difeafe in the City of LARISSA, he stayed there for him, and was very carefull to recover him, as if he had been one of his chiefest Captains and Companions. And this was the cause that made

the Battell of CHOBRONEA, as if he had not faithfully fought it out, nor Syllatruly workies but by treason. And again , Archelans was the more suspected , because Arthelans su-Sylla redelivered Mithridates all his Servants and Friends which he had Prisoners, saving the Tyrant specied of trea. Ariftion that kept ATHENS, whom he poyfoned, because he was Arefulam Enemy: but specially lon, Ariftion that kept ATHENS, whom he polytoned, became he was Arebrian Enemy: but specially for the Lands Sylla gave unto this CAPPADOCIAN. For he gave him tenthousland Jugera, (or Ariftion Ty. 13th of A Enemy of the Ro. 13th of Alberty. Acres of Land) within the Isle of Europea, and gave him more over the title of a Friend of the Ropoyloned by MANS for ever. But Sylla denyeth all these things in his Commentaries. In the mean time, 50/la. Ambassadors came from King Mithridates unto Sylla, who told him that the King their Master did Mithridates. Ambaliagors cance from a significant of Peace, faving that he onely prayed him he would not take the ception to the Countrey of PAPHLAGONIA from him: and as for the Gallies, he would not fo much as once fay conditions, he would promife them. Sylla being offended herewith, angerly answered them again: Then Mithridates (as ye fay) meaneth to keep PAPHLAGONIA ftill, and refuseth to give the Ships I demanded : where I looked that he would have humbly thanked me on his knees , if I left him his right hand onely, with the which he put fo many ROMAN Citizens to death. But I hope to make him tell me another Tale, if I come once into Asia: but now at Pergamus, he speaketh his pleafure of this War which he hath not feen. The Ambassadours being afraid of his words, replied not again. Whereupon Archelaus spake, and besought him with tears in his eyes to be contented, and took him by the hand. By intreaty, in the end he obtained of Sylla to fend him unto Mt- Archelmu fent thridates: promifing that he would either bring him to agree to all the Articles and conditions of from syllato Peace that he demanded, or if he could not, he would kill himself with his own hands. Upon Mithridates. this promife Sylla fent him away, and in the mean while entred with his Army into the Countrey of MEDICA: and after he had destroyed the most part thereof, returned back again into MACE-DON , where Archelam being returned from Mithridates , found him near unto the City of PHILIPPES, bringing him News that all should be well: howbeit that his Master Mitbridates prayed him he might speak with him in any case. Now the matter that made Mithridates fo earnest to speak with Sylla, was chiefly for Fimbria: who having slain Flacem the Confull, being of the contrary faction unto Sylla, and certain of Mithridates Lieutenants also, went himself against him to fight with him. Mithridates fearing his coming, chose rather to make himself Sylla's friend. So Mishridates and Sylla met together in the Countrey of TROADE, in the City of DARDANE, Mithridates being accompanied with a fleet of two hundred fale of Ships Sylla and Miwith Oars at Sea, with twenty thousand Footmen, fix thousand Horse, and a number of Armed thridates meet Carts with Sithes befides by Land, Sylla having onely but four Enfigns of Footmen, and two at Dardage. handred Horsmen. Mishridates went to Sylla, and offering to take him by the hand : Sylla asked him first, if he did accept the Peace with the conditions which Archelaus had agreed unto, Mi. The source of Sylla. thridates made him no answer. Sylla following on his Tale, faid unto him: It is for suters to speak Mitbridates first, that have request to make: and for Conquerours, it is enough to hold their peace, and hear excuses himwhat they will fay. Then began Mithridates to excuse himself, and to lay the occasion of the War, self to Sylla, partly upon the ordinance of the gods that fo had appointed it, and partly also upon the ROMANS 5944's answer themselves. Whereunto Sylls replyed, that he had heard of long time that Mithridate was an Elo. to Mithridate. quent Prince, and that he knew it now by experience, seeing that he lacked no comely words to cloke King of Bihis foul and shamefull deeds : but withall he sharply reproved him , and drave him to confess thrais. the cruelties he had committed. And afterwards asked him again, if he did confirm that which driobarganes Archelaus had done. Mithridates, made answer, that he did. Then Sylla faluted, embraced King of Capand kissed him: and calling for the Kings Nicomedes and Ariabarkanes, reconciled them together, and made Mithridates their friend again. In conclusion, after Mithridates had delivered Sylla threefcore and ten Gallies, and five hundred Bow-men, he returned by Sea into his Realm of PONTUS. But Sylla hearing that his Souldiers were angry with this Peace made with Mi- Abundred and thridates, because they could not abide to behold that King, whom they accounted for their most cruell fifty thousand and mortall Enemy, having in one felf day caufed a bundred and fifty thousand Roman Citizens in one day in to be flain, that were dispersed abroad in divers places of ASIA) so to depart, and go his way safe, Asia by Miwith the riches and spoils of the Countrey, which he had bereft them of, and used at his pleasure, thridates comthe space of forty years together: answered them in excuse of himself, that he was not able to mandment. make Wars with Mithridates, and Fimbria both, if once they were joyned together against him. Finbria.

And in Salla denseting thence went against Einbria, who then was encouned near to be Council Camped at And so Sylla departing thence went against Fimbria, who then was encamped near to the City of Toharya. THYATIRA, and lodged himself as near unto him as he conveniently might. Now whilest he was compassing in his lodging with a Trench, Fimbria's Souldiers came out of their Camp in their Fimbria flain; Coats without any Armour or Weapon, to falure "ylla's Souldiers, and holp them very friendly to make up their Teench: which Fimbria feeing, and perceiving his Souldiers minds to changed, of sylla very an extream fear which he had of Sylla, at whose hands he looked for no mercy, killed himself histly interin his own Camp, Salla hereupon condemned the whole Countrey of Asia the lefs, to pay the ted them of fum of twenty thousand Talents amongst them, and presently also he undid many poor Housholders through his infolent Souldiers, lying long upon their charge, which he leit in Garrison there. For he ordained that every Housholder should give the Souldier that lodged in his House, four Tetradrachmas a day, and should be bound to give him and his friends (as many as he would bring with him) their Supper also : and that every Captain should have lifty Drachmaes a day . a night Gown for the House, and a Garment to go abroad into the City when he thought good, When he had given this order, he departed from the Ciry of Ephrisus with 'all his fleet, and in three

Aristotle and

Sylla went to the Bathes at Alipfum tor the gout in his

sylla wenta. gainft fifteen Generals, and four hundred and fifty En-

Sylla.overthrew the Contuli Norbanus and to the Mounrain Epheum. which fell out

A wind that

days fayling arrived in the Haven of PIREA at ATHENS, where ternity of the Mysteries, and reserved for himself the Library of Appeals, roas: in the which were the most part of Arifforle and Theophrasim Works , not then thought meet to come in every mans hands. And they fay, that this Library being brought to ROME, Tyrannion the Grammarian found the means to extract a great part of them : and that Andronics the Rhodian having recovered the originals into his hands, published them, and wrote the summaries which we have at this prefent: For the ancient Periparetick Philosophers were of themselves very Wise and Learned men, but they had not all Arifeotles Works, nor Theophrastu amongst them, and yet those few they had, were not by them feen all whole and perfect together; becaule that the goods of Nolew Scepsian (to whom Theophrastus left all his Books by will) came to fall into the hands of mean ignorant men, who knew not the Vertue and estimation of them. And surthermore, Sylla being at ATHENS, had fuch a pain and numnels in his Leggs, and was fo heavy withall, that Strabo calleth it a spice of the gour, that is to say, a feeling or entring thereinto, which then began to root and take hold of him. Upon which occasion he took the Seas, and went unto a place called Andipsum, where there are naturall hot Bathes: and there remained a while foliating himfeli all the day long with Musick, seeing of Playes, and entertaining such kind of People. Upon a day as he walking by the Sea fide, certain Fisher-men made him a Present of Fish, which pleased him marvellous well: and demanding of them whence they were: they answered him again, that they were of the City of Ales. What? of Ales faid he : is there any of them yet left alife? fpeaking it, because that after the Battell of ORCHOMENE, when he followed the chase of his Enemies, he nt, occasio cum and taken and destroyed three Cities of BOEOTIA all at one self time, to wit, Anthedon, LARYMNA, and ALES. The poor Fisher-men were so amazed with these words, that they stood fill, and could not tell what to say, Sylla fell a laughing thereat, and bad them go their ways a Gods Name, and not be afraid, for they brought no small intercessours with them, which were worth the reckoning of. When Sylls had given them these words, the ALEIANS went home with a merry heart, to gather themselves together again in their City. Sylla so passing through THESSALY and MACEDON, came to the Sea fide, intending to go from the City of DYRRACHIUM unto Bubbles of fire Brundus 1114 with a hundred and twenty fail. The City of Apollonia is hard by Dyrra Chium, and thereabouts is a Park confecrated unto the Nymphs, where in a fair goodly green Meadow, in many places there cometh out great bubbles of Fire that Flame continually: and it is faid, that there Direction.

Assayie taken was a Saryre taken fleeping, even in the very felf fame form the Painters and Image-gravers have fet him out. He was brought unto Sylla, and being asked by all forts of Interpreters what he was, he broughtto syl-made no answer that a man could understand, but onely put forth a sharp voice like the neying of a Horle, or whinning of a Goat. Sylla wondering at it, abhorred him, and made him to be carried from him as a monstrous thing. Furthermore, when Sylla had imbarked his men to pass the Sea, he was afraid that so soon at they had landed in lTALY, they would shrink from him, and every man go home to his own City. But they fware and promifed first of themselves, that they would man gand keep together, and by their wills would do no hurt in ITALY. Moreover, perceiving that he ftood in need of Money, they offered him of theirs, and every man to lend him as his ability ferved. But Sylla would none, yet thanked them for their good will: and after he had exhorted them to fight like Valiant Souldiers, he went against fifteen Generals of Armies of his Enemies, who had four hundred and fifty Enfigns of Footmen well Armed, as he himself writeth in his Commentaries. But the gods promifed him good fortune in his Wars, by many fundry apparent For in a Sacrifice he made by TARENTUM, after he was come on Land, the Liver of a certain Beast sacrificet, was altogether fashioned after the manner of a Crown or Garland of Epheum Most. Lawrell, out of the which did hang two Bands or Rolles. And a little before he went into CAMPA-NIA, near unto the Mountain Epheum, there appeared two great Goats in the day time fighting together, even as two men do when they fight: which nevertheless was no matter of truth, but a Vision onely that appeared, and rising from the Earth, dispersed it self by little and little here and there in the Ayr, and in the end vanished quite away as Clouds which come to nothing. Shortly after, in the self same place, Marim the younger, and Norbanim the Confull, who brought two great Armies against him, were overthrown by him, before he had fet his men in Battell, or had appointed any man in his place where he should fight: and this proceeded onely upon the courage and Life of his Souldiers, whose good will to serve against them was such, as following this Victory, he compelled the Confull Norbanus after he had flain fix thousand of his men, to take the City of CAPUA for his the burning of refuge. This Noble exploit (as himfelf reported) was the cause that his men kept so well together, the Capitally that they went neither home to their Houles, nor made any reckoning of their Enemies, although they were many against one. And he saith surthermore, that in the City of SILVIUM, there was a flave of one Pontins a Citizen, who being inspired with a Prophetical Spirit, came to tell him from the goddes Bellows, that he should grow in strength, and carry away the Victory of these Wars: howbeit that if he did not hie him the fooner, the capitoll at Rome should be burnt. And so it fell out the fame day according to his words, being the fixteenth day of the Moneth called Quintilia and now July. And furthermore also, Lucullu (one of Sylla's Captains) being near unto the City of Figure 1 and furthermore also, Lucullu (one of Sylla's Captains) being near unto the City of Figure 1 and 1 an dow upon Lut to be very well affected to ferve, because the most part of them were naked and unarmed, was a counts sometimes that the Battell and as he was even bethinking himself what was best to determine thereof, there role a little wind out of a goodly Meadow, that blew a wonderfull fort of Flowers upon the

flowers staied of themselves as they fell; some upon their this, without falling to the ground : fo that it feemed to their ene-Garlands of Flowers upon their heads. This made Lucullus fouldeer more lutty a great deal then they were before, and with this good will they determined to Lucallus videogive a charge upon their enemies: whom they overthrew, flew eighteen thousand of them in the ry at Fidentia. field, and took their Camp. This Lucuilus was brother unto the other Lucuilus, that afterwards overthrew the Kings Mithridates and Tigranes. Nevertheless, Sylla perceiving that his enemies lav round about him with many great putifant Armies, thought good to use policy with force : and therefore practifed with Scipio one of the Confulls, to make peace with him. Scipio was willing to it : and thereupon were oft meetings and affemblies of both fides. Now Sylla drave off the conclufion of the peace as long as he could, ftill feeking occasion of delay, to the end that his fouldiers which were throughly acquainted with craft and fubtility as well as himself, might in the mean time corrupt Scipio's fouldiers by repair into his camp : for they coming into Scipio's Camp, being very sylla's policy converfant with them, ftraight corrupted some of them with ready money, other with promises, and with scipio. other with fair flattering words, and many goodly tales they told them. At the length, after this practife had continued a while, Sylla coming near unto Scipio's Camp with twenty Enfigns onely: all his men faluted Scipio's fouldiers, and they refaluting them again, yeelded themselves unto Svila. So as Scipio was left post alone in his Tent, where he was taken, but they afterwards let him go. So Sylla wan 40 Sylla with his twenty Enfigns, like to the Fowlers, that by their stales draw other Birds into their Enfigns from Nets, having gotten forty Enfigns from his enemies by his craft, brought them away with him into his Scipio by poli-Camp. There it was that Carbo said of Sylla, that he had to fight with a Fox, and a Lyon both: Carbo, saving but that the Fox did him more hurt and mischief then the Lyon. After this, Marius the younger of Sylls touch having sourfcore and five Enfigus in his Camp near unto the City of SIONIUM, presented battell ing the Fox unto Sylla: who having very good desire to fight, and specially on that day, because the night be- and Lion. fore he had feen this vision in his dream , that he thought he faw Mariss the Father who was de- Marius the ceased long before) warning his Son that he should come to him. Sylla for this respect desi- 80 Fishers red marvelloufly to fight that day: and thereupon caused Dolabella to come unto him, that was before presented Syllodged far from him. But the enemies stept between him and home, and stopped his passage to keep la Battel him from joyning with Sylla. Sylla's fouldiers to the contrary, fought to keep the way open for by the City him, with fo great labour and pain, that they were all weary and over harried. And furthermore, of Signum. there fell a marvellous great shower of rain upon them as they were busic opening the way, that in his drame troubled them more then the labour they had in hand. Whereupon the private Captains of the bands went to make Sylla understand it, and to pray him to defer the battell untill another day; shewing him how the fouldiers wearied with labour, lay down upon their Targets on the ground to take their ease. Sylla perceiving this, was contented withall, though greatly indeed against his will, But when he had given the fignall to lodge, and that they began to trench and fortifie their Camp Marius the younger cometh on horseback marching bravely before all his company, hoping to have furprised his enemies in disorder, and by that means to have overthrown them easily. But far otherwife did fortune then perform the Revelation which Sylla had in his forefaid dream : for his men falling in a rage withall, left their work in the Trench where they wrought, fluck their darts upon the bank, ran upon their enemies with their fwords drawn, and with a marvellous cry fet upon them fo valiantly, that they were not able to refift their fury, but fuddenly turned their backs and fled, where there was a great and notable flaughter made of them. Marine their Captain fled to the City of PRENESTE, where he found the Gates shut: but they threw him down a Rope from the wall, which he tyed about his middle, and fo wastriced up by it. Yet fome writers fay, and Feneftella among Marine fled to other, that Marins never faw the battell : for being wearied with labour, and very fleepy, he lay under Pranefic. fome tree in the shadow to rest a little, after he had given the signal and word of the battell, and slept so foundly, that he could feant awake with the noise and flying of his men. Sylla himself writeth, that he loft at this battell but three and twenty men, flew twenty thousand of his enemies, and took eight thoufand prisoners. His Lieutenants also had the like good success in other places, Pompeius, Crassus, Metellus, and Servilius : which without any loss of their men, or but with a very small, overthrew many great mighty Armies of their enemies. Infomuch as Carbo, the head and chief of all the contrary faction, and he that most maintained it, fled one night out of his Camp, and went beyond the feas into Africk. The last battell that Sylla had, was against Thelesinus SAMNITE, who coming Carbo Bed into like a fresh Champion to set upon him, when he was already wearied and had sought many battels, had almost slain him even at ROME Gates. For Thelesinus having gathered together a great number of Thelesinus the fouldiers, with one Lamponius Lucanian, marched with all speed towards the City of PRE. Samnite put NESTE, to deliver Marins the younger that was belieged there. But understanding that Sylla on Sylla in great the other fide came in great hafte also to meet him, and that Pomponius came behind him on the other danger. fide; and perceiving moreover that the way was to thut up, that he could go neither forward nor backward, being a valiant fouldier, and one that had been in many great foughten fields, most dangeroully ventured to go straight to ROME. And so stole away by night with all his whole power, and marching to Rom B-ward, had almost taken it at his first coming, for that there was neither watch nor ward kept; but he stayed happily ten furlongs from the Gate Collina, bragging with himself, and believing that he should do wonders, for that he had mocked so many great Captains. The next morning betimes came divers young Noblemen and Gentlemen out of the City to skirmish with Thelesinus : who slew a great number of them, and among o-

Sylla fled.

Pranefte.

others one Appine Claudine a young Gentleman of a Noble house, and very board. Whe (as you may easily imagine) the City trembled for fear, and especially the project, who fell a fifteening, and running up and down, as if they had been all taken. But in this great fear and trouble, Bulbus (whom Sylus had fent) came first with seven hundred horse upon the spur, and staying but a little to cool and give them breath, bridled straight again, and went to set upon the exemies, thereby to ftay then. Soon after him came Sylla allo, who commanded his men that came first, quickly to eat fomewhat, and that done, put them straight in battell ray : notwithstanding that Dolabella and Torquatus perswaded him to the contrary, and belought him not to put his souldiers wearied with their journey, to fo great and manifest a danger: and the rather, because they had not to fight with Carbo and Marins, but with the SAMNITES and LUCANS who were both warlike Nations and good fouldiers; and those besides that most deadly hated the ROMANS. But for all that, Sylla fent them back, and commanded his Trumpets to found the Alarm, being almost within four hours of night: and this battell was sharper and more cruell, then any other that ever he fought before. The right wing where Craffus was, had the better much: but the left wing was very fore diftreffed, and stood in great perill. Sylla hearing thereof, and thinking to help it, got up upon 97/lla's danger. 2 white courser that was both swift and very strong. The enemies knew him, and there were two that lifted up their Arms to throw their darts at him, whom he faw not : but his Page gave his horse such a lash with his whip, that he made him so to gird forward, as the very points of the darts came hard by the horse tale and stuck fast in the ground. Some say, that Sylla had a little golden image of Apollo, which he brought from the City of DELPHOS, and in time of wars wore it alwaies in his bosom, which he then took in his hand, and kissing it, said : O Apollo Pythias, haft thou so highly exalted Cornelius Sylla, so fortunate hitherto through so many famous victories, and wilt thou now with shame overwhelm him wholly, even at the very Gates of his own naturall City among his Countreymen? And fo crying out to Apollo for help, thrust into the prease among his men, intreating fome, threatning others, and laying upon the reft to fray them. But for all he could do, all the left wing of his Army was broken and overthrown by his enemies : and himself amongst them that fled, was compelled to recover his Camp with speed, having lost many of his friends and familiars. There were moreover many Citizens flain and troden under feet (both with horse and men) that came onely to see the battell fought : so that they within the City thought themselves verily undone. Lucretim Offella surthermore (he that besieged Marim in the City of PRENESTE) had almost raised his siege, upon the words of them that sled and came thither from the battell, who wished him to remove with all speed possible, for Sylla was slain, and Thelesinus Lucretius Ofhad taken ROME. Now about midnight came certain fouldiers from Crassius to Sylla's Camp, and asked for meat for Craffus tupper, and his mens, who having chafed his flying enemies whom he had Marius in Praoverthrown unto the City of ANTEMNA (which they took for refuge) had lodged his Camp reported contrary, there. Sylla understanding that, and being advertised that the most part of his enemies were overtrary, that 5/1. thrown at this battell, went himself the next morning betimes unto ANTEMNA, where three Labelieged Ma. thrown at this battell, went himself the next morning betimes unto ANTEMNA, where three thousand of his enemies sent to know if he would receive them to mercy if they yeelded themselves ger in Perufus, unto him. His answer was, that he would pardon their lives, so as they would do some mischief to their fellows before they came to him. These three thousand hereupon trufting to his promise, fell upon their companions: and for the most part one of them killed another. Notwithstanding Syland not in la having gathered all those together that remained of his enemies, as well the three thousand, as the reft, amounting in all to the number of fix thouland, within the shew-place where they used Three thoufand laved Antennas; and to run their horfes : whileft he himfelf held a councell in the Temple of the goddets Bellona, themselves in and was making his Oration there, he had appointed certain to fet upon those fix thousand, and put them to the fword every man. Great and terrible were the cries of fuch a number of men slain in yeelded to Sylfo fmall a room, as may easily be conjectured: infomuch as the Senators fitting in councell heard la upon promile of life. them very eafily, and marvelled what the matter was. But Sylla continuing on his Oration which Sylla against he had begun with a fer fleady countenance, without changing of colour, willed them onely to hearken what he faid, and not to trouble themselves with any thing done abroad, for they were mentobe flain but certain offenders and leud persons that were punished by his commandment. This was enough to shew the simplest ROMAN in ROME, that they had but onely changed the Tyrant, and not the tyranny. Now for Marim, that had ever been of a churlish and severe nature, even from his childhood, he never changed for any authority, but did rather harden his naturall stubborness. Where Sylla contrarily in the beginning, was very modest and civill in all his prosperity, and gave great good hope, that if he came to the Authority of a Prince, he would favour Nobility well, and yet love notwithstanding the benefit of the people. And being moreover a man in his youth given to all pleasure, delighting to laugh, ready to pitty, and weep for tender heart: in that he became after to cruell and bloudy, the great alteration gave manifest cause to condemn the increase of honour and authority, as the onely means whereby mens manners continue not fuch as they were geth conditions at the first, but still do change and vary, making some sools, others vain and phantastical, and Sylla the exothers extream cruell and unnaturall. But whether that alteration of nature came by changing his state and condition, or that it was otherwise a violent breaking out of hidden malice, which then came to shew it self, when the way of liberty was laid open : this matter is to be decided in some other Treatise. So it came to pass, that Sylla fell to shedding of bloud, and filled all ROME with infinite and unspeakable murthers : for divers were killed for private quarrells, that

their wicked wills: untill at the length there was a young man called Caius Metellus, that was fo their wirked wans: until a cut rengal and these miseries should end, and when they should know the beldness of Caina Metelthat all the mileries were finished the which they daily faw. For, said he, we will not intreat you to last total sails pardon life, where you have determined death; but onely to put them out of doubt whom you his crueliv in have determined to fave. Whereunto Sylla made answer, that he was not resolved whom he would open Schate. fave. Metellus replyed, Then tell us (quoth he) who they are that shall die. Sylla answered, he would. Howbeit some say, it was not Metellus, but Ausidius one of his flatterers, that spake this last word unto him. Wherefore Sylla immediately, without making any of the Magistrates privy, caused sourscore mens names to be set up upon posts, whom he would put to death. Every man be- 8x11.4's prostriing offended with all, the next day following he fet up two hundred and twenty mens names more: Ption. and likewise the third day as many more. Hereupon, making an Oration to the people, he told them openly, that he appointed all them to die, that he could call to remembrance : howbeit that hereafter he would appoint them that should die, by days, as he did call them to mind. Whosoever saved an Outlaw in his house, for reward of his kindness, he himself was comdemned to die; not excepting them that had received their Brothers, their Sons, their Fathers, nor Mothers. And the reward of every homicide and murtherer that killed one of the Outlaws, was two Talents; though it were a flave that had killed his Mafter, or the Son that had flain the Father. But the most wicked and unjust Act of all was, that he deprived the Sons, and Sons Sons of them whom he had killed, of all credit and good name; and besides that, had taken all their goods as conflicate. And this was not onely done in ROME, but also in all the Cities of ITALY throughout : and there was no Temple of any god whatfoever, no Altar in any bodies house : no liberty of Hospitall, nor Fathers house, that was not embrued with bloud and horrible murther. For the Husbands were flain in their Wives arms, The murther and the children on their Mothers laps: and yet they which were flain for private hatred and malice, of Outlaws were nothing in respect of those that were murthered onely for their goods. And they that killed general them, might well fay, His goodly great house made that man die, his goodly fair Garden the other, Colonias American and his hot Bathes another. As amongst others, Quintus Aurelius, a man that never medled with livis a quiet man any thing, and leaft looked that thele evils should light upon him, and that onely pitied those that medled which he faw fo miferably murthered, went one day into the Market-place, and reading the Bill fet up not, flain for which he faw fo miterably murinered, went our tay into the Datace place, and reading the Diffict op his houle, of the Outlaws names, found his own name amongft the reft, and cryed out aloud: Alas the day Marius the that ever I was born, my houle of Alba maketh me be put to death. He went not far from the younger flew Market-place, but met with one that killed him prefently. In the mean time Marius the younger himself at feeing he could by no means escape if he were taken, slew himself. And Sylla coming to PRE. Pratielle. NESTE, did first execute them by one and by one, keeping a certain form of justice in putting Sylla flew them to death: but afterwards, as if he had no longer leifure to remain there, he caused them all twelve thou-fand men in to be put in a place together, to the number of twelve thousand men, whom he caused to be put to Pranctic being the fword every man, faving his Hoft onely; unto whom he faid, that he shewed him speciall favour all put into one to fave his life. But his Hoft answered him stoutly again, that he would not be beholding unto him place together. to fave his life. But his Hort answered mini towny again; that it would not be considered the Citi- Lucius Catilina for his life, feeing he had flain all the reft of his Countreymen: and for thrufting in amongst the Citi- flew his own zens. was willingly flain with them. They thought the Act of Lucius Catiline also very strange, brother. who had flain his own Brother before the Civil war was ended: and then prayed Sylla to put him in the number of the Outlaws, as if his Brother had been alive. Sylla performed his defire. Catiline thereupon to shew his thankfulness for the pleasure Sylla had done him, went presently and flew Marcus Marius, who was of the contrary faction, and brought him his head for a prefent before all the people, in the midft of the Market-place where he was fitting. When he had fo done, he went and washed his hands all bloudied in the hallowed Font of the Temple of Apollo, that was hard by. But befides fo many murthers committed, yet were there other things also that grieved the people marvelloufly. For he proclaimed himself Dictator, which Office had not been Sylla Dictator. of fixfcore years before in use, and made the Senate discharge him of all that was past, giving him free liberty afterwards to kill whom he would, and to confiscate their goods: to destroy Cities and to build up new as he lifted: to take away Kingdoms, and to give then where he thought good. And furthermore, he openly fold the goods confiscate, by the Cryer, fitting fo proudly and stately in his Chair of State, that it grieved the people more to fee those goods packt up by them to whom he gave and disposed them, then to see them taken from those that had forseited them. For some times he would give a whole Countrey, or the whole Revenues of certain Cities, unto women for their beauty, or unto pleasant Jesters, Minstrels, or wicked slaves made free : and unto fome he would give other mens wives by force, and make them to be married against their wills. For he desiring (howsoever it happened) to make alliance with Pompey the Great, commanded him to put away his wife he had married; and taking Amylia (the Daughter of Emylius Scaurus, and of Metella his wife) from the great Glabrio, caused him to marry her great with child as the was by Glabrio : but the died in childbed in Pompeys house. Lucretius Offelia also that had brought Marius the younger to that diffress at the City of PRENESTE, suing to be Confull, Sylla commanded him to cease his suit: but he notwithstanding that express commandment, went one day into the Market-place, with a great train of men following him that favoured his cause : whither Sylla sent one of his Centurions that slew Offella before all the people, Lucretin Offel. himself sitting in a Chair of estate in the Temple of Castor and Pollux, and seeing from above the mur- lassair. ther done. The people that were about Offelia, laid hold of the murtherer straight, and brought him before Sylla : but Sylla bad them be quiet that brought the Centurion with tumult, and that

had nothing to do with 3yds at any time, who suffered his friends and those about him to work

Infinite murthers commitsylla and his

The order of Sylla's triumph.

Syll a leaveth his Dictator-

Syllafealled the people. Wine of fourty years old and upward.

sylla brake his own Laws he made.

Valeria, delirous to be partaker of Sylla's happiness. Syll's married Valeria, the tenfius the O-

rator.

Sylla's Impotume turned to lice.

they should let him go, because he commanded them to do it. Furthermore, as touching his Triumph, it was a fumptuous fight to behold, for the rarenels of the riches, and Princely spoils which were shewed at the same. But yet was it so much the better fet out, and worth the fight, to see the banished ROMANS, who were the chiefest Noblemen of all the City of Rome, following his Chariot triumphant wearing Garlands of flowers on their heads, calling Sylla their Father and faviour : because that by his means they returned to their Countrey, and recovered their goods, wives and children. In the end of his triumph, he made an Oration, in open affembly of the people of ROME, in the which he did not onely declare unto them (according to the custom) what things he had done, but did as carefully tell them also as well of his good fortune and success, as of his valiant deeds befides : and to conclude his Oration, told them that by reason of the great favour fortune had shewed him, he would from thenceforth be called by them, Felix, to fay, happy or fortunate. And he himself when he wrote unto the Grecians, or that he had any thing to do with them, furnamed himself Epaphroditus, as who would say, a pleasant man, beloved and savoured of Venus. His tokens of triumph which are yet in our Countrey, have this superscription : Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphrodi-And when his wife Metella had brought him two twins, a Son and a Daughter : he named his Son Faultus, fignifying fortunate, and his daughter Faulta: because the Romans call Faultum named Fairflux and Failth that which falleth our proferously and happily. To be short, he trusted so much anto his good fortune and doings, that notwithstanding he had killed and put so many men to death, and had made so great a change and innovation in the Commonwealth, yet of himlelf he left off his Office of Dictator, and reftored the people to the authority of election of Confulls again, without his prefence at the election: and frequented the Market-place as a private man among the Citizens, offering himself to every man that would ask him account of his doings past. It happened that a stout and rath enemy of every man that would ask min account of man one of the people had his was chosen Confull against his will, called Marcus Lepidus, not for any devotion the people had ms was choicen Continul against time with, caned extension Deprime, not for any devotion the people had Mircur Lepidur, but onely to gratific Pompey, who gave countenance and favour unto him. Sylla feeing choicen Conful. Pompey come nerry homewards from the Election, and joyfull that he had obtained his friends fure from all other futers: took him afide, and told him: Indeed thou haft great cause to rejoyce, young man my friend, for thou hast done a goodly act, to choose Marcus Lepidus Confull, the veriest Ais in all ROME, before Carulus the honestest man. But I tell thee one thing, thou hast not need to sleep; for thou haft ftrengthened an enemy, that will be thy own destruction. And Sylla proved a true Prophet: for Lepidus being bent to all cruelty immediately after, flatly fell at defiance with Pompey. Now Sylla confecrating the diffuse of all his goods unto Hercules, made exceeding fumptious feafts unto the ROMANS, the provision whereof was so unreasonable great, that every day they threw a great deal of meat into the River, and they drank wine of forty years old and above. During these teasts which continued many days, his wife Mitella fickened, and died, and in her fickness the Priefts and Soothlayers willed Sylla he should not come near her, nor suffer his house to be polluted and defiled with mourning for the dead. Whereupon Sylla was divorced from her in her fickness, and caused her to be carried into another house, whileft the lived. And thus did Sylla curiously observe the superfittion and ordinance of the Soothlayers: but yet he brake the Law which he made himfelf, touching the order of Funerals, sparing no cost at Metella's buriall. So did he also break another order himself had made, touching the reformation of bankets: comforting his forrow with ordinary feafts, full of all vanity and lafeiviousnels. Within a few months after, he had Fencers games at the fharp: and the rooms of the Theater being open and unfevered, men and women fitting together, it fortuned that there was a fair Lady, and of a noble houle, that fate hard by Sylla, called Valeria: the was the Daughter of Melfala, and fifter of Hortenfius the Orator, that had been divorced not long before from her husband. This Lady passing by Sylla behind him, did foftly put her hand on his shoulder, and took a hair from off his Gown, and so went on to her place, and fate her down. Sylla marvelling at this familiarity, looking earneftly upon her: It is nothing my Lord (quoth she) but that I desire with others to be partaker a little of your happiness. Her my Lord (quotisme, out that racine wan outside that the had tickled him with them; for he words milliked not Sylla, but contrarily he shewed that she had tickled him with them; for he words minuscumor symm, our contrary in the fent straight to ask her name, and enquired of what house she was, and how she had lived. But after many flie looks between them, they turned their faces one to another upon every occasion, with prety fmiling countenances: so that in the end, they came to promise and contract marriage together, for the which Valeria was not to be blamed. For though she was as wife, as honeft, and as vertuous a Lady as could be possible, yet the occasion that made Sylla marry her, was neither good nor commendable, because he was taken straight with a look and a fine tongue, as if he had been but a young Boy : which commonly shew forth the filthiest pattions of the mind, to be to carried, and with fuch motions. Now, notwithftanding he had this fair young Lady in his house, he left not the company of women Ministrels and Tumblers, and to have pleasant Jesters and Musitians about him, with whom he would lie wallowing and drinking all the day long, upon little Couches made for the nonce. For, his companions that were in greatest estimation with him at that time, were these three: Roscim a maker of common Plays, Sorax a Prince of Scoffers, and one Metrobius a Singing man, whom he was in love withall while he lived, and yet did not diffemble his love, though he was past his Age to be beloved. This wicked life of his was cause of increasing his disease, the original cause whereof had light foundation at the first. For he lived a great time before he perceived that he had an Impostume in his body, the which by process of time came to corrupt his flesh in such fort, that it turned all to lice: fo that notwithstanding he had many men about him, to shift him conti-

nually night and day, yet the Lice they wiped away were nothing, in respect of them that multiplyed ftill upon him. And there was neither apparell, linnen, bathes, wathing, nor meat it felf, but was prefently filled with fwarms of this vile vernine. For he went many times in the day into the Bath to wash and cleanse himself of them, but all would not serve: for the changing of his sless into this putriture wan it straight again, that there was no cleanfing, nor thisting of him, that could keep fuch a number of lice from him. Some fay, that in old time (amongst the most ancient men, whereof there is any memory) Acastus the Son of Pelius, died of the lowsseevil : and long time after also, Divers samthe Poet Aleman, and Pherecides the Divine ; and fo did Callifthenes OLYNTHIAN in prison, and our men that Mutius a wife Lawyer. And if we shall make mention of those that are famous, although it be not in any good matter : we find that a bondman called Eurius, he was the first procurer of the wars of the bondmen in SICILIA, being taken and carried to ROME, died also of the fame disease. Furthermore. Sylla did not onely foresee his death, but he wrote something of it also: for he made an end of writing the two and twentieth Book of his Commentaries, two dates before he died. In that Book 57/1/34 Comhe faith, that the wife men of CHALDEA had told him long before, that after he had lived honourably, mentaries conhe should end his daies in the flower of all his prospectity. And there he faith also, that his Son (who departed a little before his Mother Metella) appeared to him in his fleep), apparelled in an ill layouwas dead apparelled. In an ill layouwas dead apparelled. red Gown, and that coming unto him, he prayed him he would go with him unto Metella his Mother, peared to him thenceforth to live in peace and reft with her. But for all his difease, he would not give over to deal in in his dream matters of State. For ten daies before his death, he pacified a fedition and tumult rifen among the in ill favoured inhabitants of the City of Puteola Num (in Italian called Pozzolo) and there he gave them apparell. Laws and Ordinances, whereby they should govern themselves. And the day before he died, hearing that Granius who was in debt to the Commonwealth, deferred payment of his money looking for itrangled in his death : he fent for him, and made him come into his Chamber, and there caused his men to com. Sylla stight, by and commanded them to ftrangle him in his fight. The paffion of his anger was fo his own comwhement against him, that by the extream straining of himself, he brake the Impostume in his body, fo as there gushed out a wonderfull deal of bloud : by reason whereof his strength failing him, he was full of pain and pangs that night, and fo died, leaving the two little children he had by Metella. Splis death. For Valiera, was brought to bed of a Daughter after his death, which was called Posthumia, because the ROMANS call those children that are born after the death of their Fathers, Posthumi. Now when Posthumi. Sylla was dead, many gathered about the Confull Lepidus, to let that his body should not be honourablv buried, as they were accustomed to bury Noblemen and men of quality. But Pompey, though he was angry with Sylla, because he had given him nothing in his Will, and had remembred all his oa ther friends : yet he made some for love, some by intreaty, and others with threatning to let it alone. and accompanying the Corps into Rome, gave both fafety and honour unto the performance of his funerals. And it is faid also, that the ROMAN Ladies amongst other things, bestowed such a quantity of perfume and odoriferous matter towards the same : that besides those which were brought in two hundred and ten great Baskets, they made a great image to the likeness of Sylla himself, and another of a Sergeant carrying the Axes before him, all of excellent Incense and Ginamon. When the day of sylla's funerals, the Funerals came, fearing left it would rain in the forenoon, all the Element being so cloudy, they deferred to carry forth the body to be burnt, untill past three of the clock in the afternoon. And then rose there such a sudden boisterous wind, that it set all the stake of wood straight on fire, that the body was burnt at a trice; and the fire going out, fell a great shower of rain that held on till night: so that it seemed, good fortune following him even to his end, did also help his obsequies after his death, His Tomb is to be feen in the field of Mars: and they fay that he himfelf made his own Epitaph that Sylla's Epitaph is written upon it, which was: That no man did ever pais him, neither in doing good to his friends. nor in doing milchief to his enemies.

The end of Sylla's Life.

Mm 2

 THE

den. For it is certain that Lyfander did great wrongs to gratifie his familiars : and the most part of

them whom he put to death, was to establish the Tyrannicall power of certain his friends. Where Svilla fought for spite to take away his Army from Pompey and the Admiralty from Dolabella, which himself had given him , and caused Lucretius Offella to be slain openly in his own fight, because he

fought to be Confull, for recompence of the good service he had done : for which cruelty of his caufing his own friends to be flain in fuch fort, he made every man afraid of him. Furthermore,

chaftiry, himself in the mean time did nothing but follow love, and commit adulteries, as Salus writeth. By means whereof he so much impoverished Rome, and left it so void of Gold and Silver, that for ready money he fold absolute freedom unto the Cities their confederates, yet was it his daily study to confiscate and take forfeit, the richest and most wealthy houses in all the whole City of ROME. But all this spoil and havock was nothing in comparison of that which he daily cast away upon his jesters and flatterers. What spring, or measure may we think he kept in his gifts and private bankets, when openly in the day time (all the people of ROME being prefent, to fee him fell the goods which he had caused to be conflicate) he made one of his friends and familiars, to truss up a great deal of houshold stuff, for a very little price? and when any other had outbidden his price, and that the Cryer had cried it out aloud : then he was angry, and faid : My

wealth of SPARTA, with other money, the very prefents that were given to himself. And yet I

do not commend him in that deed. For, peradventure he did more hurt to SPARTA, bringing

thither that Gold and Silver, then Sylla did to ROME, in wasting and consuming that he consumed,

Howbeit i alledge this onely for proof and declaration, that Lyfander was nothing covetous. They

both have done that unto their City, which never any other but themselves did. For Sylla being

a riotous and licentious man, brought his Citizens notwithstanding to good order and government;

and Lyfander contrarily filled his City with vice, yet not infected withall himself. Thus were

they both offenders, the one for breaking the Law he commanded to be kept, and the other in making the Citizens worse then he was himself : for he taught the SPARTANS to desire those things.

which he above all things had learned to despise. And thus much concerning peace and Civil govern-

him) being rightly confidered, was no great exploit of war, howbeit it was a noble Act, con-

fidering the fame he wan by it. And as for things which happened to him in BOEOTIA, hard by

the City of ALIARTE; a man might fay peradventure that he had ill luck. But yet me thinks also there was a fault in him, for that he staied not for King Pausanias aid (the which came from

PLATÆES immediately after his overthrow) and because he went in a gair , in fury , and in a vain ambition to run his head against a wall : so that men of all forts making a desperate fally out of ALIARTE upon him, flew him there to no purpose. Far unlike to Cleombrotus that died at the

battell of LEUCTRES, refifting his enemies that diffressed his men : nor yet like Cyrus, nor Epa-

minondas, who to keep his men from flying, and to give them affured victory, received his deadly

wound : for all these men did like noble Kings , and valiant Captains. Where Lyfander rashly cast

hmfelf away, to his great difinonour, by too much venturing: proving thereby, that the ancient SPARTANS did like wife men, to avoid the fight with walls. For the nobleft and valiantest man

that is, or possible can be, may easily be so slain, not onely by the first souldier that cometh, but by

every filly woman or child. As they fay, that the worthy Achilles was killed by Paris within the

very Gates of TROIA. Now to the contrary again, the victories that Sylla wan in fet battells, and the thousands of enemies which he slew, are not easily to be numbred, besides also that he took the

City of ROME twice : and the haven of ATHENS, not by famine as Lysander did, but by force, after he had by many great battells driven Archelaus out of firm land into the main fea. It is to be

confidered also, against what Captain they made wars. For me thinks it was but a pastime, as a

man might fay, for Lyfander to fight with Antiochus, a Pilot of Alcibiades, or to furprise and de-

ceive Philocles, a common Orator at ATHENS:

THE COMPARISON OF LYSANDER with SYLLA.





Ow that we have at large also set forth the Life of the ROMAN, let us come to compare them both together. In this they are both alike, that both of them grew to be great men, rifing of themselves through their own vertue: but this onely is proper to Lyfander, that all the Offices and Dignities which he attained unto in the Commonwealth, were laid upon him through the peoples good wills and confents: for he compelled them to nothing, neither ulurped he any extraordinary Authority upon them, contrary to the Law : for the common faying is:

Where partiality, and discord once do raign: There wicked men are most esteem'd, and rule with greatest gain.

As at that time in ROME, the people being corrupted, and the flate of Government utterly subverted and brought to nought : to day there rose up one Tyrant , to morrow another. And therefore we may not wonder if Sylla usurped and ruled all, when such fellows as Glauciae and Saturnius, did both banish and drive out of Rome such men as Metellus was : and where also in open assembly they flew the Confulls Son in the Marker-place, and where force of Arms was bought and fold for Gold and Silver, with the which the fouldiers were corrupted: and where they madenew Laws with fire and fword, and forced men to obey the same. Yet I speak not this in reproach of him that in such that in such that in such that it is the same time to make himself the greatest man: but to shew that I measure not his honefty by the dignity he grew unto in fo unfortunate a City, although he became the chief. And as touching him that came from Sparta (at what time it flourished most, and was the best governed Commonweal) he in all great causes, and in most honourable Offices, was reputed for the best of all bests, and the chief of all chiefs : whereof it came to pass, that the one did often refign up his Authority to his Citizens, which they had given him, who also restored it to him again many and fundry times; for the honour of his vertue did alwaies remain, and made him juftly accounted for the worthieft man : where the other being onely once chosen Generall of an Army, remained ten years continually in wars and hostility, making himself by force, sometime Confull, sometime Vice-confull, and sometime Dictator, but alwaies continued a Tyrant. Indeed Lyfander, attempted to change and alter the flate of Covernment in his Countrey, howbeit it was with great lenity, and more lawfully then Sylla did. For he fought it by reason, and good persuafion, nor by the fword: neither would he make a change of the whole at one felf time as Sylla did, but fought onely to reform the Election of Kings. The which thing according to nature, doubtlefs feemed very just: that he which was the best amongst good men, should be chosen King of that City, which was the chief over all GREECE, not for her Nobility, but for her vertue onely. For like as a good hunter doth not feek for the Whelp of a good Dog, but for the good Dog himfelf: nor a wife man of Arms also, the Colt that cometh of a good Horse, but the good Horse himself. Even so, he that taketh upon him to stablish a Civil Government, committeth a foul fault, if he look of whom his Prince should be born, and not what the Prince himself should be, considering that the LACEDEMONIANS themselves have deprived diverse of their Kings from their Crown and Realm, because they were not Princely, but unprofitable, and good for nothing. Vice, although it be in a Noble man, yet is alwaies ill of it felt : but vertue is honoured for her felf alone, and not because she is placed with Nobility. Now for the wrongs and injuries they both committed,

The chief perfon is not alwaies the honestest.

Which practed still, and honesty did never once esteem.

their behaviours touching coveronines and pleasure doth shew, that the intent of the one was the defire of a good Brince, and the other that of a Tyrant. For we'do not find that Lyfander, for all Lyfaniers tenhis great Princely Authority idid ever use any infolency or lasely outliefs in his deeds, but alwaies perance and avoided as much as a man might, the reproach of this common Proverb : Lyons at home, and Foxes moderate life abroad : he led such a true LAGO MIAN life, straightly reformed in all points. Where Sylla could Sylla clicentinever moderate his unlawfull hifts, neither for poverty when he was young; nor age, when it ous and prodicame upon him. But whileft he gave Laws to the ROMANS, touthing Matrimonial honefty and Sall life,

friends, I have great wrong done me here, not to suffer me to sell the spoil I have gotten, at mine sylla's tyranniown pleasure, and dispose it as I list my self. Wherefore Lyfander contrarily fent to the Common-call saying.

ment. Now for matters of war and battells fought, there is no comparison to be made of Ly. Sylla for wars fander to Sylla, neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battell. For Lyfander wan to be preferred analy by two barelle by Grander was before Lyfander with Calculate with the control of the City of Anymore which Calculate was before Lyfander with the control of the City of Anymore which Calculate was before Lyfander was to be preferred to the control of the City of Anymore which Calculate was before Lyfander was to be preferred to the control of the City of Anymore which Calculate was to be preferred to the control of the City of t onely but two battells by sea, befides the taking of the City of ATHENS: which (though I grant der.

Whose busie tongue, much worse then two edg'd sword did seem :

And whom Mithridates (in my opinion) would not vouchfafe to compare with his horfe-keeper, greateft power nor Marius with one of his Sergeants or Mace-bearers. But to leave afide the particular names and overcame of all other Princes, Lords, Consulls, Fractors, Captains, and Governours that made wars with them. Sylla : what ROMAN Captain was there more to be feared, then Marius? what King living was there of fuch power as King Mithridates: And of Generalls and Lieutenants of Armies in all

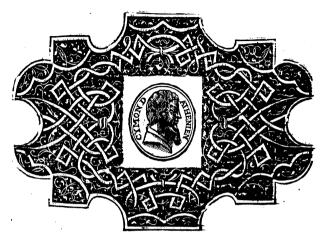
LYSANDER and SYLLA.

ITALY, were there any ever more valiant, then Lamponius and Thelesimus: of the which Sylla drave the one away, and brought the other to obey him, and flew the two laft? But the greatest matter of all that we have spoken of yet, in my opinion was, that Lysander did all his Noble Acts, with the aid of his whole Countrey, where Sylla to the contrary did his (being banished from his Countrey) by his enemies. And at the felf fame time they drave Sylla's wife out of ROME, that they overthrew his houses, and slew his friends also in ROME: he notwithstanding made wars in the mean time with infinite thoulands of fighting men in BOEOTIA, and ventured his person in manifold dangers, fo that in the end he conquered them all, to the honour and benefit of his Countrey. Furthermore, Sylla would never stoop to King Mithridates, for any particuliar Allance he offered him, neither yeeld unto him for any aid of men, or money, to war against his enemies : but (a thing most chiefly to be noted above the reft) he would not vouchfase to speak to Mithridates, nor to take him by the hand onely, before he had spoken it with his own mouth, and faithfully promifed, that he would forgo Asia, deliver him his Gallies, and give up the Realms of BITHYNIA and CAPPADOCIA unto their naturall King. This methinks was the goodlieft Act that ever Sylla did, and proceeded of the greatest magnanimity, to have preferred the benefit of the Commonwealth in that fort, before his Sylla's magnaprivate commodity. For therein he was like unto a good Greyhound, that first pincheth the Dear, and holdeth him fast till he have overthrown him, and then afterwards followeth the purfuit of his own private quarrell. And lastly, me thinks it is easily judged, what difference there was between their two Natures, in that they did both towards the City of ATHENS. For Sylla having taken it, after the Citizens had made herce wars with him for the increase of King Mithridates greatness: yet he left it free unto them, enjoying their own Laws. Where Lyfander to the contrary, seeing such a mighty State and Empire as that overthrown from the great rule it bare, had no pity of it at all, but took away the Liberty of popular government, whereby it had been governed of long time before, and established there very cruell and wicked Tyrants. And therefore in mine opinion, we shall not much swerve from the troth, if we give judgement that Sylla did the greater Acts, and Lyfander committed the fewer faults. And that we give to the one the honour of a continent and modest man; and to the other, the commendation of a valiant and skilfull Souldier.

nimity.

Plutarchs judgement of fander.

THE LIFE OF CIMON.



Ann. Mund.

Ant. Christ.

Eripole as the Soothsayer, he that brought King Opheltas out of THESSALY into the Countrey of BOEOTIA, with the people which were under his obedience: Peripolitas and left a posterity after him that long time flourished in that Countrey, the more his posterity. part of the which were ever refident in the City of CHERONEA, because it was the first City that was conquered from the barbarous people whom they expulfed thence. All they that came of that race, were commonly men of great courage, and naturally given to the wars: who were fo forward and adventurous in all dangers thereof (in the invalions of the MEDES into GREECE, and in the

battells of the Gauls) that they were flain all of them, but onely Damon (a little child left fabatters of the Caulty that they were ham an of them, but onerly Damon (a interfact and in the there is and motherlefs, furnamed Periphus that effected, who for goodly personage and noble courage excelled all the lufty youths of his time, though otherwise he were very rude, and of a of Damon fevere nature. Now it fortuned, that when Damon was grown of full age, a ROMAN Captain of Peripolisis. an Enlign of footmen (lying in Garrison for the Winter season in the City of CHERONEA) sell in great love with Damon : and because he could not reap the fruits of his dishonest love by no intreaty nor gifts, there appeared vehement prefumptions, that by force he went about to abuse him. for that CH. ERONEA at that time (being my naturall City where I was born) was a small thing, and (being of no strength nor power) little regarded. Damon mistrusting the Captains villany, and detefting his abominable defire, watched him a shrewd turn, and got certain of his companions (not many in number, because he might the more secretly compass his enterprise) to be of counsell with him, and take his part against the Captain. Now there were sixteen of them in consort together, that one night blacked their faces all with foot, and the next morning after they had drunk together, by the break of day fet upon this ROMAN Captain, that was making facrifice in the Market-place, and flew him with a good number of his men : and when they had done, fled out of the City, which was ftraight in a great uproar for the murther committed. Thereupon they called a Counfell, and in the Market-place condemned Damon and his confederates to fuffer pains of death: hoping thereby to have cleared their innocency for the fact done unto the ROMANS. But the felf fame night, as all the Magistrates and Officers of the City were at supper together in the Town-house according to their cuftom: Damon and his followers stole upon them suddenly, slew them all, and fled again upon it. It chanced about that time, that Lucius Lucillus being fent on some journey, paffed by the City of CHERONEA with his Army, and because this murther was but newly done, he stayed there a few days to examine the troth and originall thereof : and found that the Commons

THE

truth of the murther.

Damon flain by treason.

Asbolomeni,

Charones ind ted for the murther.

Lucullus called for a witness of the troth.

Biltory, is 2 certain image of mens manners and wifdom.

A pretty simi-

How to defcribe the life of man.

Cimon and

Thucydides lin-

of the City were in no fault, but that they themselves also had received hurt: whereupon he took Lucius Lucius the fouldiers of the ROMANS that remained of the Garrifon, and carried them away with him. examined the In the mean time, Damon destroyed all the Countrey thereabout, and still hovered near to the City, infomuch as the inhabitants of the fame were driven in the end to fend unto him, and by gentle words and favourable decrees handled him to, that they inticed him to come again into the City: and when they had him amongst them, they chose him Gymnasiarchus, to say, a master of exercifes of youth. But shortly after, as they were rubbing of him with oil in his stove or hot-house, flark naked as he was, they flew him by treason. And because there appeared Spirits of long time after in that place, and that there were heard groanings and fighings as our fathers told us, they caused the door of the hor-house to be walled up; yet for all that, there are visions seen, and terrible voices and cries heard in that felf place unto this prefent time, as the neighbours dwelling by do testifie. Now they that were descended of this Damon (for there are yet of his race in the Countrey of Phocides, near anto the City of Stiris, who do onely of all other both keep the Language and manners of the ÆTOLIANS) are called ASBOLOMENI, fignifying Black, and befineaguage and instances and that Damon and his fellows did black their faces with foot, when they flew the ROMAN Captain. But the ORCHOMENIANS being near neighbours unto the CHERO-NEIANS, and therefore their enemies, hired an informer of ROME, a malicious accuser, to accuse the whole City (asifit had been one private person alone) for the murther of the ROMANS, whom Damon and his companions had flain. The Inditement was drawn, and the case pleaded before the Governour of MACEDON, for that the ROMANS did fend no Governours at that time into GREECE: and the Counfellours that pleaded for the City of CHARONEA, relied upon the testimony of Lucius Lucullus, referring themselves to his report, who knew the troth and how it was. Thereupon the Governour wrote unto him, and Lucullus in his Letter of answer advertised the very troth: fo was our City cleared of the acculation, which otherwise flood in danger of utter destruction. The Inhabitants of the City of CHERONEA, for they had escaped the danger by testimony of Luciu Lucullus, to honour him withall, they fet up his image in stone in the Market-place, next unto the image of Bacchus. And we also that be living at this present, though many years be gone and passed fince, do notwithstanding reckon our selves partakers of his forepassed benefit. And because we are perswaded, that the image and portraiture that maketh us acquainted with mens manners and we are perimanen, that the manners and conditions, is far more excellent, then the picture that representeth any mans person or shape onely: we will comprehend his life and doings according to the troth, in this volume of Noble mens Lives, we will compare and fort them one with another. It shall be sufficient for us therefore, that we where we do compare and fort them one with another. where we us compare and the state of the state of the world milke, for reward of his fnew our felves thankfull for his benefit: and we think, that he himfelf would millike, for reward of his true testimony, to be required with a favourable lie told in his behalf. But like as when we will have a patting fair face drawn, and lively counterfeited, and that hath an excellent good grace withall, a parting that late drawn, and the perfection in it, we will not allow the drawer to leave it out altogether, nor yet too curioully to shew it, because the one would deform the counterfeit, and the other make it very unlikely. Even so, because it is a hard thing (or to say better, peradventure unpossible) to describe a man, whose life should altogether be innocent, and perfect : we must first fludy to write his vertues at large, and thereby feek perfectly to represent the troth, even as the life it felf. But where by chance we find certain faults and errours in their doings, proceeding either of passion of the mind, by the necessity of the time or state of the Commonwealth: they are rather to be thought imperfections of vertue not altogether accomplished, then any purposed wickedness proceeding of vice, or certain malice. Which we shall not need too curiously to express in our History, but rather to pass them lightly over, of reverent shame to the meer frailty of mans nature, which cannot bring forth a man of fuch vertue and perfection, but there is ever fome imperfection in him. And therefore, confidering with my felf unto whom I might compare Luculius. I thought it best to compare him with Cimon, because they have been both valiant souldiers against they were alike, their enemies, having both done notable exploits in wars against the Barbarous people : and moreover, they have both been courteous and mercifull unto their Citizens, and were both the onely men that pacified the Civill wars and diffention in their Countrey, and both the one and the other of them wan notable victories of the Barbarous people. For there was never GRECIAN Captain before Cimon, nor ROMAN Captain before Luculius, that had made wars fo far off from their Countrey, leaving apart thedeeds of Bacchus and of Hercules, and the Acts also of Perseus against the ETHIOPIANS, the MEDES, and the ARMENIANS: and the deeds of Jason also, if there remain any monument extant fince that time, worthy of credit in these our days. Furthermore, herein they are to be likened together, that they never ended their wars : they onely overthrew their enemies, but never overcame them altogether. Again, we may note in them a great refemblance of nature, for their honesty, curtesie and humanity, which they shewed unto strangers in their Countrey: and for the magnificence and sumptuousness of their life and ordinary expence. It may be we do leave out fome other fimiliaudes between them: howbeir in the discourse of their Lives they easily appear. Cimon was the Son of Miliades and of Cimons linage. Hegespyle, a THRACIAN woman born, and the Daughter of King Olorus, as we find written in certain Poeticall Verses which Melambius and Archelaus have written of Cimon. The father of Thucydides the Historiographer himself, who was of kin also unto Cimon, was called in like manner Olorus, shewing by the agreeing of the name, that this King Olorus was one of his ancestours, and did also possess Mines of Gold in the Countrey of THRACIA. It is said moreover, that he died in

a certain place called the Ditchy Forrest, where he was slain : howbeit that his ashes and bones were carried into the Countrey of ATTICA, where his Tomb appeareth yet to this day, amongst the Tombs of them of the house and family of Cimon , near unto the Tomb of Cimons own Sifter called Elpinice. Notwithstanding, Thucydides was of the Village of Alimus, and Miltiades of the Village of LACIA. This Militades, Cimons Father, being condemned by the state to pay the sum of Militades died fifty Talents, was for non-payment cast into prison, and there died : and left Cimon and his Sifter in prison. Elpinice alive, both Orphanes, and very young. Now, Cimon in his first young years had a very Gimon defame in his youth. ill name and report in the City, being counted a riotous young man, and a great drinker, following his Grandfather Cimons fashions up and down, as he had also his name : faving that his Grandfather for his beaftliness was furnamed Coalemos, as much to say, as fool. Stefimbrotus THRASIAN, who Coalemos, fool, was about Cimons time, writeth, that Cimon never learned Musick, nor any other of the liberall Sciences. accustomably taught to young Noble mens Sons of GREECE, and that he had no sharp wit, nor good grace of speaking, a vertue proper unto children born in the Countrey of ATTICA : howbeit that he was of a Noble mind, and plain, without diffimulation, fo that he rather lived PELOPONNESIAN Cinonic condilike, then like an ATHENIAN. For he was even fuch as the Poet Euripides described Hercules to be : tions,

A simple man he was, and could not well disquise : As honest eke in things of weight, as wit could well devise.

This served fitly to be applyed unto Stesimbrotus words written of him : but notwithstanding , in his This served may to be applyed und of symmetric with his Sifter, who indeed otherwise had no very first young years he was suspected of incontinency with his Sifter, who indeed otherwise had no very good name. For fhe was very familiar with the Painter Polygnotus, who painting the TROIAN La-Eljinite Cidies prisoners upon the Walls of the Gallery, called the Plefanattion, and now Pacife (to say, set chaste, the Callery of the out and beautified with divers Pictures) he drew (as they) Landices face upon Elpinices Picture, Th s Painter Polygnotus was no common Artificer nor hireling, that painted this Gallery for monies fake, Polignotus the but gave his labour franckly to the Commonwealth, as all the Historiographers that wrote in that Painter. time do witness; and as the Poet Melanthius also reciteth in these verses;

> At his own proper charge, great cost he hath bestowed. In decking up our Temples here with gilded Roofs embowed . For honour of the Gods. And in our tonque likewife . He hath adorn'd the common place, with many a fine devise; Painting and fetting forth, in stately shew to fee . The images of demy-gods that here amongst us be.

Yet some say that Elpinice did not secretly company with her Brother Cimon, but lay with him open- Elpinice being ly as his lawfull married wife, because she could not for her poverty have a husband of like Nobility poor, had reand parentage to her felf. Howbeit, that a certain man called Callias, being one of the richeft men in gard to match the City, did afterwards fall in fancy with her, and defired to marry her, offering to pay her father and her state and Miltiades fine of fifty Talents, wherein he stood condemned a debter to the State, so that hemight calling, have her to his wife. Cimon was contented, and upon that condition married his Sifter Elpinice unto Callias: This notwithstanding, it is certain that Cimon was somewhat amorous and given to love women. For Melanthim the Poet in certain of his Elegies , maketh mention for his pleasure of one Cimon subject Asteria born at SALAMINA, and of another called Mnestra, as if Cimon had been in love with them. life, But undoubtedly, he loved his lawfull wife Isodice marvellous well, the Daughter of Euryptolemus, Megacles Son, and took her death very grievoully, as we may conjecture by the Elegies that were written unto him, to comfort him in his forrow. Panatus the Philosopher is of opinion, that Archelaw the Physitian wrote those Elegies: and sure it is not unlikely, considering the time in which they were written. But furthermore, Cimons nature and conditions deferved great commendation. For The praise of his valiantness he gave not place unto Miltiades, and for his wisdom and judgement, he was not Cimons condiinferiour unto Themistocles : and it is out of all doubt that he was a juster and honester man, then ei-tions. ther of them both. For he was equal with the best of either of both in the discipline of wars, and for the valiantness of a noble Captain: and he did much excell them both in properties of a good Governor, and in the administration of the affairs of a City, when he was but a young man, and had no experience of wars. For who Themistocles at the coming in of the MEDES, counselled the people of ATHENS to go out of he City, to leave their Lands and Countrey, and to ship into Gallies, and fight with the Barbarous peple by sea in the straight of SALAMINA: as every man was wondering at his bold and venturous ccinfell, Cimon was the first man that went with a life and jolity through the street Ceramicus, uno the Castle, accompanied with his young familiars and companions, carrying a bit of a Bridle in his hand confecrate unto the goddels Minerva, fignifying thereby, that the City had no need other femen at that time, but of Mariners and Seamen. And after he had given up his Offering, he too one of the Targets that hung upon the Wall of the Temple, and having made his prayer unto Minerva, came down to the Haven, and was the first that made the most part of the Citizens to taket good heart to them, and couragiously to leave the land, Cimous persons and take the Sea. Befides all this, he was anan of a goodly stature, as Ion the Poet testifieth, and had age commenda fair curled hair and thick, and fought fo viantly at the day of battell, that he wan immediately great reputation, with the love and good will of evry man. So that many were still about him to encourage him to be lively and valiant, and to thin thenceforth to do fome. Acts worthy of the glory that his Father had gotten at the battell of MARAHON. And afterwards, fo foon as he began to deal in matters of State, the people were marvellos glad of him, and were wearied with Themistocles: by means whereof Cimon was prefently advaced and preferred to the chiefest Offices of honour in

Moreover, Ariffides also did greatly further his advancement, because he faw him of good gentle na-

ture, and for that he would use him as a counterpoise to controle Themistocles craft and stoutness,

Wherefore after the MEDES were fled out of GREECE, Cimon being fent for by the ATHENI-

hay that King 2 majarities and his pleasure of her. Her parents durft not keep her from him, by

reason of his cruelty, but suffered him to carry her away. The young gentlewoman prayed the

Grooms of Paulania Chamber to take away the lights, and thinking in the dark to come to Paulania fanias bed that was alleep, groping for the bed as folity as the could to make no notife, the unfortu-

nately hit against the Lamp, and overthrew it. The falling of the Lamp made such a noise, that it wanted

ked him on the fudden, who thought straight therewithall that some of his enemies had been come trai-

For wo and shame be unto him, that justice down doth bear.

continually, he fied unto the City of HERACLEA, where there was a Temple that conjured dead

fpirits, and there was the spirit of Cleonics conjured to pray her to be contented. So she appeared

unto him, and told him that he should be delivered of all his troubles so soon as he came to Spare

TA: fignifying thereby (in my opinion) the death which he should suffer there. Divers writers do

TA: ngmying unitary (in my opinion) in the confederates of the Grecians, which were thus report it. Cimon being accompanied with the confederates of the Grecians, which were

come to him to take his part : was advertised that certain great mm of Persia, and allied to the

King himlelf , who kept the City of EIONE , upon the River of Strymon in the Countrey of THRA-

rang names, who repeated to the GRECIANS inhabiting increasouts. Upon which intelliging the did great burt and damage unto the GRECIANS inhabiting increasouts.

gence he took the Sea with his Army, and went thither, where at his first coming be vanquished and

overthrew the barbarous People in battell: and having overthrown them, drawe all the reft into the City

pillars) upon the tops of the which they fet up heads of Merfery: upon the first of the three pillars,

Keep thou thy felf upright, and justice fee thou fear,

Cimon General VUILLELINE AIRS for their Generall by sea, when the City of ATHENS had then no manner of rule nor comforthe Abeni- ANS for their Generall by sea, when the City of ATHENS had then no manner of rule nor comforthe Abeni-

mandment, but followed King Paufanias and the LACEDEMONIANS: he ever kept his Countreyinfolency and reactined with the mean time dealt very cruelly and fraightly with the confederates of his pride loft the san about it, and in the mean time dealt very cruelly and fraightly with the confederates of his Laced moniture of country, and committed many infolent parts by reafon of the great Authority he had, and through all their with of country, and committed many infolent parts by reafon of the great Authority he had, and through King Paufaniall their rule of his foolith pride whereof he was full: Cimon far otherwife, gently entertained them whom Pau-

men and Citizens in marvellous good order in all the voyages he made, and they were readier to do good fervice, then any other Nation in the whole Army whatfoever. And when King Paufaniae and groun retrice, and any second to be tray GREECE, had written also to the King of Perhad practifed with the barbarous people to betray GREECE, had written also to the King of Perhad faniss injured, and was willing to hear them. So that by this his courteous manner, the LACE-DEMONIANS having no eye to his doings, he stole away the rule and commandment of all GREECE from them, and brought the ATHENIANS to be fole Lords of all, not by force and cruelty, but by his sweet tongue, and gracious manner of using all men. For the most part of the consederates being no longer able to away with Paufanias pride and cruelty, came willingly and fubmitted themfelves under the protection of Cimon and Ariffides : who did not onely receive them, but wrote alfo to the Councell of the Ephores at LACEDEMON, that they should call Panfanias home, for that he dishonoured Sparta, and put all Greece to much trouble and wars. And for proof hereof, they unnonource Sparia, and pound of the City of Byzance, fent for Cleonice, a young mainay that King Taulanias being on a time in the City of Byzance, fent for Cleonice, a young mainay

Panfaniar kil- teroufly to kill him, whereupon he took his dagger lying under his beds head, and fo flabbed it in the young Virgin, that the died immediately upon it. Howbeit the never let Paufanias take rest after led the young young Virgin, that the died immediately upon it. Journal young Virgin, that the died immediately upon it. Italy as he would fain have flept, and spake librarian Virting, because her spirit came every night and appeared unto him, as he would fain have flept, and spake

this angerly to him in verse, as followeth: This vile fact of his did to ftir up all the confederates hearts against him, that they came to beliege tins vine fact of this way can't be beinged bitter in Bizantium under the conduction of Cimon: from whom notwithfranding he escaped, and nour in 1912 A 8 1 108 under the confection of a second pirit would never let him reft, but vexed him fecretly faved himself. And because that this maidens spirit would never let him reft, but vexed him

of Eione. That done, he went to invade the THRACIANS that dwelt on the other fide of the River of Strymon, who did commonly victuall them of EIONE: and having driven them to forfake the Countrey, he kept it, and was Lord of the whole himself. Whereupon he held them that were befieged at EIONE to ftraightly from victuals, that Butes the King of PERSIA'S Lieutenant, despairing of the flate of the City, fet fire on the same, and burnt himsef, his friends, and all the goods in it. By reason whereof, the spoil taken in that City was but small, ucause the barbarous people burnt all the best things in it with themselves: howbeit he conquered the Country thereabouts, and gave it to the ATHENIANS to inhabit, being a very pleafant and fertile fol. In memory whereof, the people of ATHENS fuffered him to confectate and fer up openly three lerms of stone (which are four square

Statues of Mer-

this inscription is ingraven.

The people truly were, of courage front ad fierce, who having fout the Medes fast up (appries do rehearse) Within the walled Town, of Lione that ide, Which on the stream of Strymon stand, they made them there abide

The force of famines pinch, and therefit made them feel.

The dint of war so many a time, with rusty tools of seel:

Till in the end, dispair so pierced in their thought, As there they did destroy themselves, and so were brought to nought. Upon the fecond there is fuch another : The Citizens which dwell in Athens stately Town.

Have here fet up these Monuments, and Pictures of renown: To honour fo the faits, and celebrate the fame, Their valiant Chieftains did atchieve, in many a martial Game: That such as after come, when they thereby perceive. How men of service for their deeds, did rich rewards receive.

Encouraged may be, such men for to resemble, Invaliant acts and dreadfull deeds, which makes their foes to tremble.

And upon the third another:

When Menestheus did lead forth of this City here. An Army to the Trojan Wars, (by Homer doth appear) He was above the reft, that out of Gracia went, Avaliant Knight, a worthy Wight, a Captain excellent, To take in hand the charge, an Army for to guide : And eke to range them orderly, in Battle to abide: That praise of prowes then (O grave Athenians) Is now no news to fill the ears of thefe our Citizens, Since through the World so wide, the fame and worthy praise, For martial feats, to you of yore hath judged been alwaies.

Now though Cimons name be not compriled in these Interiptions, yet they thought that this was a fingular honour to him at that time : for neither Miltiades nor Themifocles had ever the like, For when Miltiades requested the People one day that they would license him to wear a Garland of Olive when Militades requested the People of Cuay that they would be the militades a Cast, that flanding Sotheres DeceBoughs upon his head: there was one Sochares, born in the Town of Deceller, that flanding Sotheres Deceup in open Affembly spake against him, and said a thing that marvellously pleased the People, though up in open Anemory space against min, and rate a tuning trust instructionity prefer the reopie, though gainft Militaindeed it was an unthankfull recompence for the good fervice he had done to the Commonwealth. des request for When you have Miltiades (faid he) overcome the barbarous People alone in Battle, then ask to be the Garland of honoured alone also. But how was it then, that Cimons service was so acceptable to the ATHENI- Olive boughts ANS? It was in mine opinion, because they had with other Captains fought to defend themselves and their Countrey onely: and that under the conduction of Cimon, they had affaulted and driven their Enemies home to their own doors, where they conquered the Cities of E10 NE and of AM-PHIPOLIS, which afterwards they did inhabit with their own Citizens, and wan there also the He of Scyros, which Cimon took upon this occasion. The Dolopians did inhabit it, who Isle of Scyros. were idle People, and lived without labour or tillage, and had been Rovers on the Sea of a wonderfull long time, using Piracy altogether to maintain themselves withall: so that in the end they spared not fo much as the Merchants and Paffengers that harboured in their Havens, but robbed certain-THESSALIANS that went thither to traffick. And when they had taken their Goods from them. vet would they cast them in Prison besides. Howbeit the Prisoners found means to escape, and after they had faved themselves, repaired to the Parliament of the AMPHICTYONS, which is a generall The Council Council of all the States and People of GREECE. The AMPHICTYONS understanding the matter, of the Amphicondemned the City of the SCYRIANS to pay a great fum of Money. The Citizens refused to be dions. contributaries to the payment of the Fine, and bad them that robbed the Merchants, and had the Goods in their hands, pay it if they would. And therefore, because there was no other likelihood, but that the Thieves themselves should be driven to answer the Fine, they searing it, wrote Letters unto Cimon. and willed him to come with his Army, and they would deliver their City into his hands: the which was performed. And thus Cimon having conquered the Island, drave out the DOLOPIANS thence, and rid the Sea ÆGEUM of all Pyrates thereby. That done, remembring that the ancient Thefeus, the Son of Ageus, flying from ATHENS came into that Illand of SCYROS, where King Lycomedes suspecting his coming, had traiterously slain him: Cimon was marvellous carefull to seek out his Tomb, because the ATHENIANS had an Oracle and Prophecy, that commanded them to bring his ashes and bones back again to Athens, and to honour him as a demy-god. But they knew not where he was buried, for that the Inhabitants of the Island would never afore confess where it was, These bones nor suffer any man to feek it out, till he at the last with much ado found the Tomb, put his bones brought to A. aboard the Admiral Galley sumptuously decked and set forth, and so brought him again into his them four hun-Countrey, four hundred years after Thefeus death. For this, the People thanked him marvelloully, dred years after and thereby he wan exceedingly the ATHENIANS good wills, and in memory of him they cele- hisdorth by brated the judgement of the Tragical Plays of the Poets. For when Sophocles the Poet, being a young Scoboles and man, had played his first Tragedy, Aph psion the President perceiving there was great strife and con- As Chylus contention amonft the lookers on, would not draw them by lots that (hould be Judges of this Play, to tention for Vigive the Victory unto that Poet that had best deserved : but when Cimon and the other Captains ctory. were come into the Theatre to fee the fame (after they had made their accustomed Oblations unto the god, in honour of whom these plays were celebrated) he stayed, and made them to minister an Oath unto ten (which were of every Tribe of the People one) and the Oath being given, he Æftbylur oraused them to fit as Judges to give sentence, which of the Poets should carry away the Prize. vercome by This made all the Poets strive and contend who should do best, for the honour of the Judges: but Sopheeles, dwelleth in CI-Sophocles by their fentence bare away the Victory. But Afchylus (as they fay) was fo angry livis, and diand grieved withall, that he tarried not long after in ATHENS, but went for fpight into CILICIA, eth there:

Upon

Cimon fang patting Iweetly

where he died, and was buried near unto the City of GELA. Jon written that he being bur ayoung Boy, newly come from CH10 unto ATHENS, supped one night with Cimon at Laomedons Houle, and that after Supper when they had given the god thanks, (imon was entreated by the Company to fing. And he did fing with fo good a grace, that every man praifed him that heard him, and faid he was more courteous then Themissocles far: who being in like company, and requested also to play upon the Cithern, answered them, he was never taught to sing or play upon the Cithern, howbeit he could make a poor Village to become a rich and mighty City. After that done, the Company discoursing from one matter to another, as it falleth out commonly in speech, they entred in talk of Cimoni doings: and having rehearfed the chiefest of them, he himself told one, which was the notablest and wifest part of all the rest that ever he played. For the ATHENIANS and their Confederates together, baving taken a great number of barbarous People Priloners, in the Cities of Sestos and of BIZANTIUM, the Confederates to honour him withall, gave him the preheminence to divide the Spoil amongst them. Whereupon he made the division, and set out the bodies of the barbarous People all naked by themselves, and laid the Spoils and their Apparel by themselves. The Confederates found this distribution very unequal : but neverthelefs Gimon gave them the choice to choose which of the two they would, and that the ATHENIANS should be contented with that which they lest. So there was a Samian Captain called Herophyrm, that gave the Confederates counfell, rather to take the Spoils of the Persians, then the Persians themselves, and so they did: for they took the Spoil of the Prisoners Goods and Apparel, and left the men unto the ATHENIANS. Whereupon Cimon was thought at that time Herophysus S1 of the common Souldiers to be but an ill divider of Spoil, because that the Consederates carried away great flore of Chains, Carkanets, and Bracelets of Gold, and goodly rich Purple Apparel after the PERSIAN fashion: and the ATHENIANS brought away naked bodies of men, very tender and unacquainted with pain and labour. But shortly after, the Parents and Friends of these Prisoners, came out of PHRY GIA and LYDIA, and redeemed every man of them at a great Ranfom: fo that Cimon gathered fuch a maffe of ready Money together by their Ranfom, as he defrayed the whole charges of all his Galleys with the same for the space of four Months after, and left a great sum of Money besides in the sparing Treasure of ATHENS. Cimon by this means being now become rich, bestowed the Gondar Hotels Goods which he had thus honourably gotten from the barbarous People, more honourably again, in relieving his poor decayed Citizens: for he brake up all his Hedges and Inclosures and laid them plain and open, that Travellers paffing by, and his own poor Citizens, might take as much Fruit thereof as they would, without any manner of danger. And furthermore, he kept a continual Table in his Houle, not furnished with many Dishes, but with Meat sufficient for many persons, and where his poor Country trey men were daily refreshed, that would come unto that Ordinary: so as they needed not otherwise care to labour for their living, but might be the readier, and have the more leifure to ferve the Commonwealth. Yet Arifiotle the Philosopher writeth, that it was not for all the ATHENIANS indifferently, that he kept this ordinary Table: but for his poor Townsmen onely in the Village of LACIA, where he was born. Furthermore, he had always certain young men waiting on him of his Houshold Servants well apparelled, and if he met by chance as he went up and down the City, any old Citizen Cimors charity poorly arrayed, he made one of these young men strip himself, and change Apparel with the old man, and that was very well thought of, and they all honoured him for it. Moreover these young men carried ever good frore of Money about them : and when they met with any honeft poor Cirizen in the Market-place, or elsewhere, knowing his poverty, they tecretly gave him Money in his hand, and said never a word. Which the Poet felf Cratinus feemeth to speak of, in a Comedy of his intituled the

counsel to

choose the

Spoil.

Archiloches:

I am Metrobius the Secretary, he which did my felf affure (in age) well cherished to be ; At wealthy Cimon's board, where want was never found, Whose distributions and his alms did to the poor abound. There thought I for to pass mine aged years away, With that right noble goodly man, which was the Grecians flay.

How Cimon Furthermore, Gargias Leontine said, that Cimon got Goods to use them, and that he used them to be used his Goods honoured by them. And Crisis that was one of the thirty Tyrants of ATHENS, he wishesh and defireth of the gods in his Elegies:

The goods of Scopa's heirs, the great magnificence, And noble heart of Cimon, he who fared none expense:

And noble heart of Cimon, he who fared none expense:

The glorious Victories and high triumphant shows.

Of good Agesilaus King: good gods, oh grant me those.

Spartan.

The hospitali. The Name of Lychas SPARTAN hath been famous amongst the GRECIANS: and yet we know no other cause why, saving that he used to feast strangers that came to LACEDEMON on their Festival day, to fee the Sports and Exercites of the young men dancing naked in the City. But the magnificence of Cimon, did far exceed the ancient liberality, courtefie, and hospitality of the ATHENI-ANS: for they of all other were the first men that taught the GRECIANS throughout all GREECE, how they should sowe Corn, and gather it to maintain themselves withall, and also shewed them the use of Wells, and how they should light and keep fire. But Cimon making an Hospital of his own Houle, where all his poor Citizens were fed and relieved, and permitting strangers that travelled by his Grounds, to gather such Fruits there as the time and season of the year yielded: Cimens godly

he brought again (as it were) into the World, the Goods to be common amongst them, as the Po-Cimor brought ets say they were in the old time of Saturns Reign. And now, where some accused this honest little Golden berality of Cimen, objecting that it was but to flatter the common People withall, and to win their World again, good wills by that means: the manner of life he led , accompanying his liberality, did utterly confuse and overthrow their opinions that way of him. For Cimon ever took part with the Nobility, and lived after the LACEDEMONIANS manner, as it well appeared, in that he was alwaies against Themisfacles, who without all compass of reason increased the Authority and Power of the People: and for this cause he joyned with Aristides and was against Ephialtes, who would for the Peoples and for this caute he follows and abolished Areopagus Court. And where all other Governors in his time Cimens intewere Extortioners and Bribe-takers, (Arifides, and Ephialtes onely excepted) he to the contrary led an uncorrupt life in administration of Justice, and ever had clean hands, whatfoever he spake or did hands for the State and Commonwealth, and would therefore never take Money of any man living. And for proof hereof, we find it written, that a Nobleman of Persia called Refaces, being a Tray-Refaces attor to his Mafter the King of Persia, fled on a time unto Athens, where being continually bai- tempted to ted and wearied with the common acculations of these tale-bearers and pick-thanks that accused him bribe Cimon. to the People, he repaired at the length unto Cimon, and brought him home to his own door two Bowls, the one full of Daricks of Gold, and the other of Daricks of Silver, which be pieces of Daricks. Money to called, because that the name of Davius was written upon them. Cimon feeing this of- whereof focalfer, fell a laughing, and asked him whether of the two he would rather choose, to have him his led. friend or his hireling. The barbarous Noble man answered him, that he had rather have him his friend. Then faid Cimon to him again, Away with thy Gold and Silver, and get thee hence: A noble faying for if I be thy friend, that Gold and Silver shall ever be at my commandment, to take and dif- of Cimon. pole it as I have need. About that time began the Confederates of the ATHENIANS to be weary of the Wars against the barbarous People, defiring thenceforth to live quietly, and to have leifure to manure and husband their grounds, and to traffick also, considering that they had driven their Enemies out of their Countrey, and that now they did them no morehurt: by reafon whereof they payed the Money they were feffed at, but they would furnish no moe men nor Ships as they had done before. But the other Captains of the ATHENIANS compelled them to do it by all the means they could, and profecuted Law against them that failed payment, condemning them in great Fines, and that to cruelly, that they made the Seigniory and Dominion of the ATHENIANS hatefull unto their Confederates, Howbeit. Cimon took a contrary course to them: for he compelled no man, but was content to take Money and void Ships of them that would not or could not ferve in their persons, being very glad to suffer them to become slothfull Mongrels in their Houses, by too much rest, and to transpose themselves from good Souldiers which they had been, to Labourers, Merchants, and Farmers, altogether altered from Arms and Wars, through the beaftly flothfull defire they had to live pleafantly at home. And contrarily, causing a great number of the ATHENIANS one after another to ferve in Galleys, he fo acquainted them with conber of the Athenians one after another to serve in Ganeys, he to acquainted them with conpains and fertinual pains in his Voyage, that he made them in fhort space become Lords and Masters over them, vice, and the that gave them pay and entertainment. For they began by little and little to flatter and fear the A-difcommodity THENIANS, whom they faw trained continually in the Wars, ever bearing Armour, and carry- of eafe and ing their Weapons in their hands, becoming expert Souldiers at their charge, by reason of the Pay identification they gave them: fo that in the end, they became Subjects and Contributaries as it were unto them, where before they were their friends and companions. So as there never was GRECIAN Captain that bridled more the cruelty and Power of that mighty PERSIAN King, then Cimon did: for Cimon plagued after he had driven him out of all GREECE, he left him not so, but following him soot-hot, as the Persians we commonly fay, before the barbarous People could take breath, or give wife and direct order for their doings, he made to great speed, that he took some of their Cities from them by force, and other some by practice, causing them to rebell against the King, and turn to the GRECIANS fide: infomuch as there was not a man of War left for the King of PERSIA in all ASIA, from the Countrey of IONIA, directly down to PAMPHYLIA. And furthermore, being advertised that the Kings Captains were upon the Coast of PAMPHYLIA, with a great Army by Sea, because he would fear them in such fort, that they should not dare any more to shew themselves upon the Sea, on this side of the Illes of the CHELIDO NIANS: he departed from the Isle of GNI-Dos, and from the City of TRIOPIUM, with two hundred Galleys, the which at the first had been excellently well made and devised by Themistocles, as well for swift failing, as for easie turning. Howbeit Cimon made them to be enlarged, to the end they might carry the greater number of men of War in Battle, to affault the Enemies. And so went first against the PHASELITES (who were GRECIANS born, and yet notwithstanding would neither take the GRECIANS part, nor receive their Army into their Havens) landed there, destroyed all the Countrey, and then came and camped with his Army hard at their Walls. But the men of CH10 being ancient friends of the PHA- ChipanIste. SELITES, and in Cimon: Army at that Journey, did somewhat pacific his anger, and gave advertilement to them of the City of their doings, by Letters, which they tied to their Arrows, and shot over the Walls. So as in the end they procured their peace, with condition, that the PHASE-LITES should pay ten Talents for a Fine : and furthermore, should also follow the Army of the Cimon wantle GRECIANS, and from thenceforth fight with them, and for them, against the barbarous People. It.

Now Ephorus faith, that the PERSIAN Captain that had charge of the Army by Sea, was called Ti-

thraustes, and the Captain of the Army by Land, Pherendates But Callishenes writeth that Ariomandes,

Nn 2

Cimons Victo-Cimon took two hundred

> Cimon overcame the Batalfo by Land.

Perfia.

mon buildings,

CIMON. The Son of Gobrias, was the Kings Lieutenant, having thief Authority over the whole Army that lay at Anchor before the River of Eurymedon, and had no defire to fight, because they looked for the Kings a new supply of fourscore Sail of the PHOENICIANS, that should come to them from Cyhis whole Ar. PRUS. But Cimon contrarily, fought to fight before these Galleys of the Phoenicians my by Sa, 11- came to join with them, and put his Galleys in order of Battle, determining to give a Charge, dig at Anchor and compell them to fight, would they, or would they not; which the barbarous People perceibetore the R1- ving, drew nearer into the mouth of the River Eurymedon, because they should not compass them ver of Eurymein behind, nor force them to come to Battle against their wills. Which notwithstanding, when they faw the ATHENIANS come to fet upon them where they lay, they made out against them a Fleet of fix hundred Sail, as Phanodemus declareth: or as Ephorus writeth, three hundred and fifty Sail onely. But they did nothing worthy of fo great a Power, at the leaft touching the Fight by Sea, but turned their Prores straight to the River: where such as could recover the mouth thereof in time, faved themselves, flying to their Army by Land, which was not far from that place, But the reft that were taken tardy by the way, they were slain, and Sea and Land, set also in order of Battle. But the reft that were taken tardy by the way, they were slain, and their Gallies funk or taken: whereby we may know that there were a great number of them: for many were faved, as it is likely, and many also were splitted to pieces, and yet the ATHENI-ANS took two hundred of them Prifoners. In the mean feafon, their Army by Land came near to the Sea fide: which Cimon perceiving, stood in fome doubt, whether he should land his men River of Eury- or not, because it seemed a hard and dangerous thing unto him, to land in spight of his Enemies. and to put forth the GRECIANS already wearied with the first Battle against the barbarous People, who were altogether whole, fresh, and lusty, and withall many in number against one. Nevertheles, perceiving that his mentrufted in their force, besides the courage which the first Victory gave them, and that they defired none other thing but to fight with the Enemies: he put them on Land while they were hot yet with the first Battle. And so with great fury and loud cries they ran immediately against the barbarous People, who stood still and stirred not, and received their first Charge very valiantly: by reason whereof, the Battle grewsharp and bloody, insomuch as there were slain all the greatest Personages and men of best account of all the ATHENIANS Army. But the other fought it out so valiantly, that in the end they wan the Field, and with marvellous difficulty made the barbarous People fly, whereof they flew a great number in the place, and took the rest Prisoners, with all their Tents and Pavillions, which were full of all sorts of Riches. Thus Cimon like a valiant Champion of the holy Games, having in one felf-day won two Victories, and having excelled the Battle by Sea also which the GRECIANS had won within the Channell of SALAMINA, with that which he wan then upon the Land: and the Battle which the GRE-CIANS wan by Land before the City of PLATERS, with that which he wan the day before on the Sea : yet was he not contented with all this. For after two fo famous Victories obtained, he would once again fight for the honour of the Tokens of Triumph : and being advertised that the fourscore Sail of the PHOENICIANS (coming too late to be present at the first Battle by Sea) were arrived at the head of Hydra, he failed thither with all possible speed. Now the Captains of this Fleet knew no certainty of the overthrow of their chiefest Army, but stood in doubt of it, and would not be perswaded that it was overthrown in that fort : and therefore were they so much the more afraid, when they discried afar off the victorious Army of Cinion. To conclude, they loft all their Ships, and the greatest part of their men, which were either drowned or flain. This Victory against the Persians did so daunt and pluck down the pride and losty mind Cimos brought of the barbarous Persian King, as he made that condition of Peace so much spoken of in the King of ancient Histories, in the which he promifed and sware, that his Armies thenceforth should come Perfia to con- no nearer to the GRECIAN Sea, then the cariere of a Horse; and that he would fail no fardition of peace, ther forward then the Isles CHELIDONIANS, and CYANEANS, with any Galleys or other Ships of War. Howbeit the Historiographer Califthenes writeth, that it was no part of any Article comprised within the Condition of Peace, but that the King kept it for the fear he had of this fo great an Overthrow : and that afterwards he kept fo far from the GRECIAN Sea, that Pericles with fifty Sail, and Ephialtes with thirty onely, did fail beyond the Iles CHELIDONIE, and no barbarous Fleet ever came against them. Yet notwithstanding all this, amongst the common Acts of ATHENS, which Crateron hath gathered together, the Articles of this Peace are found written at large, as a thing that was true indeed. And it is faid, that for this occasion the ATHENIANS built an Altar of Peace, and that they did Calls as great honour, for that he was Ambassador to fent Ambassador unto the King of Persia to take his Oath for confirmation of this Peace. So take the Oath when all these Spoils of the Enemies were fold to them that would give most, there was such of the King of store of Gold and Silver in the sparing Coffers of their Treasury, that there was enough to serve their turn for any service they would employ it to; and besides that, they had sufficient to build up the side of the Wall of the Castle which looketh towards the South, this Voyage and great Spoil did fo inrich them. And it is faid moreover, that the building of the long Walls that joyn to the City, with the Haven, which they call the legs, was built and finished afterwards: howbeit the first foundations thereof were built with the Money Cimon gave towards it, for that the Work met with Moorish and watry places, by mean whereof they were driven to fill up the Marshes with force of Flints and great Logs, which they threw unto the bottom. It was he also that first did beautifie and set forth the City of ATHENS, with places of liberal exercise and honest pastime, which shortly after were much efteemed. For he cauled plain Trees to be fet in the Market-place : and the Academy

which before was very dry and naked, he made it now a pleasant Grove, and full of goodly Springs which he brought into it, and made fine covered Arbours to walk in, and goodly long smooth Alleys to run a good course in. On a time he had news brought him, that certain Persians dwelling in CHERRO NESUS (to fay, a demy Isle of the Countrey of THRACIA) would not be gotten out, but fent to the People of high THRACIA, to pray their aid to defend themselves against Cimon: of whom they made but little account, because he was departed from ATHENS with a very few Ships, who set upon them onely with four Galleys, and took thirteen of theirs. And so having driven the PERSIANS out of Cherron Esus, and fubdued the Thracians, he conquered all the Country of Cherro-the Profession NESUS. from THRACIA unto his own Countrey. And departing from thence, went against them of ont of Thracia the Isle of Thasos, that had rebelled against the ATHENIANS: and having overcome them in Battle by Sea, he wan three and thirty of their ships, and besides that took their City by Siege, and wan the Mines of Gold lying beyond the fame to the ATHENIANS, with all the Lands that belonged unto them. This Conquest made his way open into MACEDON, and gave him great opportunity to have taken the best part thereof at that present time. But because he let it alone, and followed not that opportunity, he was suspected to have taken Money, and to have been bribed by Presents of King Alexander : whereupon his secret Enemies laid their heads together, and accused him. But Cimon to clear Cimon accused himself before the Judges of this accusation, said unto them: I have practised friendship neither with and discharged the IONIANS, nor yet with the THESSALIANS, both which are very rich and wealthy People: neither have I taken their matters in hand, as some other have done, to receive both honour and profit by them. But indeed I am a friend to the LACEDEMONIANS; for I confess I love them, and desire to Cimon praiseth follow their fobriety and temperance of life, the which I prefer and efteem above any Riches or Trea- the temperate fure: although I am very glad notwithstanding to enrich our State and Commonwealth with the spoils life of the Laof our Enemies. Stefimbrotus reporteth this accusation, and saith, that his Sifter Elpinice went to ecdamonians. Pericles house, (who was the sharpest and straightest accuser of his) to pray him not to deal so extreamly withher Brother: and that Pericles laughing on her, faid: Alas, thou art too old, Elpinice, shou, now to overcome these matters. Yet for all that, when Cimons cause came to hearing, he was a * Arcopagus more gentle adverfary then any other of his accusers, and role up but once to speak against him, and was a Village of that for manners fake onely: fo that Cimon thereby escaped, and was cleared of this accusation. And Mars by Afurthermore, fo long as he was prefent in ATHENS, he always kept the feditious People in obedience, Judges called who would ever crofs and thwart the Authority of the Nobility, because they would have all the sway Arcopacita did and rule in their own hands. But when Cimon was fent abroad any whither to the Wars, then the fitto judge caucommon People having no body to gainfay them, turned and altered the Government of the City top. les of murder, fie turvey, and confounded all the ancient Laws and Customs which they had observed of long time, and weighty matthat by the procurement and fetting on of Ephialtes. For they took away all hearing of Causes in manner from the Court of * Areopagus, and put all Authority of matters judicial into the hands of the the Common-People, and brought the state of the City into a pure *Democratia*, to say, a Commonweal ruled by wealth, the sole and absolute power of the People, *Pericles* being then in great credit, who altogether savoured *Democratia*, who altogether favoured *Democratia*, who altogether favoured *Democratia*, to say, a Commonweal ruled *Democratia*, the sole of the People *Democratia*, to say, a Commonweal ruled *Democratia*, the sole of the People *Democratia*, to say, a Commonweal ruled *Democratia*, to say, a Commonweal ruled *Democratia*, the sole of the People *Democratia*, to say, a Commonweal ruled *Democratia*, the sole of the People *Democratia*, the sole of the sole of the People *Democratia*, the sole of the sole of the People *Democratia*, the sole of the sole the Peoples Faction. Wherefore Cimon at his return, finding the Authority of the Senate and Counmonalty cil fo shamefully defaced and trodden under foot, was marvelloully offended withall, and sought to re- Pericles in Ciftore the ancient State of Judgement again as it was before, and fet up the Government of the Nobility mons absence (called Optimatia) that was established in the time of Clisthenes. But then began his Enemies again with reduceth the open mouth to cry out upon him, reviving the old former naughty rumour that ran of him before, that weakbuntothe

he kept his own Sifter : and furthermore accusing him, that he did favour the LACED & MONIANS. State. And amongst other things, there ran in the Peoples mouths the Verses of the Poet Eupolis, which were Democratia Opvernment of the Nobility.

No wicked man he was, but very negligent, And therewithall to Wine much more, then unto Money bent. He stole sometimes away, at Sparta for to sleep : And left poor Elpinice his Wife at home alone to weep.

made against Cimon :

And if it be so, that being thus negligent and given to Wine, he have gotten so many Cities, and wor fuch fundry great Battles: it is out of doubt then, that if he had been fober and carefull, there had never been before him nor fince, any GRECIAN Captain that had paffed him in glory of the Wars. Indeed it is true, that from the beginning he ever loved the manner of the LACEDEMO-NIANS: for of two twins which he had by his Wife Clitoria, he named the one of them Laceda- Cimon followed monius, and the other Eleus, as Stefimbrotus writeth, faying, that for that cause Pericles did ever nian manner, twit them in the teeth with their Mothers stock. Howbeit Diodorus the Geographer writeth, that both these two, and another third called Thessalus, were born of Isodice, the Daughter of Euryptolemus, the Son of Megacles. Howfoever it was, it is certain that Cimons credit grew the greater, by the favour and countenance which the LACEDEMONIANS gave him, who had hated Themistocles of long time, and for the malice they bare him, were glad that Gimon being but a young man, did bear more fway in ATHENS then he: which the ATHENIANS perceived well enough, and were not offended withall at the beginning, because the good will of the LACEDEMONIANS towards him, did bring them great commodity. For when the ATHENIANS began to grow of great Power, and to practife fecretly, that the Confederates of the GRECIANS should for fake the LACEDEMONIANS to joyn with them; the LACEDEMONIANS were not angry withall,

A marvellous great Earthquake in Lace-Taygetum Mons

Archidamus **Cadden** policy faved the City Hota, Slaves men to the La-

for the honour and love they bare unto Cimon, who did alone in manner and GREECE at that time, because he was very courteous unto the Consederates, and also thankfull unto the LACEDEMONIANS. But afterwards when the ATHENIANS were aloft, and of great Power, and that they faw Cimen stuck not for a little matter with the LACEDEMONIANS, but loved them more then they would have had him: they began then to envy him, because in all his matters he had to do, he ever highly praifed and extolled the LACE DEMONIANS before them. But specially, when he would reprove them of any fault they had committed, or that he would perfivade them to do any thing: The Lacedemonians (faid he) I warrant ye do not fo. That, as Stesimbretsus faith, made him marvelloully to be maliced of the People. But the chiefest thing they accused him of, and that most did hurt him, fell out upon this occasion. The fourth year of the Reign of Archidamsus, the Son of Zenzidamus King of Sparta, therefortuned the wonderfullest and most fearfull Earthquake in the City of LACEDEMON, and thereabouts, that ever was heard of. For the Earth in many places of the Countrey opened, and fell as into a bottomless pit. The Mountain Taygetum shook so terribly, that points of Rocks fell down from it. All the City was layed on the ground and overthrown, five Houses onely excepted, the rest being wholly destroyed. And it is faid also, that a little before this Earthquake came, the young men of that City were playing with the young boys, exercifing themfelves stark naked under a great Gallery covered over : and as they were sporting together, there started up a Hare hard by them. The young men fpying her, ran after the Hare flark naked, and oyled as they were with great laughter. They were no fooner gone thence, but the top of the Gallery fell down upon the boys that were left, and (quashed them all to death. And in memory of the same, the Tomb where they were afterwards buried, is called unto this day Sifmatian, as much to fay, as the Tomb of those which the Earthquake had flain. But King Archidamus foreseeing straight upon the sudden, the danger that was to come, by that he faw prefent, perceiving his Citizens busie in faving their houtholdftuff, and that they were running out of their Houles, made the Trumpeters to found a hot Alarm upon it, as if their Enemies had come ftealingly upon them to take the City, to the end that all the Inhabitants (hould prefently repair unto him (letting all business apart) with Armour and Weapon. That fudden Alarm doubtlefs faved the City of SPARTA at that time : for the ILOTA, which are their Slaves and Bondmen in the Countrey of LACONIA, and the Countrey Clowns of little Villages thereabouts, came running armed out of all parts, to spoil and rob themupon the sudden that were escaped from this Earthquake. But when they found them well armed in order of Battle, they returned back again as they came: and then began afterwards to make open Wars upon them, when they had drawn certain of their Neighbours unto their Confederacy, and specially the MESSENIANS, who made hot Wars upon the SPARTANS. Whereupon the LACED & MONIANS fent Periclidas unto ATHEMS, to demand aid : of whom Aristophanes the Poet in mockage, faid :

With visage pale and wan he on the Altar sate, In scarlet Gown requiring aid, to succour their estate.

Cimon procured aid for the Lacedamoni-

Against whom Ephialtes also spake very much, protesting that they should not aid nor relieve a City that was an Enemy unto ATHENS, but rather fuffer it to fall to the ground, and to spurn the pride and arrogancy of SPARTA under their feet. But Cimon (as Critical faith) being more carefull for the benefit of SPARTA, then for the enlarging and encreafing of his Countrey, brought it to pass by his perswasion, that the ATHENIANS fent him thither with a great Power to help them. And furthermore, Ion rehearfeth the very felf-words that Cimon spake to move the People to grant his request. For he belought them that they would not fuffer GREECE to halt, as if LACEDEMON had been one of her feet, and ATHENS the other: nor to suffer their City to lose another City their friend, and subject to the yoke and defence of GREECE. Having therefore obtained aid to lead unto the LACEDEMONI-ANS, he went with his Army through the CORINTHIANS Countrey: wherewith Lachartus 2 Captain of CORINTH was marvelloully offended, faying, that he should not have entred into their Countrey with an Army before he had asked license of them of the City. For (faid he) when one knocketh at a mans door or gate, yet he cometh not in before the Mafter of the house commandeth him. But ye CORINTHIANS (faid (imon to him again) have not knocked at the Gates of the CLEO-N.EIANS, nor of the MEGARIANS, to come in, but have broken them open, and entred by force of Arms, thinking that all should be open unto them that are the stronger. Thus did Cimon stoutly anfwer the Corinthian Captain again, because it steed him upon, and so went on with his Army through the Countrey of CORINTH. Afterwards the LACEDEMONIANS fent again unto the A-THENIAMS, to require aid against the MESSINIAMS and the ILOTES, (which are their Slaves) who had won the City of ITHOME. But when the ATHENIANS were come, the LACEDEMONIANS were afraid of the great Power they had brought, and of their boldness besides: wherefore they sent them back again, and would not employ them of all other their Confederates that came to their furcour, because they knew them to be men very tickle, desiring change and alterations. The ATHENI-ANS returned home, milliking much that they were fent back again, infomuch as ever after they hated them that favoured the LACEDEMONIANS in anything. And for the LACEDEMONIANS fake therefore, taking a small occasion of offence against Cimon, they banished him out of their Countrey Cimon basished for ten years: which was the full time appointed and limited unto them that were banished with the Oftracismon banishment. Now within the term of these ten years, the LACEDEMONIANS fortuned to undertake the delivery of the City of DELPHOS, from the servitude and bondage of the

PHOCIANS, and to purches from the custody and keeping of the Temple of Apollo, which is in the faid City. Wherefore to obtain their defire and purpole, they came to plant their Camp near unto the City of TANAGRE in PHOCIDE, where the ATHENIAN'S went to fight with them. Cimon understanding this, although he was in exile, came to the ATHENIANS Camp armed, with intent to do his dury to fight with his Countreymen against the LACEDEMONIANS, and so went into the Bands of the Tribe Oenide, of the which he was himself. But his own Countrey Enemies cryed out against him, and said, that he was come to none other end, but to trouble the order of their Battle, of intent that he might afterwards bring them to the City felf of ATHENS. Whereupon the great Council of the five hundred men were afraid, and fent to the Captains to command them they should not receive him into the Battle: Io that Cimon was compelled to depart the Camp. But before he went, he prayed Euthippus ANAPHLYSTIAN, and his other friends that were suspected as himself was to favour the LACEDAMONIANS doings: that they should do their best endeavour to fight valiantly against their Enemies, to the intent their good fervice at that battle might purge their innocency towards their Countrymen : and so they did. For the ATHENIANS keeping the Souldiers Cimon had brought with him, which were an hundred in all, they fet them apart by themselves in a Squadron, who fought it so valiantly and desperately, that they were slain every man of them in the Field, leaving the ATHENI-ANS marvellous forry for them, and repenting them that they had so unjustly mistrusted them as Traytors to their Countrey. Wherefore they kept not their malice long against Cimon, partly as I am perfwaded, because they called his former good service to mind which he had done to their Countrey aforetime, and partly also, because the necessity of the time so required it. For the ATHENIANS having loft a great Battle before TANAGRE, looked for no other about the Spring of the year, but that the PELOPONNESIANS would invade them with a great Power: wherefore they revoked Cimons banishment by Decree, whereof Pericles self was the onely author and procurer. So civil and temfrom exile. perate were mens enmitties at that time, regarding the common benefit of their publick State and Weal: and so much did their ambition (being the most vehement passion of all other, and that most troubleth mens minds) give place, and yield to the necessities and affairs of the Commonweal! Now when Cimon was again returned to ATHENS, he ftraight pacified the War, and reconciled both Cities together. And when he saw that the ATHENIANS could not live in peace, but would be doing still, and enlarge their Dominions by War, for lucres fake: to prevent them that they should not fall out with any of the GRECIANS, nor by fcouring and coafting up and down the Countrey of PELOPONNEsus, and the Isles of GREECE, with so great a Navy, should move occasion of Civil Wars amongst the GRECIANS, or of complaints unto their Confederates against them: he rigged and armed out two hundred Galleys to go again to make War in CYPRUS, and in ÆGYPT, because he would acquaint the ATHENIANS with the Wars of the barbarous People, and thereby make them lawfull gainers by the spoils of those their natural born Enemies. But when all things were in readiness to depart, and the Army preft to ship and fail away, Cimon dreaming in the night had this Vision: It seemed unto Gimon dreami

Come hardily, Spare not, for if thou come by me, My whelps and I which do here stand, will quickly welcome thee.

him that he faw a bitch angry with him, and barking earneftly at him; and that in the midft of her bark-

ing, the fpake with a mans voice, and faid unto him:

This Vision being very hard to interpret, A styphilus born in the City of Posidonia, a man expert in fuch conjectures, and Cimons familiar friend, told him that this Vision did betoken his death, ex. The interprepounding it in this fort: The Dog commonly is an enemy to him he barketh at. Again, nothing glad- tation of the deth more our enemy, then to hear of our death. Furthermore, the mingling of a mans voice with the Cimons death barking of a bitch, fignifieth nothing else but an Enemy of the MEDES: because the Army of the prognosticated. MEDES is mingled with the barbarous People and the GRECIANS together. Besides this Vision, as he did facrifice to the god Bacchus, the Priest opening the Beast after it was facrificed, about the blood that fell to the ground, there affembled a swarm of Ants, which carried the conjealed blood off from the ground by little and little, and laid it all about Cimons great toe, a great while together before any man marked it : Cimon at the last spied it by chance : and as he was looking on them to mark what they did, the Minister of the Sacrifice brought the Beafts Liver that was facrificed, to shew him, whereof the biggest end that they call the head was lacking, and this they judged for a very ill token. Notwithftanding, having all things ready for preparation of this Journey, so as he could not well go back, he launched into the Sea, and hoised Sail, and fending threescore of his Galleys into EGYPT, sailed with the rest upon the Coast of PAMPHILIA, where he wan a Battle by Sea of the King of PERSIA, overcoming the Galleys of the PHOENICIANS and the CILICIANS, and conquered all the Cities thereabouts, making the way very open to enter into ÆGYPT. For he had no small thoughts in his mind. but reached to high Enterprizes, and determined utterly to deftroy the whole Empire of the mighty King of PERSIA, and specially for that he understood Themistocles was in marvellous credit and reputation amongst the barbarous People, because he had promited the King of Persia to lead his Army for him, and to do him notable service whensoever he should have occasion to war with the GRE-CIANS. It is thought this was the chief cause that made Thems stocles poyson himself, because he despaired that he could not perform that service against GREECE which he had promised: affuring himipaired that he could not perform that betwee against GREECE which he had promined: and might have felf that it was no easie matter to vanquish Cimons courage and good fortune, who lay at that time with willing death. his Army all alongst the Isle of Cypnus, promising himself great matters at that instant. But in the

CIMON

The death of

kept very fe-

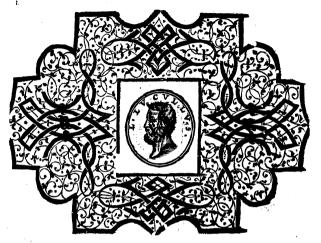
pleafter Ci-

mean Cimon fent certain of his men unto the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, to ask him tone lecret question : for no man ever knew neither then nor fince, for what cause he had fent them thither, neither did they also bring back any answer. For they were no sooner come thither, but the Oracle commanded them ftraight to return: faying unto them, that Cimon was then coming to him. So Cimons men receiving this answer, left the Oracle, and took their Journey back to the Seawards: Now when they were come again to the GRECIANS Camp, which at that prefent lay in EGYPT, they heard that Giwere come again to the World: and reckoning the days fince his death, with the infrant of their answer mon was ucreated this Vertat Cimon was then coming unto him, they knew straight that darkly he had received from the Oracle, that Cimon was then coming unto him, they knew straight that darkly he had fignified his death unto them, and that at that very time he was with the gods. He died at the Siege of the City of CIT IUM in CYPRUS, 25 some report, or else of a hurt he received at a Skirmish, as other hold opinion. Whenhedied, he commanded them that were under his charge, to return intotheir Countrey again, and in no cafe to publish his death: which commandment was fo wifely and cunningly handled, that they all came home fafe, and not an Enemy, nor any of their Confederates, that once underftood any thing of it. So was the Army of the GRECIANS governed and led by Cimon, though himfelf was dead the space of thirty days, as Phanodemus writeth. But after his death, there was no GRE-No famous act CIAN Captain that did any notable thing worthy of fame against the barbarous People, because the Orators and Governours of the chiefeft Cities of Greece firred them up one against another, and Greeisastothe barbarous Peo- there was no man that would once step in as a Mediator to make peace between them, And thus the GRECIANS now did one destroy and spoil another by Civil War amongst themselves, which happily gave the King of Persia leilure and time to reftore himself again, and contrarily was cause of such utter ruine and deftruction of the whole power and force of GREECE, as no tongue can well express. Indeed a long time after, King Agefilana came with an Army of the GRECIANS into ASIA, and began a finall War against the Lieutenants of the King of PERSIA'S Governours of the lower Countreys of Asia: but before he could do any notable exploit, he was called home again by occasion of new troubles and Civil Wars rifing among the GRECIANS, and compelled to return into his Countrey, leaving the Treasurers of the King of Persia raising of Subsidies and Taxes upon the Cities of the GRECIANS in ASIA, although they were Confederates of the LACEDEMONIANS. Whereas in the time that Cimon governed, they never faw any of the Kings Serjeants at Arms, or Commissioner, that brought any Letters Patents or commandment from the King, or any Souldier that durft come near the Sea, by forty furlongs. The Tombs which they call unto this prefent day Cimonia, do wit-Cimons Monu- nels that his affres and bones were brought unto ATHENS. Nevertheless, they of the City of CI-Cimons Donubarrenness of the Earth, they had an Oracle that commanded them, not to neglect Cimon, as the Orator Nauficrates writeth it, but to honour and reverence him as a god. Such was the Life of this GRE-CIAN Captain.

The end of the Life of Cimon.

THE

THE LIFE OF LUCIUS LUCULLUS.



Ann. Mund. . 3879.

Ant . Christ.

S for Lucullus, his Grandfather was a Conful, and fo was Metellus (furnamed Lucullus Pa-Numidicus, because of his Conquest of Numidia) his Uncleby the Mothers rents. fide. His Father notwithstanding was convict of Felony, for robbing the Treafure of the State whilft he was Officer: and Cacilia his Mother was reported to have led an unchaste life. But for Lucullus felf, before he bare Office or Rule in matters of State, the first thing he touched and took in hand for the Cause of his Country, was the accusation of Servilim the Soothsayer (who before had accufed his Father) for that he also had dealt fallly in his Office, and deceived the feth Servilius

Commonwealth. And this the ROMANS thought very well handled of him, infomuch as a pretty the Soothfay-Commonwealth.

While after there was no other talk in Rome but of that matter, as though it had been a notable valiant erract done by him. For otherwise, though privately they had no just occasion, yet they thought it a notable whough it is a notable with though it is a notable with the notable with th ble deed to accuse the wicked, and it pleased them as much to see the young men put Law-breakers in noble deed to fuir, as to fee a notable good course of a Dog at a Hare. Howbeit there followed such stir and banding accuse the upon this fuit, that fome were very fore hurt, and other flain in the Market-place: but in fine, Servilius wicked. was cleared and quite difmiffed. Lucullus was very eloquent, well spoken, and excellently well learned Lucullus eloin the Greek and Latin Tongues: infomuch as Sylla dedicated unto him the Commentaries of all his doings quence: which he himself had collected, as to one that could better frame a whole History thereof, and couch it more eloquently together in writing. For he had not onely a ready tongue to utter that he would speak, and plead his matters with great eloquence, as other be feen to do, having matters of fuit or open audi-Like Tonny Fish they be, which swiftly dive and dop

Into the depth of Ocean Sea, withouten stay or stop. But afterwards also when ye take them out of their common practice and pleadings: Then are they gravell'd straight, withouten grace or skill:

Their eloquence lies then in dike, and they themselves be still. For Lucullus had studied humanity from his youth, and was well learned in all the liberal Sciences: but when he came to elder years, to refresh his wit (after great troubles) he fell to the study of Phi- Lucullus studilosophy, which quickned the contemplative part of his soul, and mortified, or at the least betimes ed Philosophy bridled the ambitious and active part, specially after the difference between thim and Pompey. But time, to acquaint you better with his Learning yer, it is faid, that when he was a young man, he layed a great wager with Hortensus the Orator, and Sisenns the Historiographer (in jeft as it were at the first, but asterwards it fell to good earnest) that he would write the Breviary of the MARSIAN Wars in Verse or Prose, in the Latin or Greek Tongue, which soever sell to his lot : and I think

Lucullus Book of the War of the Marsians

fron to COVIL lopenne us.

Laws to the Cyrenians.

Lucullus ftra-

LUCULLUS. his hap was to do it in Profe in the Greek Tongue, because we find a little Greek Story extant of the Wars of the ROMANS against the MARSIANS. He dearly loved his Brother M. Lucullus, as appeared by many manifest proofs; but the chiefest and most noted proof among the ROMANS was this. Himlelf was elder then his Brother Marcus, and yet for all that would never fue to bear Office in the Commonwealth, nor accept any before his Brother, but tarried always till he should be chosen, and let his own time pass over. This great courtesie to his Brother, so Marcus Lucius and Marcus Lucius wan the Peoples hearts, as Lucius being absent, they chose him Ædilis, and his Brother Marcus and Marcus Lucius was the Peoples hearts, as Lucius being absent, they chose him Ædilis, and his Brother Marcus and Marcus Lucius was the Peoples hearts, as Lucius being absent, they chose him Ædilis, and his Brother Marcus and column both with him for his fake. He was in the flower of his youth in the time of the Marstan Wars, cholen Ædiles, wherein he did many wife and valiant deeds. The cause notwithstanding that moved Sylla to make choice of him, was rather for his constancy and good courteous nature, then for any other respect. For when Sylla had once won him, he ever after employed him continually in his most weighty caules: as in Commission specially, he gave to him to Coin Money. For indeed part of the Money Spllagave Lu. 103. as in Committee specially, no Sart Committee and the special specia within the Countrey of Peloponnesus: whereupon they were called Lucullian pieces, and were currant a long time amongst the Souldiers, to buy such things as they stood in need of, and never refused by any. Sylla being afterwards at ATHENS, the stronger by Land, but the weaker by Sea, fo as his Enemies cut off his Victuals from him, fent Luculus into EGYPT and LYBIA, to bring him fuch Ships as he found in those parts. It was in the deep of Winter, and yet he spared not to fail with three Brigantines of GREECE, and as many Galliots of the RHODIANS, putting himself not onely to the danger of the Sea in 60 long a Voyage, but of his Enemies in like manner: who knowing themselves to be the stronger, went failing every where with a great Navy. But for all these Lumburgiveth dangers, he first arrived in the Isle of CRETA, and wantheir good wills. From thence went to the City of CYRENE, where he found the Inhabitants turmoiled with Civil Wars, and continuall oppressions of Tyrants: from which troubles he delivered them, and gave them Laws to establish Government among them, putting them in remembrance of Plato's words spoken to their Ancestors in old time, in the spirit of a Prophecy. For when they prayed Plato to write them Laws, and to A notable fay. appoint them fome form of Government for their Commonwealth, he made them answer: It was a hard thing to give Laws to fo rich and fortunate a People as they were. For to faytruly, as nothing is harder to be ruled then a rich man: so contrarily, nothing readier to receive counsell and government then a man in adverfity. This Lesson framed the Cyrenians at that time to be more civill and obedient to the Laws Lucullus gave them. When he departed thence, he coasted towards ÆGYPT, where he loft the more part of his Ships by Pyrates: but for his own person, scaping their Luculus Jour hands, he was very honourably received in the City of ALEXANDRIA. For all the Kings Army came to meet him at Sea, gallantly trimmed and appointed, as they were wont to welcome home the King when he returned from any Voyage by Sea: and King Prolomy himself being very young at that time, gave him as honourable entertainment as he possible could. For amongst other honours that he did him, he lodged him in his Court, and defrayed his ordinary diet, where never strange Captain was lodged before: and did not onely spend the ordinary allowance in feafting of him which he used to others, but commanded four times as much Provition more to be made as he had before. Notwithstanding, Lucullus took no more then was reasonable for his Person on yet would he receive any manner of Gift, although the King had fent him Prefents to the value of fourfcore Talents. And which is more, would not fo much as go fee the City of MEMPHIS, nor any other of the famous Monuments and wonderfull fights in ÆGYPT, faying, that it was for a man that travelled up and down for his pleasure, and had leisure withall, to see such things, but not for him that had left his Captain in the Field, at the Siege of the Walls of his Enemies. To conclude, this young King Prolomy would in no cafe fall in friendship with Sylla, fearing left he should thereby put himfelf into Wars, but gave him Men and Ships to bring him into Cyprus. And as he was ready to imbarque, the King bidding him farewell, and embracing him, gave him a goodly A notable rich rich Emerald fet in Gold, which Lucullus at the first resused, until the King shewed him his Pi-A notable rich that a surface in it: and then he accepted the Gift, fearing left the utter refusal might cause the King to think he went away discontented, and should perhaps therefore lay an ambush by Sea for King Prolomy. him. Thus having gotten a certain number of Ships together of the Port Towns thereabouts, over and befides such as the Pyrates and Sea-rovers had hidden, being part of their Spoils, and bestowed with their receitors, went on with them into CYPRUS, where he understood that his Enemies lay close in certain Creeks under the foreland, watching to board him as he failed by. under Sylla by Whereupon he unrigged and bestowed his Ships in Docks, and sent word to all the Port Towns thereabouts, that he was determined to Winter there : and therefore willed them to provide him Victuals and other necessary Munition to be in readiness against the Spring. But in the mean while, when he faw time convenient, he put his whole Fleet again to the Sea with all possible speed, went himself away, and in the day time carried a low Sail, but in the night packt on all the Cloth he could for life: fo that by this crafty fetch he wan RHODES, and loft not one Ship. The RHODIANS they also furnished him with Ships; and besides them, he so perswaded the GNI-DIANS and the Inhabitants of the Isle of Co, that they for fook King Mishridates, and went to make Wars with him against them of the Isle of Samos. But Lucullus himself alone drave King Mithridates men out of CHIO, restored the COLOPHONIANS again to liberty, and took Epigonus the Tyrant Priloner, who had kept them in bondage. Now about that time, Mithridates was compelled to forfake the City of PERGAMUS, and to retire to the City PITANE, within the which

Fimbria kept him belieged very straightly by Land. Wherefore Mitbridates having the Sea open Fimbria belieupon him, fent for his Force and Navy out of all parts, not during to hazard Battleagainst Fimbria, ged Mithridawho was very valiant, of a venturous nature, and at that time moreover was himself a Conqueror. tes in Pitane: Fimbria perceiving what Mithridates meant, and having no Power by Sea of his own, fent straight to Lucullus, to request him to come with his Navy into those parts to his aid, for the overcoming of this King, the greatest and most cruel Enemy that ever the ROMAN People had. Because that fo notable a prey, which they followed with such danger and trouble, should not escape the Ro-MANS, while they had him in their hands, and was come himfelf within their danger : and that therefore he should fo much the more hearken unto it, because that if it fortuned Mithridates to be taken, no man should win more honour and glory by his taking, then he that had stopped his paffage, and layed hands on him, even as he thought to have fled. And thereby should the praise of this noble Victory run in equality between them both : the one that had driven him from Land, and the other that had fropped his passage by Sea. And furthermore, that the ROMANS would nothing regard all the famous Battles and Victories of Sylla in GREECE, which he had won before the Cities of CHOERONEA and ORCHOMENE, in comparison of taking the King. This was the effect of Fimbria's Message sent unto Lucullus, wherein there was nothing, in the which there was not great likelihood. For there is no man that can doubt of it, but if Lucullus would have believed him at that time (and have gone thither with his Ships to stop the Havens mouth of the City, in the which Mithridates was belieged, confidering also that he was so near at hand) this War had taken end there, and the World besides had then been delivered of infinite troubles which fell out afterwards. But whether Lucullus preferred the confideration and respect he had unto Sylla, whose Lieutenant he was, before all other due regard of private or common benefit : or that he detefted and abliorred Fimbria as a curled person, who not long before had through his wicked ambition embrued his hands in the blood of his Captain : or elle, that it was through the secret Providence and permission of the gods, that he spared Mithridates at that time, to the end he might be referred as a worthy Enemy, against whom he might afterwards shew his valour. How- Lucultus would foever it was, it so fell out that he hearkened not unto Fimbria's Message, burgave Mithridates not aid Fimtime and leifure to fly, and finally to fcorn all Fimbria's Force and Power. But Lucullus felf briain befiegalone afterwards overcame the Kings Army by Sea, once near unto the head of Lectum, which is ing Mithrida. on the Coast of TROADE : and another time near unto the Isle of TENEDOS, where Neortelemus. Mithridates Lieutenant by Sea, lay in wait for him with a far greater number of Ships Neoptolemus: then he had. And yet so soon as Lucullus had descried him, he failed before all his Navy, being King Mithri-Admiral, in a Galley of RHODES, at five Oars to a Bank, whereof one Demagoras was Ma- dates Lieutes fter, a man well affected to the Service of the ROMANS, and very skillull in Battle by Sea. nantby Sea. And when Neoprolemus on the other fide rowed against him with great force, commanding his Pilot that he should so order his Galley, that he might stem him right in the Prowe: Demagoras fearing the full meeting of the Kings Galley, which wasvery strong and heavy, and furthermore, well armed with points and spurs of Brass before, durst not encounter her with his Prowe, but nimbly made his Galley to wind about, and turned his Poop towards him. Whereby the Galley being low at the end, received the blow without hurt, confidering that they hit upon the dead Works. and those parts which are always above water. In the mean time Luculins other Ships were come, Lucallus part to who commanding his Mafter to turn the beak-head of his Galley forward, did many famous acts: flight Neoptofo that he made his Enemies fly, and drave Neoptolemus away. And departing from thence, went to date: Lieute. feek out Sylle even as he was ready to pass over the Seas, about CHERRONE sus t holp him to nant by Sea. waft his Army, and so passed him over with safety. Afterwards when Peace was concluded, and that King Mithridates was come into his Realm and Countries again, which lie upon the Sea Maior, Sylla condemned the Province of Asia to pay the sum of 20000 Talents for a Fine, by reason of their rebellion. And for levying of his Fine, he left Lucullus there with Commission to cover Money: which was a great comfort and heartsease unto the Cities of Asia, considering the extremity that Sylla had used towards them. For in so grievous and odious a Commission unto them all, as that was, Lucullus did not onely behave himself uprightly and justly, but also very favourably and courteoutly. For, as touching the MITYLENIAN'S that were openly in Arms against him. he was very willing they should know their fault, and that for fatisfaction of the offence they had committed taking Marius part, they should suffer some light punishment. And seeing that they were furiously bent to continue in their naughtiness, he went against them, and having overcome them in Battle, compelled them to keep within their Walls, and laid fiege unto their City, where he used this policy with them. At noon days he launched into the Sea, in the view of all the MITYLENI- Lucullus fira-ANS, and failed towards the City of ELEA: howbeit in the night time fecretly returned back, and tagem at the making no noise, layed an Ambush near unto the City. The MITYLENIANS miltrusting no- Siege of the thing, went on the next morning very rashly without order, and without any manner of Watch or Mithenians, Ward, to spoil the Camp of the ROMANS, supposing every man had been gone: but Lucullus coming suddenly upon them, took a great number Prisoners, slew about five hundred such as relifted, and wan fix thousand Slaves, with an infinite quantity of other Spoil. Now did the gods happily preferre Lucullus, that he was no partaker at that time of the wonderfull mileries and troubles which Sylla and Marins made poor ITALY fuffer, even then when he was occupied in the

Wars of Asta: and yet notwithstanding his absence, he was in as good credit and favour with

L V C V L

cious liver.

Rome.

Oracor at

Wars against King Mithri-Pracia a famous Curtizan of Rome.

ment of Cilicia were given to Lucullus.

folute and cor-

Sylla, as any of his friends about him. For, as we have faid before, he dedicated his Commentaries Luculus hono- unto him, for the good will be bare him, and by his last Will and Testament appointed him Tutor unto his Son; leaving Pompey out: which feemeth to be the first occasion of the quarrel and grudge that fell out afterwards between them, because they were both young men, and vehemently defirous fion of quarrel of honour. Shortly after the death of Sylla, Lucullus was chosen Consul with Marcus Costa, about betwirt Pompey of honour. the threeCore Olympiade, and then they began to revive the matter again, that it was very need-full to make Wars against Mithridates, and specially Marcus Corta, who gave out that it was not Cotta, Confuls eitled, but onely flept for a while. Wherefore, when the Confuls came to draw Lots what Provinces they should take charge of, Lucullus was marvellous forry that the Province of Gaul, lying Between the Alpes and ITALY; fell to his lot, because he thought it no Countrey wherein any great Exploits were to be done: and again, the glory of Pompey grieved him greatly, whose honour daily encreased by the famous Battles he wan in Spain. So that it was most certain, that so soon as Pompey had ended the Wars there, they would have chosen him General in the Wars against Mithridates. Wherefore, when Pompey fent to ROME in earnest manner, to require Money to make pay to his Souldiers, writing to the Senate, that if they did not fend him Money the fooner, he would leave both Sertorius and Spain behind him, and bring his Army back into ITALY: Lucullus made all the means he could to have it quickly fent him, fearing left he should return into ITALY upon any occasion, while hewas Conful. For he thought that if he returned again to ROME with Cethegus a vi- fo great an Army, he would eafily do what he lift: and the rather, because that Cethegus and he could not agree, who at that time bare all the fway and rule at ROME, because he spake and did all that pleased the common People, being a vicious liver, and dissolutely given, for which cause Lu-Lucius Quinti- cullus hatedhim: But there was another common Orator among the People, called Lucius Quintitius, and he would have had all Sylla's doings revoked and broken: a matter to alter even the whole flate of the Commonwealth, and to turmoil the City of ROME again with civil diffention, which then lived quietly and in good peace. This Lucius Quintius Lucullus talked withall apart, to perfwade him, and openly reproved him with fuch words, that he was diffwaded from his evil purpole, and by reason ruled his rash ambition, handling it both wifely and cunningly as he could possible (for the fafety of the Commonwealth) because it was the beginning of a disease, from whence infinite troubles were like to grow. While these things were thus in hand, news came that Othevius the Governour of CILICIA was dead. Straight whereupon many put forward themselves to sue for this Charge, and to court Ceibeque, as the onely man who above all other might make any with Officer whom he thought good. Now for Lucullut, he made no great reckoning of the Government of CILICIA in respect of the Countrey, but because CAPPADOCIA was hard adjoyning to it: and perfuading himself that if he could obtain the Government thereof, they would Lucidlas ambi- give none other (but himfelf) the Authority to make Wars with Mithridates: he determined to procure all the means he could, that none should have it but himself. And having proved fundry waies, was compelled in the end against his own nature, to practife a mean neither comely nor honeft, and yet the readieft way he could possibly devise to obtain his desire. There was a Woman in Rome at that time called Pracia, very famous for her passing beauty, and also for her pleasant gracein talk and discourse, howbeit otherwise unchaste after Curtizan manner. But because she employed the credit and favour of them that frequented her company, to the benefit and fervice of the Commonwealth, and of them that loved her: she wan the report (besides her other excellent commendable graces) to be a very loving Woman, and ready to favour and further any good enterprise, and it wan her great fame and reputation. But after he had once won Ceshegus (who ruled all the Commonwealth at his pleasure) and brought him so far to be in fancy with her, that he could not be out of her fight: then had she all the whole Power and Authority of ROME in her hands, for the People did nothing but Cerhegus preferred it, and Cerhegus did whatever Pracia would will him to do. Thus Lucullus fought to come in favour with her, fending her many Presents, and using all other courtesies he could offer unto her; besides that it seemed a great reward for so proud and ambitious a Woman as she, to be sued unto by such a man as Lucullus was, who by this means came to have Cethegus at his commandment. For Cethegus did nothing but commend Lucullus in all Affemblies of the People, to procure him the Government of CILICIA: who after it was once granted him, had then no need of the help neither of Pracia, nor yet of Cethegus. For the People wholly of themselves with one consent did grant him the charge to make War with Mithridates, because he knew better how to overcome him then any other Captain, and because that Pompey was in the Wars with Sertorius in SPAIN, and Metellus also grown too old, both which two were the onely men that could defervedly have contended for this Office with him. Neverthelels, Marcus Cotta his fellow Confull, made fuch fuit to the Senate, that they fent him also with an Army by Sea, to keep the Coasts of PROPONTIDE, and to defend the Countrey of BI-THYNIA. Thus Lucullus having this Commission, went into Asia with one Legion onely, the which he levyed anew at ROME: and when he was come thither, he took the rest of the strength he found there, which were men marred and corrupted altogether of long time, through covetoulness Fimbrian Soul- and delicacy of the Countrey. For amongst others, were the Bands which they called the Fimbrian diers very dif- Bands, men given over to felf-will, and very ill to be ruled by Martial Discipline, because they had lived a long time at their own liberty, without all obedience to any man. They were those self Souldiers that together with Fimbria, flew their General Flaceus, Conful of the ROMAN People,

and that afterwards betrayed Finbria himself, and forlook him, leaving him unto Sylla, being Mutiners, Traitours and wicked People, howbeit otherwise very valiant, well trained, and painfull Souldiers. Norwithstanding, Lucullus in short time bridled their boldness meetly well and reformed the othersalfo, who before had never proved (in my opinion) what the value of a good Captain and Generall meant, that knew how to command : but were used to flattering Leaders, that commanded the Souldiers no more then they themselves liked of. Now concerning the State of the Enemies, thus it was with them. Mithridates that in the beginning was very prave and bout (as these flourishing Sophisters commonly are) undertaking War against the ROMANS, with a vain Army against A Enemies, thus it was with them. Mithridates that in the beginning was very brave and bold (as unprofitable Army, but passing fresh and sumptuous to the Eye: after he was once foyled and overcome, with no less shame then loss, when he came to make his second War, he cut off all superfluous Pomp, and brought his Army into a convenient Furniture to ferve for Wars at all affavs. For he put by the confused multitude of fundry Nations, the fierce threatnings of the barbarous People in so many fundry Tongues, and clearly banish also the rich graven Armours with Goldsmiths Work, and fet with precious Stones, as things that more enriched the Enemies that wan them, then gave strength or courage to those that ware them. And contrariwise, caused long stiff Swords to be made after the ROMAN fashion, and great heavy Shields, and brought to the Field a marvellous number of Horse, more ready for Service then rich in Furniture. Then he joyned sixfcore Mithridates thousand Footmen together, appointed and set in order like unto the Battell of the ROMANS. Army, with fixteen thousand Horse of Service, besides those that drew his armed Carts with Sithes about which were in all to the number of an hundred. And befides all this Land preparation the brought also a great number of Ships and Galleys together, which were not decked with goodly Golden Pavilions, as at the first, neither with Stoves nor Bathes, nor with Chambers and Cabbins, curiously hanged for Ladies and Gentlewomen: but furnished full of Armour, Artillery, and Slings, and with Money also to pay the Souldiers. With all this Army and preparation, he went first to invade BITHYNIA, were the Cities received him very gladly, and not those onely, but all the other Cities of Asia wholly : the which were fallen again into their former miseries and diseases, by the Asia felling cruelty of the ROMAN Farmers and Uturers, who raising Taxes and Impost upon them, made former milethem abide untollerable things. It is true that Lucullin drave them away afterwards, like the ries by the Ro-Harpya, which took the meat out of the poor mens mouths: howbeit at that time he did man Usurers. no more, but brought them to be more reasonable by the perswasions he used unto them, and dualified a little the inclination of the People unto rebellion, being every one of them in manner willing to revolt. Now Lucullus being busie about these matters, Marcus Cotta the other full overcome Confull (and his companion) supposing that the absence of Lucullus was a fit occasion offered by Mithridates him to do notable Service, prepared to fight with Mithridages. And although he had Newes in Battell. brought him from fundry places, that Lucullus was with his Army in PHRYGIA, and coming towards him: yet notwithftanding, imagining that he had the honour of Triumph affured already in his hands, and because Lucullus should be no partaker of it, he advanced forwards to give Battell, But Mithridates overcame him both by Sea and Land: fo that Cotta by Sea loft threescore of his Ships with all the men in them, four thousand Footmen by Land, and was after with shame shut up and besieged in the City of CHALCEDON, remaining there hopeless to escape but by Lucullus onely aid and means. "Howbeit there were in Lucullus Camp, that were very earnest with him to leave Cotta, and to go further, affuring him that he should find the Realm of Mithridates both without men of War, or any defence at all : fo that he might eafily be Lord of the whole. And these were the words of the Souldiers that spited Cotta, because his foolish rashness and fond imagination had not onely brought those men to the shambles to be flain and cast away, whom he had the leading of ; but had let them also, that they could not overcome him, and end this War without blows, for that they were driven to go to his help. Howbeit Luculing making an Oration unto them, answered, that he had rather fave the life of one ROMAN Citizen, then win all that his Enemies had in their Power. And when ing of Lucullus Archelans (who had been Mithridates Lieutenant in BOEOTTA in the first Wars against Sylla, for the faving and now in the fecond War took part with the ROMANS I affored him that to foon as they faw of a Chizen. him in the Realm of PONTUS, they would all rife against Mithridates, and yeeld themselves unto him. Lucullus answered him thus, that he would not shew himself more fearfull then the good Hunters, which never fuffer the Beaft to recover his Den. And when he had to faid, he marched with his Army towards Mithridates, having in all his Camp thirty thousand Footmen, and two Luculius Atthousand five hundred Horse: When he came so near unto his Enemies, that he might easily at my Eye discern all their Host, he wondered at the great multitude of Souldiers that were in their Camp, and was in mind to give Battell, supposing yet that the better way was to prolong time, and draw these Wars out in length. But one Marine 2 ROMAN Captain, whom Sertoring had lent out of Spain unto Mithridates with a certain number of Souldiers, came forwards, and provoked him to Battell. Lucullus for his part did put his men also in readiness to fight : but even as both Battels were prepared to joyn , the Element opened upon the fudden . A flame of fire without any thew of change of weather differened before, and they plainely faw a great flake of fell between

fire tall between both Armies, in forme and shape much like to a tun, and of the colour of both Armies, molten Silver. This Celestiall Sign put both the Armies in such a fear, as they both retired, and out of the Efought not a stroak : and this wonderfull fight fortuned (as they fay) in a place of PHRYGIA, lement

called Otryes. Now Luculing afterwards confidering with himself, that there was no riches nor

when the remover has an questioned with them all as he had done with the first. Then comparing the

Lucusus post- envisance willed that one of the Prifoners should be brought into his Tent, and first of all he enquired of him, which che fee how many of them lay together in a Cabbin, then what Corn he had left in their Cabbin. And how many of them lay together in a Causin, then what Colline had a like the Energy when the Prifoner had answered to all his demands, he returned him to Prifoni, and fent for another:

Mithridates befiegeth Cy-

fore of their Corn, and other proportion of Victuals they had, with the number of men the nore of their coin, and other proportion of the interest in three or four days at the uttermost, fame should maintain: he found that all would be spent in three or four days at the uttermost. Whereupon he relied on his first determination, to delay time without hazard of Battell. So he caused a marvellous deal of Wheat to be brought into his Camp out of every quarter, that the fame being throughly Victualled, he might earlily tarry the occasion which his Enemies necessity fhould offer him. Mithridates in the mean time, fought which way he might take the City of the CYZICENEANS, who had been overthrown before with Cotta at the Barrell of CHALCEDON, where they had loft three thousand men, and ten of their Ships. And because that Luculius should not understand of his enterprise, Mithridates stole away by night after Supper, taking the opportunity of a dark rainy night, and marched thitherwards with fuch speed, that he was before the City of Cyzicus by break of day, and pitched his Camp, where the Temple of the goddels Adrastria standeth, which is the goddess of fatall Destinies. Lucultur receiving intelligence of Mithridates departure from his Camp, followed him straight ways step by step, and being glad that he was not met withall of his Enemies in diforder, lodged his Army in a Village called THRA-CIA, in a place of great advantage for him, and commodioully feated also upon the high-ways, and through fear of the neighbours thereabouts, by the which they must come of necessity to Vithrough tear of the heighbours thereadours, by the which they much come or necessing to Vi-duall Mithridates Camp. Wherefore Luculus wifely forefeeing what would follow, would not keep his purpose secret from his Souldiers, but after he had well trenched and fortified his Camp, called them to Counfell, and there making an Oration unto them, told them openly by manifest demonstration of affured hope, that ere many days passed, he would give Victory into their hands, and that without loss of one drop of Bloud. In the mean feafon, Mithridates environed the GRECIANS round about by Land, having divided his Army into ten Camps, and Ropped up the mouth of the Arm of the Sea, which divided the City from firm Land with his Ships from one fide to another. Now the Cyzicenians were Valiant men, and determined to abide all extremity for the ROMANS faker! but one thing onely troubled them much, that they knew not what was become of Luculus, neither could they hear any news of him, though his Camp flood in such a place; where they might easily discern it from the City. But Mithrida-The first NANS, whom Tirrans hath fent to the aid of Misbridati. The words put the Cyzice-Souldier. MANS in a marvellous fear; freing fuch a multitude of Enemies dispersed round about them: that when Lucultum thould come to their aid, he could not well tell which way to pals. Yet at the length they leard of Lucullus approach, by one called Demonax, whom Architect fent unto the most they would not believe him at the first, taking it for a Tale, onely to make them to be of good courage, and Valiantly attide the futy of the Siege: untill fuch time as a little Boy of theirs escaped from the Enemies that before had riken him Priloner, was come again unto them. Of encaped from the entennes that octobe had tapped than Thomas, was come again onto them. Or whom they inquired where Litting was so the Boy laughed artilism, thinking they jefted to ask that whom they inquired where Litth Rim was into Boy langued artition, thinking they jeffed to ask that question of him. But when he faw they were in Bood earnest; he shewed them the ROMANS Camp with his firger; then they believed it indeed; and were couragious again. There is a Lake near unto the City of Cyzicus falled Dastylinde; and it is havingable with reconvenient big Boats. Luculum took one of the greatest of them; put it is a Cart, and so carried into the Sea, and Boats. Luculum took one of the greatest of them; put it is a Cart, and so carried into the Sea, and the season would be some the city the there put as many Souldiers in her as the could well carry, who by night entered into the City, the Skout of the Enemies never diffying them. This finall furply did marvelloully comfort the beliefed CYZICENIANS: and it feetheth that the gods, delighting to feetheir noble courage, would inther increase and assure the same, by many manufest tokens which they sent from Heaven, and specially by one, which was this. The day of the Feat. of Profernia was at hand, and the Citizens had A wonderfull never a black Cow to offer in foldin Sarrifice, as their antient Ceremonies required: to they made never a black Cow to oner in loienth Sacrince, as their animin Ceremonies required: to they made one of Pafte, and brought it hard into the Altar. Now, the Cow that was Vowed to this Sacrifice, and which they reared up of purpose to serve for that day, was feeding amongst the Heard of the City in the Fields, on the other fide of the Arm of the Sea. But that day the kept alone from all the rest of the Heard, and swam over the Arm of the Sea, and came into the City : where she went of her felf unto the place of the Sacrifice. Furthermore, the godders Proferpina her felf appeared unto Arifingorax in his dream, Secretary of the State and Common-wealth of the Cyzicenians, and faid unto him : 1 am come hither to bring the Plute of Ly BIA against the Trumpet of PONT, and therefore tell the Citizens from me, that I will them to be of good courage. The next morning when the Secretary had told them this. Ylfion, the CTZICENIAN's marvelled much at the goddesies words, and could not imagine what they meant. Howbeit at the break of day there arole a great whistling wind, that made the Sea-billows rife very high : and the Kings Engins of Battery which winning wonderfull Works that one Ni-were brought to the Walls of the City to pluck them down (being wonderfull Works that one Ni-

west brought a THESSALIAN Engineer had made and devised) began to make such a noise, and

to break in pieces by the roughness of the wind, that a man might easily judge what would follow upon

Aristagorax Vilion.

it. Then all at one instant, the Southwind was become so vehement big, that in a moment it burfle all these Engines alunder, and specially a Tower of Wood of the height of an hundred Cubits, which the wind shook so vehemently, that it overthrew it to the ground. And it is said furthermore. that in the City of ILIUM the goddels Minerva appeared unto divers in their fleep, all in a sweat, and shewing part of her Veil torn, as if she had been newly returned from giving aid unto the CYZICENIANS: in confirmation whereof, the Inhabitants of ILIUM have a Pillar vet unto this day, whereupon this matter is written for a perpetual memory. Now was Mithridates marvellous forry for the breaking and lofs of his Engines, by means whereof, the CYZICENI-ANS had escaped the danger of affault, and of the Siege in like manner, until he truely understood Extrem Faof the great famine that was in his Camp, and the extream dearth to be such, as the Souldiers were dates Camp, compelled to eat mans Flesh, which (his Captains abusing him) had for a time kept secret proverb: from his knowledge. But when he was enformed of the troth indeed, he left off his vain am- He lept on his bition obstinately to continue Siege: knowing well that Lucullus made not Wars with threats belly with his and bravery , but (as the common Proverb faith) leapt on his belly with both his feet, that is to feet. fay, he did what he could possible to cut off all the Victuals from him. And therefore one day when Lucullus was gone to affault a Caffle that troubled him, very near unto his Camp, Mithridates because he would not lose that opportunity, sent the most part of his Horsemen to get Victualsin BITHYNIA, with all the Carts, and Beafts of Carriage, and his most unprofitable Footmen. Lucullus hearing thereof, returned again the felf fame night unto his Camp, and the next morning betimes being in the Winter feafon, followed them by the track with ten Enfigns of Footmen onely, and all his Horsemen. But the Snow was so deep, the cold so terrible sharp, and the Weather to rough, that many of his Souldiers not being able to abide it, died by the way. For all that, he marched on still, till he overtook his Enemies about the River of Rindacus, where he Rindacus st. gave them fuch an Overthrow, that the very Women came out of the City of Apollonia, and went to steal the Victuals they had loden, and to strip the dead, which were a marvellous and with to heat an may judge in such a case; and nevertheless there were taken six thousand Lucullus over-Horse of Service, and infinite number of Beasts for Carriage, and sisteen thousand men besides, threw Mithriall which spoil he brought to his Camp, and passed hard by the Camp of his Enemies. But dates Host-I wonder much at the Historiographer Sainst, who writing of this matter saith, that here was men. the first time that ever the ROMANS saw any Camels. Me thinks its strange how he should think fo , that they who long before had overcome Antiochus the Great under Scipio , and the others that a little before had fought against Archelam , near unto the Cities of ORCHOMENE and CHERONEA, should not have seen Camels. But to return again to our matter. Mithridates being feared with this Overthrow, refolved with himfelf immediately to flie, with all the fpeed he could possibly make : and to entertain and stay Lucullus for a time behind him . he determined to fend Ar florious his Admirall with his Arm; by Sea, into the Sea of GREECE. But as Aristonicus was ready to hoise fail, his own men betrayed him, and delivered him into the hands of Lucullus, with ten thousand Crowns which he carried with him, to corrupt (if he could) Mithridates part of the ROMANS Army. Mithridates hearing of this, fled by Sea, leaving the rest of his fled by Sea. Army by Land in the hands of his Captains, to be brought away by them as well as they could. Lu- Granicus fl. cullus followed unto the River of Granicus, where he fet upon them, and after he had flain twenty Lucullus overcellus followed unto the Arter of Granicus, where it retained by there died in that Wars, what throweth Mi-thoufand of them, took an infinite number Prisoners. And they say there died in that Wars, what throweth Mi-thoufand of them, took an infinite number Prisoners. And they say there died in that Wars, what the work of the composition of the composi ber of three hundred thousand People. This done, Luculius returned to the City of Cy zicus, where ver of Granien. after he had spent some days, enjoying the Glory due unto him, and received the Honourable entertainment of the CYZICENIANS: he went to visit the Coast of Hellespont, to get Ships to- Lucultus gether, and to prepare an Army by Sea. And passing by TROADE, they prepared his lodging with- Dream. in the Temple of Vonus : where, ashe flept in the night , it feemed to him he faw the goddess appear before him, which faid these Verses unto him:

O Lyon fierce and front, why fleepest thou fo found? Since at thy hand fo fair a Prey , is ready to be found.

Herewith he role incontinently out of his bed, being yet dark night, and calling his friends to him, told them the Vision he had in his Dream : and about that very time also there came some unto him from the City of ILIUM, that brought him news of fifteen Galleys of King Mithridates, having five Oars to every Bank , that were feen in the Haven of the ACHAIANS , and that failed towards the life of LEMNOS. Whereupon Lucullus took Ships straight, went and took them every one: for at his first coming he slew the Captain called Isidorus, and went afterwards to the other Marriners that lay at Anker on the Coast fide, who seeing him come drew towards Land with their Ships, in purpose to run them all ashore, and fighting above hatches, hurt many of Lucullus Souldiers, because they could not compais them in behind, and for that also the place where they had layed their Ships was fuch, as there was no way to force them before, their Galleys floting in the Sea as they did, and the others being faftned to the land as they were. Lucullus with much ado all this norwithft anding, found means in the end to put ashore certain of the best Souldiers he had about him, in a place of the Isle where they might eafily land. These Souldiers went straight and set upon the Enemies behind, slew some of them even at their first coming, and compelled the rest to cut afunder the Cables that fastned the Galleys to the Banks. But when they thought to flie from Land, the Calleys bruifed and broke one another: and that worst of all was, ran upon the Points and Spurs of Incultrs Galleys: and so many of them as

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Lucullus Oration and excufe to his

stood above hatches were slaim, the rest taken Prisoners : amongst whom, EMarian the ROMAN Captain was brought unto Lucullin , whom Sertorise had fent out of Span S, unto Mitbridates. He had but one Eye, and Luculius had commanded his men before they fought, not to kill any of his Enemies that had but one Eye, because Marius should not dye so happy a death, as to be slain, but that he should dye some shamefull death, and be condemned by order of Law. That done, Luculus went in person with all the speed he could possible to follow Mithridaters: hoping to find him yet upon the Coaft of BITHYNIA, whiefe Poconius (hould have stayed him : for he had sent this Vocenius before with a great number of his Ships unto the City of NICOMEDIA, to stop him from flying. But he tarried fo long in the Isle of Samothracia factificing to the gods of the same, and to be received into the Frateristy of their Religion, that he could never after come near Milhridates to stop him from flying : having already made fail with all the whole Fleet , and hafting with all possible speed to recover the Realm of Pontus, before Lucillus could return from whence he went. But in failing thitherwards, he met with such a terrible from, that carried part of his Ships so away, that they ran straggling to seek their fortune, and part of them part of the only of away, that they fall the Coast and Riversthereabouts, for many days after, were full of dead Bodies and Shipwracks cast athore by waves of the Sea. Now for Mithridates own person, he was in a Ship of great burthen, the which for her greatness could not fail neer the shore, nor recover Land, she was also very evil so be guided by the Pilots in so boilterous a fform : the Marriners besides were put out of all their skill and knowledge: and the Ship herself moreover took in such store of water, and was so heavily charged withall, that they durst no more put her out to the Sea. By reason whereof Mithridates was compelled to go aboard a little pinnace of Pirats, and to put himself and his Life into their hands, by whose help in the end (beyond all expectation, but not without great danger) he got to Land, and recovered the City of HERACLEA in the Realm of PONTUS. Now here is to be noted, that the great bravery Lacultur shewed unto the Senate of ROME, fell out according to his imagination by the favour of the gods. For when the Senare had appointed for ending of these Wars, to prepare a great Na-Lucullar ambi vy of Ships, and therewithall had given order also for three thousand Talents: Lucullar stayed Lucinant amounts, them by Letters, that they should not do it, writing bravely unto them, that without all this Charge and great preparation he would be fitting enough to drive Mitbridates from the Sea, with the onely Ships he would borrow of their Friends and confederates. And indeed, through the special favour of the gods, he brought it to to pass : for they say, that this terrible from that defroyed the Army of Mithridates was raifed up by Diana, being offended with the men of the Realm of PONTUS, because they had destroyed her Temple in the City of PRIA POS, and had carried away her Image. Now there were divers that councelled Luculius to defer the reft of this War untill another feason: but notwithstanding all their perswasions, he went through the Luculus jour Countrey of GALATIA and BITHYNIA to invade the Realm of Mithridates. In the which encountry jour-voyage, at the first beginning he lacked Victuals, so that there were thirty thousand men of GALATIA following his Camp, that carried every one of them a bushell of wheat on their An Ox bought shoulders: howbeit entring further into the Countrey, and Conquering the whole, there was such for a Dischma exceeding plenty of all things, that an Ox was fold in his Camp but for a Drachma, and a Slave at four times as much. And of all other spoil there was great frore, that either they made no reckoning of it, or elfe they made havock of it, because there was no man to fell it unto, every man having fo much of his own. For they ran over all the Countrey unto the City of THEMISYRA, and The mutiny of to the Valleys that lay upon the River of Thermodon, and stayed no where longer then they were a fpoyling. Thereupon the Souidiers began to murmur at Lucullus, because he affured all the Cities upon Composition, and never took any of them by force, nor gave them any means to enrich themfelves by [poil : and yet faid they , he would make us now go further , and leave AMESUS 2 great rich City which we might eafily take by force, if it were but a little straightly besieged, and lead us into the Defens of the TIBARENIANS and the CHALDEANS to fight against. Mithridates. Lucullus passed over all these complaints, and made no reckoning of them, because he would never have thought that they would have fallen into fuch mutiny and fury, as afterward they did: and contrarily excused him telf the more carefully to them that blamed and reproved him, for his long tarrying upon Towns and Villages that were not worth the reckoning, and fuffering Mibridates in the mean time to gather a new force and Army together at his pleasure. "For, said he, that is the mark "I shoot at, and that maketh me linger time up and down as I do, wishing nothing more, then that "he might once again make himself strong, and bring a second Army to the Field, that might em-"bolden him to come eftions to fight with us, and run away no more. Do you not fee, faid he, that at his back he hath an infinite number of Defert Countries, where it is unpossible ever to fol-"low him by the track : and hard by him also the Mount Caucalus, and many other unpassible places, "which are sufficient not onely to hide him alone, but infinite number of other Princes and Kings "besides that would slie Battell, and not come to fight? Furthermore, it is but a little way from "the Countrey of the Cabirenians unto the Realm of Armenia, where Tigranes the King "of Kings inhabiteth, whole Power is fo great, that he driveth the PARTHIANS out of ASIA, "and carrieth whole Towns and Cities of GREECE unto the Realm of Media, and hath all Sy-"RIA and PALESTINE in his hands, and hath flain and rooted out the Kings and Succeffours of "the great Selenem, and hath carryed away their Wives and Daughters prisoners by force. This great

"and mighty King is allied unto Mithridates, for he married Mithridates Daughter : and it is not " likely that when Mithridates shall come and intreat him to help him in his diffress, that Tigre- Tigranes King "net will refuse him, but rather we must think certainly that he will make wars upon us in of Armenia, "his defence. And thus, in making hafte to drive out Mithridates, we shall bring our selves into married Mi-" great danger, to provoke a new Enemy, even Tigranes against us, who of long time hath lurked Daughter. " for a just occasion to make Wars with us : and he can have no honester cause to take Arms, then "to defend and keep a King his neighbour, and so near a Kinsman, from utter destruction, and "one that is compelled to leek unto him for fuccour. What need we then to provoke him to "procure it, and teach Mithridates (which he purposeth not) to whom he should repair for aid, to "make Wars against our selves: and prick him forward, or to say better, put him with our own "hands into the way to go feek aid of Tigranes, which of himself he will never do (thinking "it a dishonour unto him) unless we drive him to it for very necessity? Is it not better for us to "give him leafure and time, to gather a fecond force again of himfelf, and his own People, that we might rather fight with the COLCHIANS, TIBARENIANS, CAPPADOCIANS, and with " fuch other People whom we have so many times overcome : then with the MEDES and ARME-"NIANS. With this determination Luculius tarried a great while before the City of AMISUS . continuing this fiege of purpole, without diffreshing them at all. Afterwards when Winter was past, he left Murana there to continue the fiege, and himself with the rest of his Army went to meet Mi- Mitbrillates thridates: who had planted his Camp near unto the City of CABIRA, determining to tarry the Camped at ROMANS coming, having gathered together again a new Army of forty thousand Footmen, dates Army, and four thousand Horsmen, in the which he put his most confidence and trust, so that he passed Lycus st. over the River of Lycus, and went and presented Battell to the ROMANS in the plain Field. There the Horsmen skirmished, and the ROMAN's had the worse : for there was one Pomponius a ROMAN taken, of great estimation, who was brought unto King Methridates hurt as he was. Mithridates asked him, if in faving his Life, and healing his wounds, he would become his Servant and Friend. Straight replied Pomponius, With all my heart, quoth he, so that thou make Peace with the ROMANS: if not . I will ever be thine Enemy. The King efteemed his courage much, and would do him no hurt. And as for Lucullus he was afraid to come into the Plain , because his Enemy was the The constancy ftronger of Horimen: and he doubted also on the other fide to take his way by the Mountain, be- of a Roman Souldier. cause it was very high, uneasie to climb, and full of Woods and Forrests. But as he stood thus doubtfull, they took certain GRECIANS by chance that were fled, and hidden in a Cave hard by, a- Mithridates mong the which there was an old man called Artemidorus, who promifed Lucullus, if he would be- Horimen. leeve and follow him, he would bring him into a fureftrong place to lodge his Camp, where was a Castle above the City of CABIRA. Lucullus beleeved the old mans words, wherefore so soon as night came, he raised great fires in the Camp, and went his way; and after they had passed certain straight and dangerous ways of the Mountains, he came in the morning unto the place where Artemido us had promifed to bring him. Now the Enemies were marvellously amazed when day light came, to see him there over them, in a place where if he lift to fight, he might come upon them with advantage : and if he liked not to stir, it was unpossible to compell him. For he stood indifferent then to hazard Battell, or not. But in the mean feafon, they fay certain of the Kings Camp by chance were a hunting the Hart. The ROMANS perceiving that, fell upon them to cut them off by the way: and they began by this mean one to charge another, in such fort (relief growing still on either fide) as Mithridates men grew the stronger. But the ROMAN'S seeing their men fly from the Trenches of their Campabove, were in such a rage, that they all ran in a choler to Lucallus to pray him he would lead them to Battell, and give them a fignall to fight. Lucal- The fight of Ins , because he would show them by experience how much the presence and eye of a good wife Ca- a Generall in ptain in time of need was worth: commanded them they should not once stir, and he himfelf in Person went down into the Valley, where he commanded the first of his men he met withall force. flying, to flay, and return to the fight again with him. Which they presently did, and all the other in like case: and thus gathering them together again, did easily make their Enemies return, that before had them in chase, and drave them back, fighting with them even hard to their own Fort. Afterwards upon his return again to his Camp, he fet his Souldiers that fled, unto a certain Apolitick piece of work to shame them withall, which the ROMANS are wont to use in such a case: and device of the that is, that he made them die a dirch of twelve foot long, being in their shire all pure that and Romans to that is, that he made them dig a ditch of twelve foot long, being in their fhirts, all untruffed, and punish cowtheir other Companions present seeing them do it. Now there was in King Mithridates Camp, one ardly Souldiers. Olthacus, Prince of the DARDARIANS (which are certain Barbarous People dwelling upon the The Dardari-Marishes of Maotin) a Noble Gentleman of his Person, Valiant and skilfull in Wars, and a man any what Peoof very good andgement to do any great enterprise, as any that was in all the Army, and further-ple they be: more a Prince of great good grace and entertainment in company, knowing how to fashion himself with all men. This Prince, being always at strife with other Lords of the Countrey, and contending who should have the first place of Honour and favour about the King : went unto Mitbridates, and promifed him that he would do him notable Service, and that was, that he would kill Lucullue. The King was very glad of this promife, and praifed him marvelloufly in fecret : howbeit openly of purpose he did him many injuries, because he might have some colour to counterfeit anger and displeasure, and to give way for him to go yeeld himself unto Lucullus, as he did. Lucullus was marvellous glad of him, because he was one of the chiefest men of Name in all his Camp; and to prove him withall, gave him charge immediately: in the which he behaved himself fo

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Mithridates

that he did him this Honour, to call him fometimes unto the Councell, and make him fit at his Boord. ger by Otthern One day when this DARDARIAN Prince Olthacus thought to have found fit occasion to execute his enterprise, he commanded his Footmen to be ready with his Horse out of the Trenches of the Camp : and at noon days when the Souldiers took reft, and slept here and there in the Camp, Olibacus Prince he went unto Lucullus Tent, thinking to have found no body there to keep him from coming in, confidering the familiarity Lucallus thewed him, faying also he had matters of great importance to talk with him of : and fure he had gone in immediately unto him, if sleep that casteth away fo many other Captains, had not then preferved and faved Lucullus that slept. For one of the Grooms of his Chamber called Menedamus, who by good Fortune kept the door of the Tent, told him that he came in very ill time, because Lacullus being wearied with travell and lack of sleep, was but then newly layed down to rest. Olthacu, whatsoever the other said to him, would not be so answered, but told him, he would come in whether he would or not, for he must needs speak with him in a matter of great importance. Menedemus answered him again, that nothing could be of greater importance, nor more necessary, then the preservation of his Masters Line and health, who had need to take reft: and with these words he thrust him back with both his hands, Olthacus was afraid then, and withdrew himself secretly out of the trenches of the Camp, took his Horse back, and rode straight to Mithridates Camp without his purpose he came for, which was to kill Lucullus. And thus it plainly appeareth, that occasion, and opportunity of time, even in great matters delivereth means to fave or destroy the Life of man, like as drugs and Medicines given unto the fick and diseased Persons. Shortly after, Luculius sent one of his Captains, called Sornation, to get Victuals, with ten Enligns of Footmen. Whereof Mishridates being advertised, sent presently at his tail one of his Captains also, called Menander, unto whom Sornation gave Battell, and slew him, with great saugher of his men beside. And afterward Lucuslins fent another of his Lieutenants, called Adrianus, with a great company of Souldiers, to get Vision and the saughest saughe Atuals into his Camp more then he should need. Misbridans did not let slip this occasion, but rain of Mibri- fent after him two of his Captains also, called Menemachus and Myron, with a great number of dates Caprains. men, as well Footmen as Horsmen: all which were slain, two onely excepted, that brought News back to Mithridates Camp: the which he fought to falve as well as he could, faying that the loss was much less then it was thought for , and that it fortuned through the ignorance and rashness of his Lieutenants. But Adrianus at his return passed by Mithridates Camp with great Pomp and Majefty, carrying a huge number of Carts loaden with Corn and Spoyls he had won: which drave Mithridages self into so great a dispair, and all his People into such a sear and trouble, that he presently determined to remove thence. Whereupon, the Nobility and such as had place of credit about him, began to fend before, and fecretly to convey their Stuff out of the Camp, but cause of muti-utterly prohibiting others to do the same. The rest of the Souldiers seeing the stoutness of the Kings Minions, began to fet upon them with open force, not suffering them on the other side once to iffue out of the Camp. This mutiny grew to fuch a fury, that they overthrew their carriages and sumpter Moyls, and slew them presently. Amongst others there was slain Derilans one of the chiefest Captains of all their Camp, who had nothing about him but a Purple Gown, for the which they killed him: and Hermans the Priest of the Sacrifiers was troden under foot, and smothered at the Camp Gate, by reason of the multitude of those that fled in so great disorder. The King himfelf amongst others fled, but having never a one of his guard about him, nor any Coretonness of the Squires of his Stable to bring him a Horse, Ptolimie, one of the Grooms of his Chamber, Coverounces covered him in the company of them that fled, lighted off his own Horfe, and gave him the of Souldiers. King, but even in manner too late. For the ROMANS that followed him were then even hard at his tail: and it was not for lack of speed they missed the taking of him, for they were very near him; but the coverounces of the Souldiers was the loss of the Prey they had so long sought for, with fo great pain and hazard of Battels, and deprived Luculus of the Honour and reward of all his Victories. For they were so near unto him, that if they had but followed Mithridates never fo little further, they had out of doubt overtaken him and his Horfe, and carried him away. But one of the Moyls that carried his Gold and Silver (whether by chance, or of pretended policy of Mithridates, as a matter purposely abandoned to them that pursued) was found in the middest of the high-way betwire him that fled, and the ROMANS that followed, who flayed there to rob the Gold and Silver, fighting about it, that Mithridates by that means wan ground fo far before them, as they could never after come near him again. And this loss was not all which the coverousness of the Souldiers made Luculius to lofe. For, one of the chiefest Secretaries of the King being taken, called Callistratus, whom Luculius commanded to be brought unto him to his Camp: they that had the charge of him, hearing tell that he had five hundred Crowns in a Girdle about him, for greedinels of them, flew him by the way; and yet notwithflanding Lucullus suffered them to spoil and destroy the whole Camp of their Enemies. After Mithridates flight, Lucullus took the City of CABIRA, and many other Castles and strong places, where he found great Treasure, and the Prilons full of poor Priloners of the GRECIANS, and many Princes akin unto the King himfelf, which were thought to be dead long before : and then feeing themselves delivered from this milerable bondage, by the grace and benefit of Lucullus, thought with themselves they were not onely taken out of Prison, but revived and turned again unto a second Life. There was also taken one of King Mithridates Sifters called Niffa, whose taking fell out profitable for her:

because all Mithridates other Wives and Sisters, whom they placed furthest off, as out of all danger (and fent into a Countrey of greatest fafety , near unto the City of PHARNACIA) died pitiful- Millridges ly and were miserably sain. For Mithridates sent one of the Grooms of his privy Chamberun. Sew his Sisters to them, called Bacchides, to bring them word that they must all dye. Amongst many other Noble and Wives, Ladies, there were two of the Kings Sisters, called Roxane and Statira, which were forty years old a piece, and yet had never been married: and two of his Wives also whom he had married. both of the Countrey of IONIA, the one called Berenice, born in the Isle of CHIO; and the other Monime, in the City of MILETUM. Monime the was very famous amongst the GRECIANS: for notwithstanding King Mithridates importunate dealing, being far in love with her, in so much as he sent her fifteen thousand Crowns at one time, yet she would never give ear unto his suit, untill such time as the marriage was agreed upon between them, and that he had sent her his Diademe or Royall band, and called her by the Name and Title of Queen. This poor Lady after the marriage of this Barbarous King, had long lived a wofull Life, bewailing continually her accuried beauty, that in flead of a Husband, had procured her a Mafter : and in flead of the matrimoniall company which a Noble Woman should enjoy, had gotten her a guard and Garrison of Barbarous men, that kept her as a Priloner, far from the fweet Countrey of GREECE: in change whereof, the had but a dream and shadow of the hoped goods she looked for, having unfortunately left them within her own Countrey she happily enjoyed before. Now when this Bacchides was come unto them. and had commanded them from the King to chuse what manner of death they would, and which every one of them thought most eatie, and least paintuil: Monime pucks on the Royau Dania from her head, and tying it on a knot about her neck, hung her felf, but the Band not being The courage of Monime, Mievery one of them thought most easie, and least painfull : Monime pluckt off the Royall Band firong enough, brake incontinently. Whereupon she cryed out : O cursed and wicked tiffue, Monime, MI-thridates Wife, wilt thou not yet serve me to end my sorrowfull days? And speaking these words, cast it on the ground, and spit upon it, and held out her throat to Bacchides to be cut asunder. The other Bert- Monime her nice, the took a cup full of poylon, her Mother being prefent, who prayed her to let her have half, throat was the which she did, and they drank it off between them. The force of the poyson was strong e- cut. nough to kill the old Mother weak with age, but not fo quickly to deftroy the Daughter, becaule the had not taken that proportion which would have ferved her turn, but drew out the pains of her death in length, untill such time as Bacchides hasting to dispatch her, she in the end did strangle her felf. As for the Kings two Sifters, Roxane and Statira, which were Virgins yet unmarried, they Berentee fav, that one of them also drank poylon, cursing and detefting the cruelty of her Brother: how firangled her beit Statira gave never an ill word, nor was faint-hearted or forrowfull to dye, but contrarily did felf. commend and thank her Brother highly, that feeing himself in danger, had not yet forgotten them, The courage but was carefull to cause them to dye, before they should fall as slaves into the hands of their Enemies, and before they could come to dishonour them, or do them villany. These pitifull missortunes went thridates Sister. to Lucullus heart, who was courteous and gentle of nature: nevertheless he went on farther, still following Michidates at the heels: unto the City of TALAURA. And there understanding that he was fled four days before unto Tigranes in ARMENIA, returned back again, having first fubdued the CHALDEANS, and the TIBARENIANS, taken ARMENIA the less, and brought the Cities. Castles and strong places unto his obedience. That done, he sent Appine Cloding unto King Appine Cloding Tigranes to summon him to deliver Mithridates unto him: and himself took his journey towards fent unto Tithe City of Amisus, which was yet belieged. The caule why this fiege continued to long, was the granes from fufficiency and great experience of the Captain that kept it for the King, called Callimachus, who Callimachus understood fo well how all forts of Engines of Battery were to be used, and was so subtill besides in Governous of all inventions that might serve to defend a place besieged, as he troubled the ROMANS much in Amissia. this attempt: but afterwards he was not onely met withall, and payed home for all his labour. but also outreached by Lucullus for all his fineness. For where before he had always used to found the retreat at a certain hour, and to call his men back from the affault to rest them: one day he Lucultus wan brake that order on the sudden, and coming to affault the Wall, at the first charge wan a piece of it, Amisus. before those within could come in time to refift them. Callimachus seeing that, and knowing it was now unpossible to keep the City any longer, forfook it. But before his departing he fet the City Callimachus on fire, either for malice to the ROMANS, because he would not they should enrich themselves settleth fire on with the fack of fo great a City: or else for a policy of War to have the more leasure to fave flieth, himself, and fly. For no man gave eye to them that fled by Sea, because the flame was so great, that it dispersed it self even to the very Walls, and the ROMAN Souldiers, they onely prepared to Luculus courspoil. Lucullus seeing the fire without, had compatition of the City within, and would gladly have the City of Aholpen it, and for that purpose prayed the Souldiers quickly to quench it: but not a man would milus, hearken to him, every one gaping after the spoil, making great noile with clashing of Harnels, and being very loud befides otherwise, till at the length enforced thereunto, he gave the City wholly to spoil, hoping thereby to save the Houses from fire, but it fell out clean contrary. For the Souldiers themselves in feeking all about with Torches and Links lighted, to see if any thing were hidden, they fet a number of Houses on fire. So as Lucullus coming into the City the next morning, and feeing the great desolation the fire had made, fell a weeping, faying unto his familiar friends about Lucullus gentle him, he had oftentimes before thought Sylla happy, howbeit he never wondred more at his good For- faying. tune, then that day he did. For, Sylla faid he, defired to fave the City of ATHENS, the gods granted him that favour that he might doit: but I that would fain follow him therein, and fave this City, Fortune thwarting my defire, hath brought me to the reputation of Mummine, that caused Co-

taken.

ulury.

RINTH to be burnt. Nevertheless he did his best indeavour at that time to help the poor City as gain. For touching the fire, even immediately after it was taken, by Gods providence there tell a shower of Rain as it was newly kindled, that quenched it: and Lucuilus self before he lest the City, madea great number of the Houses which were spoiled by fire, to be built up again, and courteoully received all the Inhabitants that were fled , befides them , he placed other GRECIANS therealfo, that were willing to dwell amongst them, and increased the bounds and confines of the City which he gave them, one hundred and twenty furlongs in the Countrey. This City was a Colonie of the ATHENIANS, who had Built and Founded it, in the time that their Empire flouriflied, and that they ruled the Seas: by reason whereof, many flying the Tyranny of Arifica, went to dwell there, and were made free of the City, as the naturall Inhabitants of the fame. This good hap fell upon them, that forfaking their own goods, they went to possess and enjoy the goods of other men: but the very Citizens of ATHENS it felf that had escaped from this great defolation, Luculius cloathed them well, and gave them two hundred Drachmas a piece, and fent them again into their Countrey. Tyrannion the Grammarian was taken at that time, whom Min ana begged of Luculum and Luculum having granted him unto him, he made him free, wherein he dealt very discourteously, and did much abuse Lucullus liberality and Gift unto him. For in be-Tyrannion the Rowing this Priloner upon him, who was a famous Learned man, he did not mean Murena should Grammarian take him for a bondman, whereby he should need afterwards to make him free. For seeming to make him free, and reftore him to liberty, was no more then to take that Freedom and liberty from him, which he had from his Birth. But in many other things, and not in that onely, Murana laid himself open to the world, that he had not all the parts a worthy Captain should have in him. When Lucullus departed from Amssus, he went to vifit the Cities of Assa, to the end that whilest he was not now occupied with Wars, they might have fome refreshing of Laws and justice. For, by reason that Law was not executed of long time in Asia, the poor Countrey was fo afflicted and oppressed with so many evils and miseries, as no man living would scant beleeve, nor any Tongue can well declare. For , the extream and horrible covetouinels of the Farmers, Customers, and ROMAN Usurers, did not onely devour it, but also kept it in such bondage and thraldom, that particularly the poor Fathers were driven to fell their goodly young Sons and Daughters in marriage, to pay the interest and usury of the Money which they had borrowed to discharge their fines withall; and publikely the Tables dedicated unto the Temples, the Statues of their gods, and other Church Jewels: and yet in the end, they themselves were also to be judged bondmen and flaves to their cruell creditors, to wear out their Bodies in milerable fervitude. And yet the worst of all was, the pain they put them to before they were so condemned : for they imprisoned them, fer them on the rack, tormented them upon a little Brasen Horse, set them in the Stocks, made them stand naked in the greatest heat of Summer, and on the Ice in the deepest of Winter, fo as that bondage feemed unto them a relief of their mileries, and a rest of their torments. Luculus found the Cities of Asia full of fuch oppressions, but in a short timeaster he delivered them all that were wrongfully tormented. For first he took order, they should account for the utury that was payed monethly, the hundred part of the principall debt onely, and no liveth Afia more. Secondly, he cut offall usuries that passed the principall. Thirdly, which was the greatest from extream matter of all , he ordained that the creditor and usurer should enjoy the fourth part of the profits That is after and revenues of his debter. And he that joyned usury with the principall, that is to say , took the rate of usury upon usury, should lose the whole. So that by this order, all debts were payed in less then twelve in the four years, and the owners Lands and revenues fet clear of all manner of payments. This furhundred for charge of uluries, came of the twenty thouland Talents, wherein Sylla had condemned the Laws fet dowr Countrey of Asia: the which Sum they had payed twife before unto the Farmers and Collefor ulurers. ctors of the ROMANS, who had raifed it, still heaping usury upon usury to the Sum of six core thousand Talents. Wherefore these Collectors and Farmers ran to ROME, and cryed our upon Lucullus, faying, that he did them the greatest wrong that could be : and by means of Money, they procured certain of the common Counfellors to speak against him: which they might easily do, because they had divers of their Names in their Books that dealt in the affairs of the Commonwealth of ROME But Luculius was not onely beloved of those Countries whom he did good time, but was wifted for and defired also of others, who thought the Countries happy that might have Appins Cloding fuch a Governour. Now for Appine Cloding, whom Luculin had fent before from TALAURA Lucillus Vives unto King Tigranes in Armenia, and whose fifter at that time was Lucillus Wife: he first Brober. took certain of the Kings men for guides, who of very malice guided him through the high Countrey, making him fetch a great compass about, by many days journeys spent in vain: untill such time as one of his infranchized bondmen that was born in Syria, taught him the right way. Brother. Whereupon he discharged these Barbarous guides and leaving the wrong wayes they had led him, within few days past over the River of Euphrates, and arrived in the City of ANTIOCH, surnamed EPIDAPHNE. Where he had commandment to abide Tigranes return, who was then in the Countrey of PHOENICIA, where he subdued certain Cities, and had some other yet to Con-

alter any thing. For the rule of these ARMENIANS was intollerable to the GRECIANS, and fpecially the pride and arrogancy of the King. Who, by reason of his great prosperity, was Tigrange pride grown to fuch pride and prelimption, that whatfoever men did commonly efteem best, and make and power. most reckoning of, he would not onely have it, and use it as his own, but also took it that all was made for himself whatsoever : and this great overweening grew, by reason of fortunes special grace and favour towards him. For at the beginning he had but very little, and yet with this little (which few made reckoning of) he conquered many great Nations , and plucked down the Power of the Bersians as much as any man that ever was before him, He replenished the Countrey of Mesopoma acia with GRECIAN Inhabitants, which he brought by force out of CILICIA and CAPPADOCIA, compelling them to inhabit there. He made the A-RABIANS change their manner of living, who are otherwise called the SCENITES , as much to fav . as Tene dwellers , because they are vagrant People that dwell in no other Houses but Tents. which they ever use to carry with them; and brought them out of their naturall Countrey, and made them follow him, using them for his commodity in trade of Merchandize. There were ever many Kings in his Court that waited on him : but amongst others, he had four Kings that waited continually on his Person as his Footmen a for when he rode abroad any whither, they ran by his stirrop in their shirts. And when he was set in his Chair of State to give audience, they stood on their feet about his Chair holding their hands together, which countenance thewed the most manifest confession and tokens of bondage that they could do unto him: as if they had shewed thereby that they refigned all their liberty, and offered their Bodies unto their Lord and Mafter . thore ready to fuffer , then any thing to do. Notwithstanding , Applus Clidius being nothing abashed nor feared with all this Tragicall, Pomp, when audience was given him, told dru, Incallus King Tigranes boldly to his face, that he was come to carry King Mitbridates away with him, Ambashadour who was due to the Triumph of Lucullus: and therefore did Jummon him to deliver that King in- unto Tigranes. to his hands, or else that he proclaimed Wars upon himself. They that were present at this fummons, knew well enough, that Tigrases (although he fet a good countenance on the matter openly with a faint counterfeit laughing) yet hearing these words so boldly and gallantly spoken out of this young mans mouth, was galled to the quick, and hit at the heart. For Tigranes having reigned (or to fay better, Tyrannically governed) five and twenty years space, had never heard any bold or frank speech but that. Notwithstanding; he answered Appins, that he would not deliver Muhridates, and it the ROMANS made Wars with him, that he would defend himself. And being greatly offended that Lucultus in his Letters gave him not the Title. King of Kings, but onely King simply: in the Letters he wrote back to Lucullus again, he did not so much as vouchsafe to call him Captain onely. But when Appins took his leave, he sent him Appins abstigoodly rich Presents, which he resused. Whereupon the King sent others again unto him, nence from taof the which Appins took a Cup onely, because the King should not think he resused ought of king of Gists. anger, or ill will: and so sending all the rest again unto him, made great haste to return to his Captain Lucullus. Now Tigranes before that time would not once fee King Mithridates his to near kinfman, who by fortune of Wars had lost fo puitfant and great a Kingdom, but proudly kept him under, in Fenny Marith and unwholfome Grounds, without any Honour given Tigranes and unto him, as if he had been a very Prisoner indeed: howbeit then he sent for him honourably. Mithridates and received him with great courtesie. When they were near together in the Kings Pallace they meeting. talked fecretly one with another, and excusing themselves, clearing all suspicions conceived between them, to the great hurt of their Servants and Friends, whom they burthened with all Metrologue the occasion of unkindness between them : amongst which number Metrodorus the SCEPSIAN praise and was one, a man excellently well Learned, Eloquent in speech, and one whom Mithridates so much death. loved and effected, that they called him the Kings Father. Mithridates at the beginning of his Wars had fent him Ambassadour unto Tigranes, to pray aid of him against the ROMANS. At which time Tigranes said unto him : but what sayes thou to it Metrodorus: what advice wilt thou give me? Mesradorus exther because he had regard unto Tigranes profit, or else because he was loth Mithridates should escape, answered him again: As Ambassadour, O King, I would with you frould do it : but as a Counfellour, that you should not do it. Tigranes now reported this freech unto Michridates, not thinking he would have hurt Metrodorus for it, though indeed he prefently pur him to death upon it. Whereat Tigranes was heartily forry, and repented him greatly to have told him for much, although he was not altogether the occasion of his casting away, having but onely revived Mithridages evill will before conceived against him: for he had born him diffleature of a long time, as appeared amongst his fecret Papers and Writings that
were taken from him, where he had ordained that Metrodorns should be put to death abut in reAmphicates an compense thereof Tigranes boried his Body honourably, sparing no cost at all unto the dead Bo- O stor of Ady of him, whom living he had betrayed. There died in King Tigranes Court also an Orator thens, died in called Amphieraces, if he deferve that mention should be made of him, for the City of ATHENS King Tigranes fake wherein he was born ! for it is faid, that he was banished out of his Countrey, he fled in- Sciencias City to the City of SELENCIA, which flandeth upon the River of Tigris. When the Inhabitants of standing upon the fame praied him to teach them the Art of Eloquence in their Countrey, he would not vouchfafe Tigris) it, but answered them proudly : that a Platter was to little to hold a Dolphin in , meaning that A Platter too their City was too small a thing to contain it. From thence he went unto Cleopatra, Mithrida Dolphin in :

ter Daughter, and King Tigranes Wife, where he was quickly suspected and accused: so that he Proverb.

Zarbienus

Euphrates fl.

quer. Appine in the meantime wan secretly divers of the Princes and Noblemen, that obeyed this ARMENIAN King but for fear, by force, and against their wills, amongst whom was Zarbienus, King of the Province of GORDLENA: and promifed the aid of Luculiu also to many of the Cities that fent unto him (which had not long before been subdued and brought into bondage) to whom nevertheless he gave in express charge, that for the time they should not once stir, nor King of GorLucullus Dream.

Dreams.

was forbidden to frequent the GRECIANS company any more, which grieved him to much that he familhed himself to death, and would eat no meat. And that man was also very honourably buried by the Queen Cleopatra, near unto a place called Sapha, as they call it in that Country. Now when Lucullus had quieted all things in Asia, and had eftablished good Laws among them, he was not carelets also of Games, Feafts, Wreftlings, and Fence-playes at the sharp for joy of his Victory, delighting all the Cities of Asia with them; the which in recompence thereof did institute a solemn Feast also in the Honour of him, which they called Lucullea, and did celebrate it with great joy, shewing a true and no fained friendship and good will towards him, which pleafed him better, and was more to his contentation, then all the Honour they could devise to give him. But after that Appin Clodin was returned from his Ambassade, and had told Luculius that he must make Wars with Tigrames: Luculius went back again unto the Realm of PONTUS, where he took his Army which he had left in Garrison, and brought it before the City of SINOPE to lay Siege unto it, or rather to befiege certain C111-Lucultur taketh CIANS that were gotten into the City in the behalf of Mithridates. But when they faw Lucultur taketh CIANS that were gotten into the City in the behalf of Mithridates. lu come against them, they slew a great number of the Citizens, and setting fire on the City, sled their way by night. Lucullus being advertised of it, entred the City, put eight thousand of the Cilicians to the fword which he found there, and reftored the natural Citizens and Inhabitants Sinope in Ponthereof to all that was theirs. But the originall cause that made him to be carefull to preserve the City, was this Vision he had. He thought in his nights Dream that one came to him, and said : go a little further Lucullum, for Antolyem cometh, who is desirous to speak with thee. This Dream awaked him, but being awake could not imagine what the Vision meant. It was the felf same day awaked nim, our deing awake could not misgine what the vinon mean, it was the telt fame day on the which he took the City of SINOPE, where following the CILICIANS that eleaped by on the which he took the City of SINOPE, which the CILICIANS would by stheat. by stheair.

Auralyearfounhave carried away: but they were taken and followed so near, that they had no leasure to ship it. Antolyeurtoun- nave carried away: Ducting with the Image der of the City This Statue (as it is reported) was one of the goodlieft and notableft Works of Schemic the Image graver. And some say it was the Image of Autolycus, who sounded the City of SINOPE. For Autologum was one of the Princes that went out of THESSALY with Hercules to go against the AMAZONS, and he was the Son of Deimackus. And they report that at the return from this voyage, the Ship in the which Antolyem was imbarked, with Demoleon and Phlogim, made Shipwrack upon a rock of the Coast of CHERRONESUS, where the was cast away: howbeit that he and his men scaping with all their Furniture, came to the City of SINOPE, which he took from certain Strians, who came (as they fay) of one Syrue the Son of Apollo, and of the Nymph Synope Afopm Daughter. Luculing understanding this matter, called a faying of Sylla to mind, The Syrians which he wrote in his Commentaries: that nothing is more certain, nor that we may give why fo called. more credit unto, then that which is fignified to us by Dreams. In the mean feason he was ad-Sylla's note for vertifed that Tigranes and Mithridates were ready to come down into Lycaonia and Ci-LICIA, because they might first enter ASIA. Lucullus marvelled much at Tigranes Councell, that sithence he was minded to War with the ROMANS, he did not use Mithridates aid in his Wars at such time, as when he was in his best strength and force: and that he did not then joyn his Power with Mibridates, rather then fuffer him to be destroyed and overthrown, and afterwards with a cold hope go now to begin a new War, hazarding himself with those that could not be the themselves. While these things passed in this fort, Machares King Mithridates Son, that themselves. While these things passed in this fort, Machares King Mithridates Son, that themselves a Beating Recognition of Cold was Luculius of the maintee of them. provided friends kept the Realm of Bos Phorus, fent a Crown of Gold unto Luculist, of the weight of a thought find the fand Crowns, praying him that he would name him a Friend and confederate of the ROMANS. Whereupon Lucullus thought he was then at the very last end of his first War, and leaving Lucultus gooth Sornatius with fix thouland men to keep the Realm of Pontus, he departed with twelve against Tigrathouland Footmen, and less then three thousand Horsmen, to go to the second War. And nerwith a final company, and thousand a rectangular thousand a recta with fo finall a company to fight with fo many Warlike Nations, and to put himself unto the hazard of fo many thousands of Horimen, in a marvellous large Countrey, and of a wonderfull length, environed round about with deep Rivers and Mountains, covered with Snow all the year through : fo that his Souldiers , which otherwise were no special well trained men, for obedient to their Captain, followed with an evill will, and did stubbornly disobey him. And on the other fide, the Common-Councellors at ROME cryed out on him continually, and openly protested before all the People, that out of one War he sowed another, which the Common-The quarrelwealth had nothing to do withall; and that he looked after none other thing but still to raise new ling Countellors at Rome. occasions of Wars, to the end he might always have Armies at his commandment, and never envy Lucullus leave the Wars, because he would make himself great with the Cost and perill of the Common-Lucauss came to the Civing Counfellers in the end obtained their purpole, which was, to call home to the River of wealth. These crying Counfellers in the end obtained their purpole, which was, to call home to the River of wealth. These crying Counfellers in the end obtained their purpole, which was, to call home to the River of wealth and the country of the same to the prosperity.

cerning certain little Islands that appeared unto them in the middest of the Water-course, and the

his Army with all the politible speed he could, so that he came in few days unto the River of Eu-

recy calm is a Marith round about them, did Honour Lucullus as a god, because it was a they had never ten change before: as though at his coming the River had fuddenly yeelded into him, and was become gentle to give him lafe and easte passage. And because he would not lofe that opportunity, he paffed over his Army immediately : and was no fooner on the other fide, but he met with a happy token of good luck, which was this. On the other fide of the River, there was a certain number of Kine confecrated to Diana Perfica, whom the barbarous People Diana Perfica, inhabiting beyond the River of Euphrates, do reverence and honour above all the other gods: and these Kine they employ to none other use, but onely to Sacrifice them unto this goddess. Kine consecra-They wander all about the Countrey where they will, without any manner of tying, or shack-ted to Pizza ling otherwife, having onely the mark of the goddes, which is, a Lamp printed upon their Perfect. Bodies, and they are not easie to be taken when one would have them, but with great ado. One of these consecrated Kine, after that Lucullus Army was passed over Euphrates, came to offer her self Astrangething thele confectated kine, after that England Alliny was pained over Empiritates, canne to offer her fell of a Cow that upon a rock which they suppose is Hallowed or Dedicated unto this goddess, bowing down her came to offer head, and stretching out her neck, like those that are tyed short, as if she had come even of purpose to present her self to Lucullus, to be facrificed as she was. And besides her, he sacrificed a cultus to be sa-Bull also unto the River of Euphrates, in token of thanks for his safe passage over. Lucullus crificed. the first day did nothing but incamp himself onely, on the other fide of the River : but the next morning and the other days following, he went further into the Countrey by the River of SOPHENE, of Sophere. hurting none that came and yeelded unto him, or that willingly received his Army. For when his men would have had him to have taken a Castle by force, where they said was great store of Gold and Silver, he shewed them Mount Taurus afar off, and told them, it is that which he must rather go to take: as for the things which be in this Castle, they be kept for them that vanquish. And going on still with great Journeys, passed over the River of Tigris, and so entred the Realmos Tigris st. ARMENIA with a main Army. Now for Tigranes, the first man that ventured to bring him Tigranes slew News of Lucullus coming, had no joy of it: for he cut off his head for his labour. And therefore the first med-News of Lucinium, that no foy of a least of the case of the late of the late of the from the need of the late of t vironed round with fire, which Lucullus Army had raifed about him, before he could hear any thing News of Luthereof. For he was foorting and gauding with his Familiars, hearing their flattering Tales, that Lu- culturapproachi cullus indeed were a Noble Captain, if he durft but tarry Tigranes coming down in the City Epinesus onely, and how he would straight file out of Asia, so soon as he might but heartell of his coming against him, with so Triumphing an Army, of so many thousand men. And thus may we fee, that like as all bodies and brains, are not alike firong nor able to carry much Wine : fo in like cafe, all Wits be not resolute and constant, never to do amis, nor to swarve from reasons bounds in great prosperity. Howbeit in the end, Mithrobarzanes, one of Tigranes Familiars, was the next man that enterprifed to tell him the truth : whole boldness had little better reward for his News Tigranes send then the first that was beheaded. For Tigranes sent him immediately with three thousand Horse, eth Mithrobarand a good number of Footmen, commanding him that he should bring Luculius alive onto him, games sgainst and that furthermore, he should march upon the bellies of his men. Now was: Lucullus already Lucullus. camped with part of his Army, and the other part coming after, when his Skouts brought him News of, the barbarous Captains approach : which at the first put him in fear , that if the Enemy should come and assail them thus scattered in Companies, and not ranged in Battell and ready to fight, he might overthrow them while they were in diforder. And therefore he remained within his Camp to fortifie the same, and sent Sextilius one of his Lieutenants, with a thoued within his camp to toking the same, and ten sextiting one of his Electronians, want a titole eth sextiling fand, fix, hundred Horle, and as many Footmen (or a few more) as well naked as as and eth sextiling fand, fix, hundred Horle, and as many Footmen (or a few more) as well naked as as and eth sextiling fand, fix hundred Horle, and as many Footmen (or a few more) as well naked as as and eth sextiling fand, fix hundred Horle, and as many Footmen (or a few more) as well naked as as mediant to the few more and the few more an manding him to approach as near to his Enemy as he could without fighting; onely to stay barganes. him there a untill such time as he heard News that all his Army was come together into his Camp. Sexissium went to do his commandment , but he was compelled to fight , (though against his sexistins slew will) Mithyaharzanez came to bravely and suffily to assal him, So was the Battell stricken between them, in the which Mathyobarzanes was flain valiantly fighting, and all his men either threw his broken or killed, few excepted, that onely by flying faved themselves. After this overthrow force. Tigranes for look his great Royall City of TIGRA NOCERTA that he built himself, and went The City of to Mount, Taurps, where he Affembled a great number of men out of all paris. But, Lucallus would Tigrameets, give him no leiture to prepare himself, but sent Murans on the one side to cur them off by the nes. way , and to overthrow those that were Assembled about him : and on the other fide Sextilina to ftop a great company of the ARABIANS that were coming to Tigranes, whom Sextilim let upon as they were ready to lodge, and overthrew them in mainer every man. And Marana following King Tigranes at the heels, tpied an occasion to give the Charge as he passed along a narrow Valley, in the bottom whereof the way, was very ill, and specially for an Army of such a length ; and taking the opportunity , fet upon the rereward , which Tigranes perceiving, fled ftraight upon it, making all his Carriage to be thrown down in the way before the Enemies to flay them. There were a great number of the Armenians flain in this overthrow, and mo to Lucullus be-ken. Those things having this fuccels, Lucullus went to the City of Tickand Certa, the which flegeth Tighthe befieged round. In that City were a marvellous number of GRECIANS that had been brought noteria. thither, by, force, out of CILICIA, and many of the barbarons People also whom they had used in the like specible manner, as they had done the ADLABENIANS, the ASSYRIANS, the GOR-PLENIANS, and the CAPPADOCIANS, whole Towns and Cities Tigranes had destroyed, and compelled them to come and inhabit there. By reason whereof, this City of TIGRANOCERTA

high and rough.

The flrange and fudden fall ing out of Boats, and making of Pofts and Planks to build a Bridg to pals over his Army. But of the River of towards night the water began to fall a little, and in the night fell fo much, that the next morning of the River of towards night the water began to fall a little, and in the night fell fo much, that the next morning of the River of towards night the water began to fall a little, and in the night fell fo much, that the next morning of the river of towards night the water began to fall a little, and in the night fell fo much, that the next morning of the river of towards night the water began to fall a little, and in the night fell for much, that the next morning of the river of towards night the water began to fall a little, and in the night fell for much, that the next morning of the river of towards night the water began to fall a little, and in the night fell for much, that the next morning of the river of towards night the water began to fall a little, and in the night fell for much, that the next morning of the river of towards night the water began to fall a little, and in the night fell for much, that the next morning of the river Emphrates from the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the Countrey-men themselves diserring from the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the Countrey-men themselves diserring from the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the Countrey-men themselves diserring from the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the Countrey-men themselves diserring from the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the Countrey-men themselves diserring from the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the Countrey-men themselves diserring from the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the Countrey-men themselves diserring from the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the Countrey-men themselves diserring from the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the Countrey-men themselves diserring from the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the Countrey-men themselves diserring from the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the Countrey-men themselves diserring from the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the Countrey-men themselves diserring from the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the River was come to her ordinary ftream : and moreover the River was come to her ordinar

The proud faying of Tieranes.

Tigranes whole

was full of Gold and Silver, of Mettals, Statues, Tables and Pictures; becate they man private, as Princes and Lords) studied to please the King, to enrich and beautifie this City kinds of Furniture and Ornaments fit for the fame. And hereupon Lucullus straighted the Siege as much as he could, perswading himself that Tigrames would never suffer that it should be taken, but C'though he had otherwife determined) yet for very anger would prefent him battell , thereby to enforce him to raife his Siege. And furely he gueffed right, had it not been that Misthridatts had differed him by express Letters and Medlengers that he should in no case hazard Battell, and persuaded him rather to cut off the Victuals on all fides from the ROMANS with his Horfmen. The feli fame councell and advice did Taxiles (the Captain whom Mithridates fent) give him in his Camp, and prayed him very earneftly, that he would not prove the invincible force of the ROMANS. tradeth Tigra- Tigrants patiently hearkned to their reasons at the first , but when the ARMENIANS were come , nemotto beh and all the force of the Countrey befide, and the GORDIÆNIANS, and that the Kings of the with the Pa MEDES and of the ADIABENIANS were come also with all their Power, and that on the other fide there came a marvellous great Host of the Arabians that dwell upon the Sea of Babylon, and a multitude of the ALBANIANS from the CASPIAN Sea, and of the IBERIANS their neighbours, besides a great company of free People living without a King, that dwell by the River of Araxes, fome coming freely to do him pleasure, other for their Pensions and Pay which he gave them : then was there none other talk neither at his Table, nor in Councell, but of affured hope of Victory, and of great brags and barbarous threatnings, fo that Taxiles was in great danger of himself, because he was againft the determination taken in Councell for giving of the Battell. Now was it thought that Mithridates did envy the Glory of King Tigranes, and therefore did thus diffwade him from Battell. For which respect Tigranes would not so much as tarry for him, and because also Mishridates should have no part of the Honour of his Victory : but went into the Field with all his great Army, vaunting amongst his Familiars as they report, that nothing grieved him but one, that he should fight with Luculius alone, and not with all other ROMAN Captains. Now this bravery was not lo fond, nor fo far out of square, but that there was great likelihood of it when he saw so many fundry Nations about him, fo many Kings that followed him, fo many Battells of armed Footmen, and fo many thoulands of Horimen. For he had in his Army of Bow-men, and Slings onely, twenty thoufand : five and fifty thousand Horsmen , whereof seventeen thousand men of Arms armed from top to toe, as Lucalim himself wrote unto the Senate; and an hundred and fifty thousand armed Footmen, divided by Enfigns and Squadrons: of Pyoners, Carpenters, Masons, and such other kind thousand men, of handicrafts men, to plain ways, to make Bridges to pass over Rivers, to ftop freams, to cut thousand men. of handicrafts men, to plain ways, to make fuch kind of Works, of this fort of People, the number of five and thirty Wood, and to make fuch kind of Works, of this fort of People, the number of five and thirty thousand, who followed in Battell ray in the rereward of the Army, making their Camp feelin far greater, and by so much the more stronger. When Tigrames shewed on the top of Mount Taurus, and that they might plainely fee his whole Army from the (ity, and that himself also might easily differn Lucullus Army that belieged TIGRANOCERTA: the barbarous People that were within the City were so glad of this fight, that they made wonderfull shouts of joy, and great clapping of hands, threatning the ROMAN's from their Walls, and shewing them the Army of the Ar-MENIANS. Luculius in the mean time fate in Councill to confider what was to be done: wherein some were of opinion that he should raise his Siege, and go with his whole Army undivided Lucallar Army against Tigranes. But others liked not that he should leave so great a number of Enemies at his against Tigrs back, neither that he should raise his siege. Luculius made them answer, that neither of them both did counfell him well, but both together did councell right. Whereupon he divided his Army, and left Murana at the Siege of TIGRANOCERTA with fix thousand men: and he with four and twenty Cohorts (in the which were not above ten thousand armed Footmen) and all his Horlmen, with a thousand Bow-men and slings, or thereabours, went towards Tigranes, and camped in a goodly broad Field by the Rivers fide. The ROMAN's feemed but a handfull to Tigrants Camp, so that for a while Tigranes Parasites made but a May-game of them to sport withall. For some laughed them to scorn, other drew Lots, and played away their part of the Spoyls, as if they had already won the Field : and every one of the Kings and Captains came and offered themselves to Tigranes, and befought him every man for himself, that he would give him the Honour alone to lead his Battell; and that it would please him to fit by in some place to fee the sport. Tigranes then, because he would shew that he could be as pleasant as the rest, fpake a thing known to every man: If they come as Ambaffadours (quoth he) they are very many: but if they come as Enemies, they be but few. And thus they played upon the ROMANS, and took their pleasure of them at that time: but the next morning by break of day, Luculius brought all his men armed into the Field, and put them in order of Battell. Now the Camp of the barbarous People lay on the other fide of the River towards the eaft, and by chance the Stream of the River turned suddenly towards the West, where there was a better Foord to pals over. Wherefore Luculium marching with his Army by the Rivers fide, following the Stream to meet with some Foord, casting to get over, Tigrames thought he had marched away, and called for Taxiles, and faid unto him, laughing Doeft thou fee Taxiles those goodly ROMAN Legions, whom thou praisest to be men so invincible, how they sie away now? Taxiles answered the King again: I would your good Fortune (O King) might work fome miracle this day: for doubtles it were a firange thing that the ROMAN'S should flie. They are not wont to wear their brave Coats and Furniture upon their Armour, when they mean onely but to march in the Fields: neither do

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they carry their shields and targets uncased, nor their burganets bare on their heads, as they do at this prefent, having thrown away their leather cases and coverings. But out of doubt, this goodly furniture we see so bright and glistering in our faces, is a manifest fign that they intend to fight, and that they march towards us. Taxiles had no fooner spoken these words, but Lacultus in the view of his Enemies, made his Enfign-bearer turn fuddenly that carried the first Eagle, and the bands took their places to pass the river in order of battle. Then Tigranes secretly come to himself, as out of drunkenness, cryed out aloud twice or thrice, Come they then to us? But then was there no small ftir and tumult, to put such a world of people in battle. The King Tigranes, himself undertook to lead the middle battle, gave the left wing unto the King of the ADIABENIANS, and the right The ordering to lead the middle battle, gave the left wing unto the King of the ADIABENIANS, and the right of treatment of the Complear armed men, who of treatment of the complear armed men, who of treatment armed men, who is battle. made the first front of all the battle. But as Lucullus was ready to pass the River; there were certain of his Captains that came unto him, to wish him to take heed that he fought nor that day, betain of his Cappanis that came unity man, and the state of the state o black: for upon one of those days, one Cepio was overthrown in a fet battle with all his Army by unfortunate the CIMBRES. But Lucullus gave them a pretty answer again, which is not forgotten to this days, day: I will make this a happy day (said he) for the Romans. It was the fixteenth, day of the moneth of October. And so with those words encouraging his men, passed over the River; and went himself the foremost man, and marched directly towards his enemy, armed with an Anima of steel, made with scallopshels, shining like the Sun, and upon that an arming coat fringed round about holding his fword drawn in his hand : to let his men understand, that they must suddenly joyn Lucullus battle with their enemies, and fight at the fwords point that were not acquainted to fight but a far off with Lucullus aguite thor and flings, and that he would so quickly win the distance of ground they had to march ere they could joyn, that they should have no leisure to shoot. And surthermore, perceiving that the strength of their men of Arms (whereof they made so great account) was ranged in battle under a hill, the top whereof was very plain and even, and the way up the hill not passing four furlongs travel, and not very hard nor fleep to climb : he fent thither certain horsemen of the THRACI-ANS and GAULS which he had in pay, and commanded them to give a charge on the flanck to disorder them, and affay to cut their launces with their swords. For all the strength of these men of Arms confifteth in their launces, and they can do nothing of themselves, nor against their enemies, they are so heavily armed and loden: so as it feemeth they are locked up in their Armour, as in an iron prison. And he himself therewithall taking two Ensignes of sootmen, strove also to gain the top of the hill: his fouldiers following him hard at the heels with a notable courage, because they faw him the foremost man travelling on foot, and digging against the height of the hill. When he had gotten up to the top, he stayed a little in the highest place he could find, and cryed out with a loud voice: O companions, the victory is ours. And as he spake those words, he led them against these men of Arms, commanding them they should not meddle with throwing of their darts, but taking their fwords in their hands they should strike at their thighs and leggs, because they have no o-

ther parts of their bodies naked. Howbeit, there was no need of fuch fight, for they tarried not

the ROMANS, but with great crying out turned their horse heads immediately, and ran coward-

out any stroke stricken, or any man hurt, or dee drop of blood seen to be spite. But the great slaughter was when they began to fly, (or to say better) when they thought to fly: for they could

not fly, they ran so one upon anothers neck, by reason of the marvellous length and breadth of their

battles. Tigranes, amongst the rest was one of the first that dislodged with a small company, and seeing

who by chance was taken and brought unto Lucullus: so that amongst the other spoil and prisoners, there was taken Tigranes Diadem. It is thought that there were flain at this overthrow, above

an hundred thousand footmen, and very few of all the horsemen saved. On the ROMANS side,

there were about an hundred hurt, and five flain. Antiochus the Philosopher speaking of this bat-

tle in a Treatife he made of the gods, writeth that the Sun never faw the like overthrow. And

Strabo another Philosopher in a certain abridgment he made of stories, said, that the ROMANS were alliamed and laughed at themselves, that they had drawn their swords against such dastardly

flaves. And Tiem Livin declareth also, that the ROMANS were never in any battle with so

small a number of fighting men, against so great a multitude of enemies: for the conquerors were

dermined and confumed Mithridates by holding back and delaying, at that time when all his

strength was whole : and to the contrary he destroyed Tigranes with great speed and haste. And thus did he that which few Captains could ever do: that is, tiled delay of time to execute, and

valiant expedition to win the victory. This was the cause why Mithridates made no hast to

come to the battle, thinking still that Lucullus had used his wonted policy, to delay and give back always and therefore he came by small journeys unto Tigranes Camp. But meeting at

ly (themselves and their horses, heavy armed as they were) through the midst of the bands of their house footmen, before they had stricken one stroke. And thus were so many thousand of men broken with of Tigrants.

his fon running the same fortune, flying as himself did, took off his Diadem or royal band from his Tigranes flight head, and gave it him weeping, commanding him to fave himfelf as well as he could by fome other way. Tigraner Dia But the young Prince duest not put it on his head, but gave it to one of his trusty servants to keep, Luculus.

not in all the world the twentieth part (nothing like) of those that were overcome. Wherefore Luculus praise: the oldest and best experienced Captains of the ROMANS did highly commend Lucullus, be-Kings overcause he had overcome two of the greatest and most mighty Princes of the world, by two fundry come by concontrary means; the one by tract and delay, and the other by speed and swiftness. For he un-trary means

the first with a few of the ARMENIANS that fled as he came on his with the first with the fraget, he straight mistrusted the overthrow: but afterwards meeting greater Troops of them naked, and fore wounded, then he knew how the matter went. So he went to feek out Tigranes, whom he found alone, forfaken of his men, and in very poor efface, yet did not he require Tigrames in adversity with that pride and difdain he had ufed him before in his milery: but lighted off his horfe, to bewail with that price and unuantitie has direct than desired in managery on the more to devait with him their common misfortune, and gave him all his Officers, and train of a Kings Court, that followed him to ferve him, comforting him, and exhorting him to pluck up his heart again, and to be couragious thereforth. Hereupon they both levyied afresh the whole force and power they could from all the parts of their Dominion. In the mean feafon, there fell our great fedition in the City of TIGRANOCERTA, between the GRECIANS and the barbarous People : for the GRECI-ANS, they would have yielded up the Town into Lucullus hands. Whereupon Lucullus giving an affault to the City at that very inftant, won it, and feized upon the Kings treasure there, leaving all the reft to the spoil of the souldiers: in the which, besides all other riches, there was eight thousand talents in ready money. And yet befides all that, he gave of the spoil that was won upon the ene-Lucullus took mies, eight hundred Drachmaes unto every fouldier. And understanding that there were divers Munies, common players, Minstrels, and such kind of people meet for feasts and sport, whom Ti-Tigranecerta. granes had fent for thinher from all parts, to dedicate the Theatre he had made in this City: he cauted all them to ferveat the sports and feasts of this Victory. After the solemnization whereof, he sent the Grecians home again unto their Country, and gave them money to defray their charges the Way, and the Barbarous People also that were brought thither by force from their native Countries. And so it fortuned, that by the desolation and destruction of a City for saken, many others were built again, and flored with people: because those Cities had thereby recovered their natural inhabitants again, who ever after did love and honour Lucallus, as their benefactor and founder. All other things prospered also according to his vertue and merits. For Luculliu liked Lucullus iubetter the praife that came of bounty, of juffice, and of clemency, then that that came by force of flice and clemartial prowefs and Chivalry. For in deeds of Arms, he faid his Army partly deferved praife, and fortune also carried the best part away: but the praise of the other, was onely due unto himself. Whereby he shewed the valour of an exceeding good man, well taught and trained up in vertue: and fo reaped the fruit of his worthy deferts. For by those good parts, he wan the hearts of the Barbarous People in fuch fort, that the Kings of the ARABIANS came of good will to put themselves and their goods into his hands. So did the Nation of Sophenians also yield themselves unto him, The GORDIENTANS, in like manner, they liked Lucullus fo well, that they would willingly have for faken their Cities, houses and Country, to follow him with their wives and children, upon this occasion: Zarbienm King of these GORDIANIANS, as we have recited before, had privily entred amity with Luculum, by means of Appin Clodim, who could no longer away with the tyranny of Tigranes. This practife was bewrayed unto Tigranes, who put Zarbienus, his wife and children to death, before the ROMANS main Army came into the Country of ARMENIA. Howbeit Lucullus did not forget it, but paffing through this Realm, gave him very royal funerals: for having heaped flain by Tigra- up a huge pile of Wood, sumpruously fet our with cloth of Gold and Silver, and other rich spoils of Tigranes: he himself in person would needs set it on fire, and made the funeral essusions and accustomed iprinklings at funerals, with his friends and kinfmen, doing him this honour, as to call him friend and confederate of the ROMAN people, and appoint also a great sum of mony besides to creek a sumptions Tomb for him. For they found great store of Gold and Silver in the Kings Castle, and there was plenty of provision also of 300000 bushels of Wheat: the which did enrich his fouldiers marvelloully, and made Lucullus to be wondred at, that having received not one Drachma from the sparing coffers at Rome, he norwithstanding made the war entertain it self. About the same time also, the King of the PARTHIANS fent Ambassadors to him, to offer him friendship and alliance: which Lucullus willingly accepted, and fent Ambaffadors unto him alfo of acceptation, who made report to Lucullus at their return, that the King of the PARTHIANS frood doubtfull how to resolve which part he would take, and that fecretly he fent unto Tigranes, to ask the Realm of MESOPO-TAMIA for his reward to aid him against the ROMANS. Lucullus being truely informed of the King of PARTHIA's double dealing, determined to leave Tigrames and Mithridates, as two enemies wearied and overcome, and a little to prove the force and power of the PARTHIANS by making Wars upon them, thinking it great honour unto him, if he might discomfit and overthrow three io mighty Kings, one after another, like a valiant conqueror that had overcome three famous Capatins together, and had paffed through the Countries of three of the greateft Princes under the Sun, always a conqueror, and never conquered. Hereupon he wrote immediately unto Sornatius and other of his Captains which he had left to keep the Realm of PONTUS, that they should repair to him with all fpeed with the bands they had under their charge, for that he was determined to depart out of the Country of GORDLENA, to go against the PARTHIANS: howbeit his purpose altered by occasion. For his Lieutenants that had many times before found their fouldiers muti-

nous, and rebelling at their commandments, knew plainly then their cankred fromachs, and in-corrigible disobedience. For they could not possibly get them from thence, by any compulsion or

persuaffions they could use: but contrarily they cryed out, and told him plainly, that they would no longer tarry where they were, but would go home to their Country, and leave the

Realm of Pontus without guard or garrifon at all. And further, that worft of all was, when these

news were brought to Lucullus Camp, they gave a full example of boldness to his fouldiers there, to

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Lucullus prepareth to go against the Parthians. Lucullus fouldiers fall to

mutiny in like fort, having good will and disposition thereunto of themselves before. For their purses being full, and they acquainted with finencis, were become so dull and lazy, that they could en- Foll purses and being full, and they acquainted with inteness, were occorded to do date and eafe. And hearing the cafe maketh dure no pains nor hardness of Wars, but defired to live in all idleness and eafe. And hearing the cafe maketh report of their fellows froutness, called them lufty lads, faying they must needs take the like course, diers. and do as they taught them, vanting of their good fervice of long time done, which well deferved leave now to depart home with fafety, and thenceforth take their rest. Lucullus hearing of this their talk, and many other their words, worse and fuller of sedition then these, brake off his enterprize against the PARTHIANS, and went again in the midst of Summer to meet with Tigranes. But when he was come to the top of mount Taurus, it grieved him to see the fields so full of wheat yet standing, which came by the season of the year, and coldness of the air, being so slack and slow in all those parts. Nevertheless, he came down into the valley, and at two or three skirmishes overthrew the Armenians, that ventured to abide his coming down: and ran over all the valley, and destroyed the whole Countrey without let or stop of any man, taking away the provision of Corn that was made for Tigranes Camp, whereby he straightned his enemies unto that need and neceffity of victuals which himself feared, and yet ceased not to provoke them (by all other means) to come to battle: fometime inclosing their Camp with trenches about, as if he meant to famish them : fometime again destroying and spoiling the whole Country before their face. But because they had so oft been discomfitted, they would no more stir, nor once move against him. Lucullus perceiving that, in the end railed his Camp, and went and laid fiege unto ARTAXATA, the chief feesth Artaxis-City of the Kingdom of ARMENIA, in the which were Tigranes lawfull Wives and young children, hoping that Tigranes would rather hazard another battle, then fuffer that City to be loft. It City of Armeis faid, that Hannibal of CARTHAGE (after King Amiochus was overthrown in battle by the Ro- nia MANS) went unto King Artaxes, whom he taught many necessary and profitable things for his Artaxes King Realm, and amongst others, considering that one of the goodliest and pleasantest places of all his of Armenia. Kingdom lay wafte and no reckoning made of it, drew a plot of a City, brought the King thither, and caused it to be built and inhabited. The King liked his device marvellous well, and prayed him to take the charge upon him to fee the work finished. And thus was this noble and famous City built, and cal- Hannibal builled after the Kings name, ARTAXATA; and held ever after the reputation of the chiefest place of the ded Artaxata whole Realm of ARMENIA. Tigranes being advertised that Lucullus went to lay siege thereunto. could not endure it, but went with all his Army to follow the ROMANS, and the fourth day came and Camped hard by them: infomuch as there was but the River of Arfanias between them, which the ROMANS of necessity must pass over to go to ARTAXATA. Lucullus having first facrificed unto the gods, affuring himself of the victory, as if he had it already in his hands, made his Army pass over in order of battle, putting twelve Cohorts in the front, and the other behind, fearing left the Lucultus order enemies having a great number of men of arms should environ them at their backs. They had a of his Army, gainst them also the MARDIAN bowmen on horseback, and the IBERIANS with their Lances, in whom Tigranes trufted more then in any other, as in the best fouldiers he had in pay : and ver for all that they did no notable fervice. For when they had skirmished but a little with the horsemen of the ROMANS, they durst not tarry the legionaries or footbands that came behind them, but dispersed themselves, some flying one way, some another; which inticed the ROMAN horsemen to follow the chase. But when the men of Arms that were about Tigranes person, saw the horsemen so scattered abroad, they began straight to break upon the footmen. Lucullus seeing the great multitude of them, and how passingly they were armed and appointed, being somewhat afraid thereof: sent in hafte to call in his horlemen that followed the chafe, and in the mean time himself marched foremost, against these Lords and Satrapes, which were in the front before him with all the Nobility of their hoaft, whom he put in such a fear, that before he could come to hand strokes, they all turned tail Other do read and fled. There were three Kings ranged in battle one hard by another, howbeit of the three, he that in this place, fled most shamefully and cowardly, was Mithridates King of Pontus, who had not the heart fo much egainst the Aas to abide the cries of the Romans. The chase was very long: for it continued all night, untill tropatenians. fuch time as the ROMANS were wearied with killing, taking of prifoners, and packing up of all which are peokinds of spoils. Titus Living faith, that there were flain moe men in the first battle, but greater Three Kines personages in the second : and the chief of the Enemies were all taken. After this battle Lucullus ranged in batheart being big, and fearing nothing, determined to go farther into the Country, even unterly to de-tle stroy this barbarous King. But in the time of the equinoctial Autumn (when the weather waxed more Lucullus mabitter then any man would in that feafon have thought) there fell out to great a cold, that for the fly again. most part, it did nothing but snow: and if the element did any thing clear, then froze it so hard, that the horse could come by no water, the Rivers were so extreamly congealed with ice. And there could no man pass over by foard: for they did not so soon enter, but the ice brake and cut the veins and finews of the horse legs asunder, they were so hard and thick withall. And furthermore the Countrey being full of Trees, Woods and Forrests, and the ways very narrow, not being able to pass by the fields, they were through wet with snow that fell upon them: and when they came to their lodging, then it was worfe, for there they were constrained to lye in fost and moist places. And therefore the fouldiers had followed but few days after this battle, but they refused to go any farther. And first they sent their Colonels and Captains to, entreat Lucullus to leave off this journey. Afterwards they gathered together more boldly in Troops, and in the night time began to murmure and groin in their Tents (which is a certain fign and token of a mutinous Army, that hath a mind to rebell against their General) although that Luculius used all gen-

Nifibii, alias Antiochia, a

ty of Amisus

on fire.

of Lucullus good fortune.

of all his miffortune.

and Summer.

Phafis fl.

Publius Clodius a wicked man.

tle perswasions to win them with patience to abide this journey, at the least, till time they might take the City of CARTHAGE in ARMENIA: to the end they might there destroy the work and memory of the greatest enemy that ever the ROMANS had in the world, meaning Hannibal. But when he faw all this would not prevail, he brought them back again, and passed over mount Taurus ano-The Country ther way, and came down into the Country called My GDONIA, a very hot and fertile foil, where there is a great City, and marvelloufly replenished with inhabitants: who call it NISIBIS, and the GRECIANS CAll it ANTIOCH OF MYGDONIA. In that City Gourge was Governour, who was Tigranes own brother: but for experience in Engines of battery, and for sufficiency and skill in fuch matters, there was Callimachus also, he that so marvellously troubled Luculius before at the Lucular taketh frege of the City of Amisus. Lucular placing his Camp before this City befreged the same by all Lucusuartuseen mage of the Congression of the Congr And as for Gouras who submitted himself to Lucullus mercy, he was very courteoully intreated. But for Callimachus, he would not once hear him speak, notwithstanding that he promised, if they would did fet the CI- fave his life, he would tell them of coffers full of great treasure hidden, which no man knew but himfelf onely. But Lucullus commanded them to bring him with gives to receive the punishment he had justly delerved, for fetting the City of AMISUS on fire, and taking from him the mean to shew the GRECIANS his goodnels, affection and liberality towards them. Untill this prefent time, it might be truely faid, that good fortune ever favoured and followed Lucullus in all his enterprises and affairs: The alteration but from that time forwards, it was quickly feen that the favourable blaft of fortune failed him, he did all his things with fo great pain, and all that he did, fell out contrary unto him, and to very ill purpose. Indeed he did ever shew the valiancy, patience, and great courage that should be in a valiant General, or Lieucenant of an Army. But his exploits and doings had never after, that easie grace, nor fhining glory they were wont to have: but to the contrary, he was like to have loft all that he had won before, Lucultus caufe through the misfortunes that fell upon him, and for the brawls and vain contention he had with his people to no purpose. But the worst was, that they made himself the onely Author of all these evils: because he could not, or would not entertain the good-will of the multitude of his fouldiers: thinking that whatfoever a General, or any other Officer of state or calling doth to please and content them he hath under his charge, is to dishonour himself, and to give cause unto his souldiers to despise his authority. But that which made most against him was this: that he gave no estimation to Gentlemen, and men of like quality to himself, but diffdained them, and thought them unworthy to be e-Lucularitailes, qual with him. For these they say were his faults and imperfections, but otherwise that he wanted noverties; nor generall gifts and good conditions that could be possibly wished for or defired. For he was a tall Gentlemen, of goodly prefence, well fpoken, wife and discreet, as well in matters of government, as in Wars: and as well to perswade the people in peace, as to encourage his fouldiers in War. Saluft writeth of him, that his fouldiers began to millike with him, even from the first entry into these Wars, because he made them lie out two Winters together in the field, one after another: the one before the City of Cizicus, and the other before the City of Amisus. And even as much did the other Winters following yex and trouble them: for either they lay in their enemies Countrey, or elfe if they lay in their friends, yet he made them Camp abroad in the field, and shrowd Lucultus Army themselves in their Tents: for Lucultus never entired with his Army into any City or confederate everlay in the Town of GREECE. Now if the fouldiers of themselves milliked Lucullus, the Orators at ROME that were his enemies, and enwyed his prosperity and glory, gave them yet greater occasions to muriny against him. For they continually accused him to the People in their Orations, that he drew our his War in length, purporely because he would always have occasion to rule, and means to get, having in his hands in manner all CILICIA, ASIA, BITHYNIA, PAPHLAGONIA, GALATIA, PONTUS, ARMENIA, and all the Provinces and Regions as far as to the River of Phasis: and yet he had not long before spoiled the Princely houses of Tigranes, as if he had been fent thither onely to fack and spoil; and not to destroy and overcome those Kings. And they say that it was Lucius Quintius, one of the Prætors that spake these words. It was he also that most moved the People to take order that Lineulius should be called home, and other sent to succeed him in the charge and Government of the Countries he had fubdued. By the felf fanie mean it was also ordained, that divers which were under his charge, should be dispenced withall for their Oaths, and licenced to leave the Wars when they thought good. But befides these and fuch like great causes, there was yet another more dangerous plague, and that most overthrew Lucullus proceedings, passing all the other evils being put together: and that was Publim Cladus, a wicked, licentious, and a hairbrained man. He was Luculus wives brother, and flie was fo light of her body, that Clodius her brother was accused of incominency with see. This Codies being at that time in Lawillus Camp, carried not that estimation and credit he thought himself worthy of. For he took shimself equal with the best, and would needs have been holden for chief; when indeed there were many of far better defert, he being noted both for a vicious and ill disposed person. Whereupon he began for spite to Suborn the band called FIMBRIANS, and to stir them up against Lucullus, fowing sweet and pleasant words amongst the fouldiers, which being wonted thereunto, looked still to be flattered. For they were those whom Fimbria had procured to kill the Consul Flaceus, and chuse him in the fouldiers - his fleed for their Captain. By reason whereof they gave good ear to Clodius words, and called gainst Lucultur him a Noble Captain, and a lover of footldiers. For when he spake onto them, he made as though he had pitied them, for that they should never fee an end of their great pains and Wars, but should miserably confume their days in fighting continually, sometime with one Nation, and

fometime with another: and that they wandred through all the Countries of the World, receiving no worthy reward of fo long and painfull fervice, ferving onely to guard. Lucullus Carts and Cammels loden with plate and veffels of gold and filver, and other precious stones. Where the fouldiers that had ferved under Pompey, took now their eafe at home in their Country with their wives and children, and were landed men, dwelling in goodly fair Cities, as rich Burgeffes and wealthy Citizens: and yet they had not driven Mitbridates and Tigranes out of their Kingdoms, into defert places unhabitable, nor had destroyed the Princely houses of ASIA, but onely made a little War in SPAIN against those that were banished, and in ITALY against fugitive slaves. Shall we then, said he, carry harnels on our backs all the days of our life? Is it not better that we which are escaped untill this present, reserve our selves, our bodies and lives for that Noble Captain, who esteemeth the greatest honour and glory he can atchieve unto, is to make his fouldiers rich that ferve under him? Lucullus Army was so seduced and corrupted with these mutinous and seditious accusations, that the fouldiers would no longer follow him, neither against Tigranes, nor against Mithridates who went presently out of ARMENIA into his Realm of PONTUS, and began to conquer it again, whilest the ROMAN fouldiers mutining against their General, remained idle in the Province of GORDIA-NA, excusing themselves by the Winter season, and tarrying untill Pompey or some other Captain should quickly come to raise the fiege, and succeed Lucullus. Notwithstanding, when they underflood that Mithridates had overthrown Fabius, one of Lucullus Lieutenants, and that he went a- Mithridates gainst Sornatius and Triarius: they were then ashamed of themselves, and became contented to be victory of Luled by Lucullus. But Triarius in a bravery, when he heard that Lucullus drew near, made haft to cultus Lieurewin the victory, as if it had been cock-fure before Lucullus came, and was himself overthrown in a nants. win the victory, as it it had been constitute before Emerging cane, and was minuted overtinown in a Mithilities ogreat battle, where fome fay there died above feven thouland ROMANS, amongst the which were vercame Trisa hundred and fifty Centurions, and twenty four Captains or Colonels of a thousand men apiece, and rius, Lucullus yet besides, Methridates took their Camp also. Shortly after this overthrow, Lucullus came thither, Captain. who hid Trigrius, whom the fouldiers fought in their anger by all the means they could to kill. Now when Lucullus was come, he proved fundry means to procure Mithridates to battle : but Mithridates would not once ffir abroad, because he looked for Tigranes that came down with a mighty power. Whereupon he determined again to go against Tigranes to fight with him, before Mithridates and he joyned forces together. But as he was in his journey towards him, the FIMBRIAN The Fimbrian bands began to rebell anew, and would not follow his Enfigns, faying, and alledging for themselves, fouldiers forthat by decree of the people they had leave to depart, and were discharged from their oath: and furthermore that Lucullus had no more ado to command them, confidering that the Government of the Provinces which he had, was given unto others. Lucullus perceiving this, did so humble himself Lucullus forced unto them, supposing that way to win them, as there was no kind of uncomely humility, but he submitted himself unto it: insomuch as he went into their Tents to pray and entreat them one after a mutinous soul nother, with water in his eyes, and with fo great lowliness, as even to shake hands with them. But diers. they fiercely rejected all his courtefies and fair entreaties, cafting their penniless purses before him. and angrily bad him fight with his enemies alone, fince he had with the spoil of them all so well enriched himself alone. Nevertheless, at the intercession and earnest request of the other souldiers, these FIMBRIAN bands were compelled to promise, that they would yet tarry all that Summer, so that if no man in the mean time offered them battle, at the end of the term they might go where they would. Lucullus was forced to accept this condition, or else to remain alone, and confequently to forfake the Countrey of the Barbarous People. With much ado thus he kept them together, but in The Fimbrian fuch fort, as he durft no more venture to compell them to come to battle, contenting himfelf that fouldiers tarry tuch tort, as he durit no more venture to compen them to band, containing minited that out the Sumthey were willing onely to ftay with him, being forced to fuffer Tigranes in the mean time to demonstrate upon constroy and over-run the Countrey of CAPPADOCIA, and Mithridates also to brag again, of dition to dewhom he had before written to the Senate that he had utterly overcome him: infomuch as there came part when Sum Commissioners and Deputies from Rome by his own procurement, to order the state of the Realm met was done. of Pontus with him, as of a Kigdom already won to the Roman Empire. But when they were come, they found him not mafter of himself, and that his own souldiers flouted him, and did him all the spite and injury they could. For they were so unruly towards their Captain, and did so much disdain him, that when the end of Summer was come, they Armed themselves with Armour and weapon, and drawing out their swords in mockery, challenged their enemies to battle which were gone out of the field: and after they had made the noise and cries accustomed when they joyned battle, and made as though they fought, hurling and fwinging their fwords in the air, they went from the Camp, declaring openly that their time was expired, which they promifed Lucullus to tarry. On the other fide, Pompey had written unto the other fouldiers that were yet in Camp, Pompey, Luculto come unto him: for through the peoples favour at ROME, the practiles and flatteries of the lus fuccessor in Common-Countellers there, he was substituted General in Lucullus place: which much misliked Asia. the Senate and Nobility, for they thought Lucullus greatly wronged to have a successor sent, not to succeed him in troubles and dangers, but in glory and honour of triumph. And that they should compell him not onely to refign up the Office of a General to another, but (for the good service he long time had done) the reward of his honour due for the same: and this also more misliked them that were then about him. That so soon as Pompey was arrived in Asia, he took all power and authority from Lucullus, to punish or reward any manfor good or ill service done to the Common- Injuries offerwealth in those Wars; and did moreover prohibite by publick Bills set up in every common ed Lucullus by place, that they should no more repair unto him, nor obey ought that he, or any of the ten Pompey.

Pp3

LUCULLU

T.ucullus and

tween Pompey and Lucullus. Lucullus not beloved of his fouldiers.

> Craffus defire See the life of Lucullus return to Rome.

V ueullue trì-

Commissioners sent to dispose of the state of the Provinces won by him, Sould command or ordain : and because Pompey came with a greater power and Army then his, he was in some sear of him. Their friends thought good nevertheless they should meet together: and so they did incontinently, in a village of GALATIA, where at the first meeting they saluted each other very courteoully, rejoycing together of the noble Victories that either had won. Lucullus was the elder man, but Pompey of greater dignity, because he had been General of the ROMAN People in many Wars, and had already triumphed twice. The bundles of Rods which the Sergeants carried before them, were wreathed about with Laurel branches for the Victories they had both atchieved: but Pomrey's bundles were withered away, because they had come a long journey through hot and dry Countries. Lucullus Officers feeing theirs withered, courteoully gave them of theirs fresh and new gathered: which Pompey's friends took for a fign of good luck. For to say truely, the things that Lucullus did in the time of his charge, were cause of the honour that Pompey alterwards wan. Howbeit'in the end, for all their talk, they were no whit the better friends : but depart-Missikings be- ed the one from the other more strange than they met. For Pompey by a plain Edict, brake, revoked and difannulled all Lucullus Ordinances, and taking from him all his other fouldiers, left him but only fixteen hundred to accompany his Triumph, and yet they followed him with unwilling minds: such was Luculin imperfection and maim, either by nature or frowardness of fortune, that he lacked the chiefest thing a General should have, which was, to be beloved of his fouldiers. For if he had attained to that perfection, amongst many other his excellent vertues, magnanimity and wisdom, judgement and justice, the River of Euphrates had not been the uttermost confines of the Empire of ROME on ASIA fide, but it had extended as far as the fea Hyrcane, yea even unto the utmost part of the world. For King Tigranes had already conquered the other Nations that lie beyond that, faving the Country of PARTHIA, which then was not fo great nor strong, as it appeared afterwards in Craffus time: nor so joyned and knit together, but (what through civil diffentions amongst them at home, and forrain Wars of their neighbours abroad) was fo weak, that with great difficulty they could defend themselves from the Armenians, that continually harried them out of their skins. But to take things rightly as they be indeed, methinks that Lucullus did more hurt unto his Countrey by other, then he did benefit the fame by himfelf. For tokens of triumph and victories which he wan in ARMENIA fo near unto the PARTHIANS, the Cities of TIGRANOCERTA and of NISI-BIS, which he had sacked and spoiled, the great treasure that he brought to ROME, and the Diadem also of Tigranes, which was shewed in triumph as a prisoner with the rest : moved (rassum with fuch a marvellous defire to pass into AsaA, as if all the barbarous people had been nothing but an fit, upon fight affured fpoil, and a prey exposed unto all those that would come to take them. But Crassus far otherwise finding himself gauled and troubled with the Arrows of the PARTHIANS, knew then by proof, that Luculius had not fo much overcome his enemies for that they wanted skill, or were a cowardly people, as he had done through his wisdom and valiantness. But that shall be seen hereas-Craffur, what cowardly people, as he had done through nis windown and variable from first of all his brother Marcus ac-fuccess he had ter. Furthermore, Lucullus being now returned to Rom E, found first of all his brother Marcus ac-ture. Furthermore, Lucullus being now returned to Rom E, found first of all his brother Marcus ac-ture. Furthermore, Lucullus being now returned to Rom E, found first of all his brother Marcus accufed by one Gaiss Memmiss, for that he had done in his Office of Treasurer in Sylla's time, and by his commandment, whereof he was cleared by fentence of the Judges. But Memmisus of spite turned his anger against Lucullus self, stirring up the People against him, and letting them underfland that Luculim had kept back and robbed much part of the Treasure, which should have come to the Commonwealth; and that to work his feat the better, he had prolonged these Wars as he did: wherefore he periwaded them flatly to deny him thehonour of his triumph. And truely Lucullus was in great danger to have lost it utterly, but that the Noblemen of the City, and they that were of greatest authority, intermedied themselves with the Tribes when they came to pass it by voices of the People; whom they entreated so much through fute and persuation, that in the end, with much ado, the People fuffered him to enter the City in triumph. So Lucullus made a triumphantentry, not terrible nor troublesome for the long shew or fight thereof, nor for the multitude of things that he had brought thither with him, as many other Captains had done before him. For he caused the Shew-place (which they call Circus Flaminius at ROME) to be set out and furnished chiefly with Armour and Weapons of the Enemies to a marvellous number: and with the Kings Engines and Inventions of battering pieces, which was a pleafant fight to behold. And in this thew, there was a certain number of his men of Arms bravely armed, ten Carts of War armed with Sythes that passed by, and threescore of the chiefest friends and Captains of the two Kings that were led prisoners through the City. And there were also drawn after them, an hundred and ten Gallies all armed in the Prores with strong spurs of Copper, and a statue of Mithridate; all of clean gold, fix foot high, with a rich Target fer with precious stones. Besides all that, there were twenty Cupboards as full of filver Plate as could be, and thirty Cupboards full also of golden Velfels, Armour and Coin of gold, carried upon mens thoulders. After them followed eight Mules laden with golden beds, and fix and fifty other Mules that carried filver Bullion, and a hundred and feven other Mules that carried filver Coin, amounting to the fum of two hundred threefcore and ten thousand Sestertias. Furthermore, there were books of account carried also, wherein were particularly written the sums of money which Lucullus had delivered before unto Pompey for the War against Pirates on the Sea, and unto the Treasurers and high Treasurers, to put into the sparing coffers of the Commonwealth at Rome. And afterwards in an Article by it felf, that he had given nine hundred and fifty Drachma's to every fouldier by the poll. After the flew of this triumph was ended, he made a general Feaft, in the which he feafted all the City and Vil-

lages thereabours, which the ROMANS call Vicos. And afterwards for fook his wife Clodia for her Lucultus for-12gs increasous, which the roams of the control of the control of the carbange, taketh Civilia, Cato's fifter: howbeit he wan nothing by the exchange, taketh Civilia, taketh Civilia, Cato's fifter: for he sped as evil with the second as he did with the first. For, saving that the was not slandered with and marrieth the incest of her own brethren, otherwise she was as dishonest and unchaste as Clodia: and yet he Serville. bare withall a while for her brothers sake, but at the length grew weary of her, and put her away as Cato's fifter, as he had done Clodia. Now when he had filled the Senate with a marvellous hope and expectation of dia. him (who thought they had now got one to encounter and withfrand Pompey's tyranny, and to uphold and maintain the Authority of the Nobility and Senate against the People, for that by his noble deeds he had atchieved to great fame and reputation) he fuddenly gave over all dealings in the affairs of the Commonwealth: either because he faw it so best, being a hard thing now to keep it from ruine: Lucullus givor elfe (as other faid) for that he felt himself sufficiently furnished with honour and wealth, and there- eth over gofore determined from thenceforth to live quietly all at his eafe, after fo great pains, travels and trou-vernment of bles, the end whereof fell not out over fortunately. And furely fome were of his mind, and liked the Commonthis great change of his marvellous well, because he did not as Marius did, neither happened on the ill success and end that Marine had. For Marine after the notable victories which he brought from the CIMBRES, and after his valiant Acts in Wars which had won him great honour, yet would he not so leave off, when he might have been Chronicled to his wonderfull glory: but of an unfatiable mind, and ambitious defire to rule and bear fway (being withall a very old man) went and forted himself amongst young men desirous of Government, who brought him not onely to commit many outrages, but made himself also to suffer greater cruelties. It is thought also that Ciccra had ended his aged course more happily, if afterwards he had quenched Catilines conspiracy, he had then taken his ease. And so had Scipio in like case, if when he had joyned NUMANTIA unto CARTHAGE, he would then have quieted himself. And therefore, some fay, that there is a certain revolution and time appointed, beyond the which no wife man should meddle any more with the affairs of the Commonwealth: no more then a man whole youth and strength is gone and decayed, is any more fit to just, wrastle, or enter into such exercises of the body. But contrarily Crasfus and Pompey mocked Lucullus, because he gave himself so much to pleasure and pastime: as if to live pleafantly and delicately did not worse become his age, then to command an Army, or to govern the affairs of a Commonweal. And for my part, reading Lucullus life, methinks that I read an ancient Comedy, the beginning whereof is tedious, and the latter end joyfull. For at the begins ning of his life, you find notable exploits, done by him in Wars, and great good government alfo in peace: but in the end they all turned into feafts and bankets, and lacking little of masks and mummeries, dancing with torches, and all other such delights fit for young men. For I bring within the Lucutlus build: compass and reckoning of his fineness and pleasures, his sumptuous buildings, his stately walks and ings and pleasures, Galleries, his hot-houses and stoves, his tables and pictures, his statues also, and the great workman-sures. ship and curiofity he had besides of all other Arts by him gotten together out of all parts, to his infinite charge: abusing therein the world of goods and treasure gotten and won in the Wars, in time of his charge and Office of General, and otherwise. Infomuch, that notwithstanding excess and superfluity hath ever since increased untill this present time, yet they reckon the gardens Lu- Lucullus Garcullus made, to be the most sumptuous and delicatest places that the Emperors have. And therefore dens of great

near unto NAPLES, by the fea fide (where there are mountains cut through, light as day, and

hanged upon vaults) and great ditches cast by force, to make the Sea pass and run through his houses,

to keep fish therein; and lodgings also that he built in the Sea it self: he called Lucullus, Xerxes the

the people pastime, sent unto Lucullus to borrow certain purple cloaks to set forth his Players: pass through

Lucullus made him answer, that he would cause his folks to look if he had any. And the next morn-

ing demanding of him, how many he should need; the other answered, that a hundred would ferve his turn. Whereupon Lucullus told him again, he would furnish him with two hundred, if his case so required. And therefore the Poet Horace writing this story, addeth to a notable ex-

clamation against superfluity, saying that men think that a poor house where there is no more

riches then necessary, and where there is not more then appeareth in fight, and that the master knoweth of. He was a vain man in his ordinary fervice at his board, not onely in that his beds

whereon he fed, were covered with rich Carpets of Purple, and himself served in Gold and Silver

marvelloufly efteemed, and specially for a word he spake one day when he was sick, and that

Tubero the Stoick Philosopher, having feen these stately works which Lucullus had caused to be made estimation.

Gownman, as if he would have faid, Xerxes the ROMAN, For even fo did Xerxes in old time cause Lucultus called the mountain Atho to be cut in funder, and a channel to be digged there to pass his ships through. He Kerkes the had also many other pleasant places within the territories of ROME near unto THUSCULUM, where Gownman. there were great large halls fet upon Tarraffes to fee round about far off in the day time. And Pom. Xerxes cut pey going thither fometime to fee him, reproved him greatly, telling him that he had built a marvel- through the lous fair Summer house, but not to be dwelt in in the Winter season. Lucudlus laughing, answered tho, and made him: Do ye think me to have less wit and reason then Storks or Cranes, that I cannot thist houses a channel for according to the season? And another time there was a Practor of Rome, that making Plays to shew his ships to

veffels fet with precious stones; and that there was dancing, musick, plays, and other such like pa-stimes of ordinary: but also for that he was continually served with all forts of fine dainty dishes, with Lucullus curioworks of Pastry, banqueting dishes, and fruit curiously wrought and prepared, which onely made fity and excess him to be wondred at of men of fimple understanding and mean condition. Therefore was Pompey in meats and fervice.

of Lucullus.

L V C V L L

to come by in Summer, but at Lucullus house, where they brought them up all the year through: he would in no wife they should ask any of him, but said unto his Physician: What, if Lucullus

had appointed every hall his certain rate and charge of Supper was in

Philotophy.

Antiochus of Afcalen an eloquent rhetori-

The opinion of the Academicks.

were not given to pleasure, could not Pompey live? And so willed them to get him some other such thing, as they might more eafily come by. Cato was Lucullus friend and kinfman both, and yet he fo much miliked his manner of living and ordinary expense, that one day a young man making a long and tedious Oration in open Senate (out of time, and to no purpose) touching mean diet, sobriety, and temperance of life; Cato could no longer abide him, but rofeup, and faid unto him: What, wilt thou not leave babling to us all day; thou that art rich as Crassus, that livest as Lucullus, and speakest as Cato? Other affirm that these words were spoken thus, but that it was not Cato that spake them: nevertheless it is certain, by the noble fayings they have gathered of Lucullus, he did not onely delight to live so delicately, but also he gloried in it. Some write that he feathed certain GRECIANS many days together in his house, that were come out of GREECE to ROME: and that they being men brought up with the fobriety and fimplicity of GREECE, after they had been feafted there divers times, were alhamed, and refused to go thither any more, being afterwards entreated to come to Lucullus, supposing that he had made them this great chear for their own sakes. Lucullus hearing of it, ings of Lucultus told them: My Lords, I pray you refuse not to come to me for that; indeed I must needs grant that there is fomewhat more then ordinary to welcome you withall; but I tell you truly, the most part is for Lucullus sake. Another time when he supped all alone, and his men had laid but one board, and prepared but a reasonable supper for him, he was very angry with them, and called for his steward, to know why he was fo ferved: the Steward answered him: My Lord, because I saw you fend for no body, I thought this supper sufficient. What said he again, knewest not thou that Lucullus should fup to night with himself? In fine, Lucullus fare was so well known through Rome, that there was no talk but of Lucullus noble house-keeping. Whereupon, Cicero and Pompey being desirous to fee the proof thereof, came one day to him in the Market-place feeing him at leasure: for Cicero was Lucullus very good friend, and Pompey (though there was some jar between them for matters of Wars) did not let for all that to come unto him, and to speak gently one to another. And Cicero after he had faluted him, asked him if he would be contented they should come and see him. Oh, faid he, with all my heart: I pray you come to me. Well then, faid Cicero, Pompey and I will come and tup with you to night, with condition that you provide no more then your ordinary:

Luculus told them again, they should then fare but badly, and therefore it was better they tarried till to morrow. But they would none of that, no nor fuffer him to fpeak with his men, for fear he should command them to provide somewhat more then for himself. Nevertheless, at his desire they suffered him onely in their presence aloud to tell one of his men, that he would sup that night in Apollo: ing divers halls (for fo was one of the most stately and sumptuous halls of his house called) and with that word onely he finely deceived them both, and they never found him. For every Hall had his certain fum and rate appointed for the charge and expence of every supper they made in them, and the ordinary furniture and fervice for the fame. So that when his fervants had their watch-word but in what Hall he would fup, they knew straight what charge he would be at for his supper, and what orders What Lucullus should be observed therein. Now Lucullus manner wasto spend when he made any feast in the Hall of Apollo, fifty thousand pence, and that felf day the supper was prepared according to that value: infomuch as Pompey marvelled how it could be possible that a supper of so exceeding great charge could be fo fuddenly prepared. In fuch things therefore did Lucullus lavishly and riotoully spend his goods, like spoils gotten of slaves and barbarous people. But that especially which he bestowed up-Lucallar Libra on Books, was a very commendable and honest expence. For that he gathered together a great number of notable Histories, the use whereof was more honour unto him, then the having of them. For his Library was ever open to all comers, and they suffered the GRECIANS to come into his goodly tarraffes and fairwalks, or other pleasant places thereabouts convenient to fit and reason together, and never thut door against them: where Learned men met commonly, and oftentimes fpent the whole day in conference together, as in the house of the Muses; being very glad when other matters were dispatched, they had so much leisure as but to go thither. And Lucullus selfwould also many times be amongst them, in those tarraffes and pleasant walks, delighting much to talk with them: and he did ever help to dispatch them that had any business with him, and granted the thing they requested of him. To conclude, his house was a common receipt for all them that Lucultus loved came from Greece to Rome. He loved all manner of Philosophy, and refused no Sect of the fame. But from his youth upward, he ever loved and esteemed best the ACADEMICK Sect, not that which they call the new ACADEMICK (although it flourished 2t that time through Carneades works, which Philo made such estimation of) but the old ACADEMICK, which the Philosopher Antiochus of the City of Ascalon did defend and maintain at that time, being an Eloquent Rhetorician and well spoken, whom Lucullus sought to win by all means, to make him his friend, and to have him in house with him: because he might inveigh against Philo's hearers and followers, whole Scholer Cicero among the reft was, that wrote a notable book against this old ACADEMICK feet. And in the same he reciteth Luculius, maintaining the opinion of the old ACADEMICKS: who hold, that a man may certainly know and comprehend fomething, and called that Catalepsin: but Cicero desended the contrary. The book is intituled Lucullus: for they were (as we have rehearled before) very good friends, and had both one felf defire for Government in the Commonwealth. For Lucullus did not fo withdraw himfelf from matters of state, that he would no more meddle at all, nor hear speak of them: but he betimes gave over all am-

bition and contention, as a thing of no small danger, and breeding great reproach and dishonour to Marcus Crassus, and Cato, to be chief in authority. And these two were they that defended the Senate, and whom they raifed up to withfrand Pompey's greatness, being affraid of him, after that Lu-Marcus Crafcullus had refused the chief place of authority. But otherwise, Lucullus would be in the Market-place fus, Cato, Luat Courts and Common-councils, to pleasure his friends when they requested him: and would go to cultus, against the Senate alfo, when there was occasion to break any new practife, or to overthrow Pompey's ambitious policy. For he overthrew all the orders and conftitutions that Pompey had made, after he had overcome the Kings Mithridates and Tigranes: and with the help of Cato hindred a distribution of mo- Pompy, ney which Pompey had written for to Rome, to be bestowed amongst his fouldiers. Whereupon Pom- Pompey, Crasfpey fell in friendship (or to speak more plainly, in conspiracy) with Crassus and Casar, by whose help sus, Casar, con and affiftance, he filled Rome with Arms and Souldiers; and made the people by force to pais and against the confirm what he would have done, after he had violently expulsed Lucullus and Cate out of the Mar- State, ket-place. Whereat the Noble men were much offended, and milliking the great wrong they had offered Lucullus and Cato, Pompey's followers suborned a BRUTIAN, and faid he was taken lying in wait to kill Pompey. Whereupon the faid BRUTIAN being examined by the Senate, named certain; but when he came before the People, he named Luculus, faying that he had hired him to still Pampey. But Circo calls him on man believed him: for they perceived openly in the Market-place, that he was procured by themfelves falfly to accuse Lucullus, and Pompey's other adversaries. And this was proved more plainly it may be that within a few days after, when they threw the body of this BRUTIAN dead in the midft of the ftreet, he was a Bruout of the prison, who they faid died of himself with sickness. Howbeit the marks being plainly seen tianborn. of the halter wherewith they had strangled him, and the stripes appearing also which they had given him, did plainly flew that they themselves did it, whom after they had suborned to accuse Lucullus, they flew in this manner. This was the cause why Lucullus did more then before absent himself from meeting in publick causes: but after, when he saw that they had so wickedly exiled Cicero, and found means also to convey Cato far enough off, under pretenced colour to fend him with charge into the Isle of CypRus: then he gave up altogether. Some write that a little before his death, he was not per- Lucultus fell fect in his wits, decaying through age by little and little. Howbeit Cornelius Nepos faith, that it was out of his wits not for age nor fickness that his wits did alter, but through poison which one of his slaves had given before his him, whom he had made free, called Califibenes: who gave it him, not of any evil intent, but became death.

Califibenes is who gave it him, not of any evil intent, but became his mafter should love him the more, supposing that this positon had power to make him love him. But positoned Luhe troubled his wits, so with this positon, that Lucullus while he lived was fain to have his Brothet cultus whereof Marcus to overfee his goods. Notwithstanding this, when he was dead, he was as much bewailed and he died. lamented of all the People, as if he had died in his best credit, and greatest prosperity. For all the Peo. Lucullus death, ple ran to honour his Funerals, and his body was carried to the place, by the young Noblemen of the City. The People would in any case have buried him within the field of Mars, as they had before buried Sylla. But because no man thought of it before, and also for that things necessary were not easily to be provided for the place : his brother Marcus belought the People they would be content his funerals might be at a Town of his own near unto the City of Thus Culum, where his Tomb was prepared: and he himself lived not long time after. For as Lucullus both in age and honour, had not left

The end of Lucullus Life .

him, he could not then long live, and furvive him.

him far behind him: fo did he not much in his death. For as a brother that had always dearly loved

land. And like as in games of prize and exercises of body which are shewed in GREECE, they that in

one felf day win the games at wreftling, and weapons both, are called by a strange custom, not con-

very frangets, for the confederaces did joyn together with him. Luculius returned from the his Country for taken of those he carried out with tim. Cimon returned again, comminding them that were lent tout with him to obey others; and had at one time done for his Country Three mitable dakes and hard for thing to have compared : to wir, made peace with the enemies, given them authority and rule over their controls; and joyned friendthip with the LAGED amon in the Bolt of them undertook to delicity great Empires, and conquer all ASIA: but mantered them controls their their enterprite to pals. The one by reason of his death, which cut him off on the intach being Cheral. and when his affairs prospered best. The other can hardly be exclifed, that there was not a great fault in him : either in that he could not, or because he would not sause the complaints and griefs of his men, which caused them to much to hate and millike him. And yes a might be said also, that in this fault he was like unto Cimon: who was oftentimes accured by his Cinzens; and at the length banished his Country for the space of ten years, because that in ten years space (as Place faith) they should no

more hear him speak. For to say truely, it feldome times happeth, that the grave wits of Noblemen

do please the multitude, neither are they acceptable unto the common people : because they striving con-

Furthermore, Lucullus went a great deal farther with his Army, then ever Cimon did. For he was

the first ROMAN Captain that passed over mount Taurus, and the River of Tigris with an army. He

took and burnt almost in the fight of both the Kings, the Royal Cities of ASIA, TIGRA NOCERTA.

CABIRA, SINOPE and NICIBIS. Towards the North, he went as far as the River of Phasis: to-

wards the Eaft, into MEDIA, and Southward, even to the Red Sta, and unto the Realms of ARABIA, fubduing all unto the ROMAN Empire. And having overthrown all the power of these two mighty

Kings, he took from them all, but their persons onely : who fled and hid themselves like wild beasts,

in infinite Deferts and unpaffable Forreits. Wherein is eafily discerned the difference betwirt the do-

ings of the one, and of the other. For the PERSIANS, as if they had had no hurt nor overthrow at all

by Cimon, fought a battle immediately after against the GRECIANS, and overthrew the greatest part of their Army in EGYPT: where Mithridate, and Tigranes, after Lucullus victories, did never any notable act. For the one finding himself altogether pulled down on his knees, and broken by the for-

mer battles: durft never once onely shew his Army unto Pompey, out of the strength of his Camp, but

by many great battles they had loft before unto Themistocles, King Pansanias, and Leotychides, who had overthrown them: and going now again to fight afresh with them, it was an easie thing to over-

come the bodies of those, whose hearts were already vanquished. Where Luculius to the contrary,

affailed Tigrames, that had never been overcome, but bare a marvellous Jofty mind with him, for the

many great battles and conquests he had won. And for the multitude of enemies, there was no compa-

rifon between those that Cimon overthrew, and those that were ranged in battle against Lucullus. So

that all things weighted and confidered, it were hard to judge which of them two proved the worthieft

man: for that it feemeth, that the gods did favour both the one and the other, telling the one what he

should do, and the other what he should not do. And thus it appeareth by testimony of the gods, they

were both good men, and that they both obtained everlatting glory.

THE COMPARISON OF

LUCULLUS with CIMOX.



Lucullus dent bleffed.

Othing (in my opinion) made Lucullus more happy, then to die when he did, before he faw the change and alteration of the Commonweal, which the fatal destinies plagued the ROMANS withall, with sedition and civil Wars: and that he died in his Country yet enjoying her liberty, but beginning then to fall to decay. And in that (above all other things) he was likeft unto Cimon; who died whilft the GRECIANS were in good love and peace with other, and nor in broil of discord and Civil Wars. Indeed Cimon died in his Camp, being General of his Country, at the fiege of the City of CITIUM in CYPRUS; not

withdrawn to his home, as one wearied, living idly, or leading a voluptuous life in feafts and banquets, making that the end and reward of his Wars, victories and triumphs: but as Plato faid (when he wifely blamed and reproved Orphem, who promifeth perpetual drunkenness in the world to come, for reward of their vertue, that lived well in this life) merrily. And truely it is a great comfort and converted to the converted of their vertue, that lived well in this life) merrily. tentation of mind, for an old man feebled with age, and compelled by weakness, to withdraw himself from the world, as well in matters of government in Peace, as in Wars: and quietly to pass his time in fludy, where delight is joined with honest contemplations. But to finish his vertuous deeds, by referring them to pleafure, as unto their onely end, and moreover, to grow old by pleafure and vanity, following in the pleafure and vanity and in the pleafure and vanity of the pleafure and vanity and commanded fuch Arabical states and the pleafure and vanity and commanded fuch Arabical states and the pleafure and vanity and mies: that methinks a thing unworthy of an honest ACADEMICK, and altogether unmeet for one profeffing old Xenocrates doctrine, but fit rather for a man given over altogether to Epicarsu discipline. There is a wonderfull thing to be confidered of in these two men, that the ones youth was altogether vicious and reproachfull, and the others to the contrary, honeft and vertuous. But he is the better that changeth for the better: and that nature is always more commendable, in whom vice decayeth, and verthey both grew rich by one felf mean: but they did not both alike nie their riches. For it were to no purpole to compare the buildings of the Wall that standeth South within the Castle of ATHENS, which was built with the money (imon brought thither, with the fine built Chambers, and high raifed Turrets to gaze afar, and environed about with conduits of water, which Lucullus erected by NAPLES, with the spoils of the barbarous people. Neither is Cimons table also of moderate fare and diet, but yet open to every man, comparable to Lucullus board, which was sumptuously furnished, and shewed the greatness of his Lord. For Cimons board sed many mouths daily with a small charge: and Lucullus rable exceeded in expence, to feed a few, with superfluous dainties. Unless they will say, that time cauled this difference between them. But who cantell, if Cimon had been at leifure to have withdrawn himself to quiet in age from Government and Arms, he also would not have led a more sumpruous and diffolute life, given to all pleasure, then Luculin did? For of his own nature he loved wine, banquets, and plays, and was also given to women, as we have told you before. But prosperity, and fortunate fuccets of things do bring such delights to ambitious men of nature, and born to great enterprizes, that they make them forget to run after their other voluptuous vain defires. And therefore had Lucullus died abroad in the Wars, whileft he commanded armies, there had not been that living man, how curious soever he had been to reprove other mens faults, that could have detected him of any reproachfull vice. And thus much for their manner of life. Now furthermore, touching the flate of their Wars: no doubt both the one and the other were excellent Captains, as well by sea as by

decay ries, and the waxeth young: then that which by continuance of time sheweth still the contrary. And furthermore, vertue.

querors onely, but victors alfo, to honour them withall : even fo methinks that Cimon in like cafe having in one felf day crowned GREECE with two notable marks of triumph, for two battles he wan, the one by fea, and the other by land, deserveth to have some place and preferment before other Cap- Cimons two vitains, And moreover, Lucullus received the Authority to command, of his Country and Common- flories obtainwealth; but Cimon gave his (ountry both authority and ability to command. Lucullus found his ed in one day. Country a commanding people to all their friends and confederates: through whose aid he overcame Great diffehis enemies. And Cimon contrarily found his Country marching under anothers Entign, and through rence between his valiantness did to behave himself, that he made his City go before her confederates, and triumph o- Cimon and Lu. ver herenemies: compelling the Tenska Na by lorce to give them the rule by fea, and perswading the callus.

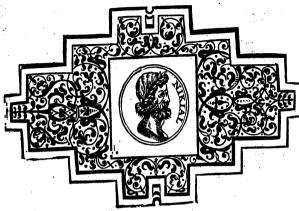
ver nerenemes: compening the translation by another to give time the time of this and periwating the Lace BLEWO NI AND willing to give place amothern by land. Now if the chiefest thing that the in an excellent Captain, who make himself to be beloved of his foundates, that they might delight to obey him? Then was Lucustus Registed of his foundates, and Cinjon effectived and wondered at, even of the confidence the middless. For Luculus was fortaken of his own from and Cinjon was reflected by

tinually to reform them when they go awry, do grieve them as much, as Chirurgeons do their pati- Grave Magients when they bind up their fores with bands to cure them. For though by that binding they reftore firates relemand bring to their natural places again the broken bones and members out of joynt: yet put they the tude unto good patient to great pain and grief. And therefore methinks neither the one nor the other is to be blamed. Chirurgeons.

fled into the Realm of Bos PHORUS, where he died. And Tigranes, he went and humbled himself on his knees, unarmed and without weapon, unto Pempey: and taking his Diadem off from his head, laydeed in the ed it at his feet, not flattering him for the victories he had won, but for those which Lincullus had tri- Realm of Bofumphed for. By reason whereof he scaped good cheap, and thought himself happy, when Pompey phorus. umphed for. By reason whereor he icaped good circap, and invogen minut happy in the therefore age him onely the mark and title of a King, the which before had been taken from him. He therefore Tigranes King gave him onely the mark and title of a King, the which before had been taken from him. He therefore of Arments, is to be thought the more worthy Captain, and fourtest Champion, that leaveth his enemy in weak e- fubmitteth state for him that followeth, and shall fight afterwards with him. And furthermore, Cimon found the himselfto power of the King of Persia over harried, the pride and fierceness of the Persians layed aground Pompey.

THE LIFE OF

N. ICIAS.



Ann. Mund. 3579

Ant. Christ. 424.

Have reason (as I think) to compare Nicial with Crassiu, and the events that happened to the one in PARTHIA, with those that beiell the other in CICILE: yet am I to pray them that shall happen to read my writings, not to think me in entermeddling with those matters (in the describing and reporting whereof, Thueydides hath gone beyond himself, both for variety and liveliness of narration, as also in choice and excellent words) to have the like intent and opinion,

that Timess the Historiographer had. Who, hoping by the gravity and life of his words and reports, to darken the glory of Thurydides, and make Philifus (in comparison of himfelf) appear ignorant, and without any grave of historical narration: hath in his. History of purpose sought occasion to enter into the describing of those battles by sea and by land; and the report of those speeches and narrations, which are delivered by them with great judgement and eloquence. Wherein he cometh as near them whom he contends to pass, as dourthe Footman to the Ly-DIAN Coach, as faith Pindarus: and befides sheweth himself fond and of small judgement, or as Diphilus faith:

Timeus follies

The praile of

Thury liles.

A lubber laden with Sicilian greafe. And in divers places he falleth into Xenarchus follies. As where he faith, that he thinks it was an evil token for the ATHENIANS, that Wieiss the Captain (whose name was derived of this word Nice, lignifying victory) diffwaded their attempts against SICILE: and that by throwing down and mangling of the Herms (to fay, the images of Mercury) it was foreshewed that they should receive great overthrows by the General of the SYRACUSANS, called Hermocrates, the ion of Hermon. And further, that it was not unlikely that Hercules did favour the SYRACUSANS, by reason of the goddess Proferpina (protector and defender of the City of SYRACUSA) to requite her for that she gave him Cerberus the dog, Porter of hell: and that he did malice the ATHENIANS besides, because they took the EGESTEANS parts (who came of the TROIANS, whom he much hated) for breaking their promife and faith with him, whose City himself had overthrown in revenge of the wrong that Laomedon King of TROY had offered him. Howbeit Timeus shews as much wit and judgment, in delivering Timess repro- us such toys in an history, as he doth in correcting the stile of Philistus, or in condemning and railing vech Plate and on Plate and Ariffeele. But in my farcy, this ambition and contention to write or to speak more clearly then others, theweth always a base envious mind, like a Scholler full of School points. But when it striveth with things that for their excellency are past imitation, then is it extream folly and madnels. Since therefore I may not pals over nor omit certain things, which Thucydides and Philifins have already fet down, and especially those wherein they open Nicias nature and qualities, which the variety of his successes and fortune did cover: I must lightly touch them, and report so much as is necessary and convenient, left men condemn me for sloth and negligence. And in the

ling endeavoured to gather and propound things not commonly marked and known, which collected as well out of many old Anti-ellected as well out of fundary mens Works and ancient Records, as out of many old Anti-es and of them all compiled a Narration, which will serve (I doubt not) to decipher the

Man and his Nature. Of Nicias therefore may be faid that which Aristotle hath written of him, that there were three famous Citizens of ATHENS, very honest men, and which favoured the Commonalty with a naturall fatherly love: Nicias the Son of Niceratus, Thucydides the Son of Milefins, and Theramines the Son of Agnon. But of the three, this last was of smallest account : for he is flouted as a Forreigner born in the Isle of CEOS, and challenged besides for inconstant and irrefolute in matters of State and Government : and inclining fometimes to one Faction , fometimes to another: he was called Cothurnus, a kind of Buskin indifferently ferving for both legs, and in old time was used of common Players of Tragedies. Of the other two, Thucydides being the elder, did many good acts in favour of the Nobility against Pericles, who alwaies took part with the inferiour fort. Nicias that was the younger, had realonable estimation in Pericles life time ; for he was joyned Captain with him, and oftentimes also had charge by himself alone without him. After Pericles death, the Nobility raifed him to great Authority, to be as a strong Bulwark for them. against Cleans insolency and boldness: and withall he had the love of the People to advance and prefer him. Now this Cleon in troth could do much with the People, he did so flatter and dandle them. like an old man, still feeding their humour with gain : but yet they themselves whom he thus flattered, knowing his extream covetousness, impudency and boldness, preferred Nicias before him, becaule his gravity was not fevere nor odious, but mingled with a kind of modefly, that he feemed to fear the presence of the People, which made them thereby the more to love and esteem him. For Niciss a timobeing (as he was) of a fearfull and mistrustfull nature and disposition, in Wars he cloaked his fear rous man. with good Fortune, which ever favoured him alike in all his Journeys and Exploits that he took in hand, where he was Captain. Now being much afraid of Accusers, this timorous manner of his The nature of proceeding in the City, was found to be popular, whereby he wan him the good will of the People; the People and by means thereof role daily more and more, because the People commonly fear those that hate them, and advance them that fear them. For the greatest honour Nobility can do to the Commonalty, is to shew that they do not despise them. Now Pericles, who through his perfect vertue onely, and force of his great eloquence ruled the whole State and Commonwealth of ATHENS, he needed no counterfeit colour, nor artificiall flattering of the People, to win their favour and good wills : but Nicias lacking that , and having Wealth enough , fought thereby to creep into the Peoples favour. And where Cleon would entertain the ATHENIANS with pleasant toys and devices. pies rayour. And where Caron would construct the piece of the property of the piece of the property of the piece of the property of the piece of the encounter, crept into the Peoples favour with liberality, with charges of common Plays, and with fuch like sumptuousness, exceeding in cost and pleasant Sports, not onely all those that had been be-ficence. fore him, but fuch also as were in his time. There yet remain Monuments of his confectating unto the gods, as the Image of Pallas in the Castle of ATHENS, the gilt being worn off: and the Chappell which is under the Festivall Table of Bacchus . for he many times had the chief price in Bacchie Dances, and never went away without fome gain. And touching this matter, there goeth a report, that at certain Plays, whereof Nicias defrayed the charges, one of his men came forth upon the Players Stage before the People, apparelled like Bacchus: and being a goodly tall young man, without any hair on his face, the ATHENIANS took fuch pleasure to see him so attired that they made a clapping of their hands a long time together for joy. Therewithall Nicias stood up, and told them, that it were a shame for him to leave the body of a man in bondage, that openly was effeemed as a god : and thereupon forthwith made this young Slave a Freeman. Men write also of certain sumptuous and devout acts he did in the Isle of DELOs, where the Dancers and Singers which the Cities of GREECE fent thither to fing Rhimes and Verles in the honour of Apollo, were wont before to arrive diforderly : and the cause was, for the numbers of People that ran to see them who made them fing straight without any order, and landing in haste out of their Ships, they left their Apparell, and put on fuch Vestments as they should wear in Procession, and their Garlands of Flowers on their heads, all at one prefent time. But Nicias being commanded to go

thither to present the Singers of ATHENS, landed first in the Isle of RENIA, hard adjoyning to

the Isle of Delos, with his Singers, his Beafts for Sacrifice, and with all the reft of his Train.

carrying a Bridge with him, which he had caused to be made at ATHENS, upon measure taken of the Channell, betwixt the one and the other Isle, set out with Pictures and Tables, with gilding,

with Nofegays and Garlands of Triumph, and with excellent wrought Tapiftry, which in the night

he fet up upon the Channell, being not very broad, and the next morning by break of the day caufed his Singers to pass over upon it, singing all the way as they went in his Procession so nobly

let forth; even unto the very Temple of Apollo. And when the Sacrifice, the Feast, and Games

that were to be played were finished, he gave a goodly Palm-tree of Copper, which he offered

up to Apollo, bought Lands besides that cost him ten thousand Drachma's, which he consecra-

ted also unto the god Patron of the Isle; and ordained, that the profits of the same should be

yearly bestowed upon the DELIA'NS, upon an open Sacrifice and Feast, in the which they should

pray to their god, for the health and prosperity of Nicias: and so caused it to be written and

graven upon a Pillar he lest in DELOS, as a perpetuall Monument and Keeper of his Offering and

Foundation. Afterwards, this Copper Palm-tree being broken by winds, it fell upon the great

Image of the NAXIANS Gift, and threw it down to the Ground. Surely in this Ceremony

Nicias Superfitions.

Nicias Mines

of Silver.

and act of his, there was a marvellous pomp, and great the lot pool that shall consider of his Life and Actions, may easily perfixed hunter that the property pure zeal and devotion, and secondly, to give pleasure and patime to the lot of the on. We find written in one of the Dialogues of Paliphoon, that Nicias did facrifice daily to the gods, on. We man wanted money to the gous, and kept a Soothfayer continually in his House, giving out abroad, that it was to counfell with him what should happen about the affairs of the Commonwealth: but in troth it was to enquire of his own business, and specially of his Mines of Silver. For he had many great Mines about Laurion side, that were very profitable to him: but withall they digged with great danger, and he was driven continually to keep a marvellous number of Slaves at work there. The most part of Nicias Riches was in ready Money, and thereby he had many cravers and hangers on him, whom he gave Money unto: for he gave as well unto the wicked People that might do mischief, as unto them that deserved reward, Niciss for fear and were worthy of his liberality. Thus was his fear a Rent to the wicked, as his liberality was also a Revenue to the good: and hereof the Comical Poets do deliver us ancient testimony. For Teleslides Speaking of a certain Informer, said thus:

gave to the wicked.

Caricles did refuse to give one Mina, for to stay The bruiting of his secret birth, conveyed close away: But Nice, the Son of Nicerate, did willingly beftow Abrace of Mina's double sold. And shough I well do know The cause of his so doing, yet I will not him bewray:

For why? the man is my good friend, and wife, I dare well fay.

And he, whom Eupolis mocketh in his Comedy intituled Maricas, bringing a plain simple man upon

the Stage, doth ask him: The Informer:

How long is it ago since thou didst speak with Nicias?

The plain Man:

I saw him standing even right now upon the Market-place.

The Informer:

This man affirms he saw him there. And wherefore should be say He saw him, but of some intent his lewdness to bewray? Now Sirs, ye fee how Nicias here is taken in the trip, For all his walking close in clouds, to give the privy flip.

The Author:

O foolish folk, sappose ye that so good a man as he, In any fault or shamefull fact will tardy taken be? And Clean threatning in the Comedy of Ariftophanes, intituled the Knights, faith these words:

The Orators if by the throat I take,

Then sure I am, that Nicitis straight will quake. Physnic us felf telleth us also glauntingly, that he was so timorous and easie to be frayed, when he said, speaking of another man:

A good front man (I know full well) he was, And not a coward, like to Nicias.

Niciss warinels to offend.

Thuries,

Now Nicias being thus timorous of nature, and fearing to give any little occasion to the Orators to accuse him, kept himself so warily, that he neither durft eat nor drink with any man in the City, nor yet put forth himself in company to talk, or pass the time amongst them, but altogether avoided such Sports and pleasures. For when he was in Office, he would never out of the Council house, but still busted himself in dispatching Causes, from morning till night, and was ever the first that came, and last that went away. And when he had no matter of State in hand, then was he very hardly to be spoken withall, and would suffer no access unto him, but kept close in his Houle: and fome of his friends did ever answer them that came to his Gate, and prayed them to pardon him, faying: that he was buffe then about Affairs of the Commonwealth. One Hisron, whom Nicias Miss Hierons had brought up in his House, and had himself taught him both Learning and Musick, was his grea-NIGHT HISTORY HAN OF THE BOOK AND THE BOOK A cus Founder of rain number of men that were fent to dwell in ITALY, did build there the City of THURIBS. Hieron I fay did ferve his turn, and holp him fecretly to enquire what he would understand of the Soothfayers, and gave out these words among the People : that Nicias led too miserable and painfull a life, for the over-great care he took to serve the Commonwealth; insomuch, as though he were in his Hot-house to wash him, or at his Table at Meat, his mind ran still of some matters about the Commonwealth, and to ferve the State did neglect his own private Affairs: so that he scant began to sleep and take reft, whenothers commonly had sleet their first sleep, and that he looked like no body. Furthermore, that he was grown crabbed and uncourteous, even to such as before had been his familiar friends : so that, said he, he loseth them together with his Goods, and all for fervice of the Commonwealth; where others grow rich, and win friends, by the credit they have to be heard of the People, and can make merry among them, and sport with the matters of State which they had in their hands. Now in troth, such was Niciae life, that he might truly lay, that which Against an inches of himself in the Tragedy of Euripides, called Ephigenia

In outward hew of stately pomp, all others I exceed, And yet the Peoples underling I am in very deed.

And Nicias perceiving that the People in fomethings did ferve their turns with the experience of them that were eloquent, and wifer then others, although they yet mistrusted their sufficiency, and had a special eye to them, plucking down their courage, by taking their Authority from them : as for proof. the condemnation of Pericles, the banishment of Damon, and the mistrust they had of Antiphon RHAMNUSIAN, and moreover by what they did unto Paches (that took the Ille of LESBOS) who being brought before the Judges in open Council to give up an account of his charge, drew out his Sword, and flew himself in presence of them all. Wisias, I say, remembring these examples, sought ever to fly from those Offices which were either too great or too small; and when he accepted any, had special regard to work surely, and to venture nothing. Whereby all his Enterprizes that he took in hand, as we may eafily conjecture, prospered marvellous well: but yet he imputed nothing to his own wildom, nor yet to his vertue and fufficiency, but thanked Fortune ever for all, and praying diligently to the gods, contented himself to leffen his glory, and that onely to avoid envy : as the event of things falling out even in his time do fufficiently witness unto us. For the City of ATHENS having fuftained many great losses and overthrows, he was never a Party, nor had ought to do in any of them. As once for example: the Athenians were overcome in Thracia by the Chalcidonians, howbeit it was under the leading of Calliades and Xenophon, who were their Captains. Another time, the loss they had in Etolia under the charge of Demosthenes. Moreover, at Delium, a City of Boe-OTIA, where they loft a thousand men at one Conflict, Hippocrates then being General there. And as touching the Plague, the greatest number laid the fault thereof to Pericles, who by reason of Wars kept the men that came out of the Country, within the Walls of the City of ATHENS; and fo by changing of air, and their wonted manner of life, they fell into it. Now with none of all these great troubles and misfortunes, was Nicias ever burthened : but contrariwise he being Captain took the Isle of CYTHERA, which the LACEDEMONIANS inhabited, being an excellent place for fcituation to moleft and destroy the Country of LACONIA. He wan divers Cities that had rebelled in THRACIA. and brought them once more under the obedience of ATHENS. At his first coming, having shut in the MEGARIANS within their Walls, he took the Isle of MINOA: and at his departure thence, shortly after wan the Haven of NISEA also. Furthermore, landing in the Country of the CORINTHIANS. he overcame them that offered him Battle, and flew a great number, and among others Lycophron the Captain. At this Battle he chanced to forget to bury two of his men that were flain, whose bodies could not be found in gathering up of the reft: howbeit, fo foon as he heard of it, he caufed all his Fleet to flay, and fent an Herauld to the Enemies, to pray leave to fetch away those two bodies. Now, though by Law of Arms, they that fent to ask leave to take away their dead to bury them, did thereby Arms. lofe the honour of their Victory, and werebarred to fet up any Mark or Token of Triumph, because it feemed by the Suit, that they which had them in their power were Conquerors, and not the Petitioners that made request for them, which otherwise needed not to have made demand of them: Nician notwithflanding was contented rather to forfake the honour of his Victory, then to leave the bodies of two of his Countrymen in the Field without burial. So, after he had destroyed all the Coast of LACO-NIA, and had overcome certain LACEDEMONIANS that came against him in Battle, he took the City of THYREA, which the ÆGINETES kept at that time, whom he brought Priloners unto A-THENS. And when the PELOPONNESIANS had prepared great Armies both by Sea and by Land to beliege the Fort of PYLE, the which Demosthenes the Captain had fortified : Battle being given by Sea, it chanced there remained four hundred natural Citizens of SPARTA within the Isle of SPACTE-RIA. Now the ATHENIAN'S thought it a notable exploit of them (as indeed it was) to take those four hundred alive : howbeit the Siege was very fore, because they lacked water even in the midst of Summer, and were forced to fetch a marvellous compals to bring Victuals to their Camp; which when Winter should be once come, would be very dangerous, and almost an impossible thing to do. Whereupon they then became forry, and repented them much that they had fent away the Ambaffadors of the LACEDEMONIANS which came to them to treat of Peace, and that they had (through Clons procurement) fuffered them to depart in that fort without resolution taken : who was against them altogether onely to do Nicias a delpight, being his Enemy, and did earneftly folicite the matter the LACEDAMONIANS requested. This was the cause why Cleon perswaded the ATHENIANS to refuse their offer of Peace. But when the People faw that this Siege drew out in length, and that their Camp fuffered grievous wants and necessities, then they fell out with Cleon, and he again burthened Nician, faying, that through his fear he would let the besieged SPARTAN'S escape, and that if he had been Captain, they should not have holden out so long. Thereupon the ATHENIANS said aloud to Clean: And why doft thou not go thither then to take them? Moreover Nicias felf also rifing up, openly gave him his Authority to take this PYLE, and bade him levy as many Souldiers as he would to go thither, and not to brag with such impudent words where was no danger, but to do some notable service to the Commonwealth. Cleon at the first shrunk back, being amazed withall, little thinking they would have taken him to fuddenly at his word : but in the end, Qq2

And so, upon a meeting together to talk of many matters, they made an universall Peace through-

perceiving the People urged him to it, and that Niciaa also was importunate with him; ambigion to inflamed him, that he not onely took the charge upon him, but in a bravery laid, That within twenty daies after his departure he would either put all the SPARTANS to the Sword, or bring them Prisoners unto ATHENS. The ATHENIANS hearing Clean fay so, had more lust to laugh a good, then to believe that he spake : for it was their manner ever to laugh at his anger and folly, A jeft of Clean. For it is reported of him, that the People on a time being folemnly affembled in Councell early in the morning, to hear what Cleon would fay, and having tarried long for him, at the length he came with a Garland on his head, and prayed the Affembly to difmifs the Court till the next morning: for (quoth he) I shall not be at leisure to day, because I have factificed, and do feast also certain strangers my friends that are come to fee me. So the People burst out in a laughing, and brake up the Affembly. This notwithflanding, Fortune favoured him at that time, and he handled himself of the Laceds fo well in this charge with Demofibenes, that he took all the SPARTANS that they belieged, within the time he had appointed, faving such as were slain : and having made them yeeld, brought them Prifoners to ATHENS. This fell out greatly to Nieise shame and reproach. For it appeared not onely a casting away of his Shield, but worse then that, a voluntary fortaking of his Province upon a base timorous mind, giving his Enemy occasion thereby to do some noble Exploir, depriving himself of his honourable charge. Wherefore Aristophanes mocketh him again, in his Comedy of Birds, faying:

It is no time to fleep and linger still, As Nicias doth , without good cause or skill.

Also in another place of his Comedy of Plowmen, he faith: I fain would follow husbandry. Who less thee? Marry you. A thousand Drachma's I will give to be discharged now Of Office in the Commonweal. Content fo shall we have Two thousand Drachma's just, with those which Nicias lately gave.

But herein Nicias did great hurt to the Commonwealth, fuffering Cleon in that fort to grow to credit and estimation. For after that Victory, Cleon grew to so haughty a mind and pride of himself, that he was not to be dealt withall : whereupon tell our the occasion of the great miseries that happened to the City of ATHENS, which most grieved Nicias of all other. For Cleon amongst other things took away the modesty and reverence used before in publick Orations to the People: he of all other was the first that cried out in his Orations, that clapped his hand on his thigh, threw open his Gown, and flung up and down the Pulpit as he spake. Of which example afterwards followed all licentiousness, and contempt of honesty, the which all the Orators and Counsellours fell into, that dealt in matters of State and Commonwealth, and was in the end the overthrow of all together. In that very time began Alcibiades to grow to credit, by practice in the State, who was not altogether fo corrupt, neither simply evil, but as they say of the Land of ÆGEPT, that for the famels and

luftiness of the Soyl:

Alcibiades di-

The immode-

rate liberty of

Cleans lewd

and light ge-

fures in his

Oracions.

Cleon.

It bringeth forth most wholsome herbs, and also noysome weeds. Even so Alcibiades wir excelling either in good or ill, was the cause and beginning of great change and alteration. For, it fell out, that after Nicias was rid of Clean, he could not yet bring the City of A-THENS again to peace and quietnels. For when the Commonwealth began to grow to fome reft and reasonable good order, then was it again brought into Wars, through Aleibiades extream Gleonand Brd fury of ambition. And thus it began. The onely Peace-breakers and diffurbers of common quiet gefider, the two nerally throughout GREECE, were these two persons, Cleon and Brasidas: for War cloaked the Peace-breakers wickedness of the one, and advanced the valiantness of the other, giving to either occasion to do Reace-breakers wickedness of the one, and advanced the valiantness of the other, giving to either occasion to do Reace-breakers wickedness of the other, giving to either occasion to do Reace-breakers wickedness of the other, giving to either occasion to do Reace-breakers wickedness of the other, giving to either occasion to do Reace-breakers wickedness of the other, giving to either occasion to do Reace-breakers wickedness of the other, giving to either occasion to do Reace-breakers wickedness of the other, and advanced the valiantness of the other, giving to either occasion to do Reace-breakers wickedness of the other, and advanced the valiantness of the other, giving to either occasion to do Reace-breakers wickedness of the other, and advanced the valiantness of the other, giving to either occasion to do Reace-breakers wickedness of the other, and also opportunity to work many noble explosits. Now Clean and Brasidas being given the other occasion to the occasion to the other occasion to the occasion to both flain together at a Battell fought by AMPHIPOLIS, Nicias straight perceiving, the SPAR-TANS had long defired Peace, and that the ATHENIANS were no more so horly given to Wars, but that both the one and the other had their hands full, and were willing to be quiet, devited, what means he might use to bring Sparta and Athens to reconciliation again, and to rid all the Cities of GREECE also from broyl and mifery of War, that thenceforth they might altogether enjoy a peaceable and happy life. The rich men, the old men and the Husbandmen, he found very willing to hearken to Peace, and talking privately also with divers others, he had so perswaded them, that he cooled them for being defirous of War. Whereupon, putting the SPARTANS in good hope that all were inclined to Peace, if they fought it, the SPARTANS believed him, not onely for that they had found him at other times very four and courteous, but also because he was carefull to see that their Priloners of SPARTA (who had been taken at the Fort of Pyle) were gently intreated, cileth the spare and had made their miterable Captivity more tolerable. So, Peace was concluded between the SPARTANS and the ATHENIANS for a year, during which abilinence; they frequenting one another again, and beginning to tafte the sweetness and pleasures of Peace, and the safety of free access one to fee anothers friends that were strangers, began then to with that they might still continue in Peace and Amity together, without estudion of bloud of either Party, and took great delight

And let my Speer be courgrown, with dufty Spiders Webs.

They did also with great joy and gladness remember him which said, that in Peace no sound of Trumper, but the crowing of a Cock doth wake them that be alleep; and on the other fide; they curfed and took on with them that faid it was predefined, the War should continue thrice nine years. out all GREECE. Now most men thought, that surely all their forrows and miseries were come to an end, and there was no talk of any man but of Nicias, faying, that he was a man beloved of the gods, who for his devotion towards them, had this speciall gift given him, that the greatest bleffing that could come unto the World, was called after his Name. For to confess a troth . every man was certainly perswaded, that this Peace was Nicias work, as the War was Pericles procurement. who upon light causes perswaded the GRECIANS to run headlong into most grievous calamities ; and Wicias on the other fide had brought them to become friends, and to forget the great hurts the one had received of the other in former Wars. And even to this present day that Peace is called Nicium, as who would fay, Nicias Peace. The Capitulations of the Peace were thus agreed Nicias Peace. upon : That of either fide they should alike deliver up the Cities and Lands, which each had taken from other in time of Wars, together with the Prisoners also: and that they should first make restitution, whose lot it was to begin. Nicias (according to Theophrastus report) for ready Money secretly bought the lot, that the LACEDEMONIANS might be the first that should make re-Stitution. And when the CORINTHIANS and BOEOTIANS that disliked of this Peace, Sought by the complaints they made, to renew the War again, Nicias then perswaded both the ATHE. NIANS and LACEDEMONIANS, that they should add for strength unto their Countrey, the Alhance and Peace offensive and defensive made between them, for a more fure knot of friendship, whereby they might be the better affured the one of the other, and also the more dreadfull to their Enemies that should rebell against them. These things went clean against Alcibiades mind : who befides that he was ill born for Peace, was enemy also unto the LACED. EMONIANS, for that they fought to Nicias, and made none account of him, but despised him. Here was the occasion that caufed Alcibiades to prove from the beginning what he could do to hinder this Peace, wherein he prevailed nothing. Yet shortly afer, Alcibiades perceiving that the ATHENIANS liked not so well of the LACEDEMONIANS as they did before, and that they thought themselves injured by them, because they had lately made League with the BOEOTIANS without their privity, and had not wholly rendred up the Cities of PANACTUM and AMPHIPOLIS, according to the Conditions articled between them : began then to inlarge and aggravate the Peoples complaints, and to make them offended with every one of them. And furthermore he procured Ambaffadours from the City of ARGOS to come to ATHENS, and fo handled the matter, that the ATHENIANS made League offensive and deffensive with them. While these matters were thus in hand, there came to ATHENS alfo Ambassadours from LACEDEMON, with full Power and Authority to set all things at stay, and to compound all controversies: who having first spoken with the Senate, propounding things unto them both very honest and reasonable. Whereupon, Alcibiades being asraid that they letting the Ambassidours People understand so much, should thereby bring them to yeeld to what they defired; he finely defent from soar-ceived the poor Ambassadours by this device. He promised upon his Oath to help them in that tato Athens. they went about, fo far forth as they would not confels themselves to have absolute power from and deceit. the Ephores: making them to believe it was the onely way to bring their matters to pass. The Ambaffadours giving credit to his words, relied upon him, and fo for look Nicias. Whereupon Alcibiades brought them before the People, being fet in Counsell, and there demanded openly of them. whether they had full Power and Authority to accord all matters, yea or no? Whereumto they make him answer with a loud voyce, that they had not. Thereupon Alcibiades, contrary both to their ex- Alcibiades pectation, and his own Oath and Promife made unto them, began to call the Councell to witness, perjured. whether they did not in open Senate say the contrary, and so advited the People not to trust nor give credit unto fuch men, as were openly taken with so manifest a lie, and that in one self-matter would one while fay one thing, another while another. It boots not to ask whether the Ambassadours were much amazed to hear Alcibiades words : for Nicias himself wift not what to say to the matter, the fuddennels of the cause did so consule and grieve him, being a thing he least looked for, Now the People they were fo moved befides, that they became indifferent whether to have fent for The Farththe Ambassadours of Argos presently to have made League with them, or not: but there fell quake holo out an Earth-quake upon this matter, that greatly ferved Nicias turn and brake up the Affembly, Nicias. The People meeting again in Councell the next morning, Nician withall that he could do or say, could seant with-hold them from making League with the Argues: and to get leave in the mean time to go to the LACEDEMONIANS, promiting he would make all well again. Thereupon, Niciae going to SPARTA, was received and honoured there like a Nobleman, and as one whom they thought well affected towards them : but for the rest, he prevailed nothing, and being Nicias tent overcome by those that favoured the BOEOTIANS, returned again to ATHENS as he departed unto Sparia. thence: where he was not onely ill welcomed home, and worse esteemed, but was also in danger of his Person, through the fury of the People, that at his request and councell had redelivered fuch men Prisoners, and so great a number of them. For indeed, the Prisoners which Cleon had brought to ATHENS from the Fort of Pyle, were all of the chiefest Houses of SPARTA, and their Kinimen and Friends were the nobleft men of the City. Notwithflanding, the People in the end did none other violence to him, faving that they chole Alcibiades their Captain, and made

League with the ELIANS and MANTINEANS (which had revolted from the LACEDEMO-

NIANS) and with the ARGIVES also : and sent Pyrates to the Fort of Pyle, to spoil the Coun-

trey of LACONIA. Upon these occasions the ATHENIANS fell again into Wars. Now when the quarrell and controversies was greatest between Nicias and Alcibiades, the Ostracismon (to wit,

the banishment for a time) came in , by the which the People banished for ten years any such of The ule of the their Citizens as they thought either of too great Authority, or that was most envied for his Wealth Ourseilmon. and Substance. Alcibiades and Nicias, were then not a little perplexed, considering their present danger, being fure that the one of them two should not fail but be banished by this next banishment. For the People hated Alcibiades life, and were afraid of his valiantines: as we have more amply declared in the description of his life. And for Wicias, his wealth made him to be envied: besides they milliked his strange manner of dealing, being no more familiar nor conversant with the People then he was, and counted him too stately: moreover they hated him also because in many matters he had spoken directly against the thing the People defired, and had enforced them against their wills to agree to that which was profitable for themselves. In fine, to speak more plainly, there sell our great frise between the young men that would have Wars, and the old men that coveted peace, some desirous to banish Nicias, and some others Alcibiades, but

Where discord reigns in Realm or Town, The wicked win the chief renown.

Hyperbolus.

Nicias and

Alcibiades

joyned Tribes

And so it fell out then. For the ATHENIANS being divided in two Factions, gave authority to certain of the most impudent and infolent persons that were in all the City: and among them was one Hyperbolus of the Town of PARITHUS, a man of no behaviour nor value, why he should be bold: but yet one that grew to some credit and power, dishonouring his Countrey by the honour they gave bin. Now Hyperbolm thinking himfelf free at that time from any danger of banishment, (having rather deferved the Gallows) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him rather deferved the Gallows) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him rather deferved the Gallows) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him rather deferved the Gallows) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him rather deferved the Gallows) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him rather deferved the Gallows) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him rather deferved the Gallows) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him rather deferved the Gallows) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him rather deferved the Gallows) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him rather deferved the Gallows) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him rather deferved the Gallows) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him rather deferved the Gallows) had been deferved the Gallows had been def and bufily firred up the People against them both. Nicias and Alcibiades being acquainted with his wicked practifes, having fecretly talked together, joyned both their factions in one; whereby they brought it so to pass, that neither of them were banished, but Hyperbolm self for ten years. Which matter for the present time made the People very merry, though afterwards it grieved them much, seeing their Ordinance of the Oftracismon blemished by the unworthiness of the person : which punishagainst Hyper. ment was an honour unto him. For this banishment was thought a meet punishment for Thucidides, Arifider; and fuch like men of accompt as they, or their like : but for Hyperbolus, it was thought Hyperbolus batoo great an honour, and too manifest an occasion of glory to be given to him, that for his wickedness n fhed for ten had the felf-same punishment, which was to be inflicted upon the chiefest Estates for their greatness.

And the Comicall Poet Plato himself saith in a place: Although his level behaviour deferv'd as much and more, Tet was not that the punishment he should have had therefore, The Oftracy devised was for men of noble fame,

The taking ayears banish. ment.

And not for varlets, whose lewel life deserved open shame.

And not for varlets, whose lewel life deserved open shame. For himself was the After this Hyperbolus, there was never man banished with the Ostracismon. For himself was the laft, as Hipparchus Cholargian, and nearest Kinsman to the Tyrant was the first. Sure, Fortune is a very uncertain thing, and without conceit of reason. For had Nicias frankly put himself to the hazard of this banishment against Alcibiades, one of these two things must needs have happened to him: either to have remained in the City with Victory, his adversary being banished: or being convict by his banishment, to have scaped those extream mileries and calamities the which be afterwards fell into, befides the fame he had won of a wife Captain, though he had been overcome, I know notwithstanding that Theophrass writeth, how Hyperbolus nor Nicias was banished through the diffention that fell betwixt Pheax and Alcibiades: albeit most Writers agree with that I have told you before. Now the Ambassadours of the EGESTANS and LEONTINES being come to A-THENS, to perswade the ATHENIANS to attempt the conquest of Sicilia, Nicias being against it, was overcome by Alcibiades crast and ambition. For he, before they were called to Councell, had already through falle furmizes filled the Peoples heads with a vain hope and perswassion of conqueft. Infomuch as the young men meeting in places of exercise, and the old men also in Artificers Shops, and in their compaffed Chairs, or half circles where they fate talking together, were every one occupied about drawing the Platform of SICILIA, telling the nature of the SICILIAN Sea, and reckoning up the Havens and places looking towards AFRICK. For they made not their accompt that SICILE should be the end of their Wars, but rather the Store-house and Armoury for all their Munition and Martiall Provision to make War against the CARTHAGINI-ANS, and to conquer all Africk, and confequently all the Africk Seas, even to Hercules Pillars. Now all their minds being bent to Wars, when Wicias Ipake against it, he found very few men of quality to stand by him. For the rich, tearing left the People would think they did it to avoid charge and the cost they should be at about these Wars, they held their peace, though indeed not contented withall : yet would not Niciae leave still to countell them to the contrary. But when they had past the Decree in Counsell for the Enterprize of SICILE, and that the People had chofen him chief Captain, with Alcibiade; and Lamachus, to follow the same : at the next Sellion of the Counsell holden in the City, Nicias rose up again, to see if he could turn the People from this Journey with all the Protestations he could possibly make, burdening Alcibiades, that for his own ambition and private commodities, he brought the Commonwealth into fo far and dangerous a War. But all his words prevailed not. Himfelf before all others was thought the meetest man for this Charge, partly, because of his experience, but chiefly for that they knew he would handle their matters with greater fafety, when his timorous forefight should be joyned with

Alcibiades valiantness, and with Lamachus softness, which indeed most confirmed the Election. Now after the matter thus debated, Demostratus one of the Oratours that most procured the A-THENIANS to undertake this Enterprize, stepped forth, and said : It were good that Wicias left off and fet afide all these excuses and devices, and preferred a Decree, That the People should throughly authorize the Captains that were chosen, to set forward and execute what they thought good, as well here as there, and so perswaded the People to pass and authorize it. Yet it is faid that the Priests objected many things to hinder the Journey. But Alcibiades also having suborned certain Soothfayers alledged in like case some ancient Oracles that said the ATHENIANS should have great honour from Sicile; and further had entited certain Pilgrims, who faid they were but newly come from the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, and had brought this Oracle thence : That the Athenians (hould take all the Syracufians. But worst of all, if any knew of contrary figns or tokens Signs to feat to come, they held their peace, left it should seem they intermedled to prognosticate evil for affe- the Athenians ctions fake, feeing that the figure themselves, which were most plain and notorious, could not re- not to attempt move them from the Enterprize of this Journey. As for example, the hacking and cutting of the the Enterprise Hermes and Images of Mercury, which in one night were all to be mangled, faving one Image onely Statues mancalled the Hermes of Andocides, which was given and confecrated in old time by the Tribe of the gled at Athons. ÆGEIDES, and was fet up directly over against a Citizens House called Andocides. Furthermore, the chance that happened by the Altar of the twelve gods: where a man leaping fuddenly upon it. after he had gone round about it, cut off his Genitories with a stone. And in a Temple also in the City of DELPHOS, where was a little image of Minerva of Gold, fet upon a Palm-tree of Copper, which the City of ATHENS had given of the Spoils won of the MEDES. Upon that Palm-tree fate certain Crows many daies together, and never left pecking and jobbing at the Fruit of it, which was all of Gold, untill they made the same to fall from the Tree. But the ATHE-NIANS faid, that the DELPHIANS (whom the SYRACUSIANS had subdued) had finely feigned this device. There was a Prophecy also that commanded them to bring one of Minerva's Nuns to ATHENS, that was in the City of CLAZOMENES. So they fent for this Nun called Helychia, which is, reft : and it feemeth it was that which the gods by this Prophecy did counfell them chia, which is, rest: and it teemeth it was that which the Astronomer having charge in the Army The madness unto, that for that time they should be quiet. Meton the Astronomer having charge in the Army of Meton the leavied for the War of Sicile, being atraid of this Prophecy, or otherwise milliking the Celea Astronomer, still light and fuccess of the Journey, reigned himself mad, and set his house on fire. Others say he counterfeited not madness, but did one night indeed fet his house on fire, and that the next morning looking rufully on it, he went into the Market-place as a man brought to pitifull state, to sue to the People, that in confideration of his great misfortune hapned him, they would discharge his Son of the Voyage, who was to take charge of a Galley at his own cost, and ready to make sail. Moreover, the familiar spirit of wise Socrates, that did use to tell him before what should happen, told him then, that this Journey would fall out to the destruction of ATHENS. Socrates told it to certain of his very familiar friends: and from them the rumour became common. And this also troubled a number of them, for the unlucky daies on the which they did imbarque. For they were the very days on the which the women celebrating the Feaft and year-day of Adonis death: and there were also in divers parts of the City, Images of dead men carried to buriall, and women following them, mourning and lamenting. So that fuch as did put any confidence in those figns, faid they milliked it much, and that they were afraid left the fame fignified, that all the goodly preparation of this Army, (the which was fet out with fuch pomp and bravery) would come to nothing. Now for Nicias, that he spake against this War in open Councell, whilest they were deliberating upon it, and that he was not carried away with any vain hope, nor puffed up with the glory of fo honourable a charge to make him change his mind : therein furely he shewed himself an honest man, wise and constant. But when he faw plainly that he could by no perswasions remove the People from the Enterprize of this War. neither yet by fuit nor intreaty get himself discharged from being a Captain thereof, but that they would in any casemake him one of the Heads of the Army: then was it out of time to be fearfull and still giving back, turning his head so oft like a child to look upon his Galley behind him, and ever to be telling that no reason could be heard in determining of his Journey. For indeed this was chough to discourage his companions, and to marre all at the first setting out : where, to say truly he should suddenly have set upon his Enemies, and have gone to it with a lusty courage, to have asfayed Fortune. But he took a clean contrary course. For when Lamachus thought good at their first coming to go straight to SYRA CUSA, and to give them Battell as near the Walls as might be, and that Alcibiades, on the other fide was of opinion, first of all to go about to win the Cities that were in league with the SYRACUSIANS, and after that they had made them rebell, then to go against the SYRACUSIANS themselves: Niciai to the contrary spake in Counsell, and thought it better to go on fair and foftly, discrying the Coasts of Sicile round about, to view their Galleys and preparation, and so to return straight to Athens again, leaving onely a few of their men with the Nicias count EGESTANS, to help to defend them. But this from the beginning marvelloufly cooled the courage fell for invaof the Souldiers, and quite discouraged them. Shortly after also the ATHENIANS having sent for ding the Syra-Alcibiades to answer to certain acculations, Nicias remaining Captain with Lamachus (the other cafiant Captain in fight, but Nicias felf in Power and Authority the Lieutenant Generall of all the Army) still used delays, running up and down, and spending time so long in consultation, till the Souldiers were left without both hope and courage: and the fear the Enemy had of them at their first coming, to fee fo great an Army, was now in manner clean gone. Yet Alcibiades being in the Army, before

Nicias chosen Captain for the Wars of

NICIAS.

he was fent for from ATHENS, they went with threefcore Galleys to SYRACUSA, of the which they ne was ten for Battell ray out of the Haven, and fent the other ten into the Haven to discover : which approaching near the City, caufed an Herauld to make open Proclamation, that they were come this approaching that the Contines to their Lands and Possessions, and took a Ship of the enemies, ther to reflore the Leontines to their Lands and in the which among other things they found Tables , wherein were written the names of all the Inhabitains of Syracusa, according to their Tribes and houses. These Tables were kept far from the City, in the Temple of Jupiter Olympian, but at that time they had fent for them to know the num-City, in the Tempher of James and of age to bear Weapon. The fame Tables being taken by the ATHE-NIANS and carried to the Generals of the Army : the Southfayers feeing this long roll of names, at the first milited it, fearing left the Prophecy had been sulfilled, which promised them, that the ATHENIANS one day should take all the Syracusians. Howbeit it is reported this Prophecy came to pas in another Exploit, when Callippu ATHENIAN having sain Dion, won all the City of Syracusa. Now when Alcibiades was gone from the Camp, Wicias bare all the fway, Lamachus vall- and commanded the whole Army. For Lamachus, though otherwife he was a front man, an honest ant, but fimple man, and very valiant of his hands, and one that would not spare himself in time of need: neverthelels he was so poor and mistrable, that even when he was in state of a Generall, and gave up an account of his expences, he would not flick to put into his Books, fo much for a Gown, and fo much for a pair of Pantophles. Where Nicias authority and reputation contrariwise was of another manner of cut, as well for other refpects, as for his riches, and for the honour of many noble things which he had done before. As one namely which they tell of him, that on a time being a Captain with others, and fitting in Councell with his companions in the Councell-house at ATHENS about the dispatch of certain Causeshe spake unto Sophocles the Poet, then present among them, and about the unpacted of the point of the part of all the whole company. Sophocles answered him again : Indeed I confets I am the oldest man, but thou art the noblest man, and him whom every man regardeth best. So having at that time Lamachus under him, a better Captain and man of War then himfelf was, yet by being fo flow to imploy the Army under his charge, by deferring of time still, and hovering about SICILE as far from his Eenemies as he could: he first gave the Enemies time and leiture to be bold without fear of him. And then going to befrege Hy n-1.A., being but a pelting little Town, and raifing the Siege without taking of it; he fell into fo great a contempt with every man, that from thenceforth no man almost made any more reckoning of him, At last, he retired to CATANA with his Army, without any other exploit done, saving that he took HYCCARA, a baggage Village of the barbarous People, and where it is faid Law the Curtizan was born, and that being then a young Girle, the was fold among other Prifoners, and afterwards carried into PELO PONNESUS. And in fine, the Summer being far Spent, Niciae was informed that the SYRACUSIANS had taken such courage to them, that they would come and enterprise the Charge upon them first : and that their Horsemen were approached already before his Camp, to skirmish Lais the Curout of other production asking the ATHENIANS in mockery, if they were come into Sicile to dwell with the CATANIANS, or to reftore the LEONTINES to their Lands again. Hereupon with much ado, Nicias determined to go to Syracusa, and because he would camp there in safety, and at ease without hazard : he sent one of CATANA before to SYRACUSA, to tell them (as if he had been a Spie) that if they would fuddenly come and fet upon the Camp of the ATHENIANS and take all their Carriage, he wisheth them to come with all their Power to CATANA at a certain day which he would appoint them. For the ATHENIANS (faid he) for the most part are within the ftratagem. City, wherein there are certain Citizens, which favouring the Syracusians, have determined to foon as they hear of their coming, to keep the Gates of the City, and at the fame time also to fet the ATHENIANS Ships on fire : and how there were also a great number in the City of this Confederacy, that did but look every hour for their coming. And this was the noblest Stratagem of War, that Nicias shewed all the time he was in SICILE. For by this device he made the SYRA-CUSIANS come into the Field with all their Power, fo that they left their City without Guard : and he himself departing in the mean time from CATANA with all his Fleet, won the Haven of SYRAcus A at his case, and chose out a place to camp in, where his Enemies could not hurt him : in the which he was both the stronger, and might without lett or difficulty set upon them with that where-Nicias winin he most trusted. The Syracusians returning straight from CATANA, and offering him Batneth the Hatell hard by the Walls of SYRACUSA, he came out into the Feild, and overthrew them. There ven of Syracufa were not many of the SYRACUSIANS flain at this Battell, because their Horsemen did hinder the chase : but Alicias breaking up the Bridges upon the River, gave Hermocrates occasion to mock him. For comforting and encouraging the SYRACUSIANS, he told them Wieias deserved to be laughed at, because he did what he could that he might not fight, as if he had not purposely come from A-THENS to SYRACUSA to fight. This notwithfranding, he made the SYRACUSIANS quake for fear : for where they had then fifteen Captains, they chose out three onely , to whom the People were fworn, that they would fuffer them to have full Power and Authority to command and take or-Nikiss forbeader for all things. The Temple of Jupiter Olympian was hard by the ATHENIANS Camp, which right to fpoil they would gladly have taken, for that it was full of rich Jewels and Offerings of Gold and Silver, given

unto the Temple aforetime. But Nicias of purpose still drave off time, and delayed so long, till the

SYRACUSIANS at laft fent a good Garrison thither to keep it safe : thinking with himself, that if

his Souldiers came to take and spoil the Temple, his Countrey should be nothing the richer by it,

and himself besides should bear all the blame of Sacriledge. So, having obtained victory without

nich ran traight through SICILE) within few days after he returned unto the City of Na xos, where he lay all the Winter, confuming a wonderfull mass of Victualls with so great an 'Army, for the doing of things of small moment, upon certain SICILIANS that yeelded to him. The SYRACUSIANS in the mean time being in heart again and couragious, returned to CATANA. where they spoyled and over-ran all the Countrey, and burnt the Camp of the ATHENIANS. Wherefore every man blamed Wicias much, because through his long delay and protracting of time to make all things fure, he let flip fundry occasions of notable Exploits, wherein good service minit have been done. Yet when he would do a thing indeed, he did it so thorowly as no man could take exception at his doings, for that he brought it to fo good a pass; and once taking it in hand, he did execute it with all speed, though he was both flow to determine and a Coward to enterprise. Now Niciss befier when he removed his Army to return to Syracusa, he brought it fo orderly, and also with such ged Syracusa. fpeed and fafety, that he was come by Sea to THAPSUS, had landed and taken the Fort of Epipolis, before the SYRACUSIANS had any intelligence of it, or could possibly help it. For the choice men of the SYRA CUSIANS being fet out against him, hoping to have stopped his passage, he overthrew them, took three hundred Prifoners, and made their Horsemen flie, which before were thought invincible. But that which made the SYRACUSIANS most afraid, and seemed most wonderfull also to the other GRECIANS, was this, that in a very short space he had almost environed SYRACUSA with a Wall, which was as much in compass about, as the Walls of ATHENS, and Nicits Wall at worse to perform, by reason of the woody Countrey, and for the Sea also that beateth upon the the Siege of Walls, besides that there were divers Marishes hard by it : and yet (sick as he was of the Stone) he Syracuja. had almost finished it. And sure good reason it is that we attribute the fault of the not finishing of it, unto his fickness. For mine own part I wonder marvellously both of the care and diligence of the Captain, and of the valiantness and dexterity of the Souldiers, which appeareth by the notable feats they did. For Eurypides after their overthrow and utter ruine, made a Funerall Epitaph in Verse, and faid thus:

Eight times our men did put the men of Syracuse to flight, So long as with indifferency the gods did use their might.

But we find it written, that the SYRA CUSIANS were not onely eight times, but many times more overthrown by them : a time at length there was indeed, that both the gods and Fortune fought against them, even when the ATHENIANS were of greatest power. Now Nicias in his own perfon was ever in the greatest and most weighty affairs, striving with his fick body. Howbeit one day when his difease grew fore upon him, he was compelled to be lodged in his Camp with a few of his men : and Lamachus in the mean time alone having charge of the whole Army , fought with the SYRACUSIANS, who then had brought a Wall from the City, tinto the Wall with the which the ATHENIANS had purposed to have shur them in, to keep that they should not compass it round. And because the ATHENIANS commonly were the ftronger in these Skirmishes, they many times over-rashly followed the chase of their Enemies that fled : as it chanced one day that Lamachin went lo far, that he was left alone to encounter a Company of Horsemen of the City, before whom Callicrates marched foremost, a valiant man of his hands, who challenged Lamachus hand to hand. Lamachus abode him, and in the Conflict was first hurt ; but he gave Callicrates also such a wound therewithall, that they both fell down dead prefently in the place. At that time the SYRACUSIANS The death of being the stronger side, took up his body, and carried it away with them : but they spurred out for Lamathut. life to the ATHENIANS Camp, where Wicias lay fick, without any Guard or fuccour at all : nevertheless Niciae rose with speed out of his bed, and perceiving the danger he was in; commanded certain of his friends to fet the wood on fire which they had brought within the Trenches of the Camp, to make certain devices for battery, and the Engines of Timber also that were already made. That device onely stayed the SYRA CUSIANS, faved Nician, and the strength of their Camp, together with all the Silver and Carriage of the ATHENIANS. For the SYRACUSIANS perceiving afar off, betwire them and the frength of their Camp, fuch a great flame as role up in the air. upon the fight of it turned tail straight, and made towards their City. Things falling out thus; Wi- Nicias fole ciat being left fole Captain of the Army without any Companion, in great hope notwithstanding to Captain of the whole A do some good; diversi Cities of Sicile yeelded unto him, Ships fraught with Corn came the whole A out of every quarter to his Camp; and many submitted themselves; for the good success he had in all, his doings. Furthermore the SYRACUSIANS also dent to parle with him of Peace, being out of hope that they were able to defend their City any longer against him. Gylippus also a OUL OF ROPE that they were able to describe the Stractistans, understanding Giliputa L4-Captain of the LACEDEMONIANS, coming to aid the Stractistans, understanding cedamonian by the way how the City of Syracus A was thut in with a Wall round about, and in great diffrels: aideth the syheld on his Vovage notwithstanding , not with any hope to defend Secile (supposing the A- racustant, THENTANS had won the whole Countrey) but with illtent nevertheles to help the Cities of ITALY, if he could pollibly. For it was a common rumour abroad, that the ATHENIANS had won all, and that their Captain for his wisdom and good formed was invincible. Nicias himfelf now contrary to his wonted wildom and forefight; frufting altogether to the good fuccels which he law to follow him , but specially believing the reports that were told him of Syracus A: and the news that were beought him thence by fome of themselves which came secretly unto him, perswading himself that within few days the stoold have Syracusa by compofition; took no care to withftand Gylippus coming thither, neither fent any man to keep him from landing in SICILE. By which negligence Gylippine landed in a Paffenger, without Nieins

Jupiter.

Activities illesterly; and desciore were defirous once again to venture, in better fort and order then before. But Averse by no means would be brought to fight again: faying, that it we include the before but again are faying that it we include the before but again and the better for the but again and the better for the but again and the but poorly furnished. But contrarily, railly it fight with a fewer number of Ships then they, and but poorly furnished. But contrarily,

Menander and Euthydemus newly promoted to the state of Captains with Nicias, being pricked

forwards with ambition against the two other Captains. Nicias and Demosthenes that was then co-

ming) defired to prevent Demosthenes, in performing some notable service before his arrivall, and

thereby also to excell Nicias doings: Howbeit the cloak they had to cover their ambition withall.

was the honour and reputation of the City of ATHENS, the which (faid they) were shamed and dishonoured for ever, if they now should shew themselves afraid of the SYRA CUSIA NS, who provo-

ked them to fight. Thus brought they Nicias against his will to Battle, in the which the ATHENI-

ANS were flain and overcome, by the good counfell of a CORINTHIAN Pilot called Ariston, For

the left Wing of their Battle (as Thucydides writeth) was clearly overthrown, and they loft a great number of their men. Whereupon Nicias was wonderfully perplexed, confidering on the one fide

that he had taken marvellous pains, whilft he was fole Captain of the whole Army : and on the

and all fet out in this triumphant shew, to fear the Enemies the more. Now though the Syracu-

SIANS themselves were again in a peck of troubles, perceiving they strove against the stream, and

confumed themselves to no purpose, when by that they saw there was no likelihood to be delivered from their troubles. And Nician also rejoyced, that so great aid was come: but his joy held not long,

for fo foon as he began to talk with Demosthenes of the state of things, he found him bent forthwith

to fet upon the SYRACUSIANS, and to hazard all with speed, that they might quickly take SYRA-

rately: and perswaded him that it was their best way to prolong the War against the Enemies, who

Peace, as they had done aforetime. For there were many within Syracus a that were Nicias friends,

who wished him to abide time: for they were weary of War, and waxed angry also with Gylippus.

So that if they were but straightned a little more with want of Victuals, they would yield straight. Ni-

cias delivering these perswasions somewhat darkly, and keeping somewhat also from utterance, because he would not speak them openly, made his Colleagues think he spake it for cowardliness, and that

he returned again to his former delays to keep all in fecurity, by which manner of proceeding he

had from the beginning killed the hearts of his Army, for that he had not at his first coming fer up-

on the Enemies, but had protracted time to long, till the courage of his Souldiers was cold and done,

and himself also brought into contempt with his Enemies. Whereupon the other Captains (his Col-

leagues and Companions with him in the Charge) Euthydemus and Menander, fluck to Demosthe.

heard anything of his coming, he flew many of them, and made the rest fly that offered resistance.

But not content with this Victory, he went farther, till he fell upon the BOFOTIANS. They ga-

thering themselves together, were the first that resisted the ATHENIANS, basing their Pikes with

fuch fury and loud cries, that they caused the former to retire, and made all the rest of the Assailants

afraid and amazed. For the foremost flying back, came full upon their Companions; who taking

them for their Enemies, and their flight for a charge, refifted them with all their force, and so mis-

taking one another, both were wounded and flain, and the hurt they meant unto their Enemies.

did unfortunately light upon their own fellows. For this multitude meeting thus confufedly toge-

ther, what through their great fear, and what for that they could not discern one another in the

night, the which was neither fo dark that they could not fee at all, nor yet fo clear, as they might

certainly judge by fight what they were that met them: (for then the Moon declined apace, and the

small light it gave was diffused with the number of men that ran to and fro) the fear they had of the Enemy, made them mistrust their Friends. All these troubles and disadvantages had the ATHE-

NIANS, and beside the Moon on their backs, which causing the shadow to fall forward, did hide

their number, and gliftering of Armour: and contrarily, the Enemies Targets glaring in their eyes

by the reflection of the Moon that shone upon them, increased their sear, and made them seem

a greater number, and better appointed then they were indeed. At last, the Enemies giving a

lufty Charge upon them on every fide, after they once began to give back, and turn tail, some

were flain by their Enemies, others by their own Company, and others also brake their necks

again. Wherefore Nicias that alwaies mistrusted it would thus come to pass, was marvellously

NICIAS.

knowledge : fo fmall reckoning they made of him , and fo muchatiey did many defp. it knowledge: 10 imai reckoning mey mairo min, and 10 manuary uniformly uniformly styllo-pus being thus landed far from Syra Cusa, began to gather iden of Walth together, before the YEACUSIANS themselves knew of his landing, or looked for his coming : infomuch as they had SYRACUSIANS understand a Councell to determine the Articles and Capitulations of Peace, already appointed the affembly of a Councell to determine the Articles and Capitulations of Peace, arready appointed the ancient of with Nicias. Moreover, there were fomethat perfwaded they which they should conclude upon with Nicias. which they mount conclude the Peace, before the inclosure of Nicias Wall was altoge-should do well to make hafteto conclude the Peace, before the inclosure of Nicias Wall was altoge-should do well to make hafteto conclude the Peace, before the inclosure of Nicias Wall was altoge-should be with the conclude the Peace, before the inclosure of Nicias Wall was altoge-should be with the conclude the Peace, before the inclosure of Nicias Wall was altoge-should be with the conclude the Peace of the Conclude the Pe ther finished, which then lacked not much to perform, having all the stuffe for the purpose brought ther finished, which then sales not make the period of the place of the place. But as these things were even thus a doing, arrived one Gongylus at Syeven ready to the place. But as these things were even thus a doing, arrived one Gongylus at Syeven ready to the place. At whose landing, the People upon the Peer flocking about him, to hear what news : he told them that Gylippus would be there before it were long, and that there came certain other Galleys after to their aid. The Syracusians would were rong, and man until there came another Messenger also sent from Gylippus self of purpose, hardly believe him, until there came another Messenger also sent from Gylippus self of purpose, narmy penery unit, unit, and come to him into the Field. Thereupon the Syracusians being that willed them to arm, and come to him into the Field. marvelloully revived went all straight and armed themselves. And Gylippu was no sooner come into Oflipperarrired at Syracus A, but he presently put his men in Battell ray, to set upon the ATHENIANS. Nicias for his part had likewife also set the ATHENIANS into order of Battell, and ready to fight. When tor the Part has the sure now approached near to each other, Gylippus threw down his Weapons, and fent a Herauld unto Nicias to promife them life and baggage to depart fafely out of Sicile, and tent a rectained many 21.10 and one answer to that Message. Howbeit there were certain of But Nicias would make the Herauld none answer to that Message. his Souldiers that in mockery asked the Herauld, if for the coming of a poor Cape and Wand of nis Souluners man in moveral y the Syracusians thought themselves strengthened so much, that they should de-

Gongylus the Corintbian

> Nicias good fortune chan-

> > Euthydemus and Menander choles Captains with Nicias.

LACEDAMON, me STAAGON not long before kept three hundred LACEDAMONIANS Prifon-fpife the ATHENIANS, which not long before kept three hundred LACEDAMONIANS Prifonspine me at market and more hair on their heads then Gylippus had, and had also fent them ers in Irons, far stronger and more hair on their heads then Gylippus had, and had also fent them ers in 17018, 144 INTUINGS and INCEDEMON. And Timess writeth also, that the SICILIANS themnome to their charges at A Grippen, neither then, nor at any time after. After, because they saw selves made no reckoning of Gylippen, neither then, nor at any time after. After, because they saw teives made no recomming of the came for that he came for nearly apparelled, with a nis extream covernments along bush of hair, which made them from him. Yet in another place thread-bare Cape, and a long bush of hair, which made them from him. Yet in another place he faith, that fo foon as Gylippus arrived in SICILE, many came to him out of every quarter with ne iann, mat io noon a compression at an Owl. This fecond report feemeth truer then the first : very good will, like Birds wondering at an Owl. very good with the Majeffy of for they swarmed about him, because in his Cape and Wand they saw the tokens of the Majeffy of the City and Seigniory of SPARTA. Thucydides also faith, that it was Gylippus onely that did all there. And much like doth Philifts felf a Syracusian confess, who was present then in perfon, and faw all things that were done. Notwithstanding at the first Barrell the ATHENIANS had tion, and taw an united man number of the SYRACUSIANS, among the which Gongylus the CORINthe upper name, and new morning following, Gylippus made them know the skill and expentition was one. But the next morning following, Gylippus made them know the skill and expension and the fame with the fame Horfes, ence of a wife Captain. For with the felf-fame Weapons, with the fame Men, with the fame Horfes, and in the same places, changing onely the order of his Battell, he overthrew the ATHENIANS: and in the same places, the first having driven them even into their Camp, he fet the SYRACUSIANS and (fighting with them ftill) having driven them even into their Camp, he fet the SYRACUSIANS and (nguing wan used to see the wart (with the very felf-fame frones and stuffe, which the ATHE-NIANS had brought and laid there for the finishing of their Inclosure) to cut off the other, and to keep it from going forward, that it joyned not together. So, all that the ATHENIANS had done before until that prefent, was utterly to no purpole. Things standing in these terms, the Syracustans being couragious again, began to arm Galleys; running up and down the Fields with their Horfemen and Slaves, took many Prifoners. Gylippus on the other fide, went in perfon to and fro through the Cities of SICILE, periwading and exhorting the Inhabitants in fuch fort, that they all willingly obeyed him, and took Arms by his procurement. Niesas feeing things thus fall out, an winning you you min, and confidering the change of his state and former good tack, his heart fell to his old trade again, and confidering the change of his state and former good tack, his heart beginning to faint, wrote straight to the ATHENIANS to fend another Army into Sicile, or rather to call that home which he had there, but in any cafe to give him leave to return, and to discharge him of his Office, for cause of his fickness. The ATHENIANS were indifferent before he wrote, to fend aid thither : howbeit the envy the Nobility bare unto Nician good fortune, did ever cause some delay that they fent not untill then, and then they determined to fend with speed. So Demostbenes was named to be fent away immediately after Winter, with a great Navy. In the middeft of Winter Eurymedon went to Niciau, and carried him both Money and News, that the People had chosen some of them for his Companions in the Charge, which were already in fervice with him, to wit, Euchydense and Menander. Now Wision in the mean time being fuddenly affailed by his Enemies both by Sea and Land; though at the first he had fewer Galleys in number then they, yet he budged divers of theirs, and funk them. But by Land again, he could not aid his men in time, because Gylippus at the first onset had taken a Fort of his called Plemmyrion, within the which lay the Store and Tackle for many Galleys, and a great mass of ready Money, which was wholly loft. Besides, in the same Conflict also were many men slain, and many taken Prisoners. Yet further, the greatest matter of weight was, that thereby he took from A jeins the great commodity he had to bring his Victuals fafely by Sea to his Camp. For while the AT HENTANS kept this Fort, they might at their pleasure bring Victuals without danger to their Camp, being covered with the fame : but when they had loft it, then it was hard for them fo to do, because they were ever driven to fight with the Enemies that lay at Anker before the Fort. Furthermore, the SYRACUSIANS did not think that their Army by Sea was overshrown, because their Enemies were the stronger, but for that their men had followed

other fide, for that he had committed a foul fault, when they had given him companions. But as Nicias was in this great despair, they descried Demosthenes upon a Peere of the Haven, with his Fleet bravely fet out and furnished, to terrifie the enemies. For he had threescore and thirteen Galleys, Demosshenes aand in them he brought five thousand Footmen well armed and appointed, and of Darters, Bow-men, engl. and Hurlers with Slings, about three thousand, and the Galleys trimmed and set forth with goodly Armours, numbers of Enfigns, and with a world of Trumpets, Hoboys, and fuch Marine Mufick,

CUSA, and so dispatch away home again. Nicias thought this more haste then good speed, and Demostheries feared much this fool-hardiness. Whereupon he prayed him to attempt nothing rashly nor despe- rashness.

were without Money, and therefore would foon be forfaken of their Confederates. And besides, if Nicias counsel they came once to be pinched for lack of Victuals, that they would then quickly feek to him for ner,

nes opinion : whereunto Nicias was also forced against his will to yield. So Demosthenes the self- Demosthenes fame night taking the Footmen, went to affault the Fort of EPIPOLIS: where, before his Enemies raffiness.

falling from the Rocks. The rest that were dispersed abroad in the Fields, were the next morning The slaughter every man of them put to the Sword by the Horsemen. So the account made, two thousand A. of the Albent-THENIANS were slain, and very few of them escaped by flight, that brought their Armours back ans a: Syracula.

with the best and valiantest of their Footmen, and Darters, that were in the Army, because the o-

ther Gallevs had spent their Oars. And for the rest of the Army, Nician for laking their great

Camp and Walls (which reacheth as far as the Temple of Hercules) did let them in Battle ray up-

on the peer of the Haven. Infomuch as the Syracusians which untill that day could not per-

form their wonted Sacrifices unto Hercules, did then fend their Priests and Captains thither to do

there was such a hot and cruel Battle by Sea, as had not been in all this War before : the which

was as dreadfull to them that stood on the Shore to behold it, as it was mortal unto them that fought

it, feeing the whole conflict, and what alteration fell out beyond all expectation. For the A-

THENIANS did as much hurt themselves by the order they kept in their fight, and by the ranks

of their Ships, as they were hurt by their Enemies. For they had placed all their great Ships to-

gether, fighting with the heavy against the Enemies that were light and swift, which came on on every fide of them, hurling stones at them, which were made sharp to wound how ever they lighted:

being also clearly taken from them) and perceiving moreover that they could hardly fave themselves

by Land: were then to discouraged, as they made no longer resistance, when their Enemies came

hard by them and carried away their Ships before their faces. Neither did they ask leave to take up

their dead mens Bodies to bury them, taking more pity to forfake their difeased and fore wounded Companions, then to bury them that were already stain. When they considered all these things,

they thought their own state more miserable then theirs, which were to end their lives with much

more cruelty, then was their mifery prefent. So they being determined to depart thence in the night.

Gylippus perceiving the SYRACUSIANS through all the City disposed themselves to Sacrifice to the

gods, and to be merry, as well for the joy of their Victory, as also for Hercules Feast, thought

it bootless to perswade them, and much less to compel them to take Arms upon a sudden, to set

upon their Enemies that were departing. Howbeit Hermocrates deviling with himself how to de-

laid for him, having fent before to take all the straights and passages, by the which he should pass.

Nicias being over-reached by Hermocrates craft and fubtilty, stayed there that night, as though

he had been afraid to fall within the danger of his Enemies ambuilh. Thereupon the SYRACUSTANS

the next morning by peep of day, holied fail, got the straights of Nicias passage, stopped the Ri-

vers mouths, and brake up the Bridges, and then cast their Horsemen in a Squadron in the next plain

Fields adjoyning, to that the ATHENIANS had no way left to escape and pass by them without

could not for their weakness follow the Camp, but specially for that they looked for some worse

matter to fall to themselves, then that which they saw present before their Eyes to be happened

unto their fellows. But of all the most pitifull fights to behold in that Camp, there was none

ral sustenance, even when he had most need of comfort, being very sickly. Yet notwithstanding

his weakness and infirmity, he took great pains, and fuffered many things which the foundeft bodies do labour much to overcome and fuffer: making it appear evidently to every man, that

he did not abide all that pains for any respect of himself, or desire that he had to save his own

life, so much as for their fakes, in that he yielded not unto present despair. For where the Soul-

diers for very fear and forrow burft out into tears and bitter wailing, Nicias felf shewed, that

if by chance he were forced at any time to do the like, it was rather upon remembrance of the

shame and dishonour that came into his mind, to see the unfortunate success of his voyage, in-

take heed not to depart that night, leaft he fell into the ambushes which the SYRACUSIANS had crates.

offended with Demosthenes, and condemned his rashnets, thought it best to imbark in the morning betimes, and forth hot and the morning betimes, and forth hot and the morning betimes, and forth ATHENS, neither are we strong enough come our Enemies and though we were the man was of account. mult look for no new and from Alberts, because at we strong enough the place we are in because come our Enemies: and though we were, yet must we of necessity avoid the place we are in because (as it is reported) it is alwaies unwholfome for an Army to camp in , and then specially most contagious, by reason of the Autumn and scason of the year, as they might plainly see by experience. gious, by reason of the Automit and Automit and all of them in manner had no mind to tarry. Ni-For many of their People were already fick, and all of them in manner had no mind to tarry. Niror many or men 1 soprating thence, because he feared nor the Syracusians, but rather the Athenians, for their acculations and condemnation. And therefore in open Countries the Athenians, cell he told them, that as yet he faw no such danger to remain: and though there were, yet that he had rather die of his Enemies hands, then be put to death by his own Countreymen. Being therein of a contrary mind to Leo BIZANTINE, who after that, faid to his Citizens : I had rather fuffer death by you, then to be flain with you. And furthermore, as for removing their Camp to fome other place, they should have leifure enough to determine of that matter as they thought good. of Leo Bizan-Now when Nicias had delivered this opinion in Councell, Denosibenes having had ill luck at his first coming, durft not contrary it. And the refidue also supposing that Nicias stuck not so hard against coming, unit not contact y and an accommodance he had of fome within the City, their departure, but that he relied upon the truft and confidence he had of fome within the City, their departure, out that he care that there was a new fupply come unto the they all agreed to Nicias. But when news came that there was a new fupply come unto the SYRACUSIANS, and that they faw the Plague increased more and more in their Camp: then Nicias felf thought it best to depart thence, and gave notice to the Souldiers to prepare themselves to this away. Norwithstanding, when they had put all things in readiness for their departure, without any knowledge of the Enemy, or suspition thereof: the Moon began to cclipse in the night, The Belipfe of and fuddenly to lofe her light, to the great fear of Nicias and divers others, who through ignoand numerity to note the lager, to the fights. For, touching the Eclipse and darkness of the Sun, rance and superstition quaked at such fights. rance and imperiminal quantum and the Moon, every common person then knew the cause to be which is ever at any conjunction of the Moon, every common person then knew the cause to be WHILLI IS EVET at any conjunction of the Moon betwitt the Sun and our fight. But the Eclipse of the Moon it felf, to know what doth darken it in that fort, and how being at the full it doth fuddenly

the Moon not known of long time.

> Anaxazoras the first that wrote of the Eclipse of the Moon.

The Athenians do perfecute the Philolodeath for Philosophy.

Causes.

Niclas ignorall Causes.

lofe her light, and change into fo many kind of colours: that was above their knowledge, and therefore they thought it very ftrange, per wading themselves that it was a sign of some great mischiefs the gods did threaten unto men. For Anaxagoras, the first that ever determined and delivered any thing for certain and affured, concerning the light and darkness of the Moon, his Doctrine was not then of any long continuance, neither had it the credit of antiquity, nor was generally known but onely to a few, who durft not talk of it, but with fear, even to them they trufted beft. And the reason was, for that the People could not at that time abide them that profetfed the knowledge of naturall Philosophy, and inquired of the causes of things: for them they called then Minegalize, as much to fay, as curious inquirers and tatlers of things above the reach of reason, done in Heaven and in the Air. Because the People thought they ascribed that which was done by the gods onely, unto certain naturall and necessary Causes that work their Effects not by Providence nor Will, but by Force and necessary Consequences. For these causes was Protagoras Provincing for ATHENS, and Anaxagoras put in Prifon: from whence Perioles had much ado to procure his delivery. And Socrates also, though he did not meddle with that part of Philosophy, was notwithstanding put to death for the sufficient thereof. In fine, the Doctrine of Plato being received and liked, as well for his vertuous life, as also for that he submitted the necessity of Naturall Caules unto the controllment and disposition of Divine Power, as auto a more excellent and fupream Caufe: 100k away all the ill opinion which the People had of fuch Difputations, and gave open paffage and free entry unto the Mathematicall Sciences. And therefore Dion, one of Plato's Scholars and Friends, an Eclipse of the Moon chancing even at the very same time that he was weighing up his Ankers to fail from ZAZYNTHE, to make War wish the Tyrant Dionysus: being nothing afraid nor troubled therewithall, made fail notwithfranding, and when he came to SYRACUSA, drave out the Tyrant. But then it fell out unfortunately for Nicids, who had no expert nor skilfull Soothfayers : for the party which he was wont to use for that purpose, and which took away much of his Superfittion, called Sisibidas, was dead not long before. For this Sign of the Eclipse of the Moon (Philocherss faith) was not hurtfull for men that would flie, but contrarily very good : for, faid he, things that men do in fear, would be hidden, and therefore light is an every good: 101, 121 116, 1111115, 1111115 and 111115 and 11115 and 111115 and 11115 and of fuch matters : where Nicias bare them then in hand, that they should tarry the whole and full revolution of the course of the Moon, as though he had not feen her straight clear again, after she had once passed the shadow and darkness of the Earth. But all other things laid aside and forgotten, Nicias disposed himself to facrifice unto the gods: untill such time as the Enemies came again as well to befiege their Forts, and all their Camp by Land, as also to occupy the whole Haven by Sea. For they had not onely put men aboard into their Galleys able to wear Armour, but moreover young Boys into Fither boats and other light Barques, with the which they came to the ATHENIANS, and shamefully reviled them, to procure them to fight: among the which there was one of a noble House, called Heraelides, whose Boat being forwarder then his Companions, was in danger of taking by a Galley of the ATHENIANS, that rowed against him. Pollichus his Uncle being afraid of it, lanched forward with ten Galleys of Syracusa for his refcue, of the which himself was Captain.

The other Galleys doubting also least Pollichin should take burt, came on likewise amain : so that there fell out a great Battleby Sea, which the SYRACUSIANS wan, and flew Eurymedon The Syraculithe Captain, and many other. This made the Souldiers of the ATHENIANS fo afraid, that they and overcome began to cry out, it was no longer tarrying there, and that there was none other way but to de the Abenians part thence by Land. For after the SYRACUSIANS had won that Battle, they had ftraight shut up by Sea. the Havens mouth. Nicias could not confent to fuch a retire : for, faid he, it would be too great a shame for them to leave their Galleys and other Ships to the Enemy, considering the number not to be much less then two hundred: but he thought good rather to arm a hundred and ten Galleys

them. The Souldiers being imbarked into the Galleys, the Priefts and Southfayers came and told The Southfayer the SYRACUSIANS, that undoubtedly the figns of the Sacrifices did promife them a noble Victory, ers do promife fo that they gave no charge, but onely flood upon their defence : for fo did Hercules ever overcome, Vidory to the defending when he was affailed. With this good hope the SYRACUSIANS rowed forward, and Syraculum.

whereas the ATHENIANS onely casting their Darts, and using their Bowes and Slings, by means The Athenians of their rowing up and down, could not lightly aim to hit with the head. That manner of fight again over-Arifo a CORINTHIAN (an excellent Ship-mafter) had taught the SYRACUSIANS, who was come on the himself slain valiantly fighting, when they were Conquerors. The ATHENIANS thereupon be- Sea by the Sying driven to fight, having fultained a marvellous flaughter and overthrow, (their way to fly by Sea

ceive Aicias, fent some of his friends unto him with instructions, to tell him that they came from Nicias deceivefuch as were wont to fend him fecret intelligence of all things during this War: and willed him to ed by Hernas-

fighting. At last notwithstanding, having stayed all that day and the next night following, they put The miserable themselves in Journey, and departed with great cries and lamentations, as if they had gone from their flace of the Anatural Countrey, and not out of their Enemies Land, as well for the great diffress and necessity thenians dewherein they were (lacking all things needfull to fuftain life,) as also for the extream forrow they parting from felt, to leave their fore wounded Companions and difeafed Kinsmen and Friends behind them, that Syraufi.

more lamentable nor milerable then the Person of Nicias self: who being togmented with this Nicias exdifease, and waxen very lean and pale, was also unworthily brought to extream want of natu- tream mitery.

NICIAS. flead of the honour and Victory they hoped to have brought home, then for any other respect. But if to fee Nicias in this mifery, did move the lookers on to pity; yet did this much more encrease their compassion, when they remembred Nicias words in his Orations continually to the People, to break this Journey, and to diffwade them from the enterprize of this War. For then reopic, to oteas and journey, and to have deserved these troubles. Yet furthermore, this caused the Souldiers utterly to despair of help from the gods, when they considered with themselves, that fo devour and godly a man as Nicias (who left nothing undone that might tend to the hopour and fervice of the gods) had no better fuccels, then the most vile and wicked Persons in all the whole Army. All this notwithstanding, Ricias strained himself in all that might be, both by his good countenance, his chearfull words, and his kind using of every man: to let them know that he fainted not under his burthen, nor yet did yield to this misfortune and extream Calamity. And thus travelling eight days journey out-right together, notwithstanding that he was by the way continually fet upon, wearied and hurt: yet he ever maintained his Bands, and led them whole in company, untill that Demosthenes with all his Bands of Souldiers was taken Prisoner, in a certain Village called POLYZELIOS: where remaining behind, he was environed by his Enemies in fight, and feeing himself so compassed in, drew out his Sword, and with his own hands thrust himself thorow, but died not of it, because his Enemies came straight about him, and took hold of him. The SYRACUSIANS thereupon went with speed to Nicias and told him of Demosthenes case. He giving no credit to them, fent prefently certain of his Horsemen thither to understand the truth: who brought him word that Demosthernes and all his men were taken Prisoners. Then he befought Gylippu to treat of Peace, to fuffer the poor remain of the ATHENIANS to depart out of SICILE with fafety, and to take such Hostages for the sure Payment of all such Sums of Money the Syracustans had disburfed by means of this War, as should like himself: which he promifed he would cause the ATHENIANS to perform and satisfie unto them. Howbeit the Nicis moveth SYRACUSIANS would in no wife hearken to Peace, but cruelly threatning and reviling them that made motion hereof, in rage gave a new onset upon him, more sterrely then ever before they had done. Nicias being then utterly without any kind of Victuals, did notwithstanding hold out that

a treaty of Peace.

Demosthenes

taken of the

Syracufians.

Niciss Army overcome at the River of Afinarus.

vielding himfelfunto Gy-

Gylippus sheweth mercy to Niciss.

TheSyracufians racufa with Triumph.

ans condemned

night, and marched all the next day following (though the Enemies Darts still flew about their ears) until he came to the River of Afinarus, into the which the Syracusians did forcibly drive them. Some others of them also dying for thirst, entred the River of themselves, thinking to drink. But there of all others was the most cruel slaughter of the poor wretches, even as they were drinking: untill such time as Nicias falling down flat at Gylippus feet, said thus unto him: Since the gods have given thee (Gylippus) Victory, shew mercy, not to me that by these miseries have won immortal Honour and Fame, but unto these poor vanquished ATHENIANS: calling to thy won miniotral Fronton and Faint, but and there pool variquement at the ATHENIANS have used YOU LACED & MONIANS courteoutly, as often as fortune favoured them against you. Gylippus beholding Nicias, and perswaded by his words, took compassion of him (for he knew he was a Friend unto the LACEDEMONIANS at the last Peace concluded betwixt them, and furthermore thought it great honour to him, if he could carry away the two Captains or Generals of his Enemies Prifoners) (hewed him mercy, gave him words of comfort, and moreover commanded befides that they should take all the refidue Prifoners. But his commandment was not known in time to all: infomuch as there were many more flain then taken, although fome private Souldiers faved divers notwithflanding by ftealth. Now the Syracusians having brought all the Prisonersthat were openly taken into a Troop together, first unarmed them, then taking their Weapons from them, hung them up upon the goodlieft young Treesthat flood upon the Rivers fide, in token of Triumph. And fo putting on triumphing Garlands upon their heads, and having trimmed their own Horses in Triumphant manner, and also shorn all the Horses of their Enemies: in this triumphing fort they made their entry into the City of SYRACUSA, having glorioully ended the most notable War that ever was amongst the GREEKS one against another, and attained also the Noblest Victory that could be atchieved, and that onely by force of Arms and Valiancy. So at their return, a Council and Affembly was holden at Syracusa, by the Citizens and their Confederates: in the which ε_u tycles one of the Orators (a practifer in publick Causes) first made Petition, that the day on the which they had taken Niciat, might for ever thenceforth be kept Holy-day, without any manner of work, or labour, but onely to do Sacrifice to the gods; and that the Feaft should be called, Afinaria Afnarus Feast, after the Name of the River where the Overthrow was given. This Victory was had the fix and twentieth day of the Moneth of July. And as touching the Priloners, that the Confederates of the ATHENIANS and their Slaves should be openly fold by the Drum: and that the natural A-THENIANS which were Freemen, and their Confederates of the Country of SICILE, should be clapped in Irons and laid in Prison, the Captains onely excepted, whom they should put to death. The The Captains Syracustans, confirmed this Decree. And when the Captain Hermocrates went about to perfwade them, that to be merciful in Victory, would be more honour unto them, then the Victory it self: they thrust him back with great tumult. And furthermore, when Gylippus made fuit that for the Captains of the ATHENIANS, he might carry them alive with him to SPARTA, he was not onely shamefully denied, but most vilely abused; so lusty were they grown upon this Victory, besides also that in the time of the War they were offended with him, and could not endure his straight severe La-CONIAN government. Timens faith moreover that they accused him of coverousnels and thest, which Vice he inherited from his Father. For Cleandrides his Father was convict for extortion, and banished

ATHEMS. And Company of Baving from thirty Talents out of a thouland which Lyfander fent to Speat's by him, and having bid them under the eavings of his Houle, being bewrayed, was compelled with thame to fly his Country, as we have more amply declared in the Life of Lyfander. der. So Timaus writeth, that Nicia and Demosthenes were not stoned to death by the SYRACU- Nicissand SIANS, as Thucydides and Philisfus report, but that they killed themselves, upon-word sent them by Demosibenes Hermocrates (before the Affembly of the People was broken up) by one of his men, whom the flew them-Keepers of the Prison let in unto them; howbeit their bodies were cast out at the Jayl door, for e- selves very man to behold. I have heard there is a Target at this present to be seen in a Temple at SYRAvery man to occasion. I have measured as a larger at this present to be technical rempire as Syracus a, which is fau the Nicias Target, covered all over with Gold and Purple Silk, pring finely wrought together. As for the other Prifoners of the Athentans, the most of the most offickness, and of ill handling the Prifon where they had no more allowed them to live withall but two dishfulls of Barley for their bread, and the of water for each man a day. Indeed many of them were conveyed away, and fold for Slaves: and many also that scaped unknown as Slaves were also sold for bondmen, whom they branded in the forehead with the print of a Horle, who notwithftanding besides their bondage, endured also this pain. But such, their humble patience and modesty did greatly profit them : for either shortly after they were made Freemen, or if they still continued in bondage, they were gently intreated and beloved of their Masters. Some of them were saved also for Eurypides fake. For the SICILIANS liked the Verfes of this Poet better then they did any other GRECIANS Versesof the midst GREECE. For if they heard any Rimesor Songs like unto his, Europides they would have them by heart, and one would present them to another with great joy. And therefore Veries saved it is reported, that diversescaping this bondage, and returning again to ATHENS, went very lovingly many of the it is reported, that diverse thank him for their lives: and told him how they were delivered from fla-lives. very, onely by teaching them those Verses which they remembred of his Works. Others told him alfo, how that after the Battle, they scaping by flight, and wandering up and down the Fields, met with fome that gave them meat and drink to fing his Verses. And this is not to be marvelled at, weighing the report made of a Ship of the City of CAUNUS, that on a time being chased in thither by Pirats, thinking to fave themselves within their Ports, could not at the first be received, but had repulse : howbeit being demanded whether they could fing any of Eurypides Songs, and answering that they could were straight suffered to enter, and come in. The news of this lamentable Overthrow, was not believed at the first, when they heard of it at ATHENS. For a stranger that landed in the Haven of PI-R.E.A., went and fate him down (as the manner is) in a Barbers Shop, and thinking it had been commonly known there, began to talk of it. The Barber hearing the ftranger tell of such matters: before any other had heard of it, ran into the City as fast as he could, and going to the Governours told the news openly before them all. The Magistrates thereupon did presently call an Assembly, and The Athenians brought the Barber before them: who being demanded of whom he heard these News, could make no do toment the brought the Harber before them: who come unmanded of whom the harber that the City bringer of the certain report. Whereupon being taken for a forger of News, that without ground had put the City bringer of the certain report. Whereupon being taken for a forger of News, that without ground had put the City bringer of the certain report. Whereupon being taken for a forger of News, that without ground had put the City bringer of the certain report. Whereupon being taken for a forger of News, that without ground had put the City bringer of the certain report. to death, and so was there commented a great time untill at last there arrived certain men in the City, Nicias forewho brought too certain News thereof, and told every thing how the overthrow came. So as in fine flewed the mlthey found Nicias words true which now they believed when they faw all those miseries light fully up- feries of the on them, which he long before had Prognosticated unto them.

The end of the Life of Nicias.

the Houle while was a burning, and the next Houses adjoyning to it, which the Owners fold for little, being then in danger as they were, and a burning : fo that by process of time, the most part

fame: yet all that commodity was nothing, in respect of the profit his Slaves and bondmen brought him daily in. As Readers, Scriveners, Goldsmiths, Bankers, Receivers, Stewards of housholds, Carvers, and other fuch Officers at the Table, taking pains himself to help them when they were learners, and to instruct them what they should do: and to be short, he thought the greatest care

which indeed is enough to fuffice for his maintenance. This notwithstanding, Crassus was courteous to strangers, for his House was open to them all, and he lent his Friends Money without interest: but when they brake day of Payment with him, then would he roundly demand his Money of them. So, his courtesie to lend many times without interest, did more trouble them, then if

ment he gave every man that came to him, pleafed him better, then if he had been more plentifull of Diet and Dishes. As for his learning and study, he chiefly studied Eloquence: and that fort

specially that best would serve his turn to speak in open presence: so that he became the best spoken man in ROME of all his time, and by his great industry and diligent endeavour excelled all them

that even by nature were most apt unto it. For some say, he had never so small nor little a Cause

in hand, but he alwaies came prepared having studied his Cause before for pleading: and oftentimes

because he shewed himself painfull, and willing to help every man. Likewise was his gentleness

marvellously esteemed, because he saluted every body courteously, and made much of all men; for

whomfoever he met in the Streets that spake to him as he passed and saluted him, were he never so

mean, he would speak to him again, and call him by his Name. It is faid also he was very well

studied in Stories, and indifferently seen in Philosophy, specially in Aristotles Works, which one

Alexander did read unto him, a man that became very gentle and patient of nature, by using of

Craffut company: for it were hard to fay, whether Alexander was poorer when he came to Craffus.

or made poorer while he was with him. Of all his friends he would ever have Alexander abroad

with him, and while they were abroad, would lend him a Hat to cover his head by the way : but fo

foon as they were returned, he would call for it again. O wonderfull patience of a man! to fee

that he making profession of Philosophy as he did, the poor man being in great poverty, did not

place poverty in things indifferent. But hereof we will speak more hereaster. Cinna and Marius

being now of greater Power, and coming on directly towards Rome, every man suspected straight

their coming was for no good to the Commonwealth , but as appeareth plainly, for the death

and destruction of the Noblest men of ROME. For so it fell out indeed, that they slew all the chief

men they found in the City, among whom Crassus Father and his Brother were of the number, and

possible speed, where he had been with his Father before, and had gotten some Friends when he was

Prætor, and ruled the Country. Nevertheless, seeing every body afraid, and mistrusting Marius

cruelty; as if he had been at their doors, he durft not bewray himself to any man, but went into the Fields, and hid him in a great Cave being within the Land of one Vibin Piciacus by the Sea fide, from

whence he fent a man of his to this Piciacus, to feel what good will he bare him, but specially for

took three of his Friends in his company and ten Servants onely, and fled into SPAIN with all Cinns.

the oretimien weight by number of Stories built one upon another:

Mations, Carpenters, and these devisors and builders, and of those he

hindred. Afterwards, when the fire took any House, he would buy

THE LIFE OF MARCUS CRASSUS.



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Ant. Chrift.

Marcus Craffus kindred, and youth.

Arcus Craffus was the Son of a Cenfor, who had also received the Honour of Triumph:but himfelf was brought up in a little House with two other of his Brethren, which were both married in their Fathers and Mothers Life time, and kept House together. Whereupon it came to pass, that he was a man of such sober and temperate diet, that one of his Brethren being deceased, he married his Wife, by whom he had Children. For Women, he lived as continent a Life, as any Ro-MAN of his time: notwithstanding afterwards being of riper years, he was acculed by Plotinus to have defloured one of the Vestal Nuns called Licinia. But in troth the cause of that suspition grew thus. Licinia had a goodly pleasant Garden hard by the Sub-

urbs of the City, wherewith Crassus was marvellously in love, and would fain have had it good cheaps and upon this onely occasion was often feen in speech with her; which made the People suspect him. But for as much as it feemed to the Judges that his covetousnels was the cause that made him follow her, he was cleared of the incest suspected, but he never left following of the Nun, till he had got the Garden of her. The ROMANS fay there was but that onely Vice of covetousnels in Crassus, that drowned many other goodly Vertues in him: for mine own opinion methinks he could not be touched with that Vice alone without others, fince it grew fo great, as the note of that onely did hide and cover all his other Vices. Now to fet out his extream covetous defire of getting, naturally bred in him, they prove it by two manifest Reasons. The first, his manner and means he used to get: and the fecond, the greatness of his Wealth. For at the beginning he was not left much more worth, then Creffus riches, three lundred Talents. And during the time that he dealt in the Affairs of the Commonwealth, he of fered the Tenths of all his Goods wholly unto Hercules, kept open House for all the People of ROME, and gave also to every Citizen of the same as much Corn aswould keep him three Moneths: and yet when he went from Rome to make War with the PARTHIANS, himself being desirous to know what all he had was worth, found that it amounted to the fum of feven thousand one hundred Talents. But if I may with licence use evil speech, writing a troth: I say he got the most part of his Wealth by Fire and Blood, raising his greatest revenue of publick Calamities. For when Sylls had taken the City of ROME, he made portiale of the Goods of them whom he had put to death, to those that gave most, terming them his booty, onely for that he would the Nobility and greatest men of Power in the City should be partakers with him of this Iniquity: and in this open Sale Crassus never left taking of Gitts, nor buying of things of Sylla for profit. Furthermore, Crassfus perceiving that the greatest decay commonly of the buildings in ROME came by Fire, and falling

of the Houles in Rome came to be his. But notwithstanding that he had so many Slaves to his Workmen, he nier 34th any House from the ground, faving his own House wherein he dwelt: faying that fuch as delighteeto shuild, undid themselves without the help of any Enemy. And though crassus he had many Mines of Silver amany Ploughs, and a number of Hinds and Ploughmen to follow the

a good Housholder ought to have, was to feehis claves or Servants well taught, being the most lively Cattle and best Instruments of a mans House. And surely therein his opinion was not ill, at the Crassus care aleaft if he thought as he spake: that all things must be done by Servants, and his Servants must be bout Servants,

ruled by him. For we fee that the Art and Skill to be a good Husband, when it consisteth in Government of things without life or fense, is but a base thing, onely tending to gain; but when it depend- What belongeth upon good order and government of men, methinks then it is to know how to Govern well eth to good eth upon good order and government of men, metalinks then it is to know how to Govern well husbandry and a Commonwealth. But as his judgment was good in the other, fo was it very bad in this; that he in whom is thought no man rich and wealthy, that could not maintain a whole Army with his own proper confitts. goods. For the War (as King Archidamus was wont to fay) is not made with any certainty of Craffus judgeexpence : and therefore there must no fufficiency of riches be limited for the maintenance of the fame, ment who was But herein Marius and he differed far in opinion: who having allowed every ROMAN fourteen a rich man. Acres of Land (called with them, Jugera) understanding that some were not pleased, but would saying of War. have more, made them this answer: The gods forbid any ROMAN should think that Land little,

he had taken very great Usury. Indeed when he bade any man come to his Table, his fare was Crassus farest but even ordinary, without all excels: but his fine and cleanly Service, and the good entertain- his Table.

also when Pompey, Casar, and Cicero refused to rise and speak to matters, Crassus would defend Crassus Eloevery Cause, if he were requested. And therefore was he generally beloved and well thought of, quence,

himself being at that time but young, escaped the present danger onely by slight. Furthermore, Crassian slients Craffu hearing that they laied wait to take him, and that the Tyrants fought him in every place, Marius and

that his Victuals began to fail him. Vibius hearing that Crassus was safe, and had escaped, became very glad of it : and understanding how many Persons he had with him, and into what place he vibius courtese was gotten, went not himself to fee him, but called one of his Slaves (who was his Receiver and unto Crassian)

Craffus cove-

came by his

occupied that ground for him (and bringing him near the him every night to provide meat for fupper, to bring it ready dat was the Cave, and make no words of it, neither be inquifitive for whom die for it, and otherwife, for keeping the thing feeret as he command

a free man. This Cave is not far from the Sea fide, and is closed in round about with two Rocks that meet together, which receive a fost cool wind into them. When ye are entred into the Cave, it Gressar Cave. is of a great height within, and in the hollowness thereof are many other. Ca. of great receipt one within another, and besides that, it neither lacketh light nor water: for the tas a Well of passing good water running hard by the Rock, and the natural rifts of the Rocks also receiving the light withour, where they meet together, do fend it inward into the Cave. So stat in the day time it is marvellous light, and bath no damp air, but very pure and dry, by reason of the thickness of the Rock, which figur, and nature camp art, our very pure and cry, by received in the monthness and vapour into that foringing Well. Crassus keeping close in this Cave, Wibian receiver brought Victuals thither daily to relieve him and his company, but saw not them he brought it to, nor could understand what they were: and yet they saw him plainly, observing the hour and time of his coming when he brought the fame. He provided them no more then would even necessarily serve their turn, and yet plenty sufficient to make good chear withall : for Vibin was bent to entertain Crassus as honourably as he could possible, insomuch as he considered he was a young man, and therefore reason would he should offer him some occasion to take such pleasure and delight as his youth required. For to relieve his necessity onely, he thought that rather a part of fear, then any shew of love towards him. One day he took two fair young Damlels, and brought them with him to the Sea fide: and when he came to the Cave, shewed them where they should get up, and bade them not be afraid. Crassing at the first, when he saw the young Wenches, was afraid he had been betrayed: yet he asked them what they were, and whom they lought. They being instructed by Vibim what they should fay, answered, that they sought their Master that was hidden there. Then Craffus knew this was Vibius mirth to shew him courtesse: so he received them into his Cave, and kept them as long as he lay there, letting Vibins

understand by them what he lacked. Fenestella writeth, that he saw one of them when she was an old Woman, and that he had heard her tell him this Talemany a time with great delight. In fine, Craffus (after he had lain hidden in this Cave eight Moneths) understanding that Cinna was dead, came out : and so soon as he made himself to be known, there repaired a great number of Souldiers unto him, of whom he onely those two thousand five hundred, and with them passed by many Cities, and facked one called MALACA, as divers do write; but he flatly denied it, and

floutly contraried them that affirmed it. And afterwards having gotten Ships together, went into Africx, to Metellus Pint, a man of great fame, and that had already gotten a great Craffer voyage Army together. Howbeit he tarried not long with Metellus, but jarring with him, went unto Sylla, who welcomed and honoured him as much as any that he had about him. Sylla afterwards arriving in ITALY, intending to imploy all the young Nobility he had in his company, gave every

one of them Charge under him, and fent (raffus into the Country of the MARSIANS, to levy men of Warthere. Crassias desiring certain Bands of Sylla to aid him, being driven to pals by his Enemies: Sylla answered him angerly again: I give thee thy Father, thy Brother, thy Friends and Kinsmen to aid thee, whom they most wickedly have slain and murthered, and whose deaths I

purfue with hot revenge of mine Army, upon those bloody murtherers that have slain them. Craffus being netled with these words, departed thence presently, and stoutly passing through his Enemies, levied a good number of Souldiers: and was ever after ready at Sylla's commandment in all his The emulation levied a good number or sommers: and was feel and contention betwith him and Pompey. For Pompey berwitt Grif- Wars. Here began first (as they fay) the strict and contention betwith him and Pompey. For Pompey berwitt Grif-

fits and Pomper being younger then Crassus, and born of a wicked Father in ROME, whom the People more hated then ever they did man: came yet to great honour by his valiancy, and by the notable Acts he did in the Wars at that time. So that Sylla did Pompey that honour many times, which he feldom did unto them that were his Elders, nor yet unto those that were his equals: as to rise up when he came

towards him, to put off his Cap, to call him Imperator, as much as Lieutenant-Generall. And this galled Craffus to the heart, although he had no wrong in that Pompey was taken before him, because he had no experience in matters of War at that time, and also because these two Vices that

were bred in him, mitery and coveroutness, drowned all his Vertue and well doing. For at the fack of the City of Tuder, which he took, he privily got the most part of the spoil to himself, whereof he was accused before Sylla. Yet in the last Battle of this Civil War (which was the greateft and most dangerous of all other) even before ROME it self, the Wing that Sylla led, was repul-

fed and overthrown: but Crassus that led the right Wing, overcame his Enemies, followed them in chase till midnight, sent Sylla word of his Victory, and demanded Victuals for his men. But then again he ran into as great defame, for buying, or begging, the conficate goods of the Outlaws appointed to be flain, for little or nothing. And it is faid also, that he made one an Outlaw in

the Countrey of the BRUTIANS, without Sylla's privity or commandment, onely to have his goods. But Sylla being told of it, would never after use him in any open Service. Surely this is a strange thing, that Crassus self being a great flatterer of other, and could creep into any mans favour,

was yet himfelf eafie to be won through flattery, of any man that would feek him that way. Furthermore, it is faid of him that he had this property: that though himfelf was as extreamly coverous as might be, yet he bitterly reproved and utterly milliked them that had his own humor of avarice. Pompey's honour that he attained unto daily, by bearing great Charge and rule in the

because he obtained the Honour of Triumph before he that the ROMANS commonly called him, Pompeius Magnus, Crassus envithat faw Pompey coming, eth Pompey.

the Rossans Called Pompey ing that he could not obtain to match him in the Wars, he gave himself unto the affairs of the the Great. City: and by his pains and industry of pleading, and defending mens causes, by lending of Money to them that needer, and by helping of them that fued for any Office, or demanded anything elfe Craffas indust. of the People, he avained in the end to the like estimation and Authority that Pompey was come try and canfe unto, by his many Noble Victories. And there was one notable thing in either of them. For of rifing in the Pompey's Fame and Power was greater in Rome, when himfelf was absent: and contrariwise wealth. when he was there present, Crassus oftentimes was better esteemed then he. Pompey carried a great Majesty and gravity in his manner of Life, would not be seen often of the People, but kept from repairing to open places, and would speak but in few mens causes, and that unwillingly: all to keep his favour and credit whole for himself, when he stood in need to employ the same. Where Crassus diligence was profitable to many, because he kept continually in the Market-place, and was easie to be repaired unto by any man that required his help, daily following those exercifes, endeavouring himself to pleasure every man: fo that by this easie access and familiarity, for favour and good will, he grew to exceed the gravity and Majesty of Pompey. But as for the worthiness of their Persons, their Eloquence of speech, and their good grace and countenance: in all those (it is said) Pompey and Crassus were both alike. And this envy and emulation never carried Craffus away, with any open malice or ill will. For though he was forry to fee Pompey and Cafar honoured above him: yet the worm of ambition never bred malice in him. No, though Cefar when he was taken by Pirats in ASIA (as he was once) and being kept Prisoner cried out aloud : O Crassus, what joy will this be to thee, when thou shalt hear I am in Prison! This notwithstanding, they were afterwards good friends, as it appeareth: for Cefar being ready on a time to depart out of Rome for Prator into Spain, and not being able to fatisfie his Creditors that came flocking all at once about him, to ftay and arrest his Carriage: Crassus, in that time of need forfook him not, but became his furety for the fum of eight hundred and thirty Talents. In fine, all Rome being divided into three Factions, to wit, of Pompey, Cafar and Craffus (for as for Cato, the estimation they had of his fidelity was greater then his Authority: and his Ver_ in Rome. tue more wondered at then practifed) in fo much as the gravest and wifest men took part with Pompey. The livelieft youths, and likelieft to run into desperate attempts, they followed Cefars hope. Craffus keeping the midst of the Stream, was indifferent to them both; and oftentimes changed his mind and purpole. For in matters of Government in the Commonweal, he neither shewed Crassus incomhimself a constant Friend, nor a dangerous Enemy: but for gain, was easily made friend or foe. stancy. So that in a moment they faw him praise and reprove, defend and condemn, the same Laws, and the same men. His estimation grew more, through the Peoples sear of him, then for any good will they bare him. As appeareth by the answer that one Sicinius (a very busie headed man, and one that troubled every Governour of the Commonweal in his time) made to one that asked him, why he was not buffe with Craffus amongst the rest: and how it happened that he so scaped his hands? O, faid he, he carried hay on his horn. The manner was then at ROME, if any man had a Shinius Procurft Bullock that would ftrike with his horn, to winde hay about his head, that the People might verb. beware of him when they met him. The commotion of Fencers, which fome call Spartacess War, The War of the their wasting and destroying of ITALY came upon this occasion. In the City of CAPUA, there was bondmen, calone Lemulus Batiatus, that kept a great number of Fencers at unrebated Foils, whom the ROMANS led Spartness call Gladiators, whereof the most part were GAULS and THRACIANS. These men were kept War, locked up, not for any fault they had committed, but onely for the wickedness of their Master that had brought them and compelled them by force, one to fight with another at the Sharp. On a time

two hundred of them were minded to iteal away: but this conspiracy being bewrayed, threescore and eighteen of them entred into a Cooks Houle, and with the Spits and Kitchin-knives, which there they got, went quite out of the City. By the way they fortuned to meet with Carts loaden with Fencers Weapons, that were brought from CAPUA, going to some other City: those they also took by force, and arming themselves therewith, got them then to a strong place of scituation. Where amongst themselves they chose three Captains, and one Spartacus a THRACIAN born The wit and

(and of those Countrymen, that go wandring up and down with their Heards of Beafts, never behaviour of (and of those Countrymen, that go wanting up and down want want on onely valiant, but strong sparator the staying long in a place) they made their General. This Sparators was not onely valiant, but strong sparator the staying long in a place) they made their General. made withall, and endued with more wisdom and honesty, then is commonly found in men of his of the bondfrate and condition: and for civility and good understanding a man more like to the GRECIANS mens War. then any of his Countrymen commonly be. It is reported, that when Spartacus came first to ROME to befold for a Slave, there was found as he flept a Snake wound about his face. His Wife feeing it, being his own Countrywoman, and a wife Woman besides, possest with Bacchus spirit of Di-

vination: faid plainly that it did fignific, that one day he should be of great Power, much dread, and have very good fuccels. This fame Woman Prophetels was then with him and followed Clotius a Rehim likewise when he fled. Now first they overthrew certain Souldiers that came out of CAPUA man Practor him likewile when he fied. Now first they overthrew certain solutaiers that came out of CAPHA fent against against them, thinking to take them: and stripping them of their Armour and Weapons, made them Spartaeus with

glad to take the Fencers Weapons, which they threw away as vile and unfeemly. After that, the Ro-three thousand MANS fent Cledius Prator against them, with three thousand men. Who besieged them in their men.

Craffus fent by Countrey of the Marsians.

Evila called Pompey Impe-

Craffus took the City of Tuler. The valiant-

nels of Craf-

Clodius a Prztor overcome of Spartacus.

Publius Varinus Prator. fent against Spartacus.

us Varinus.

come by Spar-

Craffus lent againft Sparta.

fus Lieute-Mummius over thrown by Spartaeus.

The Romans manner of punishing cow

Fort, situate upon a Hill that had a very steep and narrow up to them: all the rest of the ground round about it, was not over, and upon them great store of wild Vines. Of them the bond, and made thereof Ladders, like to these Ship Ladders of Ropes, of such they reached from the top of the Hill even to the very bottom: upon thou and affect down faving one that tarried above to throw down their Armour after them, who afterwards by the same Ladder saving himself last of all. The ROMANS mistrusting no such matter, these bondmen compassed the Hill round, assailed them behind, and put them in Ach a sear with the sudden onset, as they fled upon it every man, and so was their Camp taken. Thereupon divers Heardsmen and Shepheards that kept Cattle hard by the Hill, joyned with the ROMANS that fled, being strong and hardy men; of which some they armed, and others they used as Scouts and Spials to discover. Upon this overthrow was sent another Captain from ROME, called Publica Varinus, against these bondmen: who first overcame Furins, the Lieutenant of Varinus in Battle, and two thousand of his men: and after that again they slew one Cossinius, and overthrew a great Army of his, being joyned with Publim Varinus, as his fellow and Counsellor. Spartacus having intelligence that Coffinius was bathing himself at a place called the falt Pits, had almost taken him tardy, having much ado by flight to fave himself: notwithstanding, Spartacus wan all his Carriage at that time, and having him hard in chase, took his whole Camp with great slaughter of his men, among whom Coffinius felf was slain. Spartacus having thus now in fundry Battles and Enthory of Publis counters overcome the Prætor himself, Publins Varinus, and at the length taken his Serjeants from him that carried the Axes before him, and his own Horse whereon he rode himself: was grown then to such a power, as he was dreaded of every man. Yet all this notwithstanding, Spartacus wifely confidering his own force, thinking it not good to tarry till he might overcome the Power of the ROMANS, marched with his Army towards the ALPES, taking it their best way after they had passed them over, every man to repair home to his own Country, some into Gaul the rest into THRACIA. But his Souldiers trusting to their multitude, and perswading themselves to do great things, would not obey him therein, but went again to spoil and over-run all ITALY. The Senate of ROME being in great perplexity, not onely for the shame and dishonour that their men should be overcome in that fort by Slaves and Rebels, but also for the fear and danger all ITALY stood in befides : lent both the Consuls together, Gellius and Lentulus, as unto as difficult and dangerous a War, CENTRIS and LERIAMINS, both as any that could have happened unto them. This Gellins one of the Confuls, fetting suddenly upon Confuls fenta- a Band of the GERMANS, which in a bravery and contempt as it were differfied themselves from gainst Sparts their Camp, put them to the Sword every man. Lentulus, his Colleague and fellow Conful on the other fide, compassed in Spartacus round with a great Army : but Spartacus charged his Lieutenants that led the Army, gave them Battle, overthrew them, and took all their Carriage. Hereupon, marching on still with his Army towards the Alpes, Cassius the Prætor and Governour of GAUL about the Po, came against him with an Army of ten thousand men. Spartacus joyned Battle with him, and overcame him. Cassius having lost a great number of his men, with great difficulty faved himself by flying. The Senate hearing of Cassius overthrow, were marvellously offended with the Confuls, and fent commandment unto them, to leave off the War: and thereupon gave the whole Charge thereof unto Marcus Crasus, who was accompanied in his Journey with many noble young Gentlemen of honourable Houses, both for that he was marvellously esteemed, and also for the good will they bare him. Now went Cragus from Rome, and camped in ROMANIA, tarrying Spartacus coming, who was marching thitherward. He fent Mummisss one of his Lieutenants with two Legions to fetch a compass about to entrap the Enemy behind: straightly command-Mummius Crafing him to follow Spartacus rereward, but in no case to offer him Skirmish nor Battle. But Mummiss notwithstanding this straight commandment, seeing some hope given him to do good, set upon Spartacus, who gave him the overthrow, flew numbers of his men, and moe had flain, faving that certain of them laved then lelves by flight, having onely loft their Armour and Weapons. Hereupon Crasu was grievoully offended with Mummius, and receiving his Souldiers that fled, gave them other Armour and Weapons: but yet upon fureties, that they should keep them better thenceforth, then they had before done. Now Crasus of the five hundred that were in the first Ranks, and that first fled, them he divided into fifty times ten, and out of every one of those he put one of them to death, as the Lot fell out: renewing again the Ancient discipline of the ROMANS to punish cowardly Souldiers, which of long time before had not been put in use. For it is a kind of death that bringeth open shame withall: and because it is done in the face of the Camp, it makethall the residue afraid to see the terrour of this punishment. Crassus having done execution in this sort upon his men, led his Army against Spartacus, who still drew back, untill he came to the Sea side through the Countrey of the Lucanians, where he found in the ftraight of the far of MES-SINA, certain Pirats Ships of CILICIA, and there determined to go into SICILIA. And having put two thousand men into SICILE, he then revived the War there of the Slaves, which was but in manner newly ended, and lacked small provocation to begin it again. But these Pirats having promifed Spartacus to pass him over thither, and also taken Gifts of him, deceived him, and brake their promise. Whereupon Spartaeus returning back again from the Sea side, went and camped within a little Isle of the RHEGIANS. Crassus coming thither to feek him, and perceiving that the nature of the place taught him what he should do, determined with a Wallto thoak up the bar or Channell entring into the little Island, both to keep his men occupied from

now the second life from Vacual. This was a marvellous hard and long piece of now the second from the finished it beyond all mens expectation in a very short time, and to a Trenchiston one fide of the Sea to the other overthwart this bar, which was three hundred furlongs in length, fifteen foot broad, and fo many in height; and upon the top of this Trench built a high Wall, of a marvellous ftrength, whereof Spartagus at the first made light Grassus wonaccount, and laughed at it. But when Pillage began to fail him, and travelling all about the Ifle dertail Trench for Victuals, perceiving himself to be shut in with this Wall, and that there was no kind of Victuals and Wall. to be had within all the compass of the Isle: he then took the vantage of a rough boisterous night. the wind being very great, when it snowed exceedingly, set his men on work, and filled up a piece of the Trench (being a small breadth) with Earth, Stones and boughs of Trees, whereupon he passed over the third part of his Army. Crassus at the first then became asraid, lest Spartacut would have taken his way directly toward Rome, but he was foon put out of that fear, when he heard they were fallen out together, and that a great number of them rebelling against Spartacus. went and camped of themselves by the Lake of Lucania, which water by report hath this variable property, that at certain times it changeth and becometh very fweet, and at fome other times nature of the again to falt and brackish as no man can drink it. Craffus going to fet upon them, dravethem be- water of the wond the Lake, but could kill no great number of them, nor follow them very far, because Lake of Luca-Spartaens came prefently to the rescue with his Army, who stayed the chase. Crassus had written nia. Letters before to the Senate, to call Lucullus home out of THRACIA, and Pompey out of SPAIN, whereof he then repented him, and made all the possible speed he could to end this War before either of them came thither; knowing, that which of them fo ever came to his help, to him would the People give the Honour of ending this War, and not to himfelf. Wherefore he first determined to affail them that had revolted from Spartacus, and camped by themselves, who were led by Caim Camicins, and another called Castus. So Crassus sent six thousand Footmen before to take Ambush laved a Hill, commanding them to lie as close as they could, that their Enemies might not discover them . by Crassus, and fo they did, and covered their Morians and Head-pieces as well as might be, from being feen, Nevertheless they were discovered by two Women doing Sacrifice for the fafety of their Army, and thereupon were all in great hazard of casting away, had not Crassus been, who came in time to their aid, and gave the Enemies the cruellest Battle that ever they fought in all that War. For there were flain of the Slaves at that Battle twelve thousand and three hundred, of which, two onely were found hurt in the backs, and all the rest slain in the place of their Ranks, valiantly fighting where they were fet in Battle Ray. Spartaens after this overthrow, drew towards the Mountains of Petely, whither Quintus one of Craffus Lieutenants, and Scrofa his The valiant-Treasurer followed him, still Skirmishing with his rereward all the way: yet in fine, Spartacus ness of Spartitturned fuddenly upon them, made the ROMANS fly that still harried his men in that fort, and constructed for souldiers. hurt Scrofa, Craffus Treasurer to fore, that he hardly escaped with Life. But the vantage they had of tired to the the ROMANS by this overthrow, fell out in the end to the utter destruction of Spartacus. For his Mountains of men thereby, being the most of them fugitive bondmen, grew to such a stoutness and pride of them- Petelie. felves, that they would no more fly from fight, neither yet would they any longer obey their Leaders and Captains; but by the way as they went, they compassed them in with their Weapons, and told them, that they should go back again with them, whether they would or not, and be brought through Lucania against the Romans. All this made for Crassus as he wished, for he had received News that Pompey was coming, and that divers were Suters for him at ROME to be fent in this Journey, faying, that the last Victory of this War was due to him, and that he would dispatch it at a Battle, as soon as he came thither. Crassus therefore seeking occasion to fight, lodged as near the Enemy as he could, and made his men one day cast a Trench; which the bondmen feeking to prevent, came with great fury, and fet upon them that wrought, Whereupon fell out a hot Skirmish, and still supplies came on of either side, so that Spartacus The noble couin the end perceiving he was forced unto it, put his whole power in Battle Ray. And when he rage of Spartahad fet them in order, and that they brought him his Horse he was wont to ride on, he drew eus. out his Sword, and before them all flew the Horse dead in the place, saying : if it be my Fortune to win the Field, I know I shall have Horses enough to serve my turn; and if I chance to be overcome, then shall I need no more Horses. After that he flew in among the ROMANS, thinking to attain to fight with Graffus, but he could not come near him; yet he flew with his own hands two ROMAN Centurions that refifted him. In the end, all his men he had about him, forfook him and fled, fo as Spartacus was left alone amongst his Enemies; who valiantly Spartacus slain. fighting for his life, was cut in pieces. Now though Crassus Fortune was very good in this War, and that he had shewed himself a Noble and Valiant Captain, venturing his Person in any danger, yet he could not keep Pompey from the Honour of ending this War: for the Slaves Pompey's Trie unph for that scaped from this last Battle where Spartacus was slain, fell into Pompeys hands, who made an umph for end of all those rebellious rascals. Pompey hereupon wrote to the Senate, that Grassus, had over-come the Slaves in Battle, but that he himself had pulled up that War even by the very roots. After this Pompey made his entry into Rome, and Triumphed for his Victory of Sertorius, and the Conquest of SPAIN, Crassus also sued not for the great Triumph, neither thought he the small Ovation Triumph on foot, which they granted him, any Honour anno him, for overcoming a few Ovatio, fe fugitive bondmen. But for this small Triumph whereby he was called Ovatio, how much it diffe- Marcellus Life. reth from the great Triumph, see Marcellus Life, wherein we have at large discoursed thereof. Now

Craffus made Conful with Pompey.

Craffus great featting of the People of Rome. The Dream of Ovatius Aurelius.

Craffus and Pompey made friends.

Craffies and Cafar Confederates with Cataline. Craffus Cicro's Enemy.

Pompey being called to be Confull; Craffus, though he hood in good with him, did yet notwithstanding pray his friendship and furtherning in help him, and was ever desirous to make Crassus beholding to help him, and was ever desirous to make Crassus beholding to the control of the co ting to neip mm, and was ever defined to make crays, believed that he would no less dealt friendly for him, and spake openly in the Assembly of the City, that he would no less thank the People to appoint Crassus his Companion and fellow Consul with him, then for making himfelf Confull. But notwithstanding they were both Confuls together in Office, their friendship held not, but were ever at jar, and the one against the other. So by means of their disagreement, they passed all the time of their Consulship without any memorable Act done, faving that Crassus made a great Sacrifice to Hercules, and kept an open Feast for the People of ROME of a thousand Tables, and gave to every Citizen Corn to find him three Months. But in the end of their Confulship, at a Common-Council holden, there was a Knight of ROME called Ovarius Aurelius (a man not greatly known, for that he had no dealings in the State, and kept most in the Country) who getting up to the Pulpit for Orations, told the People what a Vision he had seen in his Dream. Jupiter (saith he) appearing to me this night, willed me to tell you openly, that ye should not put Crassus and Pompey out of their Office, before they were reconciled together. He had no fooner spoken the words, but the People commanded them to be Friends. Pompey fate still, and faid never a word to it. But Crassus role, and took Pompey by the hand, and turning him to the People, told them aloud: My Lords of Rome, I do nothing unworthy of my felf, to feek Pompey's friendship and favour first, since you your selves have called him the Great, before he had any hair upon his face, and that ye gave him the honour of Triumph before he was Senator. And this is all that Craffus did of any account in his Confulfhip. When he was Cenfor allo, he passed it over without any Act done. For he reformed not the Senate, Mustered not the men of War, nor took any view or estimate of the Peoples goods, although Luctarius Ca-Craffus Cenior talus was his Colleague and fellow Cenfor, as gentle a Person as any of that time that lived in ROME. Now Crassus at the first entry into his Office of Censor, going about a cruel and violent Act to bring EGYPT to pay tribute to the ROMANS, Catular did foutly withfrand him: whereby diffention falling out between them, they both did willingly refign their Office. In that great conspiracy Craffus suspect of Cariline, which in manner overthrew the whole State and Commonwealth of ROME, Craffus was ted for Cation had in fome jealousite and miltrust, because there was one of the Consederates that named him for one linesconspiracy of them, howbeit they gave no credit unto him. Yet Cicero in an Oration of his, doth plainty accufe (raffur and Cafar, as Confederates with Cariline: howbeit this Oration came not forth till they were both dead. And in the Oration he made also, when his Office and Authority of Consul ceased, he faid: that Crassus came one night to him, and shewed him a Letter touching Cariline, certainly confirming the conspiracy then in examination. For which cause Crassias ever after hated him: and that he did not openly revenge it, the let was by means of his Son, For Publius Crassus much favouring Eloquence, and being given to his Book, bare great good will unto Cicero: in fuch fort, that upon his banishment he put on changed Garments as Cieero did, and procured many other youths to do the like also, and in fine, perswaded his Father to become his Friend. Cefar now returning to Rome from the Province he had in government, intending to fue for the Con-Cafar reconci- fulfhip : and perceiving that Pompey and Crassus were again at a jar, thought thus with himself, led Crassus and that to make the one of them his Friend to further his fure, he should but procure the other his Enemy: and minding therefore to attain his defire with the favour of them both, fought first the means to make them Friends, and perswaded with them, that by their controversie the one seeking the others undoing, they did thereby but make Cierro, Carulus and Cato, of the greater Authority, who Pamper, Crair of themselves were of no power, if they two joyned in triendship together: for making both their fur and Castar, of themselves were of no power, if they two joyned in triendship together: Just and Casjur.

all three joyn. Friends and Factions one, they might rule the State and Commonwealth even as they would. Casjur all three joyn. Friends and Factions one, they might rule the State and Commonwealth even as they would. Casjus and Pompey, joyning their three Powers in one, made ed inftiendship having by his perfuration reconciled Crasjus and Pompey, joyning their three Powers in one, made themselves invincible, which afterwards turned to the destruction of the People and Senate of ROME. For he made them not onely greater then they were before, the one by the others means: NOME. FOR INCIDENCE HOLD OF STREET POWER THOUGH THEM. For when they began to favour (sfar, he was but himself also of great power through them. For when they began to favour (sfar, he was ftraight chofen Conful without any denial: and so behaved himself in the Consulthip, that at the length they gave him charge of great Armies, and then fent him to govern the Gauls: which was, as a man may fay, even themselves to put him into the Castle that should keep all the City in subjection: imagining that they two should make spoil and good booty of the rest, sithence they had procured him such a Government. Now for Pompey, the cause that made him commit this error, was nothing else, but his extream ambition. But as for Craffus, besides his old Vice of covetoulness rooted in him, he added to that a new avarice and destre of Triumphs and Victories, which Cefars fame for prowess and noble Acts in Wars did throughly kindle in him, that he being otherwife his better in all things, might not yet in that be his inferiour: which fury took fuch hold as it never left him, till it brought him unto an infamous end, and the Commonwealth to great mifery. Thus Cefar being come out of his Province of GAUL unto Luca, divers ROMANS went thither to fee him, and among other *Pempey* and *Craffus*. They having talked with him in feeret, agreed among them to devife to have the whole power of Roms in their hands: fo that Cafur should keep his Army together: and Crassus and Pompey should take other Provinces and Armies to them. Now to attain to this, they had no way but one: that Pompey and Craffus should again sue the second time to be Consuls, and that Casars Friends at ROME should stand with them for it, sending also a sufficient number of his Souldiers to be there at the day of chusing

Compey and Crassus returned to Rome to that end, but not without for there ran a rumour in the City, that their meeting of Cafar in Luca. was for no good intent. Whereupon, Marcellinus and Domitius asked Pompey in open Senate. if he meant to make fuit to be Conful. Pompey answered them: Peradventure he did, perad-Pompey's flout venture he did not. They asking him again the same question: he answered, he would sue for answer. the good men, not for the evil. Pompey's answers were thought very proud and haughty. Howbeit Crassus answered more modestly, that if he saw it necessary for the Commonwealth, he would fue to be Conful: if not, that he would not stand for it. Upon these words, some were Crassus models so bold to make suit for the Consulship, as Domitius among other. But afterwards Pompey and answer. Craffus standing openly for it, all the rest lest off their suit for sear of them, Domitius onely excepted: whom Cato fo prayed and entreated, as his Kiniman and Friend that he made him to feek it. For he perswaded him, that it was to fight for the desence of their liberty, and how that it was not the Confulfnip Craffus and Pompey looked after, but that they went about to bring in a Tyranny: and that they fued not for the Office, but to get fuch Provinces and Armies into their hands as they defired, under colour and countenance of the Confulship. Cato ringing these words into their ears, and believing it certainly to be true as he faid, brought Domitius as it were by force into the Market-place, where many honest men joyned with them : because they wondered what the matter meant, that these two Noble men should sue the second time to be Consuls, and why they made fuit to be joyned together, and not to have any other with them, confidering there were so many other worthy men, meet to be Companions with either of them both in that Office. Pompey fearing he should be prevented of his purpose, fell to commit great outrage Pompey made and violence. As amongst other, when the day came to chuse the Confuls, Domitius going early in himlest and and violence. As amongst other, which the day can't to that the Solidary in the morning before day, accompanied with his Friends to the place where the Election should be: Substitute of the place where the Election should be: his man that carried his Torch before him, was slain by some whom Pompey had laid in wair . and many of the company hurt, and among others, (ato. And having thus dispersed them, he beset a House round about whither they sled for succour, and inclosed them there, until they Pompey and were both chosen Consuls together. Shortly after they came with force to the Pulpit for Ora- Graffus Contions and drave Cato out of the Market-place, and slew some of them that resisted and would not sale the second fly. They also then prolonged Casars Government of the Gauls for five years more, and times procured for themselves by Decree of the People, the Countries of Syria and Spain. Again, when they drew Lots together, Syria fell to Crassus, and Spain to Pompey. Every man was glad of their Fortune. For the People on the one fide were loath Pompey should go far Crassus had the from Rome: and himself also loving his Wife well, was glad he had occasion to be so near her. Government that he might remain the most part of his time at Rome. But Crassus of all other rejoyced most at of Syria. his hap, that he should go into Syria : and it appeared plainly that he thought it was the happiest turn that ever came to him, for he would ever be talking of the Journey, were he in never fo great or strange company. Furthermore, being among his Friends and Familiars, he would give out such fond Boasts of it, as no young man could have made greater vaunts: which was clean contrary to his years and nature, having lived all his life time as modeftly, and with as small oftentation as any man living. But then forgetting himfelf too much, had fuch fond conceits in his head, as he not onely hoped after the Conquest of Syria, and of the Parthians, but flattered himself, that the world should see all that Lucullus had done against King Tigranes, and Pompey against King Mithridates, were but trifles (as a man would say) to that he intended. For he looked to Conquer the BACTRIANS, the INDIANS, and the great Ocean Sea towards the East, though in the Decree passed by the People, there was no mention made of any Wars against the PARTHIAMS. Now every man faw Crassus ambition and greedy desire of Honour : in so much as Cafar leff wrote unto Crassus out of GAUL, commending his Noble intent and forwardnels, and wished him to go through therewith. But Atteius one of the Tribunes being bent against Atteius the Craffus to withfrand his departure: (having divers other Confederates with him to further his pur- Tribune a Crafful to withit and his departure: (naving divers other Confederates with hind make War with any gainst Craffus pole, who much milliked that any man of a bravery and luftiness should make War with any departure. Nation or People that had no way offended the ROMANS, but were their Friends and Confederates) Craffus fearing this conspiracy, prayed Pompey to affift and accompany him out of the City, because he was of great Authority and much reverenced of the People, as it appeared then. For, though multitudes of People were gathered together of purpole to let Crassus of his departure and to cry out upon him : yet when they faw Pompey go before him, with a pleasant smiling countenance, they quieted themselves, and made a lane for them, suffering them to pass on, and said nothing. This notwithstanding, Atteins the Tribune stepped before them, and commanded Crassus he should not depart the City, with great protestations if he did the contrary. But peceiving Crassins still held on his way notwithfranding, he commanded then one of the Officers to lay hold of him, and to arrest him : howbeit the other Tribunes would not fuffer the Officers to do it. So the Sergeant difmiffed Graffus. Then Access running towards the Gates of the City, got a Chafindish with Coals, and fer it in the middest of the Street. When Crassus came against it, he cast in certain persumes, and nade fyrinkings over it, pronouncing horrible Curfes, and calling upon terrible and ftrange Names of gods. The ROMANS fay, that those manner of Curfes are very ancient, but yet very feeret, and of curfings as of to great force, as he that is once curfed with that Curfe can never escape it, nor he that uleth it mong the Rodoth never prosper after it. And therefore sew men do use it, and never but upon urgent occa- mani.

fion. But then they much reproved Atteins, for using these dreadfull Ceremonies and extream

CRASSUS

Deiosarus King

of Galatia.

Great faults committed by Graffus.

> The first fign of Craffus ill The Name of the Parthians. Ambaffadours of the Parthians fent to

Craffus. his hand. Hyrodes King of the Parthi-

Craffus journy thus curfed Craffus. Craffus feeting forward notwithstanding, failed thus curfed Craffus. Craffus feeting forward notwithstanding, failed thus curfed Craffus. Craffus feeting forward notwithstanding, failed thus curfed Craffus. The composition of the seas, and he had loft many of this supply how-Curfes, which were much hurtfull to the Commonwealth; although beit he landed his Army, and marched through the Country of GALATIA. There he found King Deintarus, a very old man, and yet building a new City: and to taunt him pretily, faid unto him: What, O King, begin you to build now in the afternoon? To whom the King of the GALATI-ANS again fmiling made answer : and truly Sir Captain, you go not very early (methinks) to make War with the PARTHIANS. For indeed Crassus was threescore and upward, and yet his face made him feem elder then he was. But to our Story again. Craffus being come into Craffur passeth the Country, had as good luck as he looked for: for he easily built a Bridge upon the River of Esphrates, and passed his Army over it without any let or trouble. So entring into MESO POTAMIA, he received many Cities that of good will yielded themselves unto him. Howbeit there was one City named ZENODOTIA, whereof Appolonius was Tyrant, where Craffus loft a hundred of his men: thereupon he brought his whole Army thither, took it by force, facked their goods, and fold the Prisoners by the drum. The GREEKS called this City ZENODOTIA, and for winning of the same Crassus suffered his men to call him Imperator, to say, Soveraign Captain: which turned to his shame and reproach, and made him to be thought of a base mind, as one that had small hope to attain to great things, making such reckoning of so small a trifle. Thus when he had bestowed seven thousand of his Footmen in Garrison in those Cities that had yielded unto him, and about a thousand Horsemen, he returned back to winter in Syria. Thither came his Son Fublius Crasses Publius Crasses to him out of GAUL from Julius Cefer, who had given him such honours, came to his as Generals of Rome did use to give such valiant Souldiers for reward of their good Service: and Father in Spris brought unto his Father a thousand men of arms, all choise men. This methinks was the greatest fault Crassus committed in all his enterprise of that War. For when he should presently have gone on still, and entred into BABYLON and SELEUCIA, (Cities that were ever Enemies unto the PARTHIANS) he tracted time, and gave them leifure to prepare to encounter his force when he should come against them. Again, they found great fault with him for spending of his time when he lay in Syria, feeming rather to lead a Merchants life then a Chieftains, For he never faw his Army, nor trained them out to any Martial Exercise, but fell to counting the revenew of the Cities, and was many days bufily occupied weighing of the Gold and Silver in the Temple of the goddels of Hierapolis. And worse then that : he sent to the People, Princes, and Cities about him, to furnish him with a certain number of men of War, and then he would discharge them for a Sum of Money. All these things made him to be both ill spoken of, and despited of every body. The first token of his ill luck that happened to him, came from this goddels Hierapolis, whom some suppose to be Venus, other say Juno, and others, that she is the Mother and chief cause that giveth beginning of moisture to every thing that cometh forth and hatha being, and taught men the original cause also of every good thing. For as Crassus the Father, and Son both, were coming out of the Temple, Craffus the younger fell first on his face, and the Father afterwards upon his Son. Likewife as he was gathering his Garrifons together, calling them out of the Cities into the Field, there came Ambassadors unto him from Arfaces King of the PARTHIANS, who delivered him their meffage in few words, and told him, that if this Arfacts, or Ar- Army he brought came from the ROMANS to make War with their Master, then that he would have no peace nor friendship with them, but would make mortal Wars against them. Further, if it were (as he had heard fay) that Crassus against the Peoples minds of Rome, for his own coverous defire, and peculiar profit was come in a jollity to make War with the PARTHIANS, and to invade their Country, then in that respect Arsaces would deal more savourably, in confideration of Crassus years, and was contented also to fuffer his men to depart with life and goods, whom he took rather to be in Prison, then in Garrison within his Cities. Thereto Crassus couragiously answered, that he would make them answer in the City of SELEUCIA. Therewith Vagiset, one of the eldest Ambassadors fell a laughing, and shewing Crassus the palm of his hand, told thewing Craf-fur the palm of my hand, Craffus, then you will come to Seleu-CIA. In this fort the Ambassadors took their leave of Crassus, and returned to their King Hyrodes, telling him he was to prepare for War. In the mean space, certain of Crassus Souldiers whom he had left in Garrison in the Cities of MESOPOTAMIA, having scaped marvellous dangeroully and with great difficulty, brought him news of importance, having themselves seen the wonderfull great Camp of the Enemies, and their manner of fight in the affaults they made to the Cities where they lay in Garrison. And, as it falleth out commonly among men escaped from any danger, making things more fearfull and dangerous then they be indeed, they reported that it was unpossible by flying to fave themselves, if they did follow in chase: neither to overtake them also if they fled. And further, that they had such kind of Arrows, as would fly swifter then a mans Eye could discern them, and would pierce through any thing they hit, before a man could tell who shot them. Besides, for the Horsemens Weapons they used, that they were such, as no Armour could possible hold out: and their Armours on the other side made of such a temper and mettal, as no force of any thing could pierce them through. The ROMANS hearing these news, fell from their former frouncis and courage, being born in hand before, that the PAR-THIANS differed nothing at all from the ARMENIANS and CAPADOCIANS, whom Lucullus had overcome and spoiled so oft, that he was weary withall: and they had already made account, that

the tediousness of the journey they had to make and quose men that would not abide them. But then contrary to Cassias treasu froaks, and to be luftily fought withall. Hercupon, diverse Ca- ret under Crafd charge in the Army (among whom Cassium the Treasurer was one) for Crassium force of deliberate in councel to know whether he were best to go on, or warned by the remain where he is no foothlayers themselves did partly let Crassium understand, that the gods Soothlayers of

shewed no good tokens in all their facrifices, and were hardly to be pacified. But Craffin gave no car his thinceefs. to them, neither would hear any other that told him as much, but onely liftned to them that counted king of draceled him to make hafte. Yet Craffus chiefest comfort and incouragement, was of Artabazes King of Rill, came to ARMENIA, who came to his Camp with fix thousand horse, which were but onely the Kings Cor- Crafter came. net and Guard. Again, he promifed him other ten thousand horsmen all armed and barbed, and thirty thousand footmen which he kept continually in pay, and counselled Crassus to enter the PAR-THIANS Countrey upon ARMENIAN fide : because his Camp should not onely have plenty of victuals, which he would fend him out of his Countrey, but for that he should also march in more fafety, having a Countrey full of mountains and woods before him, very ill for horsemen, which was the onely strength and force of the PARTHIANS. Craffus coldly thanked Artabizes for his good will, and all his noble offer of aid: yet told him he would take his journey through MESO-POTAMIA, where he had left many good fouldiers of the ROMANS. And thus departed the King of ARMENIA from him. But now as Craffu was passing his Army upon the bridge he had Wonderfoll made over the River of Euphrates, there fell out sudden strange and terrible cracks of thunder, with tokens to Crasfearfull flashes of lightning full in the souldiers faces: moreover, out of a great black cloud came a fur. wonderfull from and tempeft of wind upon the bridge, that the marvellous force thereof overthrew a great part of the bridge, and carried it quite away. Befides all this, the place where he appointed to lodge, was twice ftricken with two great thunder claps. One of his great horses in like case, being bravely furnished and set out, took the bit in his teeth, leapt into the River with the rider on his back, who were both drowned, and never feen after. They fay also, that the first Eagle and Enfign that was to be taken up when they marched, turned back of it felf, without any hands laid upon it. Further it fortuned that as they were distributing the victuals unto the fouldiers, after they had all passed over the bridge, the first thing that was given them, was salt and water lintels, which the ROMANS take for a token of death and mourning, because they use it at the funerals of the dead.

After all this, when Crassum was exhorting his souldiers, a word scaped his mouth that troubled the Army marvellously. For he told them, that he had broken the bridge which he had made over the River Euphrates, of purpole, because there should not a man of them return back again. Where indeed when he had feen that they took this word in ill part, he should have called it in again, or have declared his meaning, feeing his men so amazed thereat; but he made light of it, he was so wilfull. In the end he made ordinary facrifice for the purging of his Army: and when the Soothfaver gave him the intrails of the beaft that was facrificed, they fell out of his hands. Craffine perceiving that the standers by were troubled withall, fell a laughing, and told them. You see what age is: yet shall you not see my sword fall out of my hand. So having ended his facrifice, he began to march forward into the Countrey by the Rivers fide, with feven legions of footmen, and little craffus Army lack of four thousand horse, and in manner as many shot and sling lightly armed. There returned was fifty thouto him certain of his Scouts that had viewed the Countrey, and told him there was not an enemy fand men. to be feen in the field, howbeit that they had found the track of a marvellous number of horse which seemed as if they were returned back. Then Crassus first of all began to hope well; and his fouldiers also they fell to despise the PARTHIANS, thinking certainly that they would not come to battell with them. Yet Craffu his treaturer ever perswaded him the contrary, and thought it

better for him to refresh his Army a little in one of the Cities where he had his Garrison, untill such

time as he heard more certain news of the Enemies: or elfe that he would march directly towards

SELEUCIA by the River fide, which lay fit for him to victual himself easily by boats that would

always follow his Camp and should be fure besides that the enemies could not environ him behind.

so that having no way to set upon them but before, they should have none advantage of them.

he bare good will to the ROMANS. But Ariannes had been laboured at that time by the King

of PARTHIAMS Captains, and was won by them to deceive Crassus, and to entice him all he

could to draw him from the River and the Woody Countrey, and to bring him into the plain

field, where they might compass him in with their horsemen, for they meant nothing less then

to fight with the ROMANS at the fwords point. This barbarous Captain Ariamses coming

to Craffus, did highly praise and commend Pompey, as his good Lord and benefactor (for he was

an excellent spoken man) and extolled Craffus Army , reproving him that he came too slowly for-

Craffin going about then to confult of the matter, there came one Ariannes unto him, a Captain of the ARABIANS, a fine subtill fellow, which was the greatest mischief and evill that fortune could Ariannes, a fend to Craffm at that present time, to bring him to utter ruine and destruction. For there were drubing some of Crassus souldiers that had served Pompey before in that Countrey, who knew him very

well, and remembred that Pompey had done him great pleasures : whereupon they thought that

ward, tracking time in that fort as he did, preparing himself as though he had need of Armour and weapon, and not of feet and hands swift and ready against the enemies : who (for the chiefest of them) had of long time occupied themselves to flie with their best moveables, towards the defarts

of SCYTHIA and HYRCANIA. Therefore if you determine (faid he) to fight, it were good you made

hast to meet them , before the King have gathered all the Surena and Syllacts , two of his Lieurenants against you , when the surenants against you . You follow him not: and for the King himfelf, behold he meaner Surent and Sil- in all. For King Hyrodes had divided his Army in two parts at the first and went to ipoil the Realm of Armenia, to be revenged of King Armenia against the ROMANS, not for any contempt he had of Crafts. The world be would distant to come to battell with him, being one of the chiefest Noblemen of ROME, and

CRASSO

to think it more honourable to make war with King Artabazes in ARMENIA) but I think rather

gainst Craffus.

Surens's Court and train.

an Ambassage unto Craffus.

Craffus wilful.

he did it of purpose to avoid the greater danger, and to keep far off, that he might with safety see what would happen, and therefore lent Surena before to hazard battell, and to turn the ROMANS back again. For Surma was no mean man, but the fecond person of PARTHIA next unto the Surenz what he King, in riches, reputation, valour and experience in wars, the chiefest of his time among all the PAR-THIANS, and for execution, no man like him. Surena when he did but remove into the Countrey onely with his houfhold, had a thousand Camels to carry his Sumpters, and two hundred Coaches of Curtifans, a thousand men of Arms armed at all pieces, and as many mo befides lightly armed: fo that his whole train and Court made above ten thouland horse. Further, by the tenure of that land that its, whose crain and course that a course it is office was at the first proclaiming of any King, to put the Royall Crown or Diadem upon the Kings head. Moreover, he had reftored King Hyrodes that then reigned, to his Crown, who had been before driven out of his Realm: and had won him the great City of Seleucia, himself being the first man that scaled the walls, and overthrew them with his own ty of Seleucia, minimum sengence and minimum sender thirty years of age, yet they counted him a wife hands that refifted him. And though he was under thirty years of age, yet they counted him a wife man, as well for his counfell as his experience, which were the means whereby he overcame Craf us: man, as well for use countries and folly at the first, and afterwards for very fear and timorousnels, which his misfortune had brought him unto, was easie to be taken and intrapped, by any policy or deceit, Now this barbarous Captain Ariamnes having then brought Graffus to believe all that he said, and drawn him by perfuration from the River of Emphrates, unto a goodly plain Countrey, meeting at first with very good way, but after with very ill, because they entred into sands where their feet the want very good way, out after was neither tree nor water, nor any end of them that they funk deep, and into delect fields where was neither tree nor water, nor any end of them that they rould differn by eye, fo that not onely extream thirst, and miserable way marvellously amazed the ROMANS, but the discomfort of the eye also, when they could see nothing to stay their fight upon: that above all the reft, wrought their extream trouble. For neither far nor near any fight of Tree, River, Brook, Mountain, Grafs, or green Herb appeared within their view, but in troth an endless sea of defert fands on every side round about their Camp. Then began they to suspect that endiets lea of deleterations on every macromal about their Comp. Then began they to simper that they were betrayed. Again, when news came that Ariabazes King of ARMENIA, was kept in his Countrey with a great war. King Hyrodes made upon him, which kept him that he could not according to the country with a great war. ding to his promite come to aid him, yet that he wished him to draw towards ARMENIA, that both uning to ins promise come to an armin, they might the better fight with King Hyroder: if not, that he their Armies being joyned together, they might the better fight with King Hyroder: would always keepthe Woody Countrey, marching in those vallies and places where his horsemen might be fafe, and about the mountains: [raf] was fo willfull, as he would write no answer to it, mugut or rate, and about the modification of the hard no leifure then to hearken to the Armenians, but out angerty total the minding of the state o much offended with Craff or his answer: howbeit perceiving he could do no good with him, and much officiated with Craiss for the animals industrial percenting for count up good with him, and that he took every thing in ill part, he faid unto him, he would tell him no more. Norwithfanding, taking Ariammes this Captain of the Armenians afide, he rebuked him roundly, and faid: O thouwretch, what curied devill hath brought thee to us, and how cunningly haft thou bewitched and charmed Craffee, that thou haft made him bring his Army into this endlets defert, and to trace this way fitter for an ARABIAN Captain of thieves, then for a Generall and Confull of the Rotins way nater for an AKABBAR Speaking gently unto Caffins, did comfort him, and prayed him to have patience; and going and coming by the bands, feeming to help the fouldiers, he told them merrily: O my fellows, I believe you think to march through the Countrey of Naples, and look to meet with your pleafant fprings, goodly groves of wood, your natural baths, and the good Inns round about to refresh you, and do not remember that you pass through the deferts of ARABIA and Assyria. And thus did this barbarous Captain entertain the ROMANS 2 while: but afterwards he diflodged betimes, before he was openly known for a traitour, and yet not without Crassus privity, whom he bare in hand, that he would go and fet some broil and tumult in the enemies Camp. It is reported that Crassus the very same day came out of his Tent not in his coat armour of Scarlet (as the manner was of the ROMAN Generals) but in a black coat : howbeit, remembring himfelf, he straight changed it again. It is said moreover, that the Ensignbearers when they should march away, had much ado to pluck their Ensigns out of the ground, they stuck so fast. But Crassus scotting at the matter, hastened them the more to march forward, compelling the footmen to go as faft as the horiemen, till a few of their Scouts came in, whom they had fent to discover : who brought news how the enemies had slain their fellows , and what ado they had themselves to scape with life, and that they were a marvellous great Army, and well appointed to give them battell. This news made all the Camp afraid, but Graffus felf more then appointed to give memoauted. Ams news made an use camp and in manner befides himfelf. At the reft, so as he began to fet his men in barrell ray, being for hast in manner befides himfelf. At the first following Cassius mind, he fet his ranks wide, casting his fouldiers into a squarebattell, a good way afunder one from another, because he would take in as much of the plain as he

in and so divided the horsemen into the wings. Paraighted the battell of his footmen, fashioning it Crassis army a front and shewing their faces every way. For there against the on either fide, and by every Cohort a company of horse, Parthians.

if without aid of horfemen, and that all his battell should be alike of the leading of one wing, his fon Publishe Crassus the other, and himdefended, the same time reaging of one wing; his ion Publish evaluate the other, and him-felf led the battell intue middet. In this order they marched forward, till he came to a little brook called Balifier, where there was no great store of water, but yet happily lighted on for the fouldiers, for the great thirst and extream heat they had abidden all that painfull way, where they had net with no water before. There the most part of Crassas Captains thought best to Camp all night, that they might in the mean time find means to know their enemies what number they were , and how they were armed , that they might fight with them in the morning. But Craffus yeelding to his fons and his horfemens perfuration, who intreated him to march on with his Army, and to fer upon the enemies prefently: commanded, that fuch as would ear; should eat standing, keeping their ranks: Yet on the fuddain, before this commandment could run through the whole Army, he commanded them again to march, not fair and foftly, as when they go to give battell, but with speed, till they spied the enemies, who seemed not to the ROMANS at the first to be so great a number, neither to bravely armed as they thought they had been. For, concerning their great number, Surena had of purpole hid them, with certain troops he sent before : and to hide their bright armour, he had caft cloaks and beafts skins over them, but when both the Armies approached near the one to the Surena's flraother, and that the fign to give charge was lift up in the air; first they filled the field with a dread-tagenee for the full noise to hear. For the PARTHIANS do not encourage their men to fight with the found of a hiding of his full noite to hear. For the PARTHIANS to hot through the true of the prime hollow within, and a Army.

Horn, neither with Trumpers nor Howboies, but with great Kettle Drums hollow within, and a Army.

Graffite battell From , neutrer water I transpers and Acopper rings , and with them they all make a notice every where with the Partogether; and it is like a dead found, mingled as it were with the braying or bellowing of a wild beaft, thian. and a fearfull noise as if it thundred, knowing that hearing is one of the senses that soonest moveth The Parthians the heart and spirit of any man, and maketh him soonest beside himself. The ROMANS being kettle drums. put in fear with this dead found, the PARTHIANS straight threw the cloaths and coverings from them that hid their armour, and then thewed their bright Helmers and Curaces of Margian tempered them that his their armour, and their horfes barbed with Steel and Copper. And Surena alfo, Ge. The person of Steel, that glared like fire, and their horfes barbed with Steel and Copper. And Surena alfo, Ge. The person of the PARTHIANS, who was a goodly personage, and as valiant as any other in all his hoft, surena, General of the PARTHIANS, who was a goodly personage, and as valiant as any other in all his hoft, surena, General though his beauty fomewhat effeminate, in judgement shewed small likelihood of any such courage: ral of the Parfor he painted his face, and ware his hair after the fashion of the MEBES, contrary to the manner than deof the PARTHIANS, who let their hair grow after the fashion of the TARTARS, without teribed. combing or tricking of them, to appear more terrible to their enemies. The PARTHIANS at the first thought to have fet upon the ROMANS with their Pikes, to see if they could break their first ranks. But when they drew near, and faw the depth of the ROMANS battell ftanding close together, firmly keeping their ranks, then they gave back, making as though they fled, and difperfed themselves. But the ROMANS marvelled when they found it contrary, and that it was but a device to environ them on every fide. Whereupon Craffus commanded his shot and light armed men to affail them, the which they did : but they went not far, they were fo beaten in with Arrows end driven to retire to their force of the armed men. And this was the first beginning that both seared and troubled the ROMANS, when they saw the vehemency and great force of the enemies shot, which brake their armours, and ran through any thing they hit, were it never fo hard or foft. The PARTHIANS thus fill drawing back, thot altogether on every fide, not aforehand, but at adventure: for the battell of the ROMANS stood so near together, as if they would, they could not sought retiring. missthe killing of some. These Bowmen drew a great strength and had big strong Bowes, which fent the Arrows from them with a wonderfull force. The ROMANS by means of these Bows were in hard state. For if they kept their ranks, they were grievoully wounded : again, if they left them, and fought to run upon the PARTHIANS to fight at hand with them, they faw they could do them but little hurt, and yet were very likely to take the greater harm themselves. For as fast as the Ro-DUE INTICHUET, and yet were very many to the PARTHIANS flie from them, and yet in flying continued fill fight. their shooting : which no Nation but the SCYTHIANS could better do then they, being a matter indeed most greatly to their advantage. For by their flight they best do save themselves, and fighting still, they thereby shun the shame of that their slying. The ROMANS still defended themfelves, and held it out to long as they had any hope that the PARTHIANS would leave fighting when they had fpent their Arrows, or would joyn battell with them. But after they understood that there were a great number of Camels loden with quivers full of Arrows, where the first that had bestowed their Arrows, fetched about to take new quivers: then Crassus seeing no end of their thot, began to faint, and fent to Publius his fon, willing him in any case to charge upon the enemies, and to give an onfet, before they were compaffed in on every fide. For it was on Publius fide that one of the Wings of the enemies battell was nearest unto them, and where they rode up and down to compass them behind. Whereupon Crassus fon taking thirteen hundred horsemen with him (of the which, a thouland were of the men of Armes whom Inline Cafar fent) and five hundred shot , with eight Ensigns of sootmen having targets, most near to the place where himfelf then was : he put them out in breadth, that wheeling about they might give a charge upon them that rode up and down. But they feeing him coming, turned ftraight their horse and fied, either be-

ry hardly, brought Crassus news, that his son was but cast away, if he

cause they met in a Marish, or elseof purpose to far from his father as they could. Publius Craffue abide us ; and fo fpurred on for life after them : fo did C

Megabacchus.

the Parthians.

a Senator of ROME a very eloquent man, the other a re-The praise of them Crassus well approved friends, and in manner of his own, crassus and ROMANS being trained out thus to the chase, their footmen allowersharehus. flew themselves to have less hope, joyand courage, then their horiemen that for they thought all had been won, and that there was no more to do, but to follow the chale: till they were gone far from the Army, and then they found the deceit. For the horsemen that fled before them, suddenly turned again, and a number of others befides came and fet upon them. Whereupon they flayed, thinking that the enemies perceiving they were fo few, would come and fight with them hand to hand. Howbeit they fet out against them their men at arms with their barbed horse, and made their light horfmen wheel round about them, keeping no order at all: who galloping up and down The miferable the plain, whirled up the fand hills from the bottom with their horse feet, which raised such a wonderfull dust, that the ROMANS could scarce see or speak one to another. For they being shut up into a little room, and standing close one to another, were fore wounded with the PARTHIANS Arrows, and died of a cruell lingring death, crying out for anguish and pain they felt: and turning and tormenting themselves upon the land, they brake their Arrows sticking in them. Again, striving by force to pluck out the forked Arrow heads that had pierced far into their bodies through their veins and finews, thereby they opened their wounds wider, and fo caft themselves away. Many of them died thus milerably marryred : and fuch as died not, were not able to defend themselves. Then when Publius Crassus prayed and belought them to charge the men at Armes with the barbed horse, they shewed him their hands fast nailed to the Targets with Arrows, and their feet likewise fhot through and nailed to the ground: fo as they could neither flie nor yet defend themselves. Thereupon himlelf encouraging his horfemen, went and gave charge, and did valiantly fet upon the encmies, but it was with too great disadvantage, both for offence, and also for defence. For himself and his men with weak and light staves, brake upon them that were armed with Curaces of Steel, or fliff Leather jacks. And the PARTHIANS in contrary manner with mighty ftrong Pikes gave charge upon these GAULES, which were either unarmed, or else but lightly armed. Yet those were they in whom Crasse most trusted, having done wonderfull sears of war with them. For they received the PARTHIANS Pikes in their hands, and took them about the middles, and threw them off their horse, where they lay on the ground, and could not fit for the weight of their harness: and there were divers of them also that lighting from their horse , lay under their enemies horse bellies, and thrust their swords into them. Their horse slinging and bounding in the air for very pain threw their mafters under feet, and their enemies one upon another, and in the end fell dead among them. Moreover, extream heat and thirst did marvellously cumber the GAULES, who were uled to abide neither of both: and the most part of their horse were slain, charging with all their power upon the men at Arms of the PARTHIANS, and fo ran themselves in upon the points of their Pikes. At the length, they were driven to retire towards their footmen, and Publim Crassum among them, who was very ill by reason of the wounds he had received. And seeing a fand hill by chance not far from them, they went thither, and fetting their horse in the middeft of it, compassed it in round with their Targets, thinking by this means to cover and defend themselves the better from the barbarous people: howbeit they found it contrary. For the Country being plain, they in the foremost ranks did fomewhat cover them behind, but they that were behind, flanding higher then they that flood foremost (by reason of the nature of the hill that was highest in the middeft) could by no means fave themselves, but were all hurt alike, as well the one as the other, bewaiting their own miferies and misfortune, that must needs die without revenge, or declaration of their valiancy. At that present time there were two GRECIANS about Publish Craffut, Hirronymus, and Nichomachus, who dwelt in those quarters, in the City of CARRES: they both coun-Carres a City called Publism Craffus to fteal away with them, and to flie to a City called ISCHNES, that was not of Moforciamic. Istinet, a City. far from thence, and took the ROMANS part. But Publiss answered them, that there was no death so cruel as could make him forfake them that died for his fake. When he had so faid, withing them to fave themselves, he embraced them, and took his leave of them: and being very fore hurt with the flot of an Arrow through one of his hands, commanded one of his Gentlemen to thrust him through with a fword, and so turned his side to him for the purpose. It is reported Censorinus did the like. But Megabacchus flew himfelf with his own hands, and so did the most part of the Gentlemen that were of that company. And for those that were left alive, the PARTHIANS got up the fand hill, and fighting with them, thrust them through with their Spears and Pikes, and took but five hundred priloners. After that, they stroke off Publius Crassus bead, and thereupon returned ftraight to set upon his Father Crass who was then in this state. Crass the Father, after he had willed his son to charge the enemies, and that one brought him word he had broken them, and purwilled his son to charge the enemies, and that one brought him word he had broken them, and purfued the chafe: and perceiving also that they that remained in their great battell, did not prefs upon him so near as they did before, because that a great number of them were gone after the other for refeue: he then began to be lively again, and keeping his men close, retired with them the best he could by a hills side, looking ever that his son would not be long before that he returned from the chafe. But Publisus feeing himfelf in danger, had fent divers mellengers to his Father, to advertise him of his diftress, whom the PARTHIANS intercepted and slew by the way; and the last mesand that with a great power. These news were grievous to Crassins in two respects: first to the fear the had, seeing himself in danger to lose all: and secondly, for the vehement desire he had to go to his sons help. Thus he saw in reason all would come to nought, and in fine determined to go with all his power to the refcue of his Son. But in the mean time the enemies were returned from his Sons overthrow, with a more dreadfull noise and cry of victory, then ever before : and thereupon their deadly founding drums filled the air with their wonderfull noise. The ROMANS then looked straight for a hot alarm. But the PARTHIANS that brought Publine Crassus head upon the point of a Launce, coming neer to the ROMANS, shewed them his head, and asked them in derifion, if they knew what house he was of, and who were his parents: for it is not likely (faid they) that fo noble and valiant a young man, should be the Son of fo cowardly a Father, as Crassus. The fight of Publius Crassus head killed the ROMANS hearts more then any other danger they had been in at any time in all the battell. For it did not fet their hearts on fire as it should have done, with anger, and desire of revenge: but far otherwise, made them quake for as it mount have come, that dead to behold it. Yet Craffus felf shewed greater courage in this miffortune, then he before had done in all the war beside. For riding by every band he cried out a- to his souldiers loud: The grief and forrow of this loss (my fellows) is no mans but mine, mine onely: but the when his heare noble fuccels and honour of ROME remaineth still unvincible, so long as you are yet living. Now was full of forif you pity my loss of so noble and valiant a Son, my good fouldiers, let me intreat you to turn row. your forrow into fury: make them dearly buy the joy they have gotten: be revenged of their cruelty, and let not my misfortune fear you. For why, afpiring minds fometime must needs suftain Lucullus overcame not Tigranes, nor Scipio, Antiochus, but their blood did pay for it. Our "ancestors in old time lost a thousand ships, yea in ITALIE divers armies and Chiestains for the "conquest of Sicilia: yet for all the loss of them, at the length they were victorious over "them, by whom they were before vanquished. For the Empire of ROME came not to that great-"ness it now is at, by good fortune onely, but by patience and constant suffering of trouble and adversity, never yeelding or giving place unto any danger. Crassus using these persuasions to encourage his fouldiers for refolution, tound that all his words wrought none effect: but contrarily, after he had commanded them to give the shout of battell, he plainly saw their hearts were done, for that their shout rose but faint, and not all alike. The PARTHIANS on the other side their shout was great, and lustily they rang it out. Now when they came to joyn, the PARTHIANS Archers on horseback compassing in the ROMANS upon the wings, shot an infinite number of Arrows at their fides. But their men at Armes giving charge upon the front of the ROMANS battell with their great Lances, compelled them to draw into a narrow room, a few excepted, that valiantly, and in desperate manner ran in among them, as men rather desiring so to die, then to be flain with their Arrows, where they could do the PARTHIANS almost no hurt at all. So were they foon dispatcht, with the great Lances that ran them through, head, wood and all, with such a force, as oftentimes they ran through two at once. Thus when they had fought the whole day, night drew on, and made them retire, faying, they would give Craffin that nights respite, to lament and bewail his Sons death : unless that otherwise he wisely looking about him, thought it better for his fafety to come and offer himself to King Arfaces mercy, then to tarry to be brought unto him by force. So the PARTHIAN'S camping hard by the ROMANS, were in very good hope to overthrow him the next morning. The KOMANS on the other fide had a marvellous ill night, making no reckoning to bury their dead, nor to dress their wounded men that died in miserable pain : but every man bewailed his hard fortune, when they faw not one of them could escape, if they tarried till the morning. On the other fide, to depart in the night through that defart, their wounded men did grieve them much. Because, to carry them so away, they knew it would lett their flight: and yet to leave them to behind, their pitifull cries would give the enemies knowledge of their departure. Now though they all thought Craffus the onely author of their mifery, yet were they defirous to fee his face, and to hear him speak. But Craffus went afide without light, and laid him down with his head covered, because he would see no man, shewing thereby the common fort an example Crassus with his head covered, because ne would receive his his head covered, because ne would receive his his head covered, because ne while men, a good learning to know the fruits of ill counfell, and vain tunes incontinues in the wife men, a good learning to know the fruits of ill counfell, and vain tunes incontinues in the wife men, a good learning to know the fruits of ill counfell, and vain ambition, that had fo much blinded him, as he could not be content to command fo many thousand flancy. men, but thought (as a man would fay) himfelf the meanest of all other, and one that possess no thing, because he was accounted inferiour unto two persons onely, Pompey and Casar. Notwithstanding, Octavisis one of his Chieftains, and Casjus the Treasurer, made him rife, and fought to comfort him the best they could. But in the end, seeing him so overcome with forrow, and out of heart, that he had no life nor spirit in him, they themselves called the Captains and Centurions together, and fate in councill for their departure, and so agreed that there was no longer tarrying for them. Thus of their own authority at the first they made the Army march away withour any found of Trumpet or other noise. But immediately after, they that were left hurt and fick, and could not follow, feeing the Camp remove, fell a crying out and tormenting themselves in such Crassian Bying. Yort, that they filled the whole Camp with forrow, and put them out of all order with the great moan and loud lamentation : fo as the foremost rank that first dislodged, fell into a marvellous

fear, thinking they had been the enemies that had come and fet upon them. Then turning oft, and fetting themselves in battell ray, one while loading their beafts with the wounded men, ano-

ther while unloading them again, they were left behind, having three hundred horsemen that

* S f 3

Coponius Gofopotamia.

CRASSUS scaped, who came about midnight to the City of CARRES. Igainal watch on the walls, and spake in the Latine tongue. Who answering, the Governour of the Town, that Crassum had sought a great battell with no more, neither told he what he was: but rode on ftill, till he came to the buse which Craims had made over Euphrates. Yet this word Jonatism gave to the watch to tell Coponius, served Crassus turn very well. For Coponius thought by this great hafte of his, and the fhort confuled speech he made, passing on his way, that he had no good news to tell them : wherefore he straight Armed his fouldiers, and understanding that Crassus was returning back, went to meet him, and brought him and his Army into the City of CARRES. The PARTHIANS knew well enough of the removing of the ROMANS Camp, but yet would not follow them in the night, but the next morning entring into their Camp where they lay, flew all that were left behind, which were above four thouland men: and riding after them that were gone, took many stragglers in the plain. Among them there was Bargantinus, one of Craffus Lieutenants, who frayed in the night out of the Army with four whole enigns, and having loft his way, got a hill, where the PARTHIANS befieged him, flew him and all his company, though he valiantly there defended himself: yet twenty of them onely efcaped, who with their fwordsdrawn in their hands, running forwards with their heads, thrust in amongst the thickest of the PARTHIANS: They wondering at their desperation, opened of themness of twenty

A stratagem of Surens.

Andromachus treason to

by night.

Cassius gentle answer in the ftraights.

felves, and fuffered them to march on towards the City of CARRES. In the mean time false newes was brought to Surena, how Crassus with all the chiefest men of his host was fled, and that the great number that were received into the City of CARRES were men of all forts gathered together, and not a man of any quality or estimation. Surena thereupon thinking he had lost the honour of his victory, yet standing in some doubt of it, because he would know the truth, that he might eiinstructly, yet manning in some course of the course of th walls of the City, charging him to call for Crassum or Cassum, and to tell them that Surena would parle with them.

The interpreter did as he was commanded. Word was brought to Crassum, and he accepted parlence. Shortly after also, thither came certain souldiers of the Arabians from the Camp of the PARTHIANS, who knew Craffur and Cassius very well by fight, having divers times feen them in their Camp before the battell. Thele ARABIANS feeing Cassius upon the walls told him, that Surena was contented to make peace with them, and to let them go fafely, as his mafters good friends, fo that they would furrender MESO POTAMIA into the King of the PARTHIANS hands; and how they thought that was the best way for both parties, rather then to be enforced unto it by extreamity. Cassis thought this a good offer, and told them, that they must appoint the day and place, where Crassis and Surena should meet to talk together of the matter. The Arabians and place, where Cray would do it; and fo departed. Surena hearing this, was glad he had them at fuch advantage, where he might befiege them. The next day he brought all his Army before the City of CARRES. There the PARTHIANS marvelloully revited the ROMANS, and told them, they must deliver them Crassus and Cassins bound hands and feet, if they would have any grace or peace with them. The ROMANS were marvelloully offended that they were thus deceived, and told Craf-WHITHERD. THE ROSIANS WELL MATTERSON, OF SHEET HAS THE HILLS RECEIVED, and IOH CFAJE. beit to keep in fecret in any wife from any of the CARRENIANS, till the very hour of their departure. Yet Crassus self had told it to Andromachus the veriest traitor and villain in all the City, whom he had chosen to be his guide. This traitor Andromachus advertised the enemies in every point, of their purpole and departure. But because the PARTHIANS do never use to fight in the night, and The Parthian that it was a hard matter to bring them to it; and again that Crassus departed in the night time: unach was a natu manut to tame and the Romans would win fuch ground before the PARTHIANS, as they could not possibly overtake them the next day. Therefore of purpose he sometime brought them one way, other while another way, and at the last, brought them into a great Bog or Marish, full donever fight of deep holes and ditches, and where they must needs make many turns, and returns before they could get out again, and yet very hardly. Whereupon, some in the Army began to mistrust, that Andromachus meant no good, to turn and tols them up and down in that fort, and therefore would Anaromacous means no good, to minant contents, returned towards the City of Carres follow him no more: infomuch as Caffins among others, returned towards the City of Carres again, from whence they came. And when his guides (who were ARABIANS) counfelled him to tarry there till the Moon were out of the fign of Scorpio, he answered them: I fear the fign of Satarry there till the Moon were girary more. So as foon as he could, he took his way towards Assyria with five hundred horfemen. And other of the Army also having faithfull guides, recovered a Countrey of the mountains, called Sinnaca, and retired into a safe place before the break of day: and they were about five hundred men, whom Offavins 2 noble man had in charge. But the day ftole upon Crassus, hunting up and down yet in the Marish, in those ill savoured places, into the which Andromachus that traitor had of purpole brought him, having with him four eningns of footmen all with Targets, and very few horsemen, and five Sergeams that carried the Axes and Rods before him; with whom, with much ado and great labour he got into the right way when the enemies were almost upon him, and that he was within twelve furlongs of joyning with Oltavim. There in hafte he had gotten a hill, which was not fo fteep for horsemen, neither of such strength as the other hills were, called Sinnaces; yet under them, and Joyning to them by a long hill that runneth along the plain, fo as Offavius plainly faw the danger Crass was in. Thereupon he first ran down the hills with a few of his men that followed him: but after also came all the reft, faying they were cowards if they should tarry behind. At their coming they gave such a hot onset upon the PARTHIANS, that they made them give back from that hill: and

middeft of them, covering him round with their Targets, they spake nobly, that the body of their Generall, before they were The worthi-flain offe free and that they had fought it out to the last man in his defence. Hereupon Surena nets of the Roperceiving the PARTHIANS were not to couragious as they were wont to be, and that if night came "Ma fouldiers upon them, and that the ROMANS did once recover the high mountains, they could never possibly bemet withall again: he thought cunningly to beguite Craffin once more by this device. He let certain prisoners go of purpose, before whom he made his men give out this speech, That the King Another fireof PARTHIA would have no mortall war with the ROMANS; but far otherwise: he rather defired together that their friendship, by shewing them some notable favour, as to use Crassus very courteously. And to give colour to this bruit, he called his men from fight, and going himself in person towards Crassus, with the chiefest of the nobility of his hoast, in quiet manner, his Bow unbent, he held out his right hand, and called Crassus to talk with him of peace, and faid unto him : Though the ROMANS had Surena's crastic felt the force and power of their King, it was against his will, for he could do no less but defend him- speech to Crastfelf: howbeit that now he was very willing and defirous to make them tafte of his mercy and clemen- fast. cy, and was contented to make peace with them, and to let them go fafely where they would. All the ROMANS besides Crassius were glad of Surena's words. But Cr. sius that had been deceived beforeby their crafty fetches and devices, confidering also no cause apparent to make them change thus suddenly, would not hearken to it, but first consulted with his friends. Howbeit the fouldiers they cryed out on him to go, and fell at words with him, faying, that he cared not though they were all flain, and that himself had not the heart onely to come down and talk with the enemies that were unarmed. Crassus proved first to pacifie them by fair means, persuading them to have a little patience but till night, which was at hand, and then they might fafely depart at their plealure, and recover the mountains and streight passages, where their enemies could not follow them: and pointing them the way with his finger, he prayed them not to be faint-hearted, nor to despair of their satety, seeing they were so near it. But in the end Crassus perceiving they sell to mutiny, and beating of their harness, did threaten him if he went not; fearing then they would do him some villany, went towards the enemy, and coming back a little, faid onely these words: O Octavias, and you Petronius, with all you ROMAN Gentlemen that have charge in this Army, you all fee now, how I against my will am enforced to go to the place I would not, and can witness with me, how I am driven with shame and force; yet I pray you, if your fortunes be to escape this danger, that ve "will report wheresoever you come, that Crassus was slain, not delivered up by his own souldiers "into the hands of the barbarous people, as I am, but deceived by the fraud and fublilty of his ene-" mies: Otherins would not tarry behind on the hill, but went down with Crafters: but Crafters fent Graffies words "miss: Officers that followed him. The first that came from the PARTHANS unto Crafts were going to his two mongrell GRECIANS, who difmounting from their horse saluted him, and prayed him to send death fome of his men before, and Surena would flew them, that both himself and his train came unarmed towards him. Crassus thereto made him answer, that if he had made any account of his life, he would not have put himself into their hands. Notwithstanding he sent two brethren before called the Ros-CIANS, to know what number of men, and to what end they met fo many together. These two brethren came no fooner to Surena, but they were staid, and himself in the mean time kept on his way a horseback, with the noblest men of his Army. Now when Surena came near to Crassas: Why, Surena's craste how now (quoth he) what meaneth this? a Confull and Lieutenant Generall of ROME on root, and to Craffucq we on horseback? Therewithall he straight commanded one of his men to bring him a horse, Cr.sf-(us answered Surena again: In that they neither of both offended, following the use and manner of their Countrey, when any meeting is made for Treaty of peace. Surena replied: As for the Treaty of peace, that was already agreed upon between the King Hyrodes and the ROMANS; howbeit that they were to go to the River, and there to fet down the Articles in writing : for you ROMANS (faid he) do not greatly remember the capitulations you have agreed upon. With those words he gave him his right hand. As Crafins was fending for a horfe, You shall not need, said Surena; for look, the King doth present you this. And straight one was brought him with a steel faddle richly gilt; upon the which his Gentlemen mounted Crassus immediately, and following him behind lashed his horse to make him run the swifter. Offavins seeing that, first laid hand on the bridle, then Petronius Colonel, of a thousand footmen, and after them, all the rest of the ROMANS also gathered about Crafsus to flay the horfe, and to take him from them by force that preffed him on of either fide. So they thrust one at another at the first very angrily, and at the last fell to blows. Then Offavius drew out his fword, and flew one of the barbarous noblemens horfekeepers : and another came behind him and flew Offavius, Petronius had no Target, and receiving a blow on his Curaces, lighted from his offacius flain horse, and had no hurt : and on the other fide came Pomanatres, one of the PARTHIANS, and flew Crafsus. Some fay notwithstanding that Pomax aibres flew him not, but another , yet that he Craffus flain. cut off his head and his hand after he fell to the ground. But all these reports are rather conjectures, then any certainty. For as for them that were there, some of them were slain in the field fighting for Crasus, and others faved themselves by flying to the hill. The PARTHIAN'S followed them, and told them that Crafius had paid the pain he had deferved, and for the reft, that Surent had them The number told them that Crafsus had paid the pain he had deterved, and for the reft, that Surent Doublet of the Results come down with fafety. Then fome of them yeelded to their enemies, and other different themselves that were fish when night came, and of them very few elcaped with life. Others being followed and purfued by and taken. the ARABIANS, were all put to the fword. So as it is thought there were flain in this overthrow about twenty thousand men, and ten thousand taken priloners. Surena had now fent Crassus kead

CRASSO

the City of Seleucia, that he had brought Craffus alive, and that laugh at, which he called his Triumph. Among the ROMAN prifoners,

Milesians.

Æsops wise saying.

Craffus head brought to Hy-

raugh at, which he canculing a framing. Among the ROMAN principles of the PARTHIANS, Pacianu who was very like Craffue: him they clothed in womans apparell of the PARTHIANS, тастапы wino was very use Стация. Initi they counted in womans appared on the FARTHANS, and had taught him to answer, when any called him Crassus, or Lord Captain. Him they put a horseand had raugus minito animes, and had many Trumpets before him, and Sergeants upon Camels backs, that carried axes before him, and bundles of Rods, and many puries tied to the bundles of Rods, and ROMANS heads newly cut off tied to the axes; and after him followed all the ftrumpets and women Minftrels of SELEUCIA, who went finging of longs of mockery and derifion of Crassus womanish cowardinefs. Now for these open shews, every one might see them: but besides that fight, Surena having Ariffiles book called the Senate of Seleucia together, laid before them faiffiles books of ribaldry, intituled arither book called the Senate of Seleucia together, and before them respirate books of the senate of Seleucia together, and before found in a Romans fardle or trufs called Raminishing the Milefant, which was no fable, for they were found in a Romans fardle or trufs called Raminishing the senate of the senate fins. This gave Surena great cause to foom and despise the behaviour of the ROMANS, which was fo far out of order, that even in the wars they could not refrain from doing evill, and from the reading of fuch vile books. Then the Senators of Seleucia found that Afope was a wife man, who faid, that every man carried a fack on his neck, and that they put other mens faults at the facks mouth, and their own toward the bottom of the fack : when they confidered that Sarena had put the book of the lasciviousnessof the MILESIANS at the sacks mouth, and a long tale of the PARTHIANS vain pleafures and delights in the bottom of the fack, carrying fuch a number of Carts loden with naughty packs in his Army, as he did, which feemed an Army of Ermits and field-mice. For in the vaward and foremost ranks, all appeared terrible and cruell, being onely Lances, Pikes, Bowes, and horfe: but all they ended afterwards in the rereward with a train of The description harlots, infirements of mustick, dauncing, singing, banquetting, and rioting all night with Curtion of Suren's zans. I will not deny but Rusting deserved blame: but yet withall, I say, that the PARTHIANS Army. were shameless to reprove these books of the vanities of the MILESIANS, considering that many of their Kings, and of the Royall bloud of the Arfacides, were born of the IONIAN and MILESIAN Curtizans. Things palling thus in this fort, King Hyrodes had made peace and league with Artabazes King of ARMENIA, who gave his Sifter in marriage unto Pacerne, King Hyrodes with Arthurates Aung of Caracasta, who have the which were many Greek verses sung, Hyrodes Son, and made great feasts one to another: in the which were many Greek verses sung, Hyrodes felf understanding well the Greek tongue, and Artabazes was so perfect in it, that he himself made certain Tragedies, Orations, and stories, whereof some are yet extant at this day. The same night Craff w head was brought, the Tables being all taken up, 3/4/6/8/2 common Player of enterludes born in the City of THALLES came before the King, and recited a place of the Tragedy of the BACCHANTES of Euripides, telling of the misfortune of Agave, who strake off his sons head. And as every man took great pleasure to hear him, Syllaces coming into the hall, after his humble duty first done to the King, delivered him Crassus head before them all. The PARTHIANS seeing that , fell a clapping of their hands , and made an out-cry for joy. The gentlemen Usher by the kings commandment did fet Syllaces at the Table. Jafon cafting off his apparell reprefenting Penthungs person, gave it to another Player to put it on him; and counterfeiting the BACCHANTES possest with fury, began to rehearse these verses, with a gesture tune and voice of a man mad and befide himfelf:

Behold, we from the forrest bring a stag nownewly slain, A worthy booty and reward, befeeming well our pain.

This marvellously grudged the company, and specially singing these verses afterwards, where the Chorus both asked and answered himself:

Nems elle but I thereof may brag.

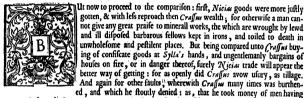
Nems elle but I thereof may brag.

Pomaxathres hearing them dispute about the matter, being set at the Table with others, rose straight, and went and took the head himself, to whom of right it belonged to say those words, and not unto the player that fpake them. King Hyrodes liked this fport marvelloufly, and rewarded Pomaxathres according to the manner of the Countrey in such a case; and to Jason he also gave a raient. Such See the reward was the fuccels of Craffit enterprise and voyage, much like unto the end of a Tragedy. But afterwards Hyrodes cruelty, and Sweena's foul perjury and craft, were in the end justly revenged upon or crait and perjury and crait, were in the end juncy receiged upon them both according to their deferts. For King Hyrodes envying Surena's glory, put Surena to them both according to their deferts. For King Hyrodes envying Surena's glory, put Surena to them the had loft his Son Pacorus, The miletable death. And Hyrodes fell into a diffeafe that became a dropfie, after he had loft his Son Pacorus, the manufacture of the manufac who was flain in a battell by the ROMANS. Phraster his fecond Son, thinking to fet his father for wards gave him drink of the juyce of Aconitum. The dropfic received the poison, and the one drave the other out of Hyrodes body, and fet him on foot again, Phraates perceiving his father to amend upon it, to make short work, with his own hands strangled him,

end of King Hyrodes and Surena. Hyrodes strangled by OMPARISON OF

CRASSUS with NICIAS.





Illt now to proceed to the comparison : first, Nicias goods were more justly gotten, & with less reproach then Craffus wealth; for otherwife a man cannot give any great praise to minerall works, the which are wrought by lewd Craffus riches, and ill disposed barbarous fellows kept in irons, and toiled to death in unwholesome and pestilent places. But being compared unto Crass buying of confiscate goods at Sylla's hands, and ungentlemanly bargains of houses on fire, or in danger thereof, surely Nicias trade will appear the better way of getting : for as openly did Craffus avow usury, as tillage, And again for other faults, wherewith Craffus many times was burthen-

matters before the Senate at ROME, to win favour for their fide: and that he preferred matters to the prejudice of the confederates of the ROMANS, onely for his private profit; and therefore curried favour with Ladies, and generally fought to cloak all foul offenders : of all these faults was Nicias never so much as once suspected. For he to the contrary, was mocked of every body. because for fear he maintained wicked doers by gifts: which perhaps would not have become Pericles nor Aristides, and yet was meet for Nicias, who was born a timorous natured man, and never had Lyourgus saycourage in him. Whereof Lycargus the Orator did vaunt afterwards to the people, being accused ing. that he redeemed detractors with money: I am glad, faid he, that having dealt thus long in affairs of the State, it is found I have rather given then taken. And now touching expences, Nicias was thought the better and more civil Citizen. For his charge and cost was, in dedicating some goodly image to the gods, or in making of publick playes or pastimes to recreate the people. But all the money he spent that way, and all that he was worth besides, was nothing comparable, and but a small part of that Craffus bestowed in an open feast he made at ROME, feasting so many thousands at one time, and did find and maintain them also for a certain time after. Now I cannot but wonder at those men, that deny vice to be an inequality and disagreement of manners, repugnant in it felf, seeing Nicial and men may honeftly spend that which is naughtily gotten. Thus much for their goods. For Nicias Crassus acts in doings in the Common-weal he did nothing maliciously, cruelly, nor unjustly, neither any thing of the Commonfelf-will or stomack, but rather dealt plainly and simply. For he was deceived by trusting of Al- wealth cibiades, and never came to speak before the people, but with great fear. Crassum on the other

fide was reproved for his inconstancy and lightness, for that he would easily change friends or enemies: and he himself denied not, that he came to be Consult the second time by plain force and cruelty, having hired two murtherers to kill (ato and Domitius. And in the Affembly the people held for dividing of the Provinces, many men were hurt, and four were flain in the Market-place: and more then that, Craffus himself (which we have forgotten to write in his life) gave one Lucius Annalius to fore a blow on the face with his fift, for speaking against him, that he sent him going with blood about his ears. But as Craffus in those things was very fierce and cruel: so Wieias womanish behaviour on the other side, and faint heart in matters of Common-wealth, humbling himfelf to the meanest and most vile persons, deserved great reproach. Where Crasus in this respect The duty of shewed himself affuredly of a noble mind, not contending with men of small account, as with Clean Governors and or Hyperbolus, but would give no place to Cafars fame and glory, nor yet to Pompey's three Tri- Magistrates.

ceeded Pompeys power, in the dignity of Cenfor. For Magistrates, and Governors of the Common-

umphs, but fought to go even with them in power and authority: and had immediately before ex-

THE

weal, should make themselves to be honoured, but not envied, killing en wear, mount mane memories to be monoring out not current, name early of the Rule of the Ru and that he feared Alcibiades in the Pulpit for Orations, the LA CEDERON and that he calculated and he had liberty and fcope enough to repose him THENS, and might have forborn the dealing in matters, and (as Rhetoricians fay) have put a hood of quietness upon his head very well. For doubtless, concerning his defire to make peace, it was a godly mind in him, and an act worthy of a noble person, to bring that to pass he did, appearing goury mind in min, and a certainly was not to be compared to him, though he had joyned all the Provinces to the Empire of ROME, that reach unto the Cafpian fea, and to the great Ocean of the Provinces to the entry fide also when one hath to deal with people that can differ when a man ruleth according to equity and juffice, and that he feeth he is in the prime of his credit and anthority he must not then for lack of courage suffer wicked men to step in his room, nor give occasion to prefer such to authority in the Commonweal, as are unworthy for that place and councasion to prefer such to authority in the Commonweal, tenance: neither thould allow such any credit; as are altogether of no credit nor trust, as Nicies did: who was the onely occasion that Gleon, being before but a practing Orator, was chosen General. Neither do I alfo commend Crassus, forthat in the war against Spartacus; he made, haftero give him battell, more railily then fairly or confiderately. For his ambition spurred him forward, because he was airaid left Pompey coming should take from him the glory of all that he had done in that war: as Mumming took from Merellus the honour of the winning of CORINTH. But befides all this, Nicias fact therein was without the compass of reason, and can no way be excused. For he did not relign his honour and office of Generall to Clean his enemy, when there was hope of good freeces, or little perill ; but fearing the danger of the journey, he was contented to fave one, and took no or name perm ; our rearing increasing a me pouncy, in was contented to save one, and took to care befides for the Common-wealth. Which Them fooles, shewed not, in the time of the waragainst the Persians. For he, to keep Epyride an Orator (a man of no reckoning beside his cloguence, and extreamly coverous) from being chosen Generall of ATHENS, left he should have overthrown the Common-weal: fecretly brited him with money to leave off his fuit. And Cato also when he saw the state of ROME in greatest danger, sued to be Tribune of the people for the Commonwealths fake. And Nicias in contrary manner, referving himfelf to make war with the City of Mi-NOA, or with the Ille of CITHERA, or with the poor unfortunate MELIANS, if there fell out afterwards occasion to fight against the LACEDEMONIANS, then away went his Captains cloak, and he left the ships, the Army and munition to the charge and government of Cleons rashness and fmall experience of war, when the necessity of the service required the wifest and most expert Caprain. The which he did not, defpifing the means to make him honoured: but it was a plain drawing back, at time of need to defend his Countrey. Wherefore afterwards he was compelled against his will to be General, to make wars in SICILIA with the SYRACUSIANS: because the people thought he was not so carnest to distingue the journey, for that he thought it not meet for the Commonwealth, but because through his sloth and cowardliness he would make his Countrey lose so good weath, purpocaute infought his north and cowardiness he would make his country for to good an opportunity to conquer Stc1LE. Yet was this a great reftimony of his honefty and truft they had in him: who though he ever hared war, and did flie from the Offices of honour and charge in the Common-wealth, his Countrimen notwithfranding did always chufe him, as the most experienced Nicis honesty person and meetest man of the City. Now Crasses in contrary manner, desiring nothing else but to be Generall, could never attain to it, but in the war of the bondmen, and yet was it for lack of another (for Pompey, Metellus, and both the Lucullus were then abroad in the wars) although he was otherwise of great estimation and authority. Howbeit it feemeth to me, that his friends that loved him best, thought him, as the comicall Poet faith:

His ambition notwithstanding, and covettious desire of rule, did nothing benefit the ROMANS. For the ATHENIANS fent Nicias to the war against his will: but Crassu led the ROMANS thither against their wills. So that the Common-wealthfell into mitery by the one, and the other through the Common-wealth was brought into mifery; and yet therein there is rather cause to praise Nicias, then to blame Craiss. For Nicias like a wife man, and a Captain of great experience, could never fo much as be brought to think they should conquer Sicile; and therefore diffwaded his Countrimen from the journey: and would give no place to the vain hope of the people of ATHENS. But Craffus taking upon him to, make wars with the PARTHIANS, as though it had been an easie matter to overcome them, found himfelf deceived, yet did he afpire to great things. For as Inline Cafar had conquered and lubdued to the imperiall Crown of ROME, all the Countries of the West parts, to fay, the GAULS, the GERMAINS, and ENGLAND: even fo did Crafius desire to go towards the East parts, to conquer all to the great West sea of the INDIANS, and to subdue all the Regions of Asia, whereunto Pompey and Lucullin aspired, being both very noble personages, and fuch as ever courteoully behaved themselves to all men: notwithstanding, provoked thereunto with the like desire that Crassus had. For when the charge of the wars in the East parts was as figned to Pompey by decree and order of the people, the Senate utterly milliked it, and were against is all they could. When news were brought to ROME that Julius Cafar in battell had overthrown and flain three hundred thouland Germains, Lato perfusading with the Senate, was yet fill of this mind, that Lafar should be delivered into the hands of his enemies whom he had overcome, for this mind, that Lafar should be delivered into the hands of his enemies whom he had overcome, for to be punished: thereby to turn the sharp revenge and wrath of the gods from ROME, upon him onely that was the unjust breaker of peace. This norwithstanding, the people making none account

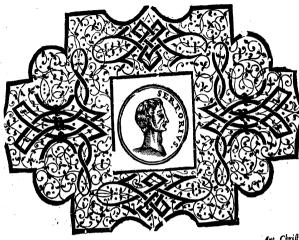
mon feaffs and processions fifteen days together, and open sacrifices the City, to thank them for this famous victory. How glad flow ten, and how many days would they have feafted and facrifrom BABYLON of his Victory, and that he had conquered all the Realms of the MEDES, of the PERSIANS, of the HYRCANIAMS, of Syse and of the BACTRIANS, and that he had made new Governments and Provinces to the Empire of Rome?

If a man will needs do wrong and injuffice,

As Entypides faith to them that cannot live in peace, and be contented with their own, he must not then flick at trifles (as the razing of a Caftle of Scandia, or of a City of Menda, or chafing of the ÆGINETES being out of their own naturall Countrey, and hiding themselves like birds without nefts, in any other birds holes) but must dearly sell the wrong he doth, and not lightly contemn justice, as a thing of small account. For they that will commend the intent of Alexander the Great in his voyage, for the conquests he made in the East, and do dispraise Crassus voyage, do not well to judge of the beginning, by the events and fuccess of the end. For executing of their offices, Niciae did many noble exploits: for he overthrew his enemies in diverse battels, and had al- Niciae after most taken the City of Syracusa: and sure they cannot justly blame him for all the misfortunes commended; that chanced in the war of SICILIA, but partly the plague was cause of it, and partly also the envy of those towards him that remained at ATHENS. Whereas Crassus ran into so many errors, envy or more constrained such foul parts in all his voyage, that he gave Fortune no leifure to do him good: fo craffiar by his that I wonder not fo much that his folly was overcome by the power of the PARTHIANS, as that folly blemified it could overcome the good fortune of the ROMANS. Sithence it fo falleth out then, that they both the happiness came to like unfortunate end. Nicias prognosticating before what things should happen, by art and of the Romans rule of Divination; and Crassus contrarily disdaining to observe anything; sure it falleth out hard in judgement, which of them two proceeded with most safety. Yea according to the best approved opinions, a fault committed of fear is more exculable, then of rashness and folly to break any ancient Law or Cuftom. For their deaths, Craffes end deserved least reproach. For he against his Craffes death will did yeeld himself, and was neither bound nor mocked, but onely perfuaded by his friends, and more com. through his enemies fraud and treaton most traiteroully deceived: where Nicias cowardly and disho-Nicias end nourably hoping to fave his life, trufting to the mercy of his enemies, made his death more

THE

THE LIFE OF SERTORIUS.



Ann. Mund. 3877.

Ant. Christ.

Eradventure it is not to be marvelled at, if in long process of time (Fortune altering her effects daily) these worldly events fall often out one like another. For whether it be that the variety of things are infinite, fortune hath store of matter apt enough to work to likeness: or be it that worldly mattets to be comprehended within determinate number, of necessity one thing must fall out like another, fince they proceed from one cause, tyed to the fame means it before did use. But because men do delight to compare fuch chances together, as they have feen or heard to have happened fo like as if they had been done of purpole, the one by example of the other, as that of two men being both named Attis, both of them come of Noble

houses, the one in Syria, and the other in Arcadia, both the one and the other were slain with a wild bore. That of two called Altaon, the one was torn in pieces by his dogs, the other by his lovers. That of two famous Scipio's, the CARTHAGINIANS were first overcome by the one, and afterward utterly destroyed by the other. That the City of TROY was first taken by Hercules, for the horses that Laomedon had promised him; the second time by Agamemnon by means of the great woodden horse: and the third time by Charistemus, by means of a horse that fell within the gate, and kept the TROIANS that they could not shut it in time. And that of two sweet smelling plants, 10s, and SMYRNA, two Cities were named, the one fignifying the Violet, and the other Myrre: it is supposed that the Poet Homer was born in the one, and that he died in the other. We may also add to this example, that amongst the ancient Captains, the greatest warriers (and that have done the noblest exploits by wit and warlike stratagems) had but one eye: as Philip , Antigonus , Hannibal; and Serterise also, whom we write of at this present. Whom we may truely report to have been more chast than Philip:more faithfull to his friend than Antigonus; more courteous to his enemies than Hannibal: and for wisdom and judgement to give place to none of them, but in good fortune to them all. The which, though the shewed her spite more to him, then to his enemies that were all great men : yet in experience he was equall with Metellue, in prowels and valiancy with Pompy, and in fortune with Sylla. So that being banished his Countrey, a stranger in another Realm, and having to govern a barbarous Nation, he notwithflanding maintained wars for a time, against the power of the ROMANS. Methinks therefore, that of all the GRECIAN Captains I can liken none to well unto him as Eumenes the CARDIAN. For both of them knew how to command, both were very valiant and politick in wars, both were banished men out of their Countrey, both were Captains over strangers, and both of them were traiteroully and villanously slain by them, through whom they had before overcome their enemies. Now for Sertorim, he came of worshipfull

The towns where Homer was born and died. Four famous Captains that had but one eye apiece. The praise of

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and was been in the City of Nursia in the Countrey of the Sabines . His father left The parentage hime try child with his Mother, who carefully brought him up, and whom he fingularly loved and of Sectionias. reverenced. Her name as they say was Rhea. His first rising and beginning grew by pleading mat- Rhea the moters in Law, which he could handle very well: infomuch as being a young man he came to ROME, ther of Serioand wan fome name by his eloquence. Howbeit, the honour and estimation he archieved afterstate and wan fome name by his eloquence. Howbeit the honour and estimation he archieved afterstate wards by his valiant acts, made him imploy all his study and ambitious care, to Arms and Wars, quent. The first time of his Souldierfare was, when the CIMBRES and TEUTONS invaded GAUL with Sectoring first a mighty Army: where when the ROMANS had been overcome under the leading of Capio, his fouldietfare. Horse being slain under him, and himself hart, he notwithstanding swam over the River of RONE, with his Corflet and Target upon him , breaking the fury and rage of the River with meer strength, fo able and lufty a body he had to brook all pains and hardness. The second time that these barbarous CIMBRES returned with an infinite number of fighting men, and with proud and dreadfull threats, the ROMANS were then so afraid, that they thought him a stout man that had but the courage to keep his rank, and obey his Captains. At that time was Marius Generall of the ROMAN Army, and then did S. rtorius undertake to go and discover the Enemies Camp. And for the purpose, appa- Sertorius foulrelled himself like a GAUL, and learned the common words and phrases of their Language, to salute dierfare under one another when they met, and in this fort went among them : and having partly by fight and report learned that he fought for , he returned to Marin, who then gave him such honourable reward as was due to his desert. All the time of the War after, he did such valiant acts and deeds of Arms, that his Captain had him in great estimation, and committed the chiefest matters to his charge. Whereupon the Wars being ended with the TEUTONS and CIMBRES, Seriorius was fent into SPAIN , under Didius the Prator , with charge of a thousand Footmen , with whom he wintred Sectorine Coin the City of CASTULO, in the Marches of the CELTIBERIANS; where the Souldiers finding lonel of a thouplenty of Victuals, fell to gluttony and drunkennels, and committed great infolency, being over- fand footmen, come with Wine. Infomuch as the barbarous People of the City grew to fuch a milliking and difdain Caffino a City of them, that they fent one night to their next neighbours the Gyrlsenians for aid, and as rians. they came by the ROMANS lodging flew a great number of them. Sertorius hearing the noise, went immediately out of the City with a few of his men, and gathering them together also that fled one after another to fave themselves, went round about the Walls of the City, and finding the Gate open were the GYRISENIANS came in , there entred he alfo : who being more carefull then they had shewed themselves, left the Gates and all the parts of the City well guarded, and then put all to the Sword within that were of age to carry Weapon. Now when he had executed this revenge, he gertorius fluscommanded all his Souldiers to leave off their own Apparell and Weapons, and to take those of the tagem. barbarous People whom they had flain, and to follow him to the City of the GYRISENIANS. from whence they came that had on such a sudden affailed them in the night. The GYRISENIANS feeing the Garments and Weapons of their supposed men far off, thinking certainly the had been they, opened their Gates, and a number of People went out, as to meet their triends and Citizens, whom they thought had happily fped of their purpole. Thus were a marvellous number of them flain by the ROMANS, even hard at the Gates of their City; and the rest putting themselves to Sertorius mercy, he fold for Slaves. After this exploit, Sertorius wan great fame through all SPAIN, and returning to ROME, was made Quarftor or Treasurer Generall of GAUL, on this side of the Mountains, by the River of Po. A happy chance for ROME: for even at that very present time Sertorius treafell out the Wars of the Confederates and Allies of ITALY , called the MARSIANS War, in furer Generall fell out the Wars of the Confederates and Allies of ITALY; cannot the MARSIANS Wal, ill of Gaul about the which he had Commission to press Souldiers, and to make Armour. And therein he shewed such the Po. diligence and expedition for quick dispatch of that service, in respect of the long delay and careless regard other young men had of the same before that he won the name to be a carefull man of his charge, and one that afterwards would atchieve great Enterprises. Furthermore, when he came to be a Captain himself, he would not let to venture his person as valiantly as any other private Souldier whatfoever, but did marvellous acts with his own hands, even in greatest perils and conflicts: infomuch as at the length he lost one of his eyes in fight. Whereof he was nothing ashamed, but continually gloried in it: for others, said he, do not always carry the marks about them of their valiant Service, but leave them otherwhiles at home, as their Chaines, Carcanets, Sertorius ioli Javelins, and Crowns, given them by their Captains for testimony of their valiancy: how- one of his eyes beit that he always carried the marks about him (wherefoever he went) of his fervice, fo that by fight fuch as faw the blemith of his eye, did therewithall witness his valiantness and courage. The People also did honour him as became them. For when he came into the Theater, they welcomed him with clapping of their hands, and great praises, which the ROMANS did scantly use unto their oldest Captains, and which were most honoured for their great and noble Service. Nevertheless, when he sued to be Tribune, he was rejected by Sylla's practise, who himdred him: whereupon grew as it feened, that grudge and malice which he ever after bare unto dred him: whereupon grew as it feemed, that grudge and malice which he ever after bare unto The occasion SJ/la. For after that Marina was fled being overcome by SJ/la, and that SJ/la was gone out of sertorius of ITALY to make War with Mithrigates, and that of the two Confulls, Offavius took part malice unto with Sylla, and Cinna the other Confull (which fought change and alteration) was gathering sylla. men together to fet up Marius Faction , that was in manner underfoot : Sertorius took his part , because he faw that Offwim was but a flow and lither man; and did not besides trust any Sertorins rook of Marine friends. So was there a cruell conflict between them, even in the Market-place with part with Cinin the City felf , where Ottavine had the upper hand ; and Cinna and Sectorine scaped by flying,

perance.

having loft few lefs then ten thouland men in this onely overthrow. through practice and policy, they got those Souldiers together again that were dispersed and through Practice and pointy, they got time they made their power equal with Ottavins force. Mathere through ITALY, so as in short time they made their power equal with Ottavins force. Mathere through ITALY, there through 11 ALI, to as in lives that the sea incontinently, and returned into IT ALY out of rins also being advertised of the same, took the Sea incontinently, and returned into IT ALY out of AFRICK, and came to Cinnato ferve as a private Souldier, under his Captain and Confull. Now they all liked well, that Marins should be received, saving Sertorius, who was against him all he could: fearing that either his credit and estimation should diminish, Ginna having a worthier Captain then rearing that enter its seem and standard requesting (who pardoned none offence) would binafelf to ferve him; or elfe that Marias cruelty and feverity (who pardoned none offence) would maren to reversing, or fray in his anger, but bent utterly to all kind of cruelty to his Enemies, and anogenes, many many and thereunto he added this further: that now they had the Victory in manner in their hands, if they once received Marins unto them, he would rob them of all the honour of ending this War, and being also in Authority, he was neither to be trusted nor commanded. Whereunto Cinna answered thus: that he thought the words he had alledged to be true, howbeit that he was ashamed, and besides, could not see with honesty how he might resuse Marins, or fend him back, fithence he had purpofely fent for him, to commit part of the charge of these Wars unto him. Sectorius again replied: Sure I thought Marius had come of his own good will unfent for, and therefore (2s for the best in mine own opinion) I gave advice not to receive him: but sithence it is so that you sent for him before, and that he is now come upon your commandment, you were much to blame to ask countell whether you should now receive him, or not. And therefore you must needs accept his fervice that is come upon your word: for, the bond of your pronife paft you, doth now cut off all counfell or other resolution. Thereupon Mariss was called for : and when he came, they divided their whole Army into three parts, and then began to charge upon their Enemies of all hands, to as they obtained victory. Howbeit Cinna and Macharge upon their enemies of an inance, to as they obtained victory. Flowbert command the rine committed as horrible cruelty in this Victory, as could possibly be shewed: informed as the ROMAN'S thought all the miscries they had endured in time of this War nothing, and but a play as it were, in respect of the great calamities they sell into afterwards. Now Sertorius on the other fide never caused man to be slain for any private malice, or quarrell he had with any perfon, neither did he hurt any man when he had overcome, but was much offended with Marins infolency and cruell murthers: and when he had good opportunity to fpeak with Cinna apart, he did qualifie him the best he could, and made him more mild and tractable through his perswasson. In fine, Sertorius seeing Marius guarded with a great number of Bondmen for lack of other Souldiers in this War, whom he used as Executioners of his flaughter and butchery, always attending about his person as a Guard, and suffering them also to make themselves rich, Sertoriut tempartly with that he gave them, or commanded them to spoil, and partly also with that they violently took without his commandment of their own Mafters, killing them when they had done, ravithing their Mistresses, and defiling their Children: he could no longer abide such wickedness and villany, but made them all to be flain in their Camp where they lay together, being no less then four thousand persons. Afterwards when he saw that the elder Marius was dead, and that soon after Cinna was slain, the younger Marins his Son (against his counsell, and contrary to the Laws of ROME) had by force made himfelf Confull: and that Carbo, Scipio, and Norbanus (which had been overcome by 5) la) were come out of Greece to Rome-wards, partly through the cowardliness of their Captains, and partly also because they were betrayed and fold of their own men: and further, confidering therewithall, that his person could do no good in those Affairs, which waxed worse and worse, by means of the Authority of such as had leaft wit and understanding, and specially also seeing Sylla camp hard by Scipio, making much of him, and feeding him with hope of a good Peace, whilft underland he wan his Souldiers from him, notwithfranding, that he was certainly warned and told of it before: Sertoriss then Servorius went utterly despairing of Romes prosperity and welfare, departed from Rome to go towards SPAIN, thinking that if he could get the first possession and Government of that Realm, it would at the leaft be a refuge and recept for all those of their Tribethat should chance to be banished out of their Countrey. Howbeit in his voyage thicherward, he met with foul and rough weather: and passing through a Countrey of Mountains, the barborous People inhabiting the same, demanded Tribute of him, for licence to pals through their Territories. Thereat the Souldiers of his Company were marvelloully offended, faying: That it were to much shame and dishonour for a Proconfull of ROME, to pay Tribute to vile barbarous People. Notwithstanding, Sertorise passed not for the shame they faid it would be to him, but answered them thus: That he bought time, which thing he should not reckon of , that afpired to haughty Enterprifes : and fo pleafed the barbarous People with Money. And thus he made fuch speed, as he quickly recovered SPAIN, which he found greatly replenifined with People, and specially of young men able to wear Armour. But now Sertering perceiving that they had been hardly dealt withall before, through the infolency, pride, and covetouines of the ROMAN Governours, whom they ordinarily tent from ROME, and that therefore they hated all manner of Government: first of all fought to win the good wills of all the whole Countreymen one and other. Of the Noblemen, by being familiar and converfant with them : and of the common People, by eafing them of their Tax and Subfidies. But that which bred him most love of

all men generally, was this: that he dispensed with them for lodging of Souldiers, and receiving of

any Garrifon within their Cities, compelling his Souldiers to fet up their Tents, and to make their

Cabins without the Suburbs of great Cities, to winter there, and caufing also his own Pavillion

Spaniards.

to be first set up, and lay in it himself in person. This notwithstanding, he pleased not these barbarous People in all things to win their favour: for he armed all the ROMAN Citizens of age to carry Weapon that dwelt in SPAIN, and made them make all forts of Engins for Battery, and a number of Galleys befides, fo that he had all the Cities at Commandment, being very courteous to them in matters of peace, but in warlike Munition very dreadfull unto his Enemies. After Sertorius underflood that Sylla kept ROME, and that the most part of the Tribe of Marius and Carbo was utterly overthrown, miftrufting that it would not be long before they fent some Captain with a great Army against him : he fent Julius Salinator betimes to keep the Mountains Pyrenei . with fix thousand men well armed. Immediately after Cuius Annius also came thither, sent by Sylla: who seeing no posfibility to diffres Salinator in a place of such advantage, was driven to stay at the foot of the Mountain, not knowing what to determine. But by misfortune one Calphurnius furnamed Lanarius, traiteroully flew Salinator: whereupon his Souldiers forthwith forfook the top of the Mountains, and by this means Annius had easie passage with his Army which was very great, and overthrew them that refifted his further coming on into the Countrey. Sertorius finding himself not strong enough sertorius slies to fight with him, marched away with three thousand men unto the City of New CARTHAGE, and out of Spain there took Sea: from thence he coasted over into Africk, and fell with the Coast of the Mau- into Africk. RUSIANS, where his Souldiers landed immediately for fresh water, dispersing themselves without keeping any order. Thereupon the barbarous People gave Charge upon them, and flew numbers of them; infomuch as Seriorius was driven to imbarque again, and to take his course towards SPAIN, where he was kept from landing. Then was he driven to take certain Pirates Boats of the SICILI-ANS, and to fail towards the Ille of PITYUSA, where he lauded in defpight of Annius Garrison, The Isle of and put them to diffress. But shortly after came Annius thither himself with a good number of Ships, and five thousand fighting men in them. Him Sertorius determined to abide, and to fight withall by Sea, though he had but fmall Barques, purposely made for swift failing, and of no strength for fight. But now the west wind rising very big, did swell the Sea in such fort, that it cast the most part of Sectorius Ships (being weak and very light) upon Rocks in the Sea, and himself with a few being kept from Land by his Enemies , and from the Sea by storm , was driven to ride ten days together at Anker, working still for life against the danger of the surging waves and boysterous winds, which continued rough all that time: yet in the end when it calmed again, he weighed Anker, and ran into certain desolate Isles, where was no water to be had. Then hoising Sail from thence, he pasfed the Straight of Gibraltar, and turning on his right hand, landed upon the Coast of SPAIN, lying toward the great Western Sea, a little above the mouth of the River of Bætis, the which falling into the Sea Atlanticum, gave name in old time to that part of SPAIN, which was called HI-SPANIA BETICA. There certain Sailers met with him that were newly arrived from the Isles of the Ocean Atlanticum, which the Ancients called the fortunate Islands. These two Islands are not The fortunate far one from another, being but a little arm of the Sea between them, and are from the Coast of Islands. AFRICK onely ten thousand Furlongs. They have rain there very seldom, howbeir a gentle wind commonly that bloweth in a little filver dew, which moistneth the Earth so finely, that it maketh it fertile and lufty, not onely to bring forth all that is fet or fowen upon it, but of it felf without mans hand, it beareth fo good fruit, as fufficiently maintaineth the Inhabitants dwelling upon it, living idly, and taking no pains. The weather is fair and pleafant continually, and never hurteth the body, the climate and feasons of the year are so temperate, and the air never extream : because the winds that blow upon that Land from the other fide of the Coast opposite to it, as the North and Eafterly wind coming from the Main, what with their long coming, and then by dispersing themselves into a wonderfull large air and great Sea, their strength is in manner spent and gone before their coming thither. And for the winds that blow from the Sea (as the South and westerly) they fometime bring little showers with them, which commonly do but moist the ground a little, and make the Earth bring forth all things very trimly : infomuch as the very barbarous People themselves do The Elysian faithfully believe, that there are the Elyfian Fields, the abode of bleffed creatures, which Homer hath Fields. so much spoken of. Sertorius hearing report of these Islands (upon a certain desire now to live quietly out of Tyranny and Wars) had straight a marvellous mind to go dwell there. But when the Pirates of SICILIA (who were no men of peace, but given altogether to spoil and pillage) heard that, they by and by forfook Sertorius, and went into Africk, to restore Ascalius the Son of Iphtha to his Realm of MAURITANIA again. Sectorius quailed not for all their departure from him, but determined to aid them that made War against Afcalius, and all to the end that his Souldiers feeing matter of new hope and means to be imployed, should not so leave him, as being forced to be discharged of very necessity. The MAURUSIANS being very glad of his arrivall, he presently went on with his Enterprise, overcame Ascalius in Battell, and besieged the City whereinto upon the overthrow of his Army he was fled for refuge. Sylla being advertifed thereof, fent Sertorius wan Paccanins thither with an Army to aid Ascalius. Sertorius gave him Battell, flew him in the Field, Tineis. and wan the rest of his Army, which yeelded unto him: then took he the City of TINGIS, where Anians Tomb into Ascalius was fled with his Brethren. The Ly BIANS write that Antaus is buried there. But Ser- and greatnets. torins giving no credit to the tales of the barbarous People of that Countrey, by reason of the greatness of the Tomb they shewed, made it to be broken open round: and finding there the body of a man (as they fay) of threefcore cubits long, he marvelled at it, and fo finishing his Sacrifice to honour the memory thereof, caused the Tomb to be well closed up again. By this act he did greatly

Tt 2

Jubs, of a Kings flock.

Countreynens report of Antans. For the Tingians do report, that after Antans death, his Wife Tinga lay with Hercules, and had a goodly Son by him called Sophax, who was King of that Countrey, and there built this City, giving it his Mothers name. Furthermore, it is faid also that this Sophax had a Son called Diodorus, who conquered the most part of Africk with an Army of the GRÆCIANS, OLBIANIANS and MYCENIANS, which Hercules brought thither to inhabit those parts. We were willing to imbrace the occasion offered us to speak of this matter as we went, for the honour of Juba, the nobleft Historiographer that ever came of Royall bloud : for it is thought his Ancestors were lineally descended from Sophax and this Diodorus. Sertorics as Cona is mought his Ancertors were initially determined from soppose and this Disagras. Servers 38 Conqueror now, having the whole Countrey in fubjection, did in no wife hurt them that yeelded unto him, and put truft in him, but reftored them their Goods, Cities, and Government again, contenting himfelf with that they offered him of their good wills. But then ftanding doubtfull what way to detertent tor by the mine, the Lusitanians fent Ambassidours unto him, to intrear him to be their Chiestain: for Lusitanian to Lupraniant to their Cap- they flood in great need of a worthy personage, and a man expert in Wars to defend them against the fury of the ROMANS: and therefore they onely trusted him, hearing of his honourable behaviour, by them that were conversant with him. Whose qualities as we find written, were these. He was netoes and quali- ver greatly moved, with fear nor joy: but as he was a resolute man without fear in most danger, fo was he most temperate in greatest prosperity. In valiantness inferiour to no Captain of his time, and very quick of execution in every imminent danger. For where any prefent exploit was to be done, any ftrong place of advantage to lodge or fight in to be taken, or that he was to pass over any River, or scape any instant danger, where it stood upon speedy execution, and to shew some strata-Settorius boun- gem or policy in time and place to supplant the Enemy: in those matters he passingly excelled, Furty and clemen- thermore, he was both bountifull in rewarding good service, and mercifull in punishing of offenders: but this notwithfranding, the foul murder he did in his latter days upon certain young children that were Pledges with him (which doubtless was an act of great cruelty, and anger that could not forgive) doth manifestly prove, that he was neither mercitual nor courteous of nature: but that he many times did finely counterfeit it, when both the time and occasion did so require it. But for mine opinion, fure I am perfwaded that no misfortune can have power to make perfect Vertue grounded upon good Reason, to work in any fort contrary to it felf: neither do I think it impossible also, but that mens good wills and gentle natures being injured without caufe, may peradventure change their naturall dispositions. Which then proved true in Sertorius, who finding Fortune contrary unto him, and his good hap changed into ill, grew fo crabbed and fierce of nature, that he would take cruell revenge of them which had villanously betrayed him. But now to our matter where we left. Sertorius departed out of AFRICK upon the LUSITANIANS offer, who chose him for their Generall, giving him absolute Power and Authority: and so soon as he arrived, he straight leavied men of War, and with them subdued the People of SPAIN fronting upon their Marches, of which the more part did willingly submit themselves, upon the brute that ran of him to be mercifull and courteous, and a valiant man belides in present danger. Furthermore he lacked no fine devices and subtilities to win their good wills: as among others, the policy and device he Scripting feign. had of the Hind; which was this. There was a poor man of the Countrey called Spanns, who meeting by chance one day with a Hind in his way that had newly calved, flying from the Hunters, he let the Dam go, not being able to take her: and running after her Call took it, which was a young Hind, and of a strange Hair, for she was all milk white. It chanced so, that Sertorius was at that time in those parts, who was always very glad when any man offered him their manner of Prefents: as Fruits, Fowl, or Venison, and would make very much of them that brough them to him, and also reward them well for the fame. So, this poor man presented Sertorine with this young Hind, which he gladly received, and which with time he made fo tame, that fhe would come to him when he called her, and follow him where ever he went, being nothing the wilder for the daily fight of fuch a number of armed Souldiers together as they were, nor yet afraid of the noife and tumult of the Camp. Infomuch as Sertorins by little and little made it a miracle, making the simple barbarous People believe that it was a gift that Diana had fent him, by the which she made him understand of many and fundry things to come: knowing well enough of himself, that the barbarous People were men eafily deceived, and quickly caught by any subtill superstition, besides that, by Art also he brought them to believe it as a thing very true. For when he had any fecret intelligence given him, that the Enemies would invade fome part of the Countreys and Provinces subject unto him, or that they had taken any of his forts from him by any intelligence or sudden attempt, he straight told them that his Hind spake to him as he slept, and had warned him both to arm his men, and put himfelf in strength. In like manner if he had heard any news that one of his Lieutenants had won a Battell , or that he had any advantage of his Encmics, he would hide the Messenger, and bring his Hind abroad with a Garland and Coller of Nolegayes: and then fay, it was a token of some good news coming towards him, perswading them withall to be of good chear; and so did facrifice to the gods, to give them thanks for the good tidings he should hear before it were long. Thus by putting this superfittion into their heads, he made them the more tractable and obedient to his will, infomuch as they thought they were not now governed any more by a stranger wifer than themselves, but were stedfastly perswaded that they were rather led by some certain god; and so much the more,

SERTORIUS.

increase the honour of Ameus memory, which the City did unto him, and thereby confirmed the

because that his deeds confirmed their opinions, feeing his Power fo daily to increase beyond the hope and expectation of man. For with two thousand and five hundred Souldiers, which he called Sectorius Ar-ROMANS (although the most of them indeed were Africans, which came over with him my. out of AFRICK into SPAIN) and four thousand Lucitanians, with seven hundred Horsemen also, he made War against four great Captains of ROME, which had the leading of fixfcore thousand Footmen, two thousand Archers and Sling-men, with a world of Cities and

Countreys besides. Where Servoriss at the first had not above twenty at the most, and yet with this small Power to maintain this War withall , he did not onely conquer great Countries and The Army of many goodly Civies, but took fome of the Captains Prisoners also, whom the ROMANS fent the Romans againt him. Of which company Cotta was one, whom he overthrew in Battell by Sea., not far from led by four become of Maria with He also overcame Fidius in Bartell being Governous of Space Re. Captains. the City of MEZLARIA. He also overcame Fidius in Battell, being Governour of Spain B.E. Sectorius Vi-

TICA, by the River of BETTS, where he flew two thousand ROMANS: by his Treasurer like-finites. wife he overcame Lucius Domitius Proconfull of the other Province of Spain. And another time he difcomfired Toranse another Captain, pne of Metellus Lieutenants, whom he flew in Fight with all his Army. And Metillus felf, being taken at that time for one of the most expert men of

War, and thiefelt Captains among the ROMANS: him he put also so oft to diffress, that Lucim Lollin was fain to come out of Gaule NARBONENSIS (now Languedock) to his aid. And they were furthermore driven to fend Pompey the Great with all speed from ROME with a new Army , becaufe Metellus knewnor what course to take, having to fight with a most valiant man, and one whom he could hever either bring to any fet Battell , nor yet intrap in the plain Field (fo eafily

could be call himself into all kind of forms) by reason of the dexterity and swiftness of his Spanish could be call himlelt into all kind of forms of our cancer, and without of his opanint. This place Souldiers being lightly armed. Where he clean contrary, was wont to fight a pitched Field, with may well be out removing a foot, and to lead an Army heavy armed, which could keep their ranks, and fighting fleadily could overthrow their Enemies with hand-strokes, and march upon their bellies. But to wars, and ei-

climb up the Mountains, and to be continually (as it were) charged in the Rereward with these ther of both almen armed as light as the wind , and to purfice them in chase that fled still and never kept place, it was lowable : and men armed as signt as the wind, and to purso, ment in that that the first have place in a seconding to impossible for them to do it, and much less to abide hunger and thirst, to live without a Kitchin the otherit

and fire, and likewife to lye on the bare ground without Tents or Pavillions, as Sertorius Souldiers might be faid did, Furthermore, Metellus being grown an old man (having fpent all his youth in service of the to lead Roman

did. Furthermore, Meteum being grown an out many that he was and taken and fuffered great pains and troubles, giving himself now to quiet and pleasure) Citizens to the Wars, and taken and suffered great pains and troubles, giving himself now to quiet and pleasure) Wars, fighting was matched with Sertorius, being then even at his best age, and lustiest of body, besides that Na-like valiant ture had made him both strong, active, and temperate withall. For he was never given to his belly, men.

nor to be a great bibber, when he was at most quiet, and out of Wars; he was likewise acquainted with pains and hardness from his youth, could away with long Journeys, watch many days and sertorius warnights without sleep, eat little; and content himself with any meat that came to hand. And had like vertues,

henever fo little leifure, he would continually be on Horfe-back, riding a hunting up and down the Fields, which made him very ready and respect to know how to wind himself out of danger when he was diffressed, and contrarily also to compass in his Enemy upon any advantage: and besides, to

fee where he might enter, and where not ... For this cause was Metellus driven (who was still defirous to fight) to abide the loffes and discommodities which they fuffer that be vanquished : and Sertorius on the other fide refusing Battell, and flying before him, had all the vantage of him that they

have which chale their Enemies whom they have overcome. For he cut off his Victuals on every fide, took away his water, and kept him in from foraging. When he thought to march further forward , Sertorius stayed him : and when he lay still in his Camp , Sertorius came and gave him Alarms, and drave him to dillodge. If Metellus laid Siege to any place, Sertorius straight besteged

him for want of Victuals : fo that his fouldiers were even weary of all together. Whereupon, when Servoring challenged the Combate of Metellus: Oh, well faid, cried all the Souldiers, let Cap- Metellus oratain fight against Captain, and ROMAN against ROMAN. Howbeit Metelliu refused him, fissent o be-

and the Souldiers laughed him to feorn. Nevertheless he did but smile at them, and therein shewed siege the Lanhimself a wise man : for as Theophraftus faith , A Captain must die as a Captain, not like a private gobrites , and himtelt a wile man: 101 25 Theophragius 12111, A Captain mut us a Captain, not not a private for take their Souldier. Furthermore, Metellus confidering that the Langobritas (who gave aid unto Ser- City for

torins in all Services) were easie to be taken for lack of water (having but one onely Well in all their lack of water. City) and that who loever did befrege that fame , should straight be master of all the Spring heads of

the Suburbs about it, hoping thereby to make the City yeeld unto him within two days at the utmoft, he commanded his Souldiers to victuall themselves for five days onely. But Sertorius having intelli- sertorius finely gence thereof; gave good direction and speedy order to prevent him. For he caused two thousand deceived Me-

Goats skins to be filled with water, and promifed round sums of Money for every skin brought sellus at the thither. Many Spaniards and Maurusians straight took upon them the Enterprize. There-Lungobius. upon Sertorius chusing the lustiest men among them, fent them away through the Mountain, commanding them withall, that when they delivered their Goats skins with water unto the Citizens, they

should cause them forthwith to put out all their idle People, that the water might last them the longer which defended the City. Metellus receiving advertisement thereof, was much agrieved withall, because his Souldiers Victuals were well near spent, which they had brought according to his commandment; and therefore he fent Aquinus one of his Lieutenants, with fix thousand men to get

Victuals. Servorius having intelligence of his purpose, presently laid an Ambush for his return in a Valley full of wood, and bestowed there three thousand mento set upon the Rereward, whilest he Seriorius overhimself gave Charge on the Vaward. Thus made he Aquinus flie, slew the most part of his men, threw Aquinus

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Force nor Power, but process of time confumeth and bringeth to nought, being a most certain

Sertorius taught the Spaniards the manner of the Romans.

The City of

ti'l policy.

Perpenna joyned with Ser-

Ebrus fl.

his device.

and took the rest Prisoners. Howbeit Aquinum self the Captain, having lost his Weapons and Horse, by flying recovered Metallus Camp; who thereupon was driven with shame to raise his Siege, being mocked of all the SPANIARDS. For these valiant deeds was Sertorism wonderfully beloved and honoured of all the barbarous People, and specially because he had made them good octover and nonource of an incommercial state of the stat after the ROMAN fathion, to keep their Ranks when they fought, to follow their Enfign, and to take the fignall and Word of the Battell; infomuch as he made them then appear a goodly Army well taught and trained, being before a confused multitude of Therees and Robbers. Furthermore he divided great store of Gold and Silver among them, shewing them how they should gild their Head-pieces, fer out their Shields and Targets with fine Workmanlhip, and also bravely apparell themselves with rich Clokes, and sleeveles Cassocks upon their Armour, teaching them to be fine, and furnished them with Money, whereby he marvellously wan the hearts of the barbarous People. Yet did he farther bind them unto him, by that he did unto their Children: for he fent generally for all the Noblemens young Sons, through all the Countries and Provinces subject unto him, and brought them to the goodly City of Osca, where he provided them of Schoolmasters to teach them the Greek and Latine. Tongue: bearing their Parents in hand, that it was to no other end, but to make them (when they came to be men) meet to be imployed in the service of the Common-weal, albeit indeed it was but a fine device of him, to have them as Hoftages for their Faith and Loyalty towards him. Then were the Fathers of these Children glad men to see their Sons apparelled like ROMANS, in fair long Gowins garded with Purple, to go civilly to the Schools, that Sertorius payed for their Learning, and that oftentimes he went thinter to oppose them, to fee how they profited: and how he gave rewards unto them that were the best Scholars, hanging Jewels about their necks, which the ROMANS call Bulla. Infortuch as they having a Cuftom at that time in SPAIN, that such as were about the Prince or their Chieftain should die with him when he died: that Cuftom of voluntary Vow to die with their Lord, being called by the barbarous People, Devotion, there were very few of their Followers and Familiars that would vow to die with other Captains; but on the other fide, thousands commonly followed Serterim, having vowed to lofe their lives with him. And for proof hereof it is reported, that when his Army on a time was overthrown by a certain City of Spain, the Enemies eagerly purfuing him, the Spa-The spaniards NIARD's not regarding their own-lives to fave his, took him upon their shoulders, and so passed love to Scatteria, him from man to man upon them kill they pur him into the City, who being fafe and out of danger, they then looked by running to fave themselves the best they could. Thus was Seriorius not onely beloved of the Spaniards, but of other Souldiers also that came out of ITALY. For when Perpenna Vento, being of the same Faction, arrived in SPAIN full of Money, and with a good number of Souldiers, intending to make War in his behalf against Metellus, his Souldiers fell out with him, and had none other talk in his Camp but of Seriorins: the which spighted Perpenna to the heart, being proud and stately by means of his Wealth and Estate, coming of a noble House. News being come that Pempey was past over the mountains Pyrenei, the Souldiers armed themfelves , and plucked up their Enligns that decrefast in the ground , and cried out upon Perpensa to lead them to Sectoriss, threatning him that if he would not, they would leave him alone, and feek them a Captain that could both fave himself and them. So was Perpenna forced against his will to follow their minds, and to lead the three and fifty Enligns he had with him, to joyn with Sertorius Force. Thus became Sertorius Army very great, and specially after all the Cities on this side the River of Ebrus had yeelded unto him. For then came Souldiers to him out of all parts, howbeit they were a rath confuled multitude of Omnigatherum together, having no reason nor patience to abide time, but cried out in fury, to fet upon their Enemies. This troubled Sertorius much, feeking first to quiet them by reason and perswasion. But when he saw they sell to mutiny, and would needs have their wills, and both without reason and all good order would so go set upon their Enemies : he gave them the head, and let them go as they would, knowing well enough they would pay for their felly; but yet took such order and direction, as they should not utterly be cast away, hoping after that to have them the more obedient unto him. And indeed they had their payment as he conjectured: notwithflanding he went to rescue them, and so brought them sase into his Camp. Now to take away the fear and perplexity from them, which this Overthrow perhaps had ftricken into them, A fine device At which time he caufed two Horfes to be brought and fee in the middeft among them, the one an old of Seriorius to and feeble Jade, and the other a goodly lufty Horfe, which befides other things, had a marvelous teach men the bender of this fair thick toil Rabind the old long tade he far a better all Callent and behind the goodly Units benefit of time fair thick tail. Behind the old lean Jade, he fer a lufty tall Fellow: and behind the goodly Horfe and periver also, he placed a little wearish man, and seeming to sight to have but small strength. Now upon a fign clima them which he had made and seeming to sight to have but small strength. fign given them which he had made them privy to, the strong man took the lean Horse by the rail with all his might, as if he would have plackt it off by the flump: and the other wearing mental with all his might, as if he would have plackt it off by the flump: and the other wearing mental with all his might, as if he would have plackt it off by the flump: and the other wearing mental with all his might have been all the state of t and fivet a great while in vain at the leaf Horfe tail, thinking to have plucked it off, and in the end Sertorius words did nothing elfe but make the lookers on laugh: and that the wearifh wretch on the other fide in a Short Space (and at ease) had left the great Horse tail with never a hair on it : Sertoriss then rising diers, declaring up, spake in this fort to his Souldiers: Do ye not fee (my Friends and Companions) faith he, how time and perfeverance exceedeth force? and that things unlikely at the first to be overcome by force, are yet in time by little and little obtained ? For continuance overcometh all things, and there is no

help to them that can take opportunity, and abide time: as in contrariwile hafte and raffinels is as dangerous an Enemy as may be to them that dothings of a head without regard. By these common devices wherewith Sertors and daily acquainted the barbarous People, he taught them to abide the opportunity of time. But of all the Stratagems he used in War, that onely exceeded all other, which he shewed unto a People called the CHARACITANIANS. The People do dwell on the other fide of the River of Tagus, and have neither Cities nor villages for their common abode, but onely agreat high Hill, full of hollow Caves and deep holes among the Rocks, looking towards the North. At the foot of this Mountain the Valley is a great flimy ground, and fo rotten, that it is not able The Characita. to bear a man, but being troden on, crummen like white lime, and turneth to dust under his feet. nians, what And therfore by means of the fame, when those People were afraid of any Enemies, or that they People they be. had conveyed the Goods they had robbed and ftolin from their Neighbours into those Caves, they thought themselves safe, if they were once gotten into them: for it was impossible to compell them to come out. Now it chanced that Sertorius Hying from Metellus, came and encamped hard by this Hill which these barbarous People inhabited, who made no reckoning of him, imagining Metellus had overthrown him. But Servorise, being in a rage with them, and because he would shew that be fled not, took his Horse-back the next morning, and rode as near to the Hill as he could to view the nature and fcituation of the place : and when he faw there was no way to bring a man into ir, he fretted, and walked up and down, vainly threatning them to no purpose. Yet going and coming to and fro, he perceived the wind raifed a great duft, of that brittle earth we have spoken of, and carried it full into the CHARACITANIANS holes , the mouths whereof , as we faid before , lay full upon the North. This Northern wind which some call Cacias, is the onely wind of all derfull device other that most keepeth in that quarter, and rifeth from the Moors and Mountains thereabouts, against the which be continually covered with snow, and then in the heat of Summer is nourished and inforced barbarous Peoby the melting of the ice and snow, and so bloweth a jolly cool wind, which refresheth the barba- pic called the rous People and Beafts all the day long. Sertorius marking this with himself, and understanding by the Inhabitants thereabouts, that this wind blew commonly among them : commanded his Souldiers to gather a great quantity of this light brittle earth together and to raile a mount of it, right against the other Hill. The barbarous People made a mockery of it at the first, thinking Sertorius would have made a Mount to have fought with them upon it howbeit he went on with his work till night came, and then brought his Souldiers back again into his Camp. The next morning by break of day there was a pretty little wind ftirring, that onely blew off the top of his forced Mount and the highest part of that mass of earth, as chass when they winnow Corn : and as the Sun began to have any power, the North wind also rose, which forthwith filled all the Hill with dust. And withall came Sertorius Souldiers, who threw down the hill to the bottom, which they had gathered the day before, and brake all thosedry clods of clay in pieces. The Horsemen on the other fide, they still managed their Horses up and down in it, to raise up the greater dust, which the wind carried as foon as it role, and blew into the Caves of these barbarous People, full in their faces, through their holes and rists of the Rocks. So they having no other vents nor air any way, but there where the wind blew upon them: it did so blindfold their eyes, and filled their Caves with such a hot fluffing air, that they were almost choaked withall, not able to take breath. For when they should draw their breaths, this stuffing air and dust came in at their mouths so fast, that they had much ado to hold out two days, and on the third yeelded themselves unto Sertorius mercy : the which thing did not so much increase his Power , as it wan him Honour ; by policy to have won such an unlikely Conquest, which by force could never have been gotten, and where to fight was a matter impossible. So long therefore as he made War with Merellus alone, he commonly had the advantage of him, because Metellus was an old man and heavy, and could not resist Sertorius lufty youth, that led a light Army, like rather to a company of Theeves and Robbers, than to an Sectorius deeds Army of men of War. But afterwards when Pompey was come over the Mountains Pyrenei, against Pomand that both of them were encamped each before other, and that Pompty had shewed him all the pey Stratagens and Policies of War politible for a good Captain to device, and he the like unto Pompey, and found that Serterise had the better of him, both in laying his Ambushes, and also in foreseeing to intrap him : then grew the same of Sertorius to be so great, that even in ROME it self he was thought to be the nobleft Captain, and of best conduction of any man in his time. Yet was Pompey

at that time of great fame and reputation, which afterwards also waxed greater, by the noble acts

be did under Sylla , who gave him the Surname of Pompty the great , for that he deserved the honour

of Triumph before his beard was grown. So, when he was come thus into Spain, divers Towns and Cities Subject unto Sertorins, were half in mind to yeeld unto Pempey ; but afterwards they

altered again, upon the chance that happened unto the City of LAURON, beyond all expectation.

time, being kept in on the one fide with the City of LAURON, and with his Army on the other.

Thereupon he fent unto the Citizens, and bade them care for nothing, more then to fland upon

their Walls at their pleasure, to see Sertorise straightly besieged, who thought to have besieged

For Serterius being gone to lay fiege to it, Pompey in hafte went thither with his Army to raife the Siege. Near unto the City there was a little Hill very commodious to lodge a Camp in, and also serterius goeth Siege. recar unto the City there was a little Find very commonators to long a Camp in , and to tolay fiege to to diffress them of the City: whereupon the one made hafte to get it, and the other to keep him the City of he had taken it, who was very glad it had so fallen out, thinking to have made Sertorius sure at that

from it. Norwithstanding , Serveriss was the first man , and got the Hill: and Pompey came even as Lauron.

Lauron in Pom-

cible.

Pomicy.

Pompey fled Sertorius 20

them. This Meffage being brought to Sertorine, he fmiled at it, and faid, that he would teach 531. Scriptia wor la's young Scholars (for fo in mockery he called Pomps) that a wife Captain should rather see bethy laying of a hind then before him : and therewithall he shewed the Lauro NITANS five thousand Footment well armed, which he had left in his Camp when he Came to take the Hill were he was, to the end well armed, which he had ten mind saling which he facility they fhoold give a Charge upon his Rereward. Pom-that if Pompey came by chance to affail him; they fhoold give a Charge upon his Rereward. Pomper having found this too late, durft not offer Seriorius Battell', fearing to be compassed in behind: pry naving round this round to forfake the Lauronitans, whom he was driven in the end to fee utterly spoyled and destroyed before this eyes, and durst not once stir to help them, The barbarous People of the Country part feeing no hope of sid by him; yeelded fraight unto Sertorim, who did not onely pardon them, but also suffered them to go whither they would. How-Servorius, who amend one oney paraon men, our and inner one with the criefly of the City of or no anger or cruelty (being a Caprain that never flewed cruelty of the City of anger) but to fhame Pompey withall, and to ftop their mouths that made such account of him: and that this bruit might run among the bartarous People, that Pompty himself being present, and might in manner have warmed him by the fire that burnt a goodly City of his Confederates; neither durft nor could help them." Indeed Serteria in continuance of this War furtained much scriptus of himfelf invin- lofs and great hurt, howbeit it was always through the fault of his Lieutenants: for , astouching himself, he was never overthrown, nor those he led. And yet he ever wan more honour is recovering of those Battels which his Captains loft, then his Enemies did that had purthern to the worfe. As in the Battell he wan against Pompey, by the City of Sucron: and in another he worte. As it the Datien the wan against 1 amper, by the City of Tuttla. And as for the overshrows of wan against Pompey and Metellss both by the City of Tuttla. And as for the overshrows of wan against rompey and Acteums both by the City of 1111111. And as for the overstigner of Sucron, it is thought it came through Prompeys ambition, making the more hathefor-fear Additional Sucron, it is thought it came through Prompeys ambition, making the more hathefor-fear Additional Surveys and that was the thing Seriorist looked.

Battell betwire tellus should be partaker of the honour of his Victory: and that was the thing Seriorist looked. for , to fight before Metellus came to joyn with him , and therefore he fought the Battellwith Pompey towards night, supposing the darkness of the night would trouble his Enemies much, be a help to fave themselves if they were overcome, and also to chase the Enemies if it so happened they had the upperhand, because they were strangers and knew not the Countrey. When both Battels nad the uppernand, because they were trangers and knew not the Country. When both Battels came to give Charge, Sertorius at the first was not directly against Pompty, but against Afranius who led the left Wing of Pompty Battell, and himself was in the right Wing of his own Battell, Howbeit Sertorius being advertised that the left Wing of his own Army against which Pompty fought, was in fuch diffreds as they gave back; and could abide no longer; if they were not prefernly aided; the leading of the right Wing, which he affigned over to other of his Captains, and an initial all found and the leading of the right. ran with all speed possible unto the left Wing, which were then even as good as flying. And first he gathered them together again which had turned their backs, and after put those also in good order that were yet a fighting; and so having encouraged them, both with his words and the presence of his person, he gave a new Charge again upon Pomper, more couragiously then before, (who of his had already won the Field, was then a chasing such as fled) and came so fiercely upon thinking he had already won the Field, was then a chasing such as fled) and came so fiercely upon him, that he put all the whole Army of the ROMANS to flight, infomuch as Pompey himself him, that he put all the whole Army of the ROMANS to flight, infomuch as Pompey himself himself himself killing in the Field very hardly, being fore hurt, and faved by a strange mean. For the AFRICANS of Sertorius having taken Pompeys Horse (which was richly trapped with Harness of Gold and other precious Furniture) falling our among themselves, and fighting for devision of or Goid and other precious runnique, j taking out among inclinered, and informing and the the fame, in the mean time let Pompey 80, and never followed after him. Afranism again on the other fide, while the Sertorius was gone to help the other Wing of his Battell, made them all file that flood before him, and followed killing of them even into the Trenches of their Camp, entring in amongst them that fled, and spoiled the Camp, being dark night, knowing nothing of Pempers Overthrow, neither could be withdraw his men from spoyl. Seriorise also coming thither upon the inftant, finding Pompeys men in diforder, flew a number of them, and the next morning betimes armed his men again, and brought them out into the Field to fight once more with Pompey. But Seriorius mock receiving intelligence that Metellus was at hand, he founded the Retreat, and dislodged from the place he incamped, faying: Had not that old Woman come, I would have whipped that young Boy to ROME with rods. Now was Sertorius very heavie, that no man could tell him what was become of his white Hind: for thereby all his fubrilty and fineness to keep the barbarous People in obedience was taken away, and then specially when they stood in need of most comfort. But by good hap, certain of his Souldiers that had loft themselves in the night, met with the Hind in their way, and knowing her by her colour took her and brought her back again. Sirtorism hearing of her, promifed them a good reward, fo that they would tell no living creature that they brought her again, and thereupon made her to be fecretly kept. Then within a few days after, he came abroad among them, and with a pleafant countenance told the Noblemen and chief Captains of these barbarous People, how the gods had revealed to him in his Dream, that he should shortly have a marvellous good thing happen to him: and with these words fate down in his Chair to give audience. Whereupon they that kept the Hind not far from thence, did secretly let her go. The Hind being loofe, when she had spied Sertorius, ran straight to his Chair with great joy, and put her head betwire his legs, and layed her mouth in his right hand, as the before was wont to do. Sertorist also made very much of her, and of purpose appeared marvellous glad, shewing such tender affection to the Hind, as it feemed the water ftood in his eyes for joy. The barbarous People that stood there by and beheld the same, at the first were much amazed therewith, but asterwards when they had better bethought themselves, for joy they clapped their hands together, and waited upon Sertorius to his Lodging with great and joyfull shours, saying, and stediastly believing, that he was a heavenly creature, and beloved of the gods: whereupon they were marvelloufly pleafed in their minds, and certainly broped that their Affairs should prosper daily better and better. Another time having ftraightned his Enemies with fearcity of Victuals, in the Territory of the SAGUN-TINES, he was by force compelled to fight against his will, for that they fent great Troops of sertorius flow men to forrate the Countrey, to get Victuals. Upon the encounter it was valiantly fought of either Memmins, fide, where Memmin was flain, (the valiantest Captain Pompey had) couragiously fighting in Pompeys Lieuthe middeft of the Battell. Serrerins finding himlest the stronger, followed his first Wing, making tenant, great flaughter of those that withstood him, until he came unto Metallus felf, who tarried his coming, detending himself more valiantly then was either hoped or looked for in a man of his years: infomuelt as he was at the last burt with a Partizan. Which was such a dishonout to the ROMANS. not unto them onely that faw it, but unto fuch also as heard of it, that being all ashamed to for sake their Captain, and turning their shame into anger against their Enemies, they covered Mesellus Shame turned round about with their Shields and Targets, and getting him out of the press and fury of the Fight, into anger. gave fuch a fierce diffet, as they drave the SPANIARDS to flie. Thus fortune changing the Victory , Servorins to give his feattered men time to fave themselves, and leisure also for a new supply (which he caused to be presently leavied) to come at their pleasure, fled of purpose into a City of the Mountains of strong situation, and there setting a good sace of the matter, repaired the Rampiers and fortified the Gates, thinking nothing less then to abide there to be belieged, but onely to lay a bait for his Enemies, coming to befiege the City, hoping they should easily win it and in the mean time left pursuing of the barbarous People, which had thereby good leisure given them to fave themselves. Furthermore, they took no order to suppress the new supply that was coming to Section to slice. Sertorius, who had fent out his Captains to the next Cities and Shires adjoining to leavy men, with ged of Pomper; express commandment, that when they had mustered a convenient number together, they should fend them unto him, as they did. So when he understood of their coming, he easily passed through his Enemies to meet them, and with them fuddenly came back again, and harried his Enemies worse then before, sometime cutting their Victuals from them by Land, through his Ambushes and continual fubtill policies, being quickly in every place whither they thought to go, with his light Army; and on the Sea also with certain Pyrates Pinnaces, with the which he scoured all the Coast upon the Seafide. By this means both the Captains his Enemies were compelled to fever themselves far one from the other; infomuch as Metellus went to winter in GAULE, Pempey remained in SPAIN (in great fearcity of all things for lack of Money) to winter in the Territories of the VACCEI-ANS, and wrote to the Senate of ROME, that he would return with his Army into ITALY, if they lent him not Money out of hand, for that he had spent all his own, daily fighting for the defence of ITALY. Thus it was certainly thought at ROME that Sertorins would be in ITALY before Pompey, because he had through his valiancy and great skill brought two of the most famous Captains of their time to great extremity and diffress. Then did Metellus flew how much he fea-Metellus feated red Sertorius, and how he thought him a great and dreadfull Enemy. For he proclaimed by found Sertorius. of Trumpet, that if any ROMAN could kill him, he would give him a hundred Silver Talents, and twenty thousand Jugera of Land: and if he were a banished man, he promited he should be restored twenty moustain jugicities and the property of the base of the could not overcome by force. And furthermore, being his chance once to win a Battell of Servorine, he was fo jocond Metellus made and proud for this Victory, that he would needs therefore be called Imperator, to fay, Prince or himselfbe Soveraign Captain: and was contented the People thou'd fer up Altars and do Sacrifices unto called Imperahim in every City where he came. And it is furthermore reported of him, that he wore Garlands tor. of Flowers on his head, and would be bidden to diffoline Banquets, fitting at the Table in a triumphing Robe: and they made Images of Victory go up and down the Hall, moved by certain fecret Engins carrying Triumphs of Gold, and Crowns and Garlands of Triumph, and Dancers Metallus vaniof goodly young Boys and fair Girles following of them, with Songs of Triumph in his praise, ey. Wherein doubtless he deserved to be laughed at , shewing himself so much carried away with joy and vain glory, for one overthrow given unto him, whom himself was wont to call Sylla's fugitive, and the remnant of the banished men of Carbo. On the other side, Sertorius noble courage Sertorius noble was easily discerned: first, for that he called the banished men which were escaped from ROME. and come to him, Senators: and having them about him, called them the Senate, making fome of them Treaturers, others Prators, directing and ordering allthings according to the manner of his Countrey. And in this also, that making Wars with the Souldiers of the Cities of SPAIN, and defraying the same at their own charges, yet he never gave them any Authority, so much as in word, but ruled them always with ROMAN Officers and Captains: faying still, that he fought for the liberty of the People of Rome , and not to increase the glory and Power of the SPA-NIARDS, to the hitr and dishonour of the Romans. For to say truly of him, he ever lo- Sectionius hoved his Countrey well, and longed much to be fent for home again: and yet in his greatest trous nourable rebles, when things thwarted him most, then was his mind greatest, yeelding no manner of shew or spect unto his appearance to his Enemies, of any faint heart or discouragement in him. Again, when he was in Countrey. teft prosperity, and had most advantage of his Enemies, he sent unto Metellus and Pompey both, Sertorius mind letting them underständ, that for his part he was content to lay Armes aside, and to live at home greatest in adlike a private man, to that he might be lawfully reftored and called home by Edict : and that he servorius afficients had railier be counted the meanest Citizen in ROME, then being a banished man out of his Coun-ction to his trey, to be called Emperour of the World. And it is faid, that one of the chiefest causes which made Countrey.

conowbeing come hither in hope to live at liberty, we willingly make our felves Slaves , beco-

"ming Sertorius Guard for defence of his person in exile : who to requite us withall, payeth us

SERTORIUS. 496 him destre so much to be called home again, was the tender love he bare unto his Mother (that had brought him up from the time of his Fathers death) upon whom he cast all his love and delight: infomuch as after that his friends in SPAIN had fent for him to come to be their Captain, and Scrietius naue that he had been a while among them, receiving news that his Mother was departed out of the Scrienting nature that the man been a winner among that he had almost died for forrow. For he lay seven days rall love to his World, it so strake him to the heart, that he had almost died for forrow. For he lay seven days Mother.

together continually on the ground weeping, and never gave his Souldiers the Watch-word, nor would be feen of any of his friends: untill that the other Noblemen and Captains of his own estate, came to him to his Tent, and were so importunate of him by intreaty and perswasson, that they got him out of his Tent to shew himself to his Souldiers, to speak to them, and to take order for his Affaires, which prospered very well. By these signs many have judged, that he was of a courteous and pitifull nature, and that naturally he was given to be quiet and peaceable: howbeit, that he was forced of necessity to take charge of men of War, because he could not otherwife live quietly nor fafely, being purfued by his Enemies, which would never let him reft, and thereupon entred into War, for his own guard and fafety. The Treaty felf he made with king Muhridates, argued his noble mind. For when Mithridates whom Sylla had overcome was recovered again (like a Wrestler that being overthrown, getteth upon his feet to try another fall with his Enemy) and took upon him to invade Asia, Sertorius fame was then fo great, that he was spoken of through the World, by Merchants coming from the West, who blew abroad the report thereof all the East parts over, even into the Realm of PONT, like to Merchandizes which they went to feek for in strange Countries. Whereupon Mithridates being perswaded by the vain vaunts of his favoured Courtiers, who compared Sertorius to Hanniball, and himself unto King Pyrru, faying, that the ROMANS being fet upon by them both, could not withfland two such excellent natures, and great Powers together, when the noblest Captain of the World should be joyned with the greatest and most puissant Prince that ever was : sent thereupon his Ambassadours into Spain unto Sertorius, with full Power and Commission to promise him Money and Ships tofent Ambasta- wards the maintenance and charge of this War, in recompence whereof he desired that Sertorius would redeliver him the possession of Asia again, the which he had surrendred up unto the Ro-MANS upon the Peace made betwist him and Sylla. Sertorius hereupon called his Councell together (which he termed the Senate) to confult upon this matter. And when they were all of opinion that he should accept Mishridates offers, and were exceedingly glad of the same, considering that they asked them nothing but a Title in the air, and a name of things which were not in their power, offering them therefore things prefent, whereof they had greater need: yet would Seriori-Scriptiss noble 18 never agree thereunto. Notwithstanding, thus much he granted Mithridates, that he should enjoy Cappadocia and Bithynia, which had ever been Countries subject unto Kings, and whereunto the ROMANS had never any right: excepting this specially that he would never suffer

Sertorius in Spain.

and worthy aniwer to Mithridates re-

Sertorius League with Mithridates.

King Mithriperhand.

> The envy of Perpenna unto Sertorius.

The seditious words of Perpenne against

him to usurp any Countrey, unto the which the ROMANS had any just Title; and the which he had loft in Wars by force of Armes unto Fimbria, and had afterwards also willingly furrendred Sectorial wor- by agreement made betwirt him and 37lla. For he faid he would enlarge the Empire of ROME through his Victories, but not impair or hurt it by his Conquests. For a valiant man (faid he) should covet to conquer with honour, but in no wife defire life with dishonour. His Answer being reported unto King Mithridates, did much amaze him : and some have written, that he then said unto his familiars: What would Sertorius command us then, if he fate among them in the Senate at ROME, who being an exilenow, and remaining in the farthest part of the World by the Sea Atlanticum, doth take upon him to bound the certain Confines of our Kingdom, threatning usalfo with Wars, if we attempt any thing against Afia? All this notwithstanding, they were agreed upon Oaths taken between them, that Mithridates should enjoy the Countries of CAPPADOCIA and BITHYNIA, and that Sertorius should send him one of his Captains with aid of men of War; and that upon performance thereof, the King should give him the sum of three thousand Talents, M. Marius sent and forty Ships of War. So Sertorius sent thinher one of his Captains called Marcus Marius, unto Mithrida a Senator of Rome, who fled to him for fuccour: with whom Mithridates diffressed certain Cities of Asia. And when Marins entred into them, with his Serjeants carrying the bundles of Rods and Axes before him, as before a Proconfull of the ROMANS, Mishridates gave him the upper hand, as his better, and followed after him. Furthermore, Marius did fet certain Cities at liberty, and wrote unto others, declaring unto them, that Sertorism of his grace and goodness did reconfull, the up- leafe them of their Tax and Customs they paid : fo that poor Asia which had been oppressed by the coverousness of the Treasurers and Farmers of the ROMANS, and also by the pride and infolency of the Souldiers which lay in Garrison among them, began to have some hope of change, and to defire the alteration of Government, which Sertorius offered. But on the other fide, the Senators of Rome that were in Spain as banished men in Sectorius Army, and of the like dignity and estate that himself was of, they hearing say that all was well again at ROME, and perswading themselves that they should be strong enough for their Enemies, having no cause to sear any more danger, began then to envie Sertoriss greatness and Authority; but Perpenna specially among other, who by reason of his Nobility, being pust up with a vain presumption and ambitious selfother, who by reason of its recommy, being pure up what a task provided for make himself chief of all the Army, and to that end threw forth amongst his friends and familiars such kind of seditious words: "What curied fortune (quoth he) my friends "doth daily haunt us worfe then other, making us that were willing to obey Sylla (commanding at "this day both Land and Sea at his will) to choose rather to forfake our Lands and Countrey? And

with fair words, calling us the Senate, whereat every man laugheth to hear us fo called: and in fine we must abide this dishonour to be at his commandment, and drudge and take as "much pains as the SPANIARDS and LUSITANIANS do themselves. Hereupon the more part of them being carried away with these mutinous words, durst not yet shew themselves in actuall rebeliion against Serverius, being afraid of his Authority: howbeit secretly underhand they overthrew his doings, by shewing extream cruelty unto the barbarous People, by pretext of Justice, imposing great payments upon them, giving out it was Sertorius commandment. By which their lewed practiles, many Cities revolted against him, and put themselves into his Enemies hands; and they daily also raised new mutinies and rebellions upon him. Furthermore those whom he fent to pacifie the tumults, did handle themselves in such fort, that where they should have quieted the grudges and rebellions of the People, they fet them farther out, and procured new tumults. Hereupon was Sertorius gentle nature and former goodness so altered, that he committed a most cruell act upon all the Noblemens children of that Land, which he brought up at Sectorius flew School in the City of Osca: for fome of them he put to death, and others he fold as Slaves, the Spaniards Thus Perpensa having many affociates in his wicked Conspiracy against Sertorius, brought into his Sons. Confederacy also one called Marlins, who had chiefest charge in all the Army. This Marlins lo- The Treaton ved ayoung Boy exceedingly, and because he would let him know he loved him; well, he told of Perhenna him on a time the whole plot of this Conspiracy, willing him not to reckon any more of others and his comlove but of his, and to love him onely: for he should see him a great man before it were long. Plices against The young Boy loving another better then him, called Aufidius, went and revealed unto him all Servorius. that Manling had told him. An fiding marvelling to hear the Boy made privile to it, feeing himfelf also was of the Confederacy, and knew not yet that Marlins was one of them. And when the Boy also named Perpenna, Gracinus, and some other whom Aufidius knew well to be of counfell , he was worse afraid then before , but yet seemed to make little of it , and told the Boy : for that matter it was nothing, and counselled him not to credit Manling words, who was but a vain man, and boafted of that which was not true, and did it onely but to deceive him. This notwithstanding, departing thence, he went forthwith unto Perpinna, and told him how their practice was discovered, declaring further what danger they were in, if it were not speedily put in execution. All the Confederates agreed it was true that he faid, and thereupon they deviled this Treafon. They had suborned a Messenger to bring counterfeit Letters to Sertorism, seigning in the fame that one of his Lieutenants had won a great Battell , in the which he had slain a marvel- The treason lous number of his Enemies. Serterius being very glad of the goodnews, made Sacrifice unto the devited against code to give them thanks. Whereinon Perhama taking the prefers concerning insured to Serterius. gods to give them thanks. Whereupon, Perpenna taking the present opportunity, invited Sertoring to supperto him, and all other his friends that were present every one of the Conspiracy with him, and was so importunate with Sertorius, that in the end he promised him to come. Now Sertorius mo-Sertorius did ever use great modesty at the Boord, and would suffer no dissolute talke nor light desty at his parts at his meat, and had acquainted them also that used his Table, to talk of grave and wise Table. matters, and yet one to be honeftly merry with another, without any playing or uncomely talk.

In the middeft of Supper, they that fought occasion of quarrell, began to speak lewd words,

counterfeiting to be drunk, and to play many vile parts, of purpose to anger Sertorius. Where-

upon Sertorius, whether it was that he could not abide to fee those villanous parts, or that he

mistrusted their ill will towards him, by fumbling of their words in their mouths, and by their

unwonted irreverent manner shewed unto him : fell backwards upon the Bed where he sate at

Meat, feeming no more to mark what they did or faid. Perpenna at that instant took a Cup

full of Wine, and making as though he drank, let it fall of purpole. The Cup falling down

but the traiterous murtherer got upon Sectorius breast, and held both his hands. And thus was

Sertorius cruelly murthered, not able to defend himself, all the Conspirators falling upon him.

Sertorius death being blown abroad, the most part of the SPANIARDS fent Ambassadours im-

mediately unto Pompty and Metellus , yeelding themselves unto them , and Perpenna with those that

remained with him, attempted to do something with Sertorius Army and preparation; but all

fell out to his utter destruction and ruine, making the World know that he was a wicked man, who

could neither command, nor knew how to obey. For he went to affail Pompey, who had over-

his life, having Sertorius Letters and Writings, he offered Pompey to deliver him all Sertorius Letters

made a noise, and that was the Sign given among them. Therewithall Antonius that fate about The murther Sertorius at the Table, ftabbed him in with his Dagger. Sertorius feeling the thruft, ftrove to rife : of Sertorius.

thrown him straight, and was in the end taken Prisoner. And yet in that instant of his calamity, Perpenna taken he did not use himself like a valiant minded man, and one worthy to rule: for, thinking to save by Pompey.

fent him from the chiefest Senators of ROME, written with their own hands, requesting Sertorius fent him from the chiefelt Senators of ROME, written with their own hands, requesting Serious Pompey's wif-to bring his Army into ITALY, where he should find numbers of People desirous of his coming, dom in burand that gaped still for change of Government, But here did Pompty shew himself a grave and ning Sectorius no young man, delivering thereby the City of ROME from great fear and danger of change and Letters. innovation. For he put all Seriorius Letters and Writings on a heap together, and burnt them Perpenna and every one, without reading any of them, or fuffering them to be read. And moreover, he pre- his Confpiraevery one, without reading any of them, or functing them to be read. And motored, he pro-fendly put Perpenna to death, fearing he should name some, which if they were named, would death by Ponbreed new occasions of trouble and sedition. And as for the other Conspirators, some of them per,

afterwards were brought to Pompey, who put them all to death: and the reft of them fled into AFRICK, where they were all overthrown by them of the Country, and not a man of them fcaped, but fell unfortunately upon the edge of the Sword, Auffaisss onely except, Manlius companion in love. Who, either because he was not reckoned of, or else unknown, died an old man in a petring Village of the barbarous Feople, poor, miferable, and hated of all the World.

The end of the Life of Sertorius.

THELIFE OF v M E \mathcal{N} E



Ann. Mund. 363I.

317.

Eumenes parentage.



How Eumenes came to preferment by the Kings of Masector.

Dris the Historiographer writeth, that Enmen's was born in the City of CARDIA in THRACIA, being a Carriers Son of the fame Countrey, who for poverty earned his living by carrying Merchandizes to and fro and that he was notwithstanding honestly brought up, as well at School, as at other comely exercises. And furthermore, how that he being but a Boy, Philip King of MACEDON chancing to come through the City of CARDIA, where having nothing to do, he took great pleafure to fee the young men of the City handle their Weapons, and boys to wreftle: and among them, Eumene: shewed such activity, and performed it with fo good a grace withall, that Philip liked the boy well, and took him

away with him. But fure their report leemest truest, which write that Philip did advance him for the love he bare to his Father, in whose House he had lodged. After the death of Philip, Euments continued his service with King Alexander his Son, where he was thought a wife man, and as faithfull to his Mafter, as any: and though he was called the Chancellor or chief Secretary, yet the King did honour him as much as he did any other of his chiefest friends or familiars. For he was sent his Lieutenant Generall of his whole Army, against the INDIANS, and was Perdiceas Successor in the Government of his Province, Perdiccas being preserred unto Hepheficons charge after his death. Now because Neopt lamu (that was one of the chief Squires for the bedy unto the King) after the death of Alexander told the Lords of the Councell of MACEDON, that he had ferved the King with his Shield and Spear, and how Eumenes had followed with his Pen and Paper: the Lords laughed him to fcorn, knowing that befides many great honours Enmenes had received, the King effecmed to well of him, thathe did him the honour by Marriage to make him his Kinfman. For the first Lady that Alexander knew in Asia, was Barfine Artabazus Daughter, by whom he had a Son, and called his Name Hercules: and two of her Sifters, he married the one of them

called Apama unto Prolomy, and her other Sifter also called Barfine, he bestowed upon Eumenes. when he distributed the Persian Ladies among his Lords and familiars to marry them. Yet all Barkine the this notwithstanding, he often fell in differace with King Alexander, and stood in some danger by Wife of Exmeans of Hephastion. For Hephastion following Alexanders Court on a time, having appointed mener. Evisus Fife-player a lodging, which Eumenes Servants had taken up for their Mafter: Eumenes being in a rage, went with one Mentor unto Alexander, crying out, that a man were better be a Fife and a Common player of Tragedies, then a Souldier, fithence such kind of People were preferred before men of Service that ventured their lives in the Wars. Alexander at that prefent time was as angry as Eumenet, and roundly took up Hephastion for it : howbeit immediately after having changed his mind, he was much offended with Eumenes, because he thought him not to have used that frank speech so much against Hephastion, as of a certain presumptuous boldness towards himself. And at another time allo, when Alexander was sending Nearchus with his Army by Sea to clear the Coasts of the Ocean, it chanced the King was without Money: whereupon he sent to all his friends to take up Money in preft, and among others, unto Eumenes, of whom he requested three hundred Talents. Eumenes lent him but a hundred, and faid, he had much ado to get him fo much of all his Tenants. Alexander faid nothing to him, neither would he fuffer them to take his hundred Talents: but commanded his Officers to fet Eumenes Tent on fire, because he would take him tardy with a lie, before he could give order to carry away his Gold and Silver. Thus was his Tent burnt down to the ground, before they could make shift to save any thing : the which Alexander repented afterwards, and was forry it was burnt, because all his Letters and Writings were burnt withall. Howbeit, after the fire was quenched, they found in Niggots of Gold and Silver mingled together, about a thousand Talents, and yet Alexander took none of it away, but more then that, he sent unto all his Lieutenants, Captains, and Governours of Countries, wherefoever they were, that they should fend him Copies of all the Letters which they before had fent unto him, because all those which he had were burnt, and commanded Eumenes to take them again. After that, Eumenes and Hephastion fell at variance again, by reason of a Gift that was given him, insomuch as very foul words passed betwixt Hephestion and him: yet did not the King give Eumenes any ill countenance at that time. Notwith standing, shortly after Hephestion was dead, the King taking his death grievously whom he loved so dearly, gave no good countenance (and was very brief befides) unto those whom he knew bare any grudgeto Hephaftion whiles he lived, and that he thought were glad of his death, but specially unto Eumenes of all other, whose malice towards Hephastion was known to him well enough: infomuch as he would twit him withall, remembring him of the injuries he had offered Hephaltion. But Eumenes being very wife, and one that could take his time, procured his help by the feli-fame mean that did him hurt: and devised (to further Alexanders defire, feeking to honour Hephastions Funerall with all Pomp possible) new inventions to fee forth the same, of more magnificence then had before been feen, sparing for no cost, laying on Money bountifully, to make him a rich and stately Tomb. Again, when Alexander was dead, there fell out great variance betwirt the MACEDO-NIAN Footmen, and the Noblemen that had been nearest about him: and in that quarrell, Eumenes in good will fluck to the Lords, but in words he feemed a Neuter and Friend to both pasts, faying, It was not for him being a stranger to thrust himself into the quarrels of the MACEDONIANS. And when the other Lords were departed from BABYLON, Eumenes tarrying behind pacified the greatest part of the Souldiers, and made them more tractable and ready to agree with the Lords. Whereupon after the Lords and Captains had confulted together, and taken order for these contentions, they divided the Government of the Provinces among them, which they called Satrapes: in which partition Eumenes had CAPPADOCIA, PAPHLAGONIA, and all that Coast upon Mare Ponticum, Eumenes made unto the City of Trapezunte, the which at that time was not subject to the Empire of Mace the Countries Don, for Ariavathes kept it then as King. Howbeit it was faid, that Leonatus and Antigonus would of Cappadocia put him in possession of it, with a great and puissant Army, and make him Governour there. Yet after- and Paphlagowards Antigonus made none account of Perdiccas Letters unto him, putting him in the head of great nil. imaginations to Conquer all, despiting all other. And Leonatus also came down into Phry G1A, and undertook the Journey of this Conquest for Eumenes sake. But when he was in his Journey thitherward, Hecatens Tyrant of the CARDIANS, went to him to his Army, and prayed him rather to go help Anipater and the other MACEDONIANS, which were belieged in the City of LAMIA. So Leenatus being willing to take Sea, and go thither, went about to perswade Eumenes also to like of it, and to reconcile him with Hecareus: for they were not friends one with another, by reason of a quarrell that Eumenes Father had with this Hecataus, about the Government of their City. Befides that, Eumenes had many times complained of him openly unto King Alexander, faying, that he was a Tyrant, and befought the King that it would please him to set the CARDIANS at liberty. And therefore Eumenes refusing that Journey against the GRECIANS, alleadged that he was afraid of Antipater, who had been his Enemy of long time, doubting that for the old grudge he bare him, and allo to gratifie Hecatem, he would put him to death : Leonatus then revealed himself and his purpose to him, and how he made as though he would pass over the Sea to aid Antipater, where indeed his meaning was to take the Kingdom of MACEDON. Thereupon he shewed him Letters fent from Cleopatra, willing him to come to the City of Pella, and there she would marry him. When Eumenes was made private to his purpose : either because he scared Antipater, or else for that he had no great good opinion of Leonatus, knowing him to be a fond man, and very rash and unconstant in his doings, he stole away from him by night, with those sew men he

riffom of the Country of MACEDON, the which every man through pride and excess began to

forfake and contemn. At that time therefore Craterus fent Antipater into CILICIA, and he himfelf with Neoptolemus, went against Eumenes with the best part of his Army, hoping to take him

tardy and altogether unprovided, supposing he would give himself to pleasure and pastime, after fo great a Victory. But Eumenes, like a wife and valiant Captain, had taken fuch order, that he

to his doings, that he did not onely keep his Enemies from knowledge of any thing that he did :

but making his men also to kill Craterus in Battle, before they knew against whom they should fight,

and to keep also so dreadfull an Enemy from their knowledge, that of all other shewed the passing

skill of an expert Captain. And to work this feat the better, this was his policy. First, he

made a rumour to be spred in his Hoast, how Neoptolemus and Pigres were again come against

him, with certain Horsemen of all forts gathered together, CAPPADOCIANS and PAPHLA-

GONIANS. And when he thought to have removed in the night, a great defire of fleep came upon

after the MACEDONIAN fashion: who coming to give charge the one upon the other, the god-

dess Minerva came to aid the one, and Ceres likewise to aid the other. Then he thought that

after they had fought a long time together, he whom Minerva aided was overthrown, and that

Ceres had gathered ears of Corn and made a Crown of them, to give him that had won the Field.

Hereupon Eumenes perswaded himself that this Dream made for him, and promised him Victory,

for that he fought for a fertile Country of Corn, where was great plenty of it. For all the Fields

were fown with Corn in every place, that it was a pleasure to behold it, shewing the benefit

of long Peace, to fee all the Corn-fields how green they looked. But when he understood that

the Enemies had given their Souldiers for the Signal of Battle, Minerva and Alexander, then was

his first imagination confirmed more then before. Whereupon, he gave Ceres and Alexander

for Signal of the Battle to his Souldiers, and commanded every man to make him a Garland of

Wheat-ears to wear on their heads, and that they should wreath Flowers and Nosegaies about

their Pikes. He was in mind many times to make his truftiest Captains privy against whom they

should fight, and not alone to trust himself withall, to keep so necessary a thing as that secret :

yet in fine, he kept his first resolution, thinking it the safest way, not to commit this danger, but

to himself. Now when he came to give Battle, he would place never a MACEDONIAN directly

against Graterus, but set two companies of men ar Arms that were strangers against him. the

which Pharnabazus (Artabazus Son) and Phanix Tenidian did lead. Then he specially com-

manded, that fo foon as they faw the Enemies before them, they should straight give charge,

giving them no leifure to speak nor retire, neither to hearken to any Herauld or Trumpet that

meet full with Neoptolemus front. When they had passed a little Hill that stood between both

Battles, Eumenes Horsemen following his Commandment, ran with full carrier to set upon

their Enemies. Craterus feeing that, was amazed withall, and banned and curfed Neoptolemus that

had deceived him in that fort, informing him that the MACEDONIANS would turn of his fide,

if they might but once fee him: notwithstanding, he prayed them that were about him, to shew

themselves like valiant men that day, and therewithall siercely set Spurrs to his Horse to meet

with his Enemies. The encounter was very cruel on either fide, and their Staves being broken, they

fell straight to their Swords: but that day did not Craterus dishonour the memory of Alexander,

for he llew many of his Enemies round about him, valiantly repulfed them that did affail him,

and many times overthrew them. Yet in fine, one of the men of Arms of THRACIA gave him

fuch a blow on the fide, that he turned him off his Horse, and when he was down, many passed over

him. But Gorgias, one of Eumenes Captains knowing him, lighted from his Horle, and appoint-

ed men about him to guard him: howbeit it was too late, for he was drawing on, and even in the

of long time, being on fire with an old malice, they fought up and down the one for the other. And

at the two first courses they could not one light upon the other, but at the third meeting, when they

knew one another, then they let Spurs to their Horles, their Swords drawn, and with great cries gave

Charge upon each other. And their Horses met so siercely together, as if two armed Galleys had

met with their Prows : and both the Captains laying the bridles in their Horses necks, closed toge-

ther, and with both hands strove to pluck off each others Head-piece, and to rent their Polrons from

their shoulders. Whilest they were thus tearing each other, their Horses ran from them, and they

fell to the ground, one holding the other fast as if they had wrastled together. Neoptolemus got up first:

but as he rofe, Eumenes cut the ham of his Leg, and railed himself up withall. Neoptolemus stay-

ing himself upon one Knee, his other Leg being very fore hurt, defended himself on the ground

the best he could, from Eumenes that was on his feet, but he could give him no deadly wound :

nevertheless himself had a blow on the neck, that laid him flat on the ground. Then Eumenes

inflamed with choler against him, went about to strip him, and fell a reviling of him, and being

in that furious mood, remembred not that Neoptolemus had his Sword yet, who hurt him under

had (being about three hundred Horsemen, and two hundred Footmen well armed) taking all his Gold with him, which amounted to the fum of five thousand Talents; and fled with them unto Perdiccus, unto whom he bewrayed all Leonatus intent and mind: whereupon he was immediately of great credit about him, and called to Counfell. Shortly after Perdiccas brought him into Cappadocia, with a great Army which he himself did lead. Where Ariarathes was taken Prifoner, and Enmenes established Governour of the Countrey, who delivered the Charge of the great Cities unto his friends, and left them there Captains of Garrifons which he appointed, placing every where Judges, Receivers, Governours, and all such other Officers necessary as he thought meet, Perdiccas medling with nothing at all. Notwithstanding, Eumenes went away with Perdiccas again: as well to wait upon him, as also because he would ever be about the King. But Perdiccas thinking with himself that he alone could well enough perform the enterprize he went about : and considering also that the Realmhelest behind him stood needfull of a wise and skilfull Governour, whom he might trust with the safety of his State: when they were in CILICIA, returned Eumenes back again, under colour to fend him to his Government, but indeed to keep the Realm of ARME-NIA in obedience, the which confined upon the frontires of his Country whereof he was Governour, because Neoprolemu did under-hand practife some alteration. Now though Neoprolemus was a proud and insolent Person, yet Eumenes still devised to hold him in, and kept him from attempts by gentle and fair words. Furthermore, perceiving also that the Regiment of the MACEDONIAN Footmen were grown exceeding stout and insolent, he for a strength and defence against them, fet up a company of Horlemen; and to bring it to pass, released all the Countrymen from paying of Tribute or Tax, being meet to serve on Horseback, and brought a great number of Horse of Service, which he gave amongst them that were about him, in which he put his most trust and affiance, making them couragious, by Honours and Gifts he gave to them that ferved well; and fo by continual Exercise and often removing them from place to place, made them very ready and serviceable. Thus were the Noblemen of Macedon, some much amazed, some others very glad when they saw how by this diligence Eumenes had in so short a time gotten about him such a number, as fix thousand three hundred Horsemen. About that time, Crateria and Antigonia having subdued the GRECIANS, came on with their Army into Asia to overthrow Perdiceas greatness and power: and news also, that shortly they would invade CAPPADOCIA. Whereupon Perdiccas being otherwise occupied in Wars, fighting against Ptolomy, made Eumenes his Lieutenant Generall, and gave him Commission and full Authority over all his Souldiers that were for him, either in CAPPADOCIA, or in ARMENTA, and wrote Letters unto Neoptolemu and Alettu, commanding them by the fame that they should be obedient unto Eumenes, and suffer him to order all matters according to his discretion. Now for Alcetas, he flatly answered, that he would not be at this War: for the MACEDONIANS under his charge were ashamed to take Arms against Antipater; and moreover they would not fight against Craterus, but contrarily were bent to receive him for their Captain, fo much good will they bare him. Neoptolemus on the other fide, was as ready to play the Traitor, and to do Eumenes a shrewd turn, as Alectas was. For being sent by Eumenes to come to him, where he should have obeyed him, he set his men in Battle ray to fight with him. There did Eumenes reap the first fruit of his wise foresight of the Horsemen, which he had set up to make head against the Footmen of the MACEDONIANS. For when his own Footmen were broken and overthrown, he overcame Neoprolemus, and put him to flight with his Horsemen, and took all their Carriage. Then he made them march in order of Battle against the MACEDONIANS, who were dispersed every where, following the chase of his Footmen, whom they had overthrown. Thus coming upon them in this diforder; he drave them to throw away their Weapons, and to yield unto him: and moreover, every man to take his Oath to serve him faithfully in this War, wherefoever he would lead them. Now Neoprolemus gathering a few together that fled, went with them unto Craterus and Antipater : who fent unto Eumenes to pray him to take their part, with condition that he should not onely enjoy the Countries and Provinces still which he had in Government, but furthermore that they would give him others unto them, and make him stronger then ever he was: belides that, by the acceptation of the offer, he should betaken for Antipater, good friend, where before he was ever reckoned his Enemy. Whereunto Eumenes made answer: that having always been Antipaters Enemy, he could not of a fudden become his Friend, specially seeing him use his Friends as Enemies: howbeit otherwise that he was very willing to make Craterus Peace with Perdiceas, and to reftore him again to his favour, upon reasonable and indifferent conditions. And furthermore, that if he meant to affail him, that then he would aid him so long as he had any breath in his Body, and would lose his life before he would break his promise. This answer being brought unto Antipater, they fell to consult at leisure what was to be done. In the mean space, Neoptolemus that fled upon his overthrow, was come unto them : who told them how the Battle was fought, and befought them both very instantly (but Craterus chiefly) to give him aid if it were possible. For the MACEDONIANS were to far in love with him, that if they did but fee his Hat, and hear him speak, they would all arm themselves and sollow him. For to speak a Troth, Craterus was had in great estimation among the MACEDONIANS: infomuch as after Alexanders death, he was more defired of the common Souldiers, then any other Captain, remembring how often he had for their fakes incurred Alexanders differace and difpleasure, because he went about to perswade him to leave the King of Persia's manner, whereunto Alexander by little and little gave himself: and also for that he maintained and defended the

heard news time enough of his Enemies coming, and had thereupon prepared his men in readiness Enumeror skill to refift him. Yet was not this the chiefest point of his skill in War: for he looked so precisely in War.

him, in the which he had a marvellous strange Dream. For it seemed unto him that he saw two Eumenes

Alexanders preparing to fight one with another, either of them leading a battle of Footmen, ranged Dream.

they should fend unto them : for he feared much that the MACEDONIANS would turn against Battle betwixt him, if they once came to know Craterus. Now for himself, he led the right wing of his Battle Eumenc; and with a Troop of three hundred men at Arms, the chiefest men of all his Army, where he would

very pangs of death. Eumenes and Neoprolemus on the other fide, which had been mortal Enemies Craterus death

Neoptolemus

his Curaces, even about his Groin, not far from his privy Parts: howbeit the wound made Ins curacts, even about ins cross, not lat home insperty cars, however the woung mane Eumene; worfe afraid then there was cause of hurt, for that Neoptolemus strength was gone before the stroke came, dying presently upon it. Eumenes having stripped him, found himself tore the titure came, aying person, or or or and legs, which had many a fore gath: not-very ill (by reafon of his wounds) on his Arms and Legs, which had many a fore gath: notvery III (by reason of the wouldest of the again, and rod towards the other wing of his Battle, withflanding, he got up on his Horfe again, and rod towards the other wing of his Battle, thinking his Enemies had been fighting fill. But there being told that Graterus had his deaths ministing its entitled has come against the place where he lay, and found him yet alive, not past knowledge. Then Eumenes lighted from his Horse, and wept, and taking him by the right hand, accuried Neopolemus that had brought him to that pitiful state, and had also forced him to be in Bartle against one of his dearest Friends, to make him the instrument of his utter undoing. This second against one of the delete first Bartle obtained, which got him great honour, for Bartle Exments wan ten daies after the first Bartle obtained, which got him great honour, for Dattie Emments, want ten wants after the fall Dattie obtained, which got thin great nonrout, for that he had diffeomitted one of his Enemies through wildom, and the other by valianmels, But yet this bred him much ill will, not onely of his Enemies, but of his friends also that took Eumenes Vihis part, when they bethought them, that he being a ftranger, had with the Weapons and Power Ctory of Cranis part, when they believely that he come a manger, had with the weapons and rower of the MacEDONIANS themselves, slain the greatest and most famous Captain among them. terus and Ne-Now if Perdicess had been so happy, as to have lived and received the advertisement of Craepsolemus. term death, no doubt he had been the greatest person of all the MACEDONIANS. But as ill luck would have it, within two days after that Perdiccae was slain in a mutiny of his men in E-Gypt, news came to his Army of Eumenes Victory, and also of the death of Crateria. Whereupon the MACEDONIANS were fo offended with Eumenes, that incontinently they condemned him to die, and gave Antigonus and Antipater Commission to execute the revenge. When Eumener paffing by Mount Ida (where the King kept a Race and breed of Horfes) had taken away with him as many Horse as he would, and had tent Letters of advertisement thereof to the Kings water many assistance and responsed, finited, and in mockery faid, that he marvelled to fee Eume-Riders: Antipater, as it is reported, finited, and in mockery faid, that he marvelled to fee Eume-Rigers: Antipater, as it is reported, mined, and in modelly law, that he mattered to the Emmers great care, to think that he should either give or receive any account of the Kings goods. So net great ear, to think that he should either give or receive any account of the Kings goods. So the great Plains of Lydia, especially near unto the chief City of Sardis, because he was the stronger in Horsemen, and for that he would make Cleopatra fee the power of his Army. Howbeit, being intreated by her (who feared blame of Antipater) he went further into high PHRYGIA, and wintered in the City of CELENES. But there Polemon Alest a and Docimus, fell in contention with him for leading of the Army, faying that they had as Sardis the much right to lead the Army as he. Emmens answered them. Truly here is the common saying up and down: Desperate men regard no danger. Now Eumenes having promised his Souldiers up and down: Depetate men acgust in danger. From Eumenes maying products in Sounders pay within three days, to keep his promife, fold them all the Farms and Caftles of that Country, rogether with the men and beafts of the fame, whereof the Province was fully replenished. Thereupon his Lieutenants of the bands having bought certain of them, went and sook them buyon his Lieutenants of the bands having bought certain of them, went and sook them force, through Eumenes Engines of Battery which he suffered them to carry with him: and having taken them, they went and divided the spoil, paying every Souldier ratably his wages due. This device brought him again in favour among his Souldiers. For certain Papers being found in his Camp caft abroad by his Enemies, promiting great Offices, and a hundred Talents befides to any man that killed Eumenes: the MACEDONIANS that ferved under him were fo offended withall, that they presently set down an Order, that from that time forward a thousand of the best Souldiers among them (which also had Charge under them) should always guard his Person, keeping Watch every night about him, as fell out by turns one after another. Whereunto they all agreed:

chief City of Lydia.

give unto their Friends, and which they gladly received. For through their grant he had Authority to give Purple Cloaks and Hats to whomhe thought good, which was the honourableft Gift the King of Macedon could give. It is true, that proferrity maketh fimple men high-minded, whereby they feem (though they be not) very honourable, but specially when Fortune bath raifed whereby they retail amongs and to horse them to Honour and Wealth. But indeed he that is of anoble mind and from courage, is best different ned in adversity: for he never yieldeth to any troubles, as appeareth by Eumenes. For when he The conflarcy had loft a Battle among the ORCYNIANS, in the Realm of CAPPADOCIA, through the treason of Eumenter in of one of his Souldiers he being purfued, yet never gave the Traitor any leifure to fly to his Enemits for fafety, but took him and truffed him up. And after he had fled for a time, he turned his Horfe head upon a fudden, and leaving his Enemies fide-hand of him that had him in chafe, he closely ftole by them without their knowledge, and held on journeying to long, untill he came to the felf faine plain where the Baute was fought. There he camped, and gathering up the dead Bodies (the Captains by themselves, and the Souldiers apart) he burnt them with the Doors, Gates and Windows of all the Villages and Towns thereabouts that he could get together: and inflead of Tombs for them, he raifed up great heaps of Earth, Infomuch as Antigonus coming thither immediately after, he wondered much at his valiantness and invincible courage. Removing thence, he met with Ansigonus Carriage, and might easily without danger have taken a number of Priloners as well free as bond, and have gotten all the Riches and Treature which they had spoiled in so many fundry Wars, Towns and Countries: howbeit he was afraid that if his Souldiers were loden with that spoil, it would make them more heavy to march, and unable to fly, but specially more tender to abide to run from place to place a long time together, being the onely mean wherein he trufted to come to end this War. For he made account that Anisgonus in the end would be weary in following him fo long a time, and therefore that he would turn fome other

and Eumenes gave them those honours and rewards which the Kings of MACEDON were wont to

ways and reverse the perceived that it was impossible for him by his Authority to keep the Mack-no make from taking lich a Prey, as offered it felf unto them: whereupon he commanded them to fay a while, and bait their Horfe first, and then that they should go straight to spoil the Enemies Carriage. But in the mean time he fecretly fent a Messenger to Menander (who had the Charge and Conduct of all the Carriage) to will him to fly with all fpeed out of the plain, and to get him to the Hanging of a Hill not tar from thence, and fafe from Horfemen, where they could be environed, and there to fortifie himfelt, fending him word also, that he fent him this advertifement, for the old friendship and acquaintance that had been between them afore. Menander hearing what danger he was in, made his men trufs up their Carriage straight. Thereupon ε umenes openly fent certain light Armed men to discover, and to bring him news : and therewithall commanded them to Arm, and bridle their Horses, as if he had meant to have led them against the Enemies. His Scouts were now returned, and told him that it was unpossible either to distress or take Menander, for that he was fled into a place of fuch ftrength, and therefore was not to be come by. Eumenes seemed to be very forry for it, howbeit he led his Army from thence notwithstanding. Menander asterwards reported this matter to Anigonus, and the MACEDONIANS that were in his Army, who did greatly commend Eumenes, and after that loved him better then ever they did before: because that having their Children in his hands whom he might have made Slaves, and their Wives alsowhom he might have defiled, he spared them all. Howbeit Antigonus to put them out of this humour, told them, Ye are deceived, my Friends: for it was not for your fakes, nor yet to pleasure you, that Eumenes took not your Wives, your Children, and your Goods, but onely for the fear he had to have fhackles on his heels, to let him from speedy flying. So Enmenes departing from thence, fled still before Antigonus, and wandring up and down, did himself with his Souldiers to get them fomewhere elfe; either indeed for that he was carefull of them, or for that he was unwilling to have such a number about him, being too few to fight a Battle, and too many to hide his flying. In fine, he went to a ftrange place of fituation, called Nora, in the Confines of Lyconia and Cappadocia, with five hundred Horfemen, and two hundred Footmen well Armed: and when he was come thither also, he gave every one leave to depart that asked him licence, because they could not have abidden the discommodity of the place, which was very straight, and the lack of necessary Victuals, which they must needs have wanted, if the Siege did continue long: and thus departed from them with very good words and loving counte-nance. Shortly after came Antigonus before the Fort, but would not befiege it, before he fent for Euments to come to him upon his word. Eumenes answered him, that Antigonus had many of his friends about him, that after him might come to be the Heads of his Tribe, and that himself on the other side had not a Nobleman for whom he fought: and therefore if Antigonus would have him come and speak with him, that he should fend him one of his chiefest Friends in Hostage. Again, Antigonus being earnest with him, and telling him, it was reason he should come to him, for that he was the better man, and of greater power; Eumenes answered him: I will achowledge none better than my felf, so long as I can hold my Sword in my hand. In the end, Asrigonus (according to Eumenes request) tent his own Nephew Prolomy into the Fort, and then Eumenes talk came Eumenet, out. At their meeting they both embraced and faluted each other, as friends of old with Anigoacquaintance and familiarity, and to fell in talk of divers matters: but all this while Eumenes ne- nus, and his ver once made request to depart in safety, neither yet demanded pardon, but onely desired the magnanimity. confirmation of his Charge and Government, and that he might be reftored to that which was given him. They that were prefent at that meeting, marvelled much at Eumenes, and greatly commended his froutness. Now whiles they were thus in talk together, the MACEDONIANS came out of all parts of the Camp, to fee what manner of man Eumenes was : because that after the death of Craterus, there was no talk among the MACEDONIAN Souldiers of any Captain but of Eumenes. Nevertheless, Antigonus fearing they would do Eumenes some mischief, commanded them aloud to give back, and made stones to be thrown among them to keep them off him. All this notwithstanding he was fain in the end to put them off with his Guard, and to take \mathcal{E}_{k-1} menes in his Arms, and had much ado to deliver him fafely into his Fort again. After this imparlance, Antigonus compafied this Fort of Nora round about with a Wall, and left a sufficient Euments, benumber of men to continue the Siege, and to went his way with the reft of his Army. In the mean fieged in the time Eumenes remained befieged within his Fort, where there was plenty of Wheat, Water, and Fortot Nats. Salt, but of no other thing that was good to eat, nor of sweet tafte, to sustain them with their Bread. Yet with such as he had he kept them in good liking that were in house with him. For he made them every one after another fit at his Board with him, and withall did fashion out that manner of diet, with a certain life and familiarity of pleasant devices to entertain them at their Meat. For belides that he fought to shew them as pleasant a countenance as he could, yet naturally he had a fweet fair Face, not looking like a man of War, that all the days of his life had Ements perbeen trained up in it: but like a fresh youth, being of such a constitution of body, that the excellentest Workman that ever was, could not better set out all the parts and proportion of a man, then were naturally to be feen in him. His speech was not harfh nor churlish, but very mild and pleafant, as appeareth by the Letters he wrote. Now for the Siege, there was nothing that more annoyed the belieged then the narrownels of the Fort, wherein they were, which was not above two Furlongs compals about, and their Houses so little and narrow, that they could scant turn them in them, and did eat and drink without any manner of Exercise for themselves, or

Eumenes in-

their Horse. Now Eumenes to take away the sluggishness that growing the land with travell and pains, to keep them in Breath, and to make them the lighter to fly, if occasion were offered, put his men into the longest and widest Siege for Mar- Hall he had in his House (being fourteen Cubits long to walk up and down in) and taught them first of all to march fair and fortly, and then by little and little to hasten their pace : for the Horses he had, them he made to be girt before, one after another, and then did fortly trife them up with long Pulleys aftned to the beams, their hindmost part standing on the ground, and their formost being aloft. The Horse being triled up in this manner, their Riders came with loud cries behind them and some with whips in their hands to lash them, that the Horse being mad withall, yerked out behind, and fprang forward with his formost legs to touch the ground, that they did but even rafe it a little, fo that every vein and finew of them were strained by this means, that they blew, and were all of a foam withall ; fogood an exercife to them it was, as well to put them in breath, as to keep their legs supple to run. After that, they had their Oats very clean pickt and dressed, that they might digeft them the sooner. Antigonus having long continued this Siege, news came unto him that Antipater, was dead in MACEDON, and that the Realm was in a great broil, through the Factions of Casander and Polyperchon. Ansigonus whose head was straight full of great imaginations, greedily coveting with himfelf the whole Kingdom of MACEDON, thought good to make Eumenes his Friend, that through his help he might attain his desired purpose. Thereupon he fent Hieronymus unto him to treat of Peace, and gave him the form of the Oath which he would have him swear unto him. When Eumenes had seen it, he would not be sworn in that manner, but corrected it, and faid: that he did refer himself to the judgement of the MACEDONIANS which kept him belieged, to judge which of those two forms was most meetest, that which Antigenss had fent him, or the same which he had corrected. For in Antigonus form of Oath, there was a little mention onely made at the beginning of the blood Royal, but in all the reft following, was a little mention onely made at the beginning of the blood Royal, but in all the reft following, he bound Eumenes particularly to himfelf. But Eumenes in his form of Oath, did first of all put Olympias the Mother of King Alexander, and the Kings his Sons afterwards: and for the reft he fwore he would be Friend of the Friends, and Enemy of the Enemies, not of Antigonus onely, but of the Kings, and of Olympias. The MACEDO NIANS being at the Siege before Nora, did bener like the form of Eumenes Oath, then they did that of Antigonus. So having given Eumenes his Oath, and made him swear according to that form, they raifed their Siege, and sent also unto Antigonus to take his Oath. All this accomplished, Eumenes redelivered the Cappadocians their Hostages, (which he had kept in NORA with him) and they that came from them, gave him in their flead, Horse of War, Beafts of Carriage, Tents and Pavillions. Thus he began to gather his men again rogether, which were dispersed abroad after his overthrow, so that in few days he was above a thouland Horsemen, with whom he fled, fearing yet Anigonus: and he did wifely. For Antigons had not onely commanded them to thut him up again straighter then he was before: but besides that wrote sharp Letters, and very angerly unto the MACEDONIANS, which had accepted the correction of the Oath. Whilst Eumenes wandred up and down flying still, he received Letters from certain in MACEDONIA (fearing Antigonus greatness) and specialof rousp. rather to Alex. ly from Olympias, which fent unto him to come into Macedon, to take the Charge and Government of her young Son Alexander, whom they fought to put to death. Furthermore, helikewife received Letters from Polyperchan, and from King Philip, who commanded him to make War DES: and besides, to defray the Charges of the Wars, as much as he thought meet. And therewithall also they wrote unto Antigenes and Tentamus, the two Captains of the ARGYRASPIDES, to wir, the Souldiers with the Silver Shields, or Shields Silvered, which were of the old bands of Alexanders Army. These two Captains having received these Letters, did use Eumenes with conjecture that they envied him; for either of them both thought themselves men sufficient, and worthy to command Eumenes, not to aid him. Howbeit Eumenes behaved himself very wifely, for as touching their envy, he pacified that, because he took not the Money which lie was commanded to take for his own use, for that he had no need of it. And as for their ambition and prefumption, disdaining to be commanded by him, though they could neither tell how to command nor obey, he did reclaim them by a superstition he laid before them, which friewed him a Pavillion sumpruously set out in the state and magnificence of a King, in the which was a Royal Throne : and told him, that if they would keep their Council-place in that Pavillion, he would be prefent among them, and aid them in all their Counfels, and Conducts of their Wars, so that they would alwaies begin by him. He easily perswaded Antigenes and Teutamus to believe that which he spake, who would not go to him to consult of any matters: neither did he think it honourable for himfelf to be feen to go to other mens Gates. Wherefore with all their confents they incontinently fet up a goodly rich Pavillion, which was called Alexanders Pavilhion: and their they kept their Councils and Affemblies for dispatch of all their weightiest Causes. After this, they went towards the high Countries, and met with Pencestas on the way (Eumenes very great Friend) who joyned with them, and other great Peers of the Realm, with all their power befides. This did greatly strengthen the Army of the Noblemen of MACEDONIA, as touching

named Philip.

Burners made with Antigonus with his Army he had in CAPPADOCIA, and to put in his Purse of the Kings five Eliments made hundred Silver Talents (which had been taken from him before) which were in the City of CY N-King Philips Lieutenant of his Army. Argyrajpides called, fortheir very good words, and shewed him great countenance: yet a man by their looks might easily filvered Shields. perance. Eumenes fain-was this. He made them believe that Alexander did appear unto him in his sleep, and that he

the minter of men, and their brave Armours and Furniture : but for their own persons, because they had no man to command them fince the death of Alexander, they were grown felf-willed by diffolute liberty, and effeminate in their manner of life; and moreover they had gotten a Tyrannical fierceness, nourished and encreased by the vanities of the barbarous People. So that many of them being then together, could not be quiet one with another, but shamefully flattered the old bands of the MACEDONIAN Souldiers, giving them Money, and making them Banquets and Feasts of Sacrifices. And thus in short time, of a Camp they brought it to be a dissolute Tavern, where the Noblemen got into the Souldiers favour that they might be chosen Chieftains of all the Army: like as the common Peoples Voices are bought in tree Cities (where the People do rule) to be preferred to honourable States and Offices of the Commonwealth. Now Eumenes wilfound straight that these Peers of the Realm disdained one another, howbeit that they all seared lingues to and mistrusted him, and fought but for opportunity to kill him. Wherefore to prevent this, he wind himfelf made as though he had occasion to occupy Money, and so borrowed a great Sum of them speci- out of danger. ally whom he knew most hated him, to the end that from thenceforth they should no more diftruft, but truft him, standing in fear to lose the Money they had lent him. And thereof followed a strange thing: for other mens Money and Goods was the safety of his Life. For where others give Money to fave their Lives, he by taking of Money faved his own Life. Now for the Souldiers of the MACEDONIANS, whilft they faw they were without danger of Enemies to make them afraid, they still hung upon them that gave them, being defirous to be made Generals, and came every morning to their uprifing to wait upon them, and follow them wherefoever they went. But when Antigonus was come to Camp hard by them with a great and puissant Army, and that their case required then a valiant Captain and skilfull Leader: not the Souldiers alone, but all the Peers and States belides (which in Peace did brave it out) did then willingly (without motion made) submit themselves unto Eumenes, to be at his Commandment. For when Antigonus affayed all the ways he could to pass over the River of Pastigris, the Peers which were layed Pastigris ft. in divers placestolet him from paffing over, heard nothing of it, fo that there was none but $\mathcal{E}ume$ nes onely that refifted him, and fought with him, where he flew fuch a number of his men, that Eumenies Bathe filled the River with them, and took four thouland of them Priloners. Again, when Eu- the with Antimenes was fick, these old bands did more plainly shew what opinion they had of him, and of gonus, and his others, to wit, that they could banquet them, and make them good cheer at their Houses, vet that Eumenes onely of all other was worthieft to be their Captain, and to command them. For Peucestas having feasted them in the Kingdom of Persia, and given every Souldier a Mutton to Sacrifice, thought he had wongreat favour and credit among them. But shortly after, as the Army marched against their Enemies, Eumenes by missortune fell dangerously sick, and therefore would needs be carried in a Litter far from the Camp, to be out of the noise, because he Antizonus could take no reft. But they had not gone far, before they faw their Enemies, which having paffed Souldiers are over certain little Hills between them, were coming down into the Valley. When the Souldiers med with gilt faw the gliftering of the gilt Armours of their Enemies that glared in the Sun, and the good order they marched withall in Battle ray, the Elephants with the Towers upon their backs. and the men at Arms with their Purple Coats upon their Armours (which was the Apparell they wore when they went to fight with their Enemies) then the foremost staid upon it, and cryed out, willing them to fend for Eumenes to lead them, for they would else go no further if they had not him for their General. And therewithall they raifed their Pikes, and laid down their Shields at their feet, calling from one to another to ftay, and to their private Captains also: and told them plainly, that they would not ftir a foot from thence, nor fight at all, unless Eumenes were among them to lead them. Eumenes hearing of it, came to them with great speed, halftning his Slaves and Littermen to bring him thither: and then opening his Litter on every fide he held out his right hand to the Souldiers, and told them he was very glad of the good opinion they had of him. The Souldiers also as soon as they saw him, saluted him in the MACEDONIAN Tongue, and took up their Shields, clapping them against their Pikes with a great shout, bidding their Enemies come when they would, they should be fought withall, now that their Captain was among them. Antigonus on the other fide, being informed by certain Priloners which his Souldiers had taken in Skirmish, that Eumenes was fallen very fore fick, and by reason thereof was carried in a Litter, thought now he should have no great ado to discomfit the rest of the Army, and therefore made all possible speed he could to fight. But when he came so near, that he might eafily fee the order and countenance of his Enemies, who were fet in fuch good order of Battle, that it could not any ways be amended, he was much amazed withall, and paufed a great while; and in the mean time spied Eumenes Litter a far off, carried from one end of the Battle to the other, whereat he laughed out aloud, as his manner was, and turning himself to his Friends, said: See, faid he, I believe it is that Litter that maketh War with us, and doth offer us Battle. But with those words, he founded the retreat, and brought his men back again into his Camp. When this fear was a little passed over, the MACEDONIANS sell to their old trade again, the Peers to flatter the Souldiers, and the Souldiers to wax brave and ftout against their Captains: so that when they came to take their Garrisons for the winter time, they divided in a manner among them the whole Countrey of the GABENIANS, the first from the last being lodged almost a

thouland furtongs off. Which Antigonus understanding, desermined to fet upon them, they mif-

trufting nothing; and so went suddenly towards them, by a shorter way then that he had already

come, but the worfer way a great deal, and where no water was to be track in bone thank the men thus differfed afunder, their Captains could not readily aftended them. But while he was in this his Journey, in the defart crooked way, he was fo overtaken with fuch bouterous winds and extream bitter cold, that his Souldiers could go no further, but were forced to rous whose and extream once come, that its soundard come go no actions a sur was rotted to tarry fill, to provide them prefent remedy against the fury of the time. Now the onely remedy they had, was to make numbers of fires: and by them their Enemies knew of their coming. For the barbarous People inhabiting the Mountains, towards the Defart, being amazed to fee fuch a number of fires in the Valley, fent prefently with speed upon two Camels light loden, to advertife Pencestru, who being nearest unto the Mountains was so scared with these news, that he was at his wits end, not knowing what to do. For feeing his other Companions as much afraid as himself, he fled upon it, and carried all them with him which he met in his way. But Eumenes qu'eted this great fear, affuring them that he would ftay the sudden attempt of their Enemies, and that they should come three days later then they looked for: which they believed. Then and that they mount come and the captains, commanding them speedid Eumenes send Messengers into every quarter to all the Captains, commanding them speedid ly to put their men in readinels, and to meet him in a certain place which he appointed. Himfelf went in the mean time with other Captains to chuse a fit ground to lodge a Camp, the which might eafily be feen from the top of the Mountains which they must pass that come from the Defart: and there fortified the same with Trenches, and divided it out into quarters, making Fire in every place, such a distance off one from another, as they use commonly to make in a Camp. It was no fooner done, but Antigonus came to the top of the Mountains, and faw these Fires afar off, which grieved him much: for he thought that his Enemies had long before known of his coming, and that they came against him, Being afraid therefore less this Enemies would compell him to fight, coming fresh upon him, his own men being weary and done with the pains they had abidden, coming through that Defart Countrey: he took his way to lead back his Army, not the nearest way by the which he came, but through the Country richly inhabited and replenished with great Cities and good Towns, to refresh his over-wearied People. Yet feeing he had none Alarms given, nor any Skirmiftes offered him, (as they use commonly when both Armies are near together) and that the Valley-men told him that they had feen none other Army but his, faving that round about there were store of Fires: then he thraight mittrufted that it was one of Eumenes Stratagems of War, wherewith he had deceived him. And therewithall he was in such a rage, that he went straight to the place where he thought to find him, determining no more to fteal upon him, but to put all to the hazard of a Battle. But in the mean time, the most part of the Host was gathered about Eumenes, for the great estimation every man had of his wifdom and fufficiency: infomuch that they agreed and ordained, that he onely as their Lieutenant Generall should command the whole Army. This spited the two Captains of the ARGYRASPIDES, Antigenes and Teutamut, who bare him fuch an inward grudge, that from that time forth they practifed his death : and affembling together with many Emments death of the States and particular Captains, they fate in Council to know when, and in what fort they of the States and particular Captains, they have a ffembled in this Council, were whole of opinion, that they should take the benefit of his service in leading the Baule, and that immediately after they should put him to death. This being thus resolved upon, Eudamus Captain of the Elephants, and another called Phedinsus, went fecretly and told Euments what they had concluded upon in the Affembly against him, not for any good will that they bare him, or for that they fought to pleafure him, but onely because they were afraid to lose the Money they had lent him.

Eumens gave them great thanks, and commended their fidelity, and then reported it unto his best Friends, and told them: You see how I am environed with a Troop of wild and brurish beasts. That done, he made his Will, and tore all the Letters and Writings that had been fent him, because all his Friends he would not have them fuffer for him after his death, that had fent him fecret advertisements. au nu Friends in cround not door than none; for min and the private matters in this fort, he frood in a doubt whether our of the the doubt the Bull of the private matters in this fort, he frood in a doubt when ther he should lose the Battle, giving his Enemies the Victory, or whether it were better for him to fly into Cappadocia, through Media and Armenia. Howbeir he reloved of nothing before his Friends. But when the milchief he was in, had put divers thoughts into his head, in fine, he determined to fight, and did fee his Army in Battle-ray, perfecting the Grecians as well as trouble. the barbarous People to fland to it like men. And as for the old Souldiers of the Macedonians, they so little needed exhortation, that they themselves did exhort Eumenes to be of good courage, faying that their Enemies would never abide them, because they were all the oldest Souldiers, and of greatest experience that had been in all the Conquests of King Philip, and of his Son Alexander; and that it was never heard that they had been overthrown in any fer Battle, the most of The old bands them being threefcore and ten years old, and the youngest no less then threefcore. Whereupon, when they ran with great fury to give charge upon their Enemies, they cryed out aloud fpeaking to the Souldiers of the MACEDO NIANS that were under Antigonus: Ah wretches, come ye to fight with your Fathers? And so assaulting them with a lufty courage, and in rage withall, years old, and In a (hort space overthrew the Squadron of the Enemies, and flew the most part of them in the most above. Field. Thus was Antigonus Army clean overthrown on that fide: but on the other fide where Emerges Con- his men of Arms were, through Penceffus cowardliness (that handled himself very ill at that Baitle) he had the upper hand and wan all their Carriage, through his forefight in the greatest fury of the Battle, and, the strength of the place where the Battle was fought. For it was a marvellous

Eumenes Stratagem against

conspired.

of the Maccdo-

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great plain of length, neither too deep, nor yet too hard underfoot, but covered over with a small fine fand, much like to a dry fand the Sea castethup, and leaveth upon the shoar. This sand being feattered abroad by riding and going too and fro of fo many thoulands of men and Horses during the time of the Battle foughten, had raifed fuch a mighty dust and white smoak in the Element, as if they had stirred or tempered white-lime together : which troubled their fight so fore, as they could see nothing before them : in respect whereof Antigonus might easily seize all their Carriage, themselves being never a whit the wifer. The Battle being come to this pass you have heard, Tentamus sent presently unto Antigonus, to pray him to redeliver them their Carriage again, which he had taken and carried into his Camp. Anigonus made him answer, that he would not onely redeliver the goods unto the ARGYRASPIDES, but would moreover use them with all the favour he could, so farforth as they delivered Eumenes into his hands. Whereupon the ARGY- Eumenes be-RASPIDES took prefently a wicked refolution, to deliver him alive into the hands of his Enemies, trayed by the And with that determination they came near unto him, not making any countenance as though Argyrafidet. they would lay hands on him, but rather feeming to guard and defend his Person, as their manner was: fome of them lamenting that their goods were gone : others telling him that he cared not now that he had won the Battle: and others accusing the Noblemen of cowardliness, saying, that the fault was in them that they had not the whole Victory. But in fine, one of them having spied his time, flew to him, and took his Sword out of his hand: the others ftraight laid hold of him, and bound both his hands behind him with his own girdle. Antigonus understanding it, sent Nicator thither to take him out of their hands, and to bring him to him. Then Eumenes having made request unto them to fuster him to speak, as they brought him through the bands of these old MACEDONIAN Souldiers, it was granted him with condition, that he should make no motion unto them to turn from that they were determined to do, but to tell them of things, which (as he said) tended greatly to their benesit. Whereupon silence being made, he got up upon a little hillock, and there spake unto them, putting forth his hands being bound. O wretched and faithless men, the wickedest that ever MACEDON bred | What so great Triumph or Victory, hath ever Antigonus won of you, having fought it fuch infinite wates, as you your felves do now put imo his hands, delivering him your Captain bound and manacled? Will not this be to your great shame, that being Masters of the Field, you will grant the honour of the Victory unto your Enemy, onely for a little coverousness of Money and pattry stuff which you have loft? And yet is not this all, but the worst behind : to fend your Captains as you do to pay the Ransom of your baggage. " For my felf, though now they lead me bound, yet do I remain free unovercome, van. The Oration "quither of mine Enemies, and fold by them that should be my friends. Well, yet this request I of Eumenes of " onely make unto you in the Name of Japiter, Protector of Arms, and for the honour of the gods, Argraphiles "(unto whom all vowed Oaths ought faithfully to be kept) I pray and conjure you, to kill me your his Souldiers. " felves in this place. For all cometh to one end. To be flain in Anisgonus Camp by the hands " of mine own Enemies, will ever be counted your deed: and you may be affured he will not be " angry withall, for he onely defireth Eumenes death, and not his life. If you will needs hold your " hands from this attempt, unloose yet one of mine onely, that shall suffice to do the feat. And "if for fear ye will not put a Sword in my hand, throw me bound yet hand and feet unto wild "Beafts: which if ye perform, then do I difcharge you of your Oath taken between both my hands "which ye have sworn unto your Captain, as holily and perfectly performed. Upon this speech of Eumenes, all the rest of the Army had compassion of him, that they wept for tender affection. But the ARGYRASPIDES cryed out to carry him away, and not give ear to his Preaching; and that it was a good deed to punish this wicked CHOERONESIAN, according to his deferts, considering that he had turmoiled the MACEDONIANS with endless War and Battle. And moreover, that it were too much shame that the worthiest Souldiers that ever served King Philip and Alexander, to painfully in all their Wars, thould for recompence of their Service in their old age be turned a begging, their Wives having now lain three nights with their Enemies. With thole words, they violently drave him on towards Antigonus Camp, who fearing left the multitude of People that ran to fee him, would smoother him in the press, because every man ran out of the Camp, he sent thither ten of the strongest Elephants he had, and a good number of men at Arms of the MEDES and PARTHIANS, to make way for him in the preads. When Eumenes was now come into Antigonus Camp, his heart would not ferve him to fee him in that miserable state, for that they had once been familiarly acquainted together. Whereupon, such as had him state, for that they had once been familiarly acquainted together. Whereupon, such as had him Antigonas and in their custody, came to Antigonas to ask him, how he would have him kept: who answered werfor keeping them : Like a Lion or an Elephant. Yet within a while after he took pity of him, and difchar of Eumenether ged him of his weightieft Irons, and fent one of his houlhold Servants to him to fee him well ufed, ing Priloner. and fuffered his friends to come and bring him any thing he lacked. Thus did Antigonus defer many daies before he would determine ought of Eumenes, hearing every man ipeak, and pondering their purposes and several opinions. Nearchus CRETAN, and his own Son Demetring spake for Eumenes, and made fuit to fave his life, contrary to all the other Lords and Captains that were about Antigonus, who would in any case have him die. Eumenes standing on these termes, asked his Keeper Onomarchus one day, what Antigonus meant, that having his The noble Enemy in his hands, he did not quickly rid him out of his pain, or nobly deliver him? Onomar-mind of Euroch chus churlishly answered him again, that the time was past now to shew his courage, as though ness. he feared not death; and that he should have shewed it in the Field at the Battle. So help me fu-

The death of

Eumenes.

EUMENES and SERTORIOS

piter (quoth he) fo have I done, and if thou believest not me, ask them that set upon me: for I never met with man yet more strong then my self, Onomarchus replied again: fith now therefore thou haft found a stronger then thy felf, why then canst thou not abide his pleasure? In fine, when Antigonus had refolved of his death, he commanded them to give him no more Meat: and thus taking his fuftenance from him, Eumenes was three days a dying. In the mean time came fuch News, that fuddenly the Camp removed, and therefore before their departure, a man was fent to Eumenes to dispatch him out of his pain. Antigonus licenfed his friends to take his Body and burn it, and then to gather his after and bones to fend them to his Wife and Children. Eumener being flain in this manner, the gods appointed none other Judges to revenge the dilloyalty and treason of the ARGYRASPIDES and their Captains, for betraying Eumenes, but Ansigonus felf: who detefting them as cruel murtherers, and perjured Perfonsto the gods, appointed Ibyrtim Governour of the Province of ARACHOSIA, to kill them every Mothers Son what way he could, that none of them might ever fee MACEDON again, nor ward of treason the Greekish Sea.

The end of the Life of Eumenes.

THE COMPARISON OF EUMENES with SERTORIUS.



The Government of Eumenes and Serto-Tius.



Ere we have fet down the things worthy memory of Eumenes and Sertorius. Now to compare them together, in this they were both alike : that they being ftrangers in a ftrange Countrey, and banished out of their own, had alwaies been Captains of divers Nations, and Chieftains of great and warlike Arm ies. But this was proper to Sertorius, that all those of his Faction gave him the chiefest place of Authority, as the most sufficientest man among them, and worthiest to command: where Eumenes having many that contended against him for the chief rule and conduction of the Army, through his noble Deeds, obtained the chief place

and Authority in the fame. So that they obeyed the one, defiring to be governed by a good Captain: and for their own fafety gave place to the other, feeing themselves unable to command. For Servorius being a ROMAN, governed the SPANIARDS and LUSITANIANS: and Eumenes a CHOERRONE-SIAN, the MACEDONIANS. Of the which the SPANIARDS of long time had been fubject to the Empire of ROME: and the MACEDONIANS at that time had subdued all the World. Furthermore, Servorius being then of great estimation, for that he was a Senator of Rome, and had charge of men of War before, came to the Dignity and Estate to be Chiestain of a great Army. Where Eumens came with small reputation, distained for that he was but a Secretary: and when he began to come forwards, had not onely lefs means to prefer him then Servorins had, but greater lets and impediments alfo, to hinder his rifing and eftimation. For many openly stood against him, and secretly conspired his death: and not as Serverius, whom no man contraried from the beginning, untill his latter end, when certain of his Companions secretly conspired against him. Therefore Servorius end of all his dangers, was to overcome his Enemies: where Euwenes greatest dangers came through his Victories which he wan of his own men, through the malice of them that envied his Honour. Now for their Deeds of Arms, they are both in manner alike: but on the other fide for their Conditions, Eumenes naturally loved War and contention, and Sertorius embraced peace and quietness. For Eumenes that might have lived in fafety with Honour, if he would but have given place to his betters, and forfaken the Wars : liked better with the danger of his life to follow Martial Feats, with the greatest Personages of Macedon, and in the end so came to his death. Sertorius contrarily being

The deeds and Scrtorius.

AGESILAUS.

unwilling to come in trouble, was forced for the fafety of his Perfon to take Arms against them that would not let him live in Peace. For had not Eumenes been so ambitious and stour to strive against Antigonus for the chiefest place of Authority, but could have been contented with the second, Antigonus would have been right glad thereof : where Pompey would never fo much as fuffer Sertorius to live in rest. So the one made voluntary War onely to rule, and the other against his will was compelled to rule, because they made Wars with him. Whereby it appeareth that Eumenes naturally loved War, preferring the covetous defire of a better Estate, above the fasety of his life: and the other as a right Souldier, used the Wars onely for a mean to fave his life by valiant defence of Arms. Furthermore, the one was flain, miftrufting no treason against him and the other, looking every hour for present death threatned him. Whereof the one argued a noble mind, not to miffrust them whom he thought his Friends: and the other shewed a faint heart, being taken when he meant to fly. So Sectorius death dishonoured not his life, suffering that of his own Companions, which his deadly foes Sectorius death could never make him fuffer. The other having no power to avoid his destiny before he was taken, more honest and having fought means to live being in Prison and Captivity, could neither patiently nor manfully athen the death bide his death. For begging life at his Enemies hands, he gave him his heart with his body, who before of Eumenes. had but his body in his power.

THE LIFE OF AGESILAUS.



Ann. Mund. 3554.

Ant. Christ. 392.



Rehidamus the Son of Zeuxidamus, having honourably reigned in LACEDE - The Parentage MON, left two Sons behind him : Agis which he begat of that Noble Lady of Agofilaus. Lamprido, and Agestiaus a great deal younger, which he had by Eupolia, Melisippidas Daughter. So the Kingdom salling by succession unto Agis the elder, the younger Son Agestlans remaining a private Person, was brought up The instru-after the LACONIAN manner, which was a straight kind of Lise: but withall it taught (hildren how to obey. Whereof it is thought the Poet Simonides filaus. calleth Sparta, Damasimbrotos: to wit, making men civil: for that by con-

tinuance of custom, it frameth the Citizens to be obedient to the Laws, as much or more then any other City that ever was in the World, taming them from their childhood, as they do young Colts. The Law dispenceth with the Heirs apparent to the Crown, from that straight subjection and hard Life: Azesidate learbut Agesilaus had that excellency in him above all others of his Estate, that he came to the Dignity ned to obey, and Honour to command, having from his youth learned to obey. The which undoubtedly was the before he came cause, that he knew better then any other King, how to please and bear with his Subject, helping to command.

The modesty of Agefilaus.

lamenels.

Alcibiades

his Royal State and princely behaviour grafted in him by nature, with that courtefie and familiarity, which he had attained by education. At that time when he went incompany with the Boys which were brought up together, Lysander fell in love with him, wondring at the modefty of his wit. For having better Spirit, and being more constant in his opinion then any of the other Children, striving ever to excell in all things, with fuch a vehemency he took all Travels in hand, that it was unpoffible to overcome him, much less to compell him. He was on the other fide fo mild and gentle, that every courteous word wrought in him better obedience then any fear could do: because it grieved him more to be reproved, then to take upon him any pain or labour. And for the deformity of his Legs, the one being shorter then the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleasant wit, he used the matter fo pleafantly and patiently, that he would merrily mock himself: which manner of merry behaviour did greatly hide the blame of the blemish. Yea further, his life and courage was the more commendable in him, for that men faw that notwithstanding his lameness, he refused no pain nor labour. Of his Person we have drawn no counterfeit, because he would not in any wise have it drawn, and did exprefly command by his Will, that they should neither draw his Picture nor make any Mould or Image of his Body. Howbeit we find that he was fmall of Stature, whereby his prefence promifed no great matters to them that beheld him. Yet for that he was ever merry and pleasant, and never pensive nor troublefome in word nor look, even to the laft end of his life he was better loved, then the most fair creature that lived. Notwithstanding, the Ephori (as Theophrastus writeth) did condemn King Archidamus in a sum of Money because he married a little Woman: saying, that he would beget them demy Kings, no Kings indeed. In the time that his eldeft Son Agis reigned King, Alcibiades being banished ATHENS, Hed out of SICILE into LACED MON, and had not long remained in SPARTA before they suspected him that he kept King Agis Wite, called Timea: for which cause Agis would not acknowledge the Child she brought to be his Son, saying that Alcibiades had begotten him. But Times cared not much for it, as Duris writeth: for other while as the fate amongst her Women, fostdultery with ly the called him Alcibiades, not Leotychides. On the other fide they report, that Alcibiades him-King Agis Wife. felf said, it was for no hurt he meant to any man, that he lay with Queen Timea, but onely for the defire he had that fome of the Kings of LACEDEMON should be begotten of his Seed. Nevertheless at the length he was driven to for fake LACEDEMON, miffrufting King Agu, who ever after doubted of the Child, and thought him a baftard : untill such time as being on his death Bed, Leotychides falling on his knees, wept, and so behaved himself, that Agis before many Witnesses, faid he did acknowledge him for his Son. This notwithstanding, when King Aqu was dead, Lysander that had then overcome the ATHENIANS by Sea, and was more in credit and Authority in the City of SPARTA vercome the ATHENIANS by Sea, and was more in create and Authority in the City of SPARTA

Agestians create then any other, practifed to put the Crown upon Agestian head, saying that Leotybides had no interest tunto it, because he was a bastard. The like did divers other Citizens say of him, which loved through Lipan Agestian Agestian Vertue, and liked him passingly; for that he had been brought up from his childhood among there means. them. But on the contrary partallo, there was a Sooth fayer or Wizard in SPARTA called Diopithes, that had a number of old Prophecies without book, and was accounted a very skilfull man touching Prophecies and Divinations. He maintained that it was not lawfull for any lame man to be King of SPARTA: and for proof thereof he told this ancient Oracle before the Council.

ders means.

a baftard.

As stately as thy stomach is, O Sparta take good heed. And stand upon thy guard, and look about thee, I thee read, For halting one day down will cast thine Empire to the ground. By mean of Wars and troubles great that shall inclose thee round.

Lyfander replyed against it, faying, that if the SPARTANS were afraid of this Oracle, they should rather beware of Leorychides. For the gods cared not, if any man lame of a foot afpired to be King: but rather if he were a bastard, and not lineally descended of the Race of Hercules. For that, said he, were to make the Kingdom halt. Agefilaus furthermore alleadged, that the god Neprune himfeli had witnessed that Leorychides was a bastard : for he drave Agis by an Earthquake , to run Agefilians pro- out of his Wives Chamber, and that ten Moneths after that, and more, Leotychides was born. So claimed King was Agestlaus upon these allegations not onely proclaimed King of Sparta, but he had given and Leonybides him moreover, as lawfull Heir, all his Brother Agis Goods, and Leonybides rejected as a baftard. Notwithstanding, confidering that his Parents by the Mothers side were very poor (yet honest men) he left them the moiety of all the goods: by which Act, Agesilans won all their good wills, where elfe they had envied him for his succession in the Kingdom. And (as Xenophon saith) by obeying his Countrey, he grew to fuch power that he might do whatfoever he would. The Ephori and Senators at that time bare all the fway and Government of the Commonwealth; the Ephores Office changing yearly, the other being for life: the which Ephori were onely ordained to bridle the infolency of the Kings, for that they should not (as we have more amply written in Lycurgus Life) have absolute power in their hands. Upon this occasion, the Kings that succeeded in the Government, had (as it were) by Inheritance a present grudge and malice against them. This notwithstanding, Agessiaus took a contrary course to all his Predecessors. For where others cert suthorified prefently quarrelled with the Ephori and Senators, Agefilans did honour and reverence them, cers authorited prefently quarrelled with the Ephori and Senators, Agejuans and notion and rectain the to controll the and would never dispatch any matter without their privity, but was alwaise ready to go when Kings infolential and would never dispatch any matter without their privity, but was alwaise ready to go when congression information in the Election of the Ephori and the Election of the Ephori is any were by chanced to come in, he would rife up unto them; and at the Election of any new Senator, he is any were by chanced to come in, he would rife up unto them; and at the Election of any new Senator, he is any were by chanced to come in, he would rife up unto them; and at the Election of any new Senator, he would for honours fake prefent him a Gown and an Ox. And thus cunningly feeming to honour and increase the dignity of the Senators, winning their good wills, he made his power great, and the Realm much greater. Furthermore, his behaviour towards the rest of his Countreymen was such, as his enmity was lefs faulty then his friendship. For he did never hurt his enemies withour just caute, as in sensing was related in unjust causes. And whereas he thought it a stame not to honour his A_{SCF} that an Dut we alreed its friends even in anjour each of the could not find in his heart to rebuke his friends when they did uprighter encennies when they had done well, he could not find in his heart to rebuke his friends when they did uprighter encennies when they had done well, amifs, but rather gloried in succouring and helping of them in their evil doings. For he thought it my than a no shame to serve his friends turn, howsoever it were. Again, when any of his adversaries offend. ed, he was as forry for it as any man, and as ready to bear with it if he were entreated: whereby he allured and wan the hearts of all men. The Ephovi feeing that, and fearing his power, punished him in money, for that he made the common love of his Countrey private to himfelf. For as natural Philosophers hold opinion, that if contention and strife were taken out of Nature, it would come to pass that the heavenly bodies should stand still, and also that the generation of all things should be at a stay, by reason of the mutual agreement between the world and them: even so, the Law-maker of LACEDEMON feemed to have allowed ambition and strife in the Commonwealth, as a spur to Whether convertue, by procuring always fome contention and emulation among great persons. And his reason tention among was, that this base and effeminate favour, in winking one at another when men are to be rebuked, the nobility be was, that this bale and ettemmate tayour, in winking one at another when then are to be reduced, profitable in a ought not of right to be called by the name of Concord. And fure fome think that Homer also faw Common. the same, for he would never else have made Agamemnon to have rejoyced to see Ulifes and Achil- wealth. ks at great words together, if he had not been of opinion, that envy and contention among great men, were very available for the Commonwealth. Yet is not this thus fimply to be allowed: for contentions are hurtfull to Cities, where they are violent, and do bring great dangers with them. Now when Ageflaus was entred into his Kingdom of LACEDEMON, news were brought him out of Asia, that the King of Persia prepared a great Navy to conquer the Lacedeno-NIANS figniory by fea. Lyfauder being glad of this occasion, longing to be fent again into ASIA to fuccour his friends whom he left there as Governours and Lieutenants of Cities and Provinces(of the which, some of them were driven away by their Citizens, others also put to death for abuting their authority, and ruling over-cruelly) perfivaded Azefilaus to go into Asia, to make War upon this barbarous King, far from GREECE, before his Army were gathered together. And to compass this the cashler, he wrote unto his friends in ASIA, that they should send unto SPARTA to require Agessiaus for their Captain, and so they did. Thereupon Agessiaus going to the assembly of the people, accepted the charge, with condition that they would give him thirty Captains of the Spar-TANS to be Counsellors and Affistants to him in these Wars, two thousand free ILOTES, and fix thousand of the confederates of LACEDEMON. All this was immediately granted through Lyfanders friendship towards him, and he was feat away straight with the thirty Captains which he had requefted , of the which Lyfander was the chiefeft, not onely for his riches and authority, but also for the good will he bare unto Agefilaus: who thought himfelf more beholding to him for procuring Afia. him this charge, then for his friendthip he thewed him in bringing him to be King. Now Ageflians Army being affembled at the Haven of Gereffa, himself with certain of his friends went unto the City of AULIDE, where in his sleep he dreamed that one said unto him: O King of the LACEDEMONI-ANS, thou knowest that never none but Agamemnon, and now thy self, was chosen General of all GREECE: considering therefore that thou commandest the same people he did, that thou makest Agestians Wars with the felf fame enemies, departing from the felf fame place to go thither, it is reason that lide. thou make the felf same sacrifice unto the goddes, the which he made at his like departure. Agest-Laus straight upon this vision, remembred that Agamemnon through the perswasion of the Soothfayers did facrifice his own daughter in the fame place: yet this made him not afraid, but the next day he told it to his friends, and faid, he would facrifice that unto the goddels, which he thought would please her well enough; and that he would not follow that cruel devotion of this ancient Captain Agamemnon. And with that, he brought a Hinde crowned with a Garland of Flowers, and commanded his Soothfayers to facrifice her, and would not fuffer him to have the honour to do the facrifice that was appointed for the same purpose by the Governours of BOEOTIA according to the cultom of that place. The Governours of BOEOTIA understanding it were much offended, and fent their Officers to will Agefilaus not to do any facrifice there, contrary to the law and cuftom of their Countrey. The Officers that were fent, performed their commission: and finding that the beaft was flain, and the quarters of it upon the Altar, they took and flung them off the Altar every way. This vexed Ageillans, being ready to imbarke, and depart thence in choler against the THE BANS, and miltrufted much his good fuccess by this unlucky prediction, which seemed to prognofficate unto him, that he should prevail according to his desire. Furthermore, when he was arrived at EDHESUS, he presently missisked the honour he saw done unto Lysander, and the great train that waited on him. For all the Countreymen there repaired continually to his house; and when Landing global and the countreymen there repaired continually to his house; and when the diminished he came abroad, they all followed him whereforver he went; as though Lyfander had indeed been in 19 diminished, authority to do what he would, and that Agestians onely had but the name to be General, so appointed by the law of LACEDAMON. For in truth there was never GRECIAN Captain in thole parts that had won him fuch estimation, nor that was more feared then he : nor there was never man that was more beneficial to his friends, neither also that was more hurtfull to his enemies. All these things being fresh in memory, the Countrymen of that Countrey perceiving the simplicity of Agestlans, and

how he was given to please the people, and carried no great majesty nor countenance with him, and observing in LyJander that wonted roughness and sharp speech wherewith they had been

Agefilaus grudge unto Lyfander.

Lyfander.

heads are very dangerous in Common

acquainted before; every man obeyed him, and nothing was done but what he commanded. This first of all made the other Spartans angry, for that it appeared they were come as it were to ferve Lyfander, and not as to countel the King: but after that, Agefilans himself also grew miscontented, although of his own nature he was not envious, nor forry to fee others honoured befides himfelf, Yet being a man ambitiously given, and of a noble courage, fearing if he should do any noble exploit in this war, that they would impute it to Lyfander, for the great estimation he was of, he began to deal in this fort with him. First he contrarred all his counsels: and what matters soever he preferred, which he was defirous should have taken effect; Agefilans would none of that, but took some other in hand. Furthermore, if any of Lyfanders followers came to make fuit to him for his favour, perceiving that they did lean unto Lyfander, he fent them away without any thing done for them. In ceiving that they and that they are the cale also in matters of judgements, if Lyfander were against any, they were fure to have the matter pass on their side. On the contrary part also, if Lysander bare good will to the party, and favoured the cause to gratific him, they hardly escaped from setting a fine on their heads: Agestiaus continuing these shews ordinarily of purpose, not by chance to one or two, but indifferently to all: Lyfander looking into the caule, diffembled not with his friends, but told them plainly, that it was for his fake they had those repulses and wrongs, and therefore did counsel them to wait upon the King, and those that had more credit then himself. Now Agestians supposed he gave that advice to make every man to malice him : wherefore, to despite him the more, he made him diffributer of his victuals: and having done fo, fome fay that he spake these words in open presence of many: Now let them go and honour my flesh-diftributer, Lyjander being grieved withall, said unto the King: My Lord, you know how to oppress your friends. And so do 1, laid Agefilaus, how to keep them under that would be greater than my felt. It may be yet (replied Lysander) I have not done as your Grace doth fay: yet if you so conceive of me, put me I befeech you in some place of charge or office, where I may do you good service without offence. After this talk between them, Agesilans sent him into Helle-SPONT, where by practife he took prisoner a Noble man a PERSIAN, called Spithridates, out of Pharnabazus Province whereof he was Governour, and brought him to Agefilans with a great fum of Gold and Silver, and near about two hundred horsemen with him. All this notwithstanding, he forgat not his grudge to Agestians, but being offended still, sought opportunity and means to defeat the two houses of the priviledge of the Kingdom, and to bring it in common to all the other houses of Sparta: and furely he had made great broil (in my opinion) in the City of Sparta, had he not been prevented by death, in a journey he made into BOROTIA. Thus we fee, that ambitious minds observing no mean, are in a Commonweal oft times more hurtfull then beneficial. For though Lysander was indeed intollerable, to shew himself so ambitious, and out of time: yet was not Agessaur ignorant neither, that there were diversother means less reproachfull to punish such a Noble man, that offended onely by greediness of honour. But to tell you my opinion, they were both blinded with one felf passion: the one not to know his Princes power; and the other not to bear with his friends imperfection. Now Tisaphernes at the first being afraid of Agestians, made league with him, colourably letting him understand that the King would be content to set the Cities of GREECE in ASIA at liberty: notwithstanding, when he thought he had gathered force sufficient to fight with him, he proclaimed war. Agefilaus was very well content withall : for the expectation was great of him through GREECE, that he would do fome noble exploit in his journey, Moreover he thought himselt dishonoured for ever, that the ten thousand GRECIANS which were returned back from the fartheft part of Asia, even unto the sea Major (under the conduct and leading of Xenophon their Captain) had overcome the King of Persia's Army as off as they lifted themselves; and that he which was the Lieutenant General of the LACEDAMONIANS (who at that time commanded both fea and land) should not do some deed worthy memory among the GR E-CIANS. Presently therefore to revenge Tisaphernes perjury by just deceit, he made a countenance as though he would first invade the Countrey of CARIA. Whereupon this barbarous person Ti-Agefilaus deeds saphernes gathered all his power together. But Agesilaus on a sudden returned back again, and ehin Apa, and the fillhood of Ti- tred into PHRYGIA, took there many Cities, and wan great spoil, making his men see by experience, that to infringe and break a league made and avowed by oath, was a facriledge, and contemning of the gods. On the other fide also, that to beguil his enemies, it was not onely just and honourable, but also profitable and pleasant. Now Age flass being weaker in horsemen then his enemies, and finding the livers of the beafts which he had facrificed, without heads, he returned into the City of EPHEsus, and there gathered horsemen together, letting the rich men understand (which would not themfelves ferve in person) that he did dispence with their persons, so that they did set outstorfe and man furnished for service in their place. Many of them took that course, and by this means Age silans Agefilian craft. within few days had levied a great number of men at Arms, instead of footmen that could do small fervice. For they that were unwilling to go to the Wars, did hire them that were willing to ferve in their place; and such as would not serve on horseback, did give them pay that were desirous to ferve in their steads. In this he wifely followed King Agamemnons example, who did dispence with the person of a rich coward for going to the Wars, by taking a good mare of him. Then Agestlaus commanded them that fold the prifoners by the Drumtaken in the Wars, that they should strip them naked, and to fell them, which they did. And fundry persons willingly bought their spoils and raiment, but they fcorned their bodies, because they saw them white skinned, soft and delicate : fo that few men would out-bid the price for them, for that they thought those men unprofitable and good for nothing. Agefilam also being present at this sale of purpose, said thus unto his men: See, my friends, quoth he, these bethe men against whom ye are to fight, and here be the spoils for the which ye shall fight. The time being come now to pur himself into the field; and to invade h s Enemies Countrey again, he gave out that he would enter Lydia, not meaning to deteive Tisaphernes again, but Tisaphernes deceived himself. For he being deceived before by Agestland, gave no credit to this second rumour, but perswaded himself that doubtles Agestan meant then to enter into CARIA, and the rather for that it was a Woody Countrey, very ill for horiemen; it the which he was the weaker. This notwithstanding, Agesilam invading (as he had given it out) the Champion Sardis, the Country, in the which stood SARDIS the capital City of Lydia, Tifaphernes was compelled to chief City of come to refere it in haft; and being come thither with great speed with his horsemen he ftole upon Lydia. many of his Enemies whom he found stragling out of order, spoiling the Countrey, and put the most of them to the fword. Agefilans having intelligence of this, imagined with himfelf that the footmen of his enemy could not yet be arrived, and confidering also that he had his Army whole about him, thought it best forthwith to bid him battle, rather then to delay time any longer. Thereupon he thrust in among the borsemen his light armed footmen, and commanded them straight to charge the enemy, whilft he caused the heavier armed men to follow at their heels, as they did. But the barbarous people fled upon it immediately: and the GRECIANS luftily following the chafe, took barbarous people fled upon it immediately; and the GRECIANS intrity following the cnate, took agofitant vitheir Camp, and made great flaughter of them that fled. After this field foughten, they had leifure agoff them that fled. enough not onely to spoil and over-run the Kings Country at their pleasure, but also to see the re- phermes. venge taken of Tisaphernes, that was a vile man, and a cruel enemy to the GRECIANS. For the King of Persia made another his Lieutenant immediately in his room, called Tithraustes, who strake off Tifaphernes head, and fent unto Agesilam to pray him to take peace with them, and to offer him store of gold and filver to depart out of his Country. Thereto Azefilaus answered, that for peace, it was not in him to make it, but the LACEDAMONIANS; and that for his own part, it was an eafier matter to enrich his fouldiers then himfelf. And furthermore, that the GRECIANS thought it a difhonour to them, to take any gift of their enemies, other then fpoils. This notwithstanding, to gratifie Tithraustes some what, for that he had taken revenge of a common enemy of all the GRECIANS: for the fum of thirty talents given him to defray his charges, he withdrew his Army out of Lydia, and went into PHRYGIA. In his journey he received from the Council of LACED & MON the Scytala and went into PHRYGIA. In his joining the track at the Chizzens had made him also their Geagestian or fcrowl of parchment wreathed about, advertifing him that the Chizzens had made him also their GeAgestian or fcrowl of parchment wreathed about, advertifing him that the Chizzens had made him also their GeAgestian or fcrowl of parchment wreathed about, advertifing him that the Chizzens had made him also their GeAgestian or fcrowl of parchment wreathed about, advertifing him that the Chizzens had made him also their GeAgestian or fcrowl of parchment wreathed about, advertifing him that the Chizzens had made him also their GeAgestian

Agestian or fcrowl of parchment wreathed about, advertifing him that the Chizzens had made him also their GeAgestian or fcrowl of parchment wreathed about, advertifing him that the Chizzens had made him also their GeAgestian or fcrowl of parchment wreathed about, advertifing him that the Chizzens had made him also their GeAgestian or fcrowl of parchment wreathed about, advertifing him that the Chizzens had made him also their GeAgestian or fcrowl of parchment wreathed about, advertifing him that the Chizzens had made him also their GeAgestian or fcrowl or fc parison was of all other the worthieft man of fame in his time, as Theopompus witnesseth: and yet of all the Lacegloried rather to be commended for his vertue, then for the greatness of his authority. In this not-demonians withstanding he was not to be blamed, when he made choice of one Pifander his wives brother, to be Navy. Lieutenant of the Navy, and forfook other Captains of better experience and elder years: feeking rather to pleafe his wife, and to advance one of his kin, then to regard the weal and fafety of his Country. Afterwards he led his Army into Pharnabazus Country which he had in charge, where he found not onely plenty of all forts of victuals, but gathered together also a wonderfull maffe of money. From thence he went into the Realm of PAPHIAGONIA, and made league there with King Corfe, Cotys King of From thence ne went must be recalled to the recall the for faking Pharnabazus, and came unto Agesslam: and after he was come to him, he never went from laws fiend. him, but always followed him wherefoever he went. Spythridates had a young Son that was paffing fair, called Megabetes (of whom Agesilaus had great liking) and likewise a fair young woman to his daughter, of age to be married, whom Agefilam cauled King Corys to marry. So taking of King Corys a thouland horfemen, and two thouland footmen light armed, he returned back to PHRYGIA, and there destroyed Pharnabazus Countrey which he had in Government, who durst not meet him in the field, nor truft to his holds, but still fled from him, carrying all the chiefest things with him, flitting from place to place, untill that Spythridates accompanied with Erippidas the SpAR- Agefilant TAN, followed him fonear, that he took his Camp, and all his treasure in it. But there did Erip draw Phana-pidas thew himself so hard and cruel, over-straightly searching our part of the spoil that had been begur out of imbezled, compelling the barbarous people to deliver it again, ranfacking every corner for it; histenn. that Spythridates was offended withall , that on a fudden he took the PAPHLAGONIANS with him, and went back unto the City of SARDIS. This more grieved Agefilant then any thing that hapened to him in all his journey, for that he loft fo valiant a man as Spyrbridates, and fuch a number of good fouldiers as he carried away with him. Moreover, he was afraid left they would detect him of miferable covetouiness, a thing which he ever was carefull to avoid, not onely in his own perfon, but also to keep all his Countrymen from it. But besides these known causes, the love he bare to Spythridates Son pinched him nearly, though when the Boy was with him, he strived with his own nature to subdue that naughry affection and desire he had of him. For when Megabetes on a time came to make much of him and to kifs him, Agefilaus turned his face from the Boy. The Boy being ashamed of the repulse, durst no more come to familiarly, but saluted him aloof off. Agestian then repented him that he had nor suffered Megabetes to kis him, made as though he marvelled why he did not kifs him as he was wont to do. Then answered some of his familiars about him: Your felf, O King, is in fault, because you durst not tarry, but were airaid to kis so fair a Boy: for if he knew your mind, he would come again, so that you turned your face no more away. When Agefilaus had heard them, he pauled a while, and faid never a word, but in fine answered them:

It shall not need you say any thing to him, for it would do me more good I could refuse such an

other kifs again, than it all that I fee before me were gold. Thus was Agefilans dilposed when

had come again into his presence, he would have rejused a kissat his hands. After that, Pharnaba-

Zur fought to speak with him, and one Apollophanes a CY ZICENIAN brought them together, that

was a friend unto them both: Agefilant, was the first that met at the place appointed with his friends,

and tarrying for Pharnabasas coming, he laid him down upon the deep grafs in the shadow, under a

fair great tree. Pharnabaxus also came thinher, and they spread fost skins long haired, and Tapestry

The meeting of Agefilaus and Pharmaba-

Agefilsus words unto Pharnabaque.

friend.

excellently wrought of divers colours, for him to fit upon the ground. But being shamed to see Agefiles laid on the bare ground in that fort, he also lay down by him, though he had upon him a marvellous rich Gown, of excellent Tiffue and passing colour. Now when they had embraced one another, Pharnabaxus began first to speak, and lacked no good perswasions and just complaints, for that he having been (as he was) a friend unto the LACED MONIANS in the War against the A-THENIANS, was then spoiled and sacked by them. Agessaus then finding that the SPARTANS that were about him at that meeting, hung down their heads for shame, not knowing how to answer him, confidering that Pharnabazus had injury offered him, began to speak in this manner: Heretosore when we were friends with the King (my Lord Pharnabazus) we have used his goods like friends, but now that we are his enemies, like enemies we use them : and since we see that thou wilt needs be a flave of his, marvel not though we hurt thee for his fake. But when thou shalt like rather to be a friend of the GRECIANS then a flave to the King of PERSIA, then make account that all these souldiers, this armour, our ships, and all we are to defend thy goods and liberty against him, without which, nothing that is honeft can be looked for of mortal men. Thereupon Pharnabazus told him his mind plainly: Surely, faid he, if the King do fend hither any other Captain to be his Lieutenant, be fure I will then take your part straight; but on the other fide, if he make me his Lieutenant in this War, trust to it, I will do him the best service I can against you. This answer passingly pleased Agefilam, who taking him by the hand, and rifing up with him, faid unto him: I would with (my Lord Pharmbazur) having so noble a mind as thou haif, that thou wert rather our friend then an enemy. So Pharnabazas departing from thence with his men, his Son being left behind, ran to Ageflane, and fmiling told him, King Agefilant, I will make thee my friend: and therewith gave him a dart he had in his hand. Agesslaus took it of him, and liking well the beauty of the young youth, and the courtese he had offered him, looked about him if any man in his company had any proper thing that he might beflow on him. At the laft he spied his Secretary Adam, horse, which had a rich raparison on : he straight took it from him, and gave the horse and surniture to this lively youth Pharnabazus Son, who never after forgat it. For it chanced afterwards, that being driven out of his Countrey by his brethren, and flying into PELOPONNESUS, Agefilans made very much of him, and did not flick to further him in his love abroad. For he had a great fancy and liking to a boy of ATHENS, whom they brought up in wreftling, one day to play for the best games. But when he was grown a big man and strong, and that he came to offer himself to be billed with them that should wraftle at the Games Olympical, being in some perill to be utterly resused; this Persian Agentian to bis friends, was that loved him, went unto Agestians, and belought his help, that this wrettler might not receive the without respect foil to be rejected. Agessland being desirous to please him, performed his request with some diffias a friend. chly. Thus Agefilaus in all things elfe was a frict observer of the Law; but in his friends causes to Agefilaus let- be desirable learning and in manager of indicate the friends. Ageflaur let- be ftraight laced in matters of justice, he faid that was but an excuse for them that would do nothing ter in the befor their friends. To this effect they find a letter of his written unto Idrain Prince of CARHA, for the delivery of his friend. If Nicias have not offended, let him go; if he have offended, then pardon him for my fake: but how loever it be, let him go. This was Ageflaus manner in the most part of his friends causes. Notwithstanding, occasions fell out often times, that he rather inclined to the benefit of the Commonwealth. As appeared one day when he was driven to remove in hafte on a fudden, Other read to and to leave one fick behind him whom he loved dearly; the fick man calling him by his name as have pity and he, was going his way, befought him that he would not for fake him. Agefilans (as Hieronymus the to be wife.

Philosopher reported) turned back again and faid: O how hard is it, both to love and to be wife!

Now had Agestians spent two years in this War, and was spoken of throughout As1A, being maring. Now had Agestians spent two years must were and for his great horefly, his continence, his courteste, and for his great horefly, his continence, his courteste, h and plain dealing. For when he rode out into the Country with his own train onely, he would ever lie in the holiest Temples of the gods, because he would the gods themselves should be witnesses of his private doings; whereas commonly we are loath that men should see what we do. Furthermore, amongst to many thousand fouldiers as were in his Camp, there could hardly be found a worse mattress then that himself did lie upon every night. And as for heat and cold, he could as easily away with either of both, as if by constitution of body he had been born to abide any weather or featon. But above all, it was a pleafant fight to the GRECIANS that dwelt in ASIA, when they faw the great Lords the Kings Lieutenants of PBR SIA (which before were proud, cruel, rich, and given to all luft and pleasure) to honour and fear a man that went up and down in a poor Cape, being afraid of every fhort word that he spake like a LACONIAN, infomuch as many of them called to mind the Poets veries, who said:

As Mars hath no mercy, fo Greece Scorneth gold.

Now all Assa being up and in garboil, they willingly yielded to him in every place, after he had taken order with the Chies, and had established the liberty of their Commonweal, without any bloodshed, or banishment of any person : he determined to go further into the land, and transporting the wars from the fea coasts of GREECE, to fight with the King of Persia in proper

person, and with the wealth and happiness of the ECBATANIANS and the Susianians, and by that means to his leifure from him, who fitting still before, made the GRECIANS make War one with another, by force of money corrupting the Governours of every City. In the mean time came Epyciday the LACONIAN unto him; and brought him news how SPARTA was grievously troubled with Agestant fent wars, enforced on them by the other GRECIANS: and that therefore the Ephori did fend for him for our of Affa. home, and commanded him to return to defend his Countrey,

Ab wretched Greece, how cruell flaughters haft Thou brought upon thee, for to lay thee wast?

For how should a man otherwise call this envy, treason, and civil conspiracy among the GRECT-ANS, who overthrew their good fortune that made them happy before, turning their wars against the barbarous people out of GREECE, and now to bring it against themselves? I am not of Demaratus opinion the CORINTHIAN, that the faid GRECIANS delight was taken from them, which faw not Alexander the Great fitting in Darius Royal throne ; but rather I would think they should have wept, to have left this honour unto Alexander and the MACEDONIANS, fondly lofing fo many famous Captains of GREECE, at the battles of LEUCTRES, of CORONEA, of CORINTH and of ARCADIA. Nevertheles, Agefilaus never did better act in his life, nor ever shewed better ex- Agefilaus obeample of obedience and justice due to his Countrey, then he did in his return home. For fith Hannibal dience to his that began to have ill success in his Wars, being in a manner driven out of ITALY, thought never Countrey. (but sompelled) to return again into his Countrey, to obey his Countreymen, which called him home to defend the Warsthe ROMANS had made artheir own doors; and that Alexander the Great also being fent home upon the like occasion, did not onely refuse to return into MACEDON, but made a jest at it, when news was brought him of the great battle which his Lieutenant Antipater had fought with King Agis, faying: Methinks when I hear these news, whilest we are overcoming of King Darius here, there hath been a battle of Rattes fought in ARCADIA. Sith then (I fay) these two famous Captains have made so little account of their Country, may we not think the City of SPARTA Lleffed to have had fuch a King, that fo much reverenced his Country and obeyed the Law, as receiving onely a little fcrowl of Parchment commanding him to return, he forfook a world of goods and wealth that he quietly enjoyed (with affured hope and certainty of more) and imbarked forthwith, leaving all the allies and confederates of his Country very forrowfull, for that he had given over so noble an enterprise, which he had so happily begun? Yes sure: Nay furthermore he passed not for the saying of Demostratus PHEACIAN, who said, that the LACEDEMO-NIANS, in publick matters were the worthieft men, and the ATHENIANS in private causes. For as he had shewed himself a good King and an excellent Captain to the Commonwealth, so was he always courteous privately to his familiar friends. And because the Persian coin was stamped on the one fide, with the print of an Archer ; Agefilaus being ready to depart, faid, that Agefilaus dark ten thouland Archers drave him out of ASIA. For so much was brought unto THEBES and A. speech. THENS, and distributed among the Orators and Governours there, who through their Orations made boththele great Cities to rife, and make War against the SPARTANS. In his return Agestlaw having paffed the straight of HELLESPONT, took his way through the Countrey of THRA-CIA, and never entreated barbarous King nor people to fuffer him to pass, but onely sent unto them to know whether they would he should pass through their Countrey as a friend, or an enemy. All Countries and Nations else receded very honourably to their power, fave the people called THRO-CHALIANS, unto whom King Xerxes himself gave presents that he might pass friendly through their Countrey: who fent unto Agefilans to demand a hundred filver talents, and an hundred women Agefilans deto fuffer him to pals through their Countrey. But Acefilaus laughing them to fcorn, answered a fpifing and degain: Why, how chanceth it that they came not themselves to receive them? So therewithall he ceiving the marched forward against these barbarous people who were ranged in battle-ray to stop his passage: barbarous peohowbeit he overthrew them, and flew a great number of them in the field. The like demand he made home through unto the King of Macedon, whether he should pass through his Countrey as a friend, or an ene- their Country. my. The King made him answer, he would confider of it. Well, let him think of it, quoth Agefilans: we will go on in the mean time. The King then wondering at his great boldness, and fearing left he would do him fome hurt as he went, fent to pray him that he would pass through his Countrey as a friend. Now it chanced to that the THESSALIANS at that time were in league with the enemies of the LACEDEMONIANS: therefore as he passed through their Countrey, he did spoil and forrage it as his Enemies Countrey, and fent Xenocles and Scytha to the City of LARISSE, hoping to perswade them to take part with the LACEDEMONIANS. These two Ambassadours were retained there as prisoners. The SPARTANS were marvellously offended withall: and thought good that Agesilaus should besiege LARISSE with his Army. But he answered them, he would not lose one of those men, to win all THESSALIE: and therefore found means that he redeemed them again by composition. Peradventure this is not to be marvelled at in Agestians that news being brought him on a time, that in a great battle fought by the City of CORINTH, where were many worthy and valuant Captains slain of the Enemies, and but few of the SPARTANS, he feemed not to rejoyce at it, but rather to fetch a grievous figh, saying: O poor GREECE, how unfortunate art thou, to have flain with thine own hands fo many valiant Captains of thine own people, as joyning together, might at one field have overcome all the

The meeting of Agefilaus and Pharnaba-

Agefilsus Pharnabarus.

friend.

had come again into his presence, he would have resused a kils at his hands. After that, Pharnaba-Zur fought to speak with him, and one Apollophanes a CY ZICENIAN brought them together, that was a friend unto them both: Agefilant, was the first that mer at the place appointed with his friends, and tarrying for Pharnabaxus coming, he laid him down upon the deep grafs in the shadow, under a Tair great tree. Pharnabazus also came thither, and they spread fost skins long haired, and Tapestry excellently wrought of divers colours, for him to fit upon the ground. But being shamed to see Agefilam laid on the bare ground in that fort, he also lay down by him, though he had upon him a marvellous rich Gown, of excellent Tiffue and passing colour. Now when they had embraced one another, Pharnabazus began fust to speak, and lacked no good perswasions and just complaints, for that he having been (as he was) a friend unto the LACED & MONIANS in the War against the A-THEMIANS, was then spoiled and sacked by them. Agestlans then finding that the SPARTANS that were about him at that meeting, hung down their heads for shame, not knowing how to answer him, confidering that Pharnabazus had injury offered him, began to speak in this manner: Heretosore when we were friends with the King (my Lord Pharnabazus) we have used his goods like friends, but now that we are his enemies, like enemies we use them : and since we see that thou wilt needs be a flave of his, marvel not though we hurt thee for his fake. But when thou shalt like rather to be a friend of the GRECIANS then a flave to the King of PERSIA, then make account that all these souldiers, this armour, our ships, and all we are to defend thy goods and liberty against him, without which, nothing that is honest can be looked for of mortal men. Thereupon Pharmabazus told him his mind plainly: Surely, faid he, if the King do fend hither any other Captain to be his Lieutenant, be fure I will then take your part straight; but on the other side, if he make me his Lieutenant in this sure I will then take your part straight; but on the other side, if he make me his Lieutenant in this sure I will do him the best service I can against you. This answer passingly pleased Agefilam, who taking him by the hand, and rifing up with him, faid unto him: I would with (my Lord Pharnabazus) having so noble a mind as thou hast, that thou wert rather our friend then an enemy. So Pharnabazas departing from thence with his men, his Son being left behind, ran to Ageflase, and fmiling told him, King Agefilans, I will make thee my friend : and therewith gave him a dart he had in his hand. Agestians took it of him, and liking well the beauty of the young youth, and the courtefie he had offered him, looked about him if any man in his company had any proper thing that he might bestow on him. At the last he spied his Secretary Adams horse, which had a rich raparison on : he straight took it from him, and gave the horse and surniture to this lively youth Pharnabaxus Son, who never after forgat it. For it chanced afterwards, that being driven out of his Countrey by his brethren, and flying into Peloponnesus, Agefilans made very much of him, and did not flick to further him in his love abroad. For he had a great fancy and liking to a boy of ATHENS, whom they brought up in wreftling, one day to play for the best games. But when he was grown a big man and strong, and that he came to offer himself to be billed with them that should wraftle at the Games Olympical, being in some perill to be utterly resuled; this Persian Ageflus to fhould wratte at the Games Chympinan, using in the state of the might not receive the his friends was that loved him, went unto Ageflust, and belough his help, that this wreftler might not receive the his friends was that loved him, went unto Ageflust, and belough him performed his request with some diffiwithout respect foil to be rejected. Agestians being desirous to please him, performed his request with some diffisea friend. chly. Thus Agefilaus in all things elfe was a frict observer of the Law: but in his friends causes to Agefilaus let- be desirable learning to the law. be straight laced in matters of justice, he said that was but an excuse for them that would do nothing for their friends. To this effect they find a letter of his written unto Idrain Prince of CARHA, for the delivery of his friend. If Xicias have not offended, let him go; if he have offended, then pardon him for my fake: but how foever it be, let him go. This was Agefilans manner in the most part of his friends causes. Notwithstanding, occasions fell out often times, that he rather inclined to the benefit of the Commonwealth. As appeared one day when he was driven to remove in hafte on a sudden, Other read to and to leave one fick behind him whom he loved dearly: the fick man calling him by his name as have pity and he, was going his way, befought him that he would not forfake him. Agefilaus (as Hieronymus the Philosopher reported) turned back again and faid: O how hard is it, both to love and to be wife! Now had Agestians spent two years in this War, and was spoken of throughout ASIA, being maragefilms ver. velloully commended to the King himself, and for his great honesty, his continence, his courtesse, and plain dealing. For when he rode out into the Country with his own train onely, he would ever lie in the holiest Temples of the gods, because he would the gods themselves should be witnesses of his private doings; whereas commonly we are loath that men should see what we do. Furthermore, amongst so many thousand souldiers as were in his Camp, there could hardly be found a worse mattress then that himself did lie upon every night. And as for heat and cold, he could as easily away with either of both, as if by constitution of body he had been born to abide any weather or season. But above all, it was a pleasant fight to the GRECIANS that dwelt in ASIA, when they saw the great Lords the Kings Lieutenants of PER SIA (which before were proud, cruel, rich, and given to all luft and pleasure) to honour and fear a man that went up and down in a poor Cape, being afraid of every fhort word that be foake like a LACONIAN, infomuch as many of them called to mind the Poets veries, who faid:

As Mars hath no mercy, fo Greece Scorneth gold.

Now all Assa being up and in garboil, they willingly yielded to him in every place, after he had taken order with the Cities, and had established the liberty of their Coramonweal, without any bloodshed, or banishment of any person : he determined to go surther into the land, and transporting the wars from the sea coasts of GREECE, to fight with the King of PRESIA in proper

person, and with the wealth and happiness of the ECBATANIANS and the Susianians, and by that means to his leifure from him, who fitting still before, made the GRECIANS make War one with another, by force of money corrupting the Governours of every City. In the mean time came Epycidas the LACONIAN unto him, and brought him news how SPARTA was grievoully troubled with Azellans fem wars, enforced on them by the other GRECIANS: and that therefore the Ephori did fend for him for our of Affa. home, and commanded him to return to defend his Countrey,

> Ab wretched Greece, how cruell flaughters haft Thou brought upon thee, for to lay thee wast?

For how should a man otherwise call this envy, treason, and civil conspiracy among the GRECT-ANS, who overthrew their good fortune that made them happy before, turning their wars against the barbarous people out of GREECE, and now to bring it against themselves? I am not of Demaratus opinion the CORINTHIAN, that the faid GRECIANS delight was taken from them, which faw not Alexander the Great fitting in Darius Royal throne : but rather I would think they should have wept, to have left this honour unto Alexander and the MACEDONIANS, fondly lofing fo many famous Captains of GREECE, at the battles of LEUCTRES, of CORONEA, of CORINTH and of ARCADIA. Nevertheles, Agefilaus never did better act in his life, nor ever shewed better ex- Agefilaus obeample of obedience and justice due to his Countrey, then he did in his return home. For fith Hannibal dience to his that began to have ill fuccess in his Wars, being in a manner driven out of ITALY, thought never Countrey. (but compelled) to return again into his Countrey, to obey his Countreymen, which called him home to defend the Warsthe ROMANS had made at their own doors; and that Alexander the Great also being fent home upon the like occasion, did not onely refuse to return into MACEDON, but made a jest at it, when news was brought him of the great battle which his Lieutenant Antipater had fought with King Agis, faying: Methinks when I hear these news, whilest we are overcoming of King Darius here, there hath been a battle of Rattes fought in ARCADIA. Sith then (I fay) these two famous Captains have made so little account of their Country, may we not think the City of SPARTA Lleffed to have had such a King, that so much reverenced his Countrey and obeyed the Law, as receiving onely a little fcrowl of Parchment commanding him to return, he forlook a world of goods and wealth that he quietly enjoyed (with affured hope and certainty of more) and imbarked forthwith, leaving all the allies and confederates of his Country very forrowfull, for that he had given over so noble an enterprise, which he had so happily begun? Yes sure: Nay furthermore he passed not for the saying of Demostratus PHEACIAN, who said, that the LACEDEMO-NIANS, in publick matters were the worthieft men, and the ATHENIANS in private causes, For as he had shewed himself a good King and an excellent Captain to the Commonwealth, so was he always courteous privately to his familiar friends. And because the Persian coin was stamped on the one fide, with the print of an Archer; Anefilaus being ready to depart, faid, that Agefilaus dark ten thouland Archers drave him out of Asia. For so much was brought unto Thebes and A. speech. THENS, and distributed among the Orators and Governours there, who through their Orations made boththese great Cities to rife, and make War against the SPARTANS. In his return Agestlaw having passed the straight of HELLESPONT, took his way through the Countrey of THRA-CIA, and never entreated barbarous King nor people to fuffer him to pass, but onely fent unto them to know whether they would he should pass through their Countrey as a friend, or an enemy. All Countries and Nations else receded very honourably to their power, fave the people called THRO-CHALIANS, unto whom King Xerxes himself gave presents that he might pass friendly through their Countrey: who fent unto Agefilaus to demand a hundred filver talents, and an hundred women Agefilaus deto fuffer him to pals through their Countrey. But Atefilaus laughing them to fcorn, answered as foiling and degain: Why, how chanceth it that they came not themselves to receive them? So therewithall he ceiving the marched forward against these barbarous people who were ranged in battle-ray to stop his passage: barbarous peohowbeit he overthrew them, and flew a great number of them in the field. The like demand he made ple, returned unto the King of Macedon, whether he should pass through his Countrey as a friend, or an ene- their Country. my. The King made him answer, he would consider of it. Well, let him think of it, quoth Apelilaw: we will go on in the mean time. The King then wondering at his great boldness, and fearing left he would do him some hurt as he went, fent to pray him that he would pass through his Countrey as a friend. Now it chanced to that the THESSALIANS at that time were in league with the enemies of the LACEDEMONIANS: therefore as he passed through their Countrey, he did spoil and forrage it as his Enemies Countrey, and fent Xenocles and Seytha to the City of LARISSE, hoping to perswade them to take part with the LACEDEMONIANS. These two Ambassadours were retained there as prisoners. The SPARTANS were marvellously offended withall: and thought good that Agesilaus should besiege LARISSE with his Army. But he answered them, he would not lose one of those men, to win all THESSALIE: and therefore found means that he redeemed them again by composition. Peradventure this is not to be marvelled at in Agesilans that news being brought him on a time, that in a great battle fought by the City of CORINTH, where were many worthy and valuant Captains flain of the Enemies, and but few of the SPARTANS, he seemed not to rejoyce at it, but rather to setch a grievous sigh, saying: O poor Greece, how unfortunate art thou, to have flain with thine own hands fo many valiant Captains of thine own people, as joyning together, might at one field have overcome all the

Pharfalians. Narthacium

barbarous people? The PHARSALIANS harrying and troubling the receward of Agefilans Army, Agefilau over he put forth five hundred horsemen which gave him so lusty a charge, that he overthrew them by force. For this victory, he fet up tokens of Triumph upon the mountain called Narthacium, and this victory pleafed him above all the reft, because with the small number of horsemen which he had gotten together of himfelf, he had overthrown the glory and pride of the enemies horfemen in bat-tle, whereof they had vaunted many years before. Thither came Diphridae one of the Ephories unto him, fent of purpole from SPARTA, to command him immediately to invade Bo EOT1A, with his Army. Now though Agefilans intended some other time with a greater power to enter BOFOTIA, yet because he would not disobey the Councils commandment of SPARTA, he told his men straight, that the battle for the which they returned out of Asia was at hand, and therefore he fent for two Companies of them which lay in Camp by CORINTH. The LACEDAMONIANS that were at Sparta, to honour Agefilaus for that he had obeyed their commandment to readily, proclaimed in the City, that as many young men as were defirous to go aid the King, should come to enter their names. Notwithstanding, they onely chose but fifty of the valiantest among them, and sent them tunto him. In the mean time, Agessians passed through the Countrey of THERMOPYLES, and coafting over the land of PHOCIDE, confederates to the LACEDEMONIANS, he entred into Boe-OTIA, and camped by the City of CHERONIA: where immediately after his arrival, he suddenly faw the Sun Eclipsed, and darkned in the fashion of a new Moon. Even withall, came the news of the death of Pifander unto him, who was flain in a battle which he had loft by fea, fighting against The Eclipse of Plander, Ge Pharnabazus and Conon, hard by the Isle of GNIDOS. These news were very heavy unto him, both for respect of the person his kinsman whom he lost, as also for the great loss that happened to the Commonwealth. Neverthelets, fearing his foundiers would be discouraged with the news, Navy flain in The Ifland of

Agefilaus bat-Thebans.

Gnidos.

and become faint-hearted, being ready to joyn battle, he commanded them that came from the Sea, to brute abroad a contrary tale to that they sold him : and he himfelf to make good their speech, came out among them, with a Garland of flowers on his head, and did facrifice to the gods, as thanking them for their good news, fending to every one of his friends a piece of flesh facrificed, as he commonly used to do, in any publick cause of joy. Then marching forward, he straight discovered his enemies far off, and they likewise him : and thereupon put his men in battle ray, and gave the left wing unto the ORCHOMENIANS, leading himself the right wing. The THEBANS on the other side, placed themselves in the right wing of their Army, and gave the left unto the ARGIVES. Xenophon being at that battle on Agefilans fide, writeth that he never knew of the like field fought. At the first onser, the consist was not great between both, neither held long, because the THE BANS brake the ORCHOMENIANS straight, and Agesilaus the ARGIVES. But when either fide underftood that the left wings of their battle were in great diffres, and that they turned their backs, they returned fuddenly again. And where Agesslaus might easily have had the victory without any danger, if he had suffered the squadron of the enemies to pass by him, and afterwards to have charged ed them in the rereward: of a noble courage to shew his valiantness, he gave charge upon the vaward, to have honour in overcoming them. The THEBANS on the other fide no less valiantly received him, and fought luftily on all hands: but the cruellest fight was about Agestians person, with the fifty young men that were fent to guard him, who shewed themselves very valiant. Agefilans was fore hurt, notwithftanding their valiant refuftance, his armour being paffed through with their Pikes and Swords in fundry places : Whereupon they environed him round amongst them, and kept him from the Enemies, killing a great number of them, and many of themselves also being killed. In fine, finding the THEBANS too strong in the vaward, they were forced to do that which they refused at the first: and opening themselves, gave them passage through them. So when they were passed them, the SPARTANS perceiving how loosely and disorderly they marched, as thinking themselves out of all danger, followed them and gave charge upon their flanck. But all this could not make the THEBANS fly: for they rejoycing for their victory at this battle, Helicon mons. retired fair and foftly unto the mountain Helicon. But Agefilaus notwithstanding he was very The worthiness fore hurt, with many a grievous wound, would not go into his Pavillion to be dressed, before he had of Agesslaus. been first at the place where the battle was fought, and had feen his men that were slain brought The Temple of away in their armours. As many of his enemies as were fled into the Temple of Minerva Itonian, Minerus Itoni- which was not far from thence (where also were set up tokens of triumph offered unto her a long time beforethe THEBANS, when they had overcome the Army of the ATHENIANS, under the conduct of Sparton their Captain, and had flain also Tolmides their Captain in the field) he commanded his men they should let them go where they would. The next morning by break of day,

Agefilans defirous to fee if the THEBANS had any courage to come down to fight again, commanded his fooldiers to put Garlands upon their heads, and his Mustitians to found their Shalms or Pipes, whileft he did fet up a token of Triumph as victorious. Moreover, his enemies fending to him to ask leave to take away their dead men, he granted them truce for the time, and thereby confirmed his victory. After that, being carried to the City of DELPHOS, where the Pythian games were played, he made a folemn procession and common facrifice unto Apollo, and offered him the tenth part of all his spoils which he had brought out of ASIA, which amounted to the sum of an hundred Talents. This thing done, he returned into his Country, where he was greatly honoured and efteemed of all his Citizens and Countrymen, for his orderly life and noble behaviour: The confluory for he was no Changeling, but the felf same man in state and condition that he was before he took his journey. He transformed not himself into strangers manners, as commonly other Caprains 60, that return out of a far Countrey where they have made Wars: neither did he foorn his Country fashions, or shewed himself disobedient to the Laws thereof, but alwaies kept and obferved them, without any manner of alteration in his meat and drink, in washing or bathing, in his Wives apparell, in his armoury, or any way elle in his houshold stuff, as if he had never passed over the River of Eurotas. Yet further, he left his old gates flanding, that were of fo great continuance, that they were thought to be those which Aristodemus had set up. Xenophon also said, that his daughters Canathrum was nothing more fumptuous then any others were. A Canathrum in LA- Canathrum, CEDEMON, is a kind of Coach or Chariot after the likenels of Griffins, Harts, or Goats : up- what it is. on the which they carried young Wenches in foleran procession in the City. Xenophon wrote not what was the name of this daughter of Agesilans : and Dicaarehus also was much offended, that they neither knew Agesslaus daughters name, nor yet the mother of Epaminoridas. Yet we find in the LACONIAN Chronicles, that Agefilaus wives name was Cleara, one of his daughters Cleara, the called Applia, and the other Prolyta. Moreover, Agefilam Spear is feen to this day in the City of wife of King. called Applia, and the other Protyta. Moreover, Ageptam speat is ten to this way in the City of Ageptam.

Sparta, even like unto others, and no manner of difference. Now Ageptams perceiving cerapolis, and SPARTA, even that units stated, and train Citizens of Sparta to fland upon their reputation, and effecting themselves above others, prolyte, Agestian Citizens of Sparta to stand upon their reputation, and effecting themselves above others, prolyte, Agestian Citizens of Sparta to stand upon their reputation, and effecting themselves above others, prolyte, Agestian Citizens of Sparta to stand upon their reputation, and effecting themselves above others, prolyte, and because they kept horse in their stable, perswaded his Sister Comisea to send her Coach and Coach law daughters. horses to the Olympian games to run for the best prize, onely to let the GRECIANS see, that it was no act of any vertue, but fimply of riches and cost. Furthermore having Xenophon the Philoso-Xenophon, was no act of any vertue, but impry of fracts and cont. Attendant to fend for his Sons great about pher about him, whom he loved, and made great account of, he perfunded him to fend for his Sons great about pher about him, whom he loved, and made great account of, he perfunded him to fend for his Sons great about pher about him, whom he loved, and made great account of, he perfunded him to fend for his Sons great about pher about him, whom he loved, and made great account of, he perfunded him to fend for his Sons great about pher about him, whom he loved, and made great account of, he perfunded him to fend for his Sons great about him, whom he loved, and made great account of, he perfunded him to fend for his Sons great about him, whom he loved, and made great account of, he perfunded him to fend for his Sons great about him, whom he loved, and made great account of, he perfunded him to fend for his Sons great about him, whom he loved, and made great account of, he perfunded him to fend for his Sons great about him, whom he loved, and made great account of, he perfunded him to fend for his Sons great about him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great about him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great about him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great about him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great about him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great about him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great him and the perfunded him to fend for his Sons great him and the perfunded him to fend for his So to LACEDAMON, that they might be brought up there, where they should learn the noblest science that men could possibly learn, to wit, to obey, and to command. When Lylander was dead, The practice that men could pointory reality of Lylander aAgefilaus at his return out of AsiA, found a great faction and conspiracy railed by his means abour alteration gaint him in Sparta : and because it might appear what manner of Citizen Lysander was when orgovernment. he lived, he was likely to have openly shewed and declared an Oration which he found among his writings (the which the Orator Cleon Hallicarnasseus had written for him, and Lysander should have conned without book, to have spoken in open Assembly) that was to stir innovation, and in manner have made a change of the whole Government of the Commonwealth of LACEDÆMON. Howbeit there was a grave Countellor that having read the Oration and doubting the apparent The wife reasons and perswations alledged, told him, that he would wish him not to pluck up the dead again countell of a reatons and perturations and got with this Oration together with his body. Agefilam liked the counsout of his grave, but rather to bury this Oration together with his body. fell, and proceeded no further. And for them that either were, or had been his enemies, he did them no hurt openly: but found the means to make some of them to be fent as Lieutenants of Armies, or The policy of otherwife to have charge in the Wars. In fine, he made it openly known, what coverous and Ageltan to wicked men they had been in their charges: fo that when they were accused of it before the Council, win his enehe would then help and intreat for them. By this means he made them again his friends, where mies. they had been his enemies: infomuch as in the end, he had not one enemy at all. For the other King Agefilaus, and Agesspolis his colleague, whose father had been banished, he being a very young man, and of a Agesspolis, gentle nature, medled not greatly with government of the Commonwealth. Neverthelets, he to behaved himfelf unto Agefilaus that he made him his very good friend : for both the Kings when they were in the City, did eat together in one hall. Then Agesilans knowing that Agesipolis (as him-felf) was given to love, would ever minister talk to him of the goodly young boys of the City, enticing him to love some one of them, which he himself did love: and therein he was both his companion and helper. For inthefe LACONIAN loves there was no manner of difhonetty offered, but a true affection and honest regard to frame the boy beloved unto vertue and honest conditions: as we have more amply declared in the life of Lycurgus. Agefilam by this means, having the tions: as we have more amply uccutation in his hands, made his half brother Teleusias General whole authority (above all men in the City) in his hands, made his half brother Teleusias General whole authority (above all men in the City) in his hands, made his half brother Teleusias, Ageby fea, and himself with the Army by land went to befiege the City of CORINTH, where with his situate half brobrothers help by fea he took the long walls of the fame. The Arg IVES which kept CORINTH thermade Gearthat time, at Agesilam arrival there, were solemnizing the feast of the Isthmian games: who need of the made them flie, even as they came from facrificing unto the god Neptune, driving them to leave all Army by fee. their preparation and foleranity. Then divers banished men of CORINTH that were in his Army, befought him that he would keep these Ishmian games: but he denied them, yet was contented they should themselves solemnize them , and so himself remained there , during the time of the feaft, for their fafety. Afterwards, when Agefilam was gone thence, the Argives returned and did celebrate the Ifthmian games, and there were fome of them which having won the game at the first, did also win it at the second time : and others that were victorious before, were this second time overcome. Whereupon Agefilam faid, that the ARGIVES shewed themselves rank cowards, that efteening so much (as they did) these plays and sacrifices, they durst not once offer to fight with him for defence of the fame. For himself, touching such like sports and games, he ever thought it good to keep a mean, and not to be too curious. For he was contented to honour fuch folemn affemblies and common feafts with his prefence, as were commonly used in Sparta, and took great pleasure to see the sports between the young Boys and Girles of Sparta; howber it touching the games, he seemed not to be acquainted with some of them, wherein others had great delight. As we read, that Callipides an excellent Stage Player (wonderfully efteemed of among the GRECIANS for a fingular man in that Art) meeting Agefilam on a time, at the first did his duty to him, and then arrogantly thrust himself among them that walked with him, thinking the

* Meaning that he was not well in his wits to be fo

> Azefilans Cvercame the Acarnanians.

Antalcid 18 peace.

Azefilans ttice.

AGESILAUS. King would have made much of him: but perceiving he made no countenance to him, in the end he asked him: O King Agefilaus, do you not know me? Agefilaus looking upon him, answered: What, are not thou Callipides the Stage-Player? and so made no surther account of him. Another the men of A-him, faying, I have often times heard the Nightingale it felf. Another time also when Mencerates the goftum.

Physician (having by good fortune cured a definerate distance) called biofast Taxon. time being defired to hear a man that naturally counterfeited the Nightingales voice, he would not hear usurped that name, prefuming in a letter he wrote unto Apelilans, to subscribe it in this manner, Memecrates Jupiter, unto King Azestlaus, greeting : Agestlaus wrote again unto him, Agestlaus unto Memerates * health. So, whilft Ageflians was in the territory of CORINTH (where he had taken the Temple of Juno) beholding his fouldiers forraging and spoiling the Countrey round about, Ambassadours came to him from Theres, to pray him to make peace with the Therans. But he that always hated the THEBANS, and belides that thought it then very requifite for the good fuccels of his doings, to make light of it, feemed as he neither heard nor faw them that spake unto him. But even at that very instant, as by divine revenge to cry quittance, there fell a great mishap upon him: for before the Ambassadors were gone from him, he had news that one of their bands called the Mothers, were flain every man by Iphicrates: which was the greatest loss that they in a long time before had fuftained. For they loft a great number of valiant fouldiers, all naturall LACED &-MONIANS: who being well armed every man, were flain by naked or light armed hirelings. Thereupon Agesilaus went straight into the field with hope to fave them, or at the least to be revenged: but receiving certain intelligence by the way that they were all flain, he returned again to the Temple of Juno from whence he came, and then fent for the Ambaffadours of the BOROTI-ANS, to give them audience. But they, to requite his former difdain unto them, made no manner of speech of peace, but onely requested him to suffer them to enter into CORINTH. Agefilans being offended, answered them: If it be to see your friends triumph of their Victory, ye may fafely do it to morrow. Thereupon the next morning taking the Ambaffadours with him, he deftroyed the CORINTHIANS Countrey, even to the walls of their City. And when he had made the Ambassadors fee, that the Citizens of CORINTH durst not come out into the field to defend their Countrey, he gave them leave to depart. Then taking the remain of that band that was overthrown, which by flight had cleaped, he brought them into LACED.EMON again, always removing his Camp before day, and never encamped till dark night, because the Arcadians (their mortal enemies) should not rejoyce at their loss. After this voyage, to gratifie the A-CHAIANS, he entred with them into the Countrey of ACARNANIA, and brought great spoils from thence, after he had overcome them in battle. Moreover, when the ACHAIANS belought him to remain with them all the Winter, to keep his enemies from fowing of their ground, he made them answer, he would not. For, faid he, they will be afraid of War the next year, when all their fields shall be sowen with Corn: and so indeed it came to pass. For the Army returning again, they made peace incontinently with the ACHAIANS. About that time, Pharnabazus and Conon, with the King of Persia's Army, being Lords of the Sea, without let of any deftroyed and spoiled all the coaft of LACONIA. Moreover, the City of ATHENS did rear up her walls again by the help of Pharnabazus money, wherewith he had furnished them. Thereupon the LACEDEMONI-ANS thought good to make peace with the King of Persia, and to that end fent Antaleidas Ambassador unto Tiribazus, most shamefully and cruelly betraying to the King, the GRECIANS inhabiting in ASIA, for whole liberty Agefilan had made Wars with him before. So, it was Agefilaus hap not to be foiled with any part of this shame : for Amaleidas that was his enemy, sought all the means he could to conclude this peace, for that he faw War did daily encrease the authority, honour, and tame of Agefilans. Norwithflanding, he answered one of them, that reproved him for that the LACEDEMONIANS did favour the MEDES: No, faid he, they do not fo, but the MEDES do play the LACED&MONIANS. Nevertheless, threatning War to all the GRECIANS, which would not agree to the conditions of this peace, he compelled them to yield unto that the King of PERSIA liked. But furely he did this chiefly for respect of the THEBANS, to the end that they being enforced by the capitulations of the peace, to fet the Countrey of BOEOTIA at liberty again, should be so much the weaker. This plainly appeared soon after by that that followed. For Phabidas ha-Phibitas pof- ving committed a foul act, in open peace to take the Caftle of the City of THEBES, called Cadmea, felich the Ca. offending thereby all the other GRECIANS (and the SPARTANS themselves also not being very file of Calmets well pleased withall, and those specially which were Agesians enemies) Phebidas being asked in great anger, at whose commandment he had done that ludden enterprise, to lay all the suspition of the fact upon him, Agefilaus for Phebidas discharge, letted not openly to say, that the quality of the fact was to be confidered of, whether it were profitable for the Commonwealth, or not : and that it was well done of him, the thing falling out profitable for his Countrey, to do it of his own head without commandment. All this notwithflanding he was wont to fay in private talk, that juffice was the chiefeft of all vertues, and therefore that valiantness withour juffice was of no validity, and that it all men were just, valiantness were of no estimation. And to them that told him, the great King will have it to: Why, faid he, and wherein is he better then my felf, if he be no juster? Judging very wifely therein, that they should esteem a King (whether he was of great or fmall power) by his justice, as by the beam of Princely ballance. When peace was concluded, the King of PERSIA having fent him a private letter desiring his friendship, Agestlaus resuled it, saying: that common friendship was enough betwirt them, and that they should need none other, so ESILAUS.

long as that was kept. But this notwithstanding, when it came to the point of performance, he went from his first good opinion, and gave place to his will and ambition, specially against the THEBANS, at that time when he did not onely fave Phebidas, but also procured the City of SPARTA to take the fault upon them which he had committed; and to justifie it, by keeping the Castle of Cadmen still and making Archias and Leontidas Governours of the City of THEBES, by whom Phabidas came by the Castle of Cadmea, and possessed it. Thereupon every man thought straight, that Phabidas was he that had put the matter in execution , but that Agefilans gave the counsell to do it : as things falling out afterwards, did manifeftly prove the fulpition true. For, after that the THE-BANS had driven the Garrison of the LACEDEMONIANS out of the Castle of Cadmea, and restored their City again to liberty, burthening them that they had traiterously slain Archias and Leontidas (who indeed were Tyrants, though in name Governours) he made War with them : and Cleombrotus, reigning then King with him after Agespolu death, was sent before into BOBOTIA with an Army: Agefilaus was dispensed with by law for going any more to the Wars, by reason of his age, for that he was fourty years old from the first growth of hair on his face, and therefore went not that journey: being alhamed that the THEBANS should now see him fight to revenge the Tyrants deaths, who had but a little before taken Arms for the banished men, against the PHLI-ASIANS. At that time there was a LACONIAN called Sphodrias, of the contrary faction unto Agefilans: and was then Governour in the City of THES PIES, a valiant and fout man of his hands, Sthedriar ortbut ever fuller of vain hope, then of good judgment. He defiring fame, and supposing that Phabidas the house of came to dignity and great estimation through his valiant enterprize at THEBES: perswaded himself Piras at Athat he should win much more honour, if of himself he took the haven of Pirea, suddenly stealing upon the Athenians by land, cutting them off by that means from all trade by fea. It was though commonly that this was a practife devised by Pelopidas and Gelon, Governours of BOEDTIA, who had allured certain men to fain themselves very devout and friendly to the LACEDEMONIANS. These men praising and extolling Sphodrias to his face, put him in the head that they knew none so worshy as himself alone, to take in hand so noble an enterprise. Thus by their perswasions they trained him on to this attempt, which for vileness was nothing inferior unto that treacherous winning of the Castle of Cadmea at THEBES: although it was attempted with less hardiness and diligence. For day was broken when he was yet in the plain of THRIASIUM, where he made account to have been at the walls of Pirea by night. Furthermore it is reported, that the men he brought with him, feeing certain fires from the Temples of the City of Eleusin, were all afraid and amazed : yea he himfelf also fainted perceiving he was discovered, and so turned back with shame and dishonour to the City of THESPIES, without any exploit done, faving onely a little spoil taken. Thereupon accusers were straight sent from ATHENS unto SPARTA, who upon their arrival found that they needed Sphodrius senot accuse him, for that the Council and Governours of the City had already sent for him to come un- culed of tretto them, to condemn him of high treason. But he durst not return to Sparta, fearing the fury of for, his Countrymen, thinking indeed that they would feem as though the wrong had been done to them, because it should not be thought that they had caused it to be done. This Sphodrian had a Son called (leonymus, a very fair Boy, with whom Archidamus (Agefilaus Son) was far in love: who then was marvellous forry to fee this Boy he loved, in so great danger to lose his Father, and yet durft not be feen to help him, because Sphodrias was one of Agestians: adversaries. Notwithstanding, Cleonyones making his moan to him with tears in his eyes, and praying him to pacifie his Father Agest-lans (whom they feared above all men elfe) Archidamus followed his father three or four days to- How Sphodrias gether, and durst not break the matter to him: in fine, the day of the next Session being at hand, was laved from when judgment should be given on Sphodriss, he boldly ventured to tell him, how that Cleonymus death; had prayed him to be an humble fuiter to him touching his Fathers fact. Ageflians understanding that his Son loved Cleonymus, would not withdraw him from loving him, because the Boy even from his childhood gave alwaies good hope that one day he would fure make as honest a man as any other wholoever: neither made he any countenance to his Son, as though he would do any thing at his fuit, but onely answered him, for that, he would do as became him in such a case. Whereupon Archidamus being bashfull, lest coming any more to Cleonymus, where before he would see him oftentimes in a day. This made Sehodrias friends despair of his life more then before, until Etymocles, one of Agefilasu familiars talking with them, told them that for the fact it felf, Agefilam thought it a shamefull deed, and as much disliked it as might be : but for Sphodrias felf, that he took him for a valiant man, and faw that the Commonwealth had need of men of fuch service. This was Agesslaus common talk to please his Son, when any man came to speak to him of Sphodrias acculation. Insomuch that Cleonymus found straight how Archidamus had dealt as faithfully and friendly for him as might be: and then Sphodrias friends also took heart again unto them, to folicite his cause, and to be earnest suiters for him. Agestians 2- Agestians cocmong other had this special property, that he loved his children dearly: and a tale goeth of him, that kered his chilhe would play with them in his house when they were little ones, and ride upon a little cock-horse, drentoo much. or a reed, as on horfeback: infomuch as a friend of his taking him one day with the manner, playing among his children, he prayed him to fay nothing, till he had little children himfelf. In fine, Sphodrias was quit by his Judges. The ATHENIANS understanding it, fent to proclaim War with the LACEDEMONIANS. Whereupon Agefilans was much reproved, because that to please the fond affection of his Son, he had hindered justice, and brought his City to be accused among the GREGIANS for fuch grievous crimes. Agefilans perceiving that King Chembrotus his companion

curgus.

unto Lacedie-

went with no very good will to make War with the THEBANS, he breaking the order fet down Agefilian jour- for leading of the Army, which was kept before, went to the Wars himself in person, and so inny into Bestit. vading BOEOTIA, he both received and did great hurt. Whereupon Antalcidas feeing him hurt one day, Now truly (aid he) the THEBANS have paid you your deferved hire, for teaching them against their will to be souldiers, that neither had will nor skill to fight. For indeed they the THE-BANS became better fouldiers and warriours than they were before, being daily trained and exercifed in Arms through the continual invations of the LACEDEMONIANS. Also this was the reason, why the old Father Lycurgus his laws called Rhetra, did forbid them to make war too oft with one Rhetta, of Ly- feli people, because that by compulsion they should not be made expert souldiers. For this cause did the confederates of LACEDAMON hate Agefilans, faying, that it was not for any known offence to the state, but for very spite and private malice of his own, that he sought to undo the THEBANS in this manner: and that to follow his humour, they confumed themselves going yearly to the Wars one while this way, another while that way, without any necessity at all, following a few LACED. &-MONIANS, themselves being always the greater number. Then it was, that Agefilans desiring Agefilias fub. to make them fee what number of men of War they were, used this device. On a time he commanded all the allies to fit down together one with another by themselves, and the IACEDÆMONI-ANS also by themselves. Then he made an Herauld proclaim that all Pot-makers should stand upon their feet. When they were up, he made them cry to the Brafiers to rife alfo. After them in like manner, the Carpenters: then the Masons, and so consequently all occupations one after another. So that at the length the confederates obeying the proclamation, were all in manner on their feet, The LACEDEMONIANS, not one of them role: because all base mechanical crass were forbidden them to occupy. Then Ageilans laughing at them : Lo, my friends (faid he) do you not fee now that we bring moe fouldiers to the field then ye do? At his return from this journey of THE-BES, passing by the City of MEGARA, as he went up into the Council-house within the Castle, Agefilaus fell there fuddenly took him a great Cramp in his left leg, that swelled extreamly, and put him to great fuddenly fick of a dangerous pain, men thinking that it was but blood which had filled the veins: a Physician of Syracus a in SIGILE being there straight opened a vein under the Ankle of his foot, which made the pain to cease: notwithstanding there came such abundance of blood, that they could not stanch it, so that he swounded oft, and was in great danger of present death. In fine, a way was found to stop it, and they carried him to LACEDEMON, where he lay fick a long time, fo that he was past going to the wars any more. The SPARTANS in the mean time received great overthrows both by fea and land, and among other, their greatest overthrow was at the battle of LEUCTRES, where the THEBANS overcame and slew them in plain battle. Then the GRECIANS were all of one mind to make a general peace, and thereupon came Ambassadors and Deputies from all the Cities of GREECE, and met at LACEDAMON to that end. One of these Deputies was Epaminondas, a the Phibata fent notable learned man, and a famous Philosopher, but as yet unskilfull in Wars. He feeing how the other Ambassadors curried savour with Agestlant, onely he of the rest kept his gravity to speak freely, and made an Oration, not for the THEBANS alone, but for all GREECE in general, declaring to them all, how wars did onely encrease the greatness and power of the City of SPARTA, and contrarily did minish and decay all other Cities and Towns of GREECE: and for this cause, that he did counfel them all to conclude a good and perfect peace indifferently for all to the end it might contime the longer, when they were all alike. Agefilant perceiving then that all the GRECIANS prefent at the affembly gave him good ear, and were glad to hear him speak thus boldly of peace, asked him openly, if he thought it meet and reasonable, that all BOEOTIA should be set clear at liberty again? Epaminondan presently and boldly again asked him, if he thought it just and requisite to fer all LACONIA clear again at liberty? Azefilaus being offended therewith, flood up on his feet, twist Agefilans and commanded him to answer plainly whether they would fet all BJEOTIA at liberty or not? Epaand Epiminan minondas replied unto him with the felf fame speech again, and asked him whether they would ass for the li berry of Bania fet all LACONIA at liberty or not? That netled Agestians so, that (being also glad of such a cloak, for the old grudge he ever bare unto the THEBANS) he prefently put the name of the THEBANS out of the Bill of those which should have been comprised within the league, and cryed open Wars upon them in the Market-place. For the reft he licenfed the other Deputies and Ambassadors of the people of GREECE to depart, with this conclusion, that they should lovingly take order among themselves for the controversite betwitt them, if they could peaceably agree together: and they that could not fall to such agreement, that then they should try it by wars, for it was a hard thing to take up all quarrels among them. King Cleombroins by chance was at that time in the Countrey of PHOCIDE with his Army, unto whom the Ephori wrote, that he should forthwith spoil the THE-BANS Countrey: and therewith also they sent to all their confederates to come and aid them, which had no great fancy to the journey, and were loth to make War with them, but yet durft not refuse to go, nor disobey the LACEDEMONIANS. And notwithstanding that there were many fignes prelaging ill luck, as we have written in the life of Epaminondas, and that Prothous LACONIAN was against the enterprise of this war all that he could, Agessians would needs forward, hoping he had now found opportunity to be revenged of the THEBANS, fish all GREECE besides was in peace and at liberty, themselves onely exempted from Treaty of peace. If there had been no other thing in it but the very shortness of time, that made it manifest enough that this war was begun in a jeer, without any manner of reason. For the general peace amongst the GRECIANS was concluded at SPARTA the fourteenth of May, and the LACEDAMONIANS were overcome at the battle of LEUCTRES the fifth of June: fo as there was but twenty days between them. There were flain a thousand LACE-DEMONIANS with their King Cleombrotus, and the choicest and the valiantest Spartans a- The Lacedabout him. Among them was allo flain that goodly young man Cleonymus, Sphodrias Son, of whom moniass flain bout him. Among them was also lian triat goodily young main the triple of the foot, three times got up again, at the battle of we spake before: who having been beaten down thrice at the Kings stoot, three times got up again, at the battle of the spake before is who having been beaten down thrice at the Kings stoot, three times got up again, at the battle of the spake before is who having been beaten down thrice at the Kings stoot, three times got up again, at the battle of the spake before is who having been beaten down thrice at the Kings stoot, three times got up again, at the battle of the spake before is who having been beaten down thrice at the Kings stoot, three times got up again, at the battle of the spake before is who having been beaten down thrice at the Kings stoot, three times got up again, at the battle of the spake before is who having been beaten down thrice at the Kings stoot, three times got up again, at the battle of the spake before is who having been beaten down thrice at the Kings stoot, three times got up again, at the battle of the spake before is who having been beaten down thrice at the kings stoot, the spake before is who having been beaten down thrice at the kings stoot, the spake before is who have the spake before it will be spaked by the spake before it will be spaked by the spake before it will be spaked by the spaked by but at the length was slain, valiantly fighting against the THERANS. This great overthrow chanCleombrotus cing to the LACEDAMONS unlooked for, and withall so glorious a victory unto the THEBANS, 28 King of the La-GRECIANS fighting with GRECIANS had never the like : the vanquished City of SPARTA collamonians ORECIANS nguing wan Greek and commendation for her fortitude and worthiness, then flain.

notwithflanding deserved no less honour and commendation for her fortitude and worthiness, then flain.

Cleonymus the did the victorious City of Thebes. For as Xenophon writeth, that as among good men even in Son of Sphetable talk, and in their sports and mirth, there falleth out ever some thing of wit worth the noting drive flain at and bearing away: even to in like cate, no less but rather more, ought Noblemens words to be Cleombroaus we ghed, and their countenances marked, as well in adverfity as in prosperity. At that time by chance foot. there was a common feast day in the City of Sparta, which was full of strangers that came to see Xengtions say-the dances and sports of them that shewed naked in the Theatre, when as the messengers arrived that brought the news of the battle loft at LEUCTRES. The Ephori knowing then that the rumour ftraight ran all about, that they were all undone, and how they loft the figniory and commandment over all Greece, would not fuffer them for all this to break off their dance in the Theatre, nor the City in any thing to change the form of their feast, but sent unto the parents (to of the Spartant every mans houle) to let them understand the names of them that were slain at the battle, they themselves remaining still in the Theatre to see the dances and sports continued, to judge who carried the best Gameaway. The next morning when every man knew the number of them that were flain, and of those also that were escaped, the parents and friends of them that were dead, met in the Market-place, looking chearfully on the matter, and one of them embraced another. On the other fide, the parents of them that escaped, kept their houses with their Wives, as folk that mourned. If any of them had occasion to go abroad out of their houses for any matter of neceffity, ye would fee him look fo heavily and fad, that he durft not talk with you, lift up his head, The fortiode nor look you in the face. Belides all this, even amongst the women there was greater difference: for of the Spartan themothers of them that were to return from the battle, were fad and forrowfull, and spake not a Women. word: contrarily, the mothers of them that were flain, went friendly to vifit one another, to rejoyce together. Now when the people faw that their confederates began to forfake them, and did daily look that Epaminondas glorying in his victory, would invade Peloponnesus, then they began to be pricked in confcience about the Oracles of the gods, thinking that this misfortune came to their City for that they had thrust out of the Kingdom a man perfect of limbs, to place an impotent person, being specially warned by the gods to beware of that above all things. This notwithstanding, they had him in such veneration for his valiantness, and his authority was such thereby, that they did not onely use him in War as their King and soveraign Captain, but in civil causes also wherein there rose any question, they ever used his counsel and advice: as they did, when they durst not punish them (according to the penal laws) that fled from the battle, whom they call at SPAR- Tresants be not punish them (according to the penal taws) that the first the states whole they can be covards, or TA Trefantas (being a great number of them, and men of the nobled houses, and of greatest power faint heatred er within the City) left they should move some stir or commotion among them. For by law, they men. can bear no Office in the Commonwealth: it is shame and reproach to give them any wives, and Punishment as alfo to marry any of theirs: who foever meeteth them, may lawfully strike them, and they must a Sparia, for bide it, and not give them a word again: they are compelled to wear the poor tottered cloth cowardly foul-Gowns, patched with cloth of divers colours; and worst of all, to shave one side of their beards, diets. and not the other. Whereupon, finding the danger great to deal with them, to execute the law according, to the infamy they deferved, specially then standing in need of a great number of men of War, they referred themselves altogether unto Agehlaus, to take such order in it as he thought good: but Agefilaus then, without changing or altering any thing of the law, faid in open affembly at Laced.emon, that for that day they should let the law alone, notwithstanding, that afterwards it should stand in force. By this policy he kept the law inviolate, and saved also the honour of those poor men : and withall, to put these youths again in heart, being amazed with this sear, he led the Army into the Countrey of ARCADIA, and would give no battle, but onely took a finall City of the MANTINEANS, and forraged the Country. This again did a little revive the City of SPAR-TA with some hope, to make that it should not utterly despair. But shortly after, Epaminondas Epaminondas invaded the Countrey of LACONIA with fourty thousand footmen well armed, befides an infinite invadeth Laconumber of other light armed, and naked people, that followed his Camp for the spoil: so that in nia with threeall, there were about threefcore and ten thousand fighting men that came in with him to invade LA. four and ten CONIA. It was well near fix hundred years fith the DORIANS pofferfied LACED & MON, and in all thouland mea. that time till then they never faw enemies in their Countrey that durft invade them: but then they facked and burnt all that came in their way, even unto the River of Eurotat, and hard adjoyning unto SPARTA, and no mandurit come out to refift them. For Azefilaus (as Theopompus writeth) would not fuffer the LACEDAMONIANS to go out to fight against such a tempest and sury of War; but having fortified the middeft of the City, and guarded every end of the streets with fouldiers, he patiently bare all the brags and threats of the THEBANS, which challenged him out to fight, and

bade him come in the field to defend his Countrey, that onely was the cause of all these their calami-

ties, having himself procured this War. If this went to Agefilans heart, no less grievous were those

troubles to him that rose within the City: as the cries and running to and fro of the old men, which

were mad to fee that they did before their eyes: and of filly women alfo, which no ground nor place, could hold, but ran up and down as ftraught of their wits, to hear the noise the enemies made, and to fee the fire which they raifed all the fields over. Much more forrowfull also did this make him, when as he bethought himfelt, that entring into his Kingdom at fuch times as the City of Sparta was in greatest prosperity that ever it was, he now saw his honour eclipsed, and the glory of his Kingdom overthrown: and the rather, for that himself had often vaunted, that LACONIAN womenhad never feen the smoak of any enemies Camp. And as they say of Antalcidas one day, that he answered an ATHENIAN that contended with him about the valiantness of one anothers Nation, alledging for himself, that the ATHENIANS had often driven the LACEDEMONIANS from the River of Cephisus: It is true, faid the LACO NIANS, but we did never drive you from the River Eurotas. The like answer made a mean man of SPARTA, to one of the ARGIVES that cast him in the teeth. There are divers of your LACONIANS buried in the Countrey of ARGOLIDE. So are there none of yours, faid he, buried in LACONIA. It is reported, that Antalcidas being one of the Ephori at that time, did fecretly fend his children into the Isle of CITHERA, fearing left the City of Sparta should be taken, Agestians perceiving that the enemies forced to pass over the River to enter the City, he flood to detend the middle part of the City, being the highest place of the fame, and there had his men fet in order of battle. Now at that time, by chance the River of Eurotas was swelled greater then ordinary, by reason of the Snow waters that fell abundantly: which troubled more the THEBANS with the coldness, then roughness of the same in passing it over. Some shewing Agestlaus how Epaminondas murched formost before his battle, he beheld him a great while, and hiseye was never off him, faying never a word but this only: Oh, what a noble fellow is that? Epaminoudas having done all that he could possible to give the LACEDEMONIANS battle, even within the City felf of SPARTA, that he might there have fet up some tokens of triumph, he could never entice Agefilans to come out of his Fort : wherefore he was driven in the end to depart thence, and so went to destroy all the rest of the Countrey. There fell out a conspiracy of two hundred men in SPARTA, who of long time had had an ill meaning with them, and took that quarter of the City where the Temple of Diana stood called Isforium, a place of strong situation, and ill to distrets, Hereupon the LACEDEMONIANS in fury would straight have set upon them. Bur Agestians fearing great mutiny and stir upon it, commanded that no man should stir and himself unarmed, in a poor Gown went thither, crying out to them that had taken that ftrength : Sirs, ye have A fine device not obeyed my commandment, this is not the place I appointed you to assemble in, neither all of you in one place; for I willed you to disperse your selves, some one way, some another way, shewing them the quarters of the City. The traitors hearing these words, were glad, as thinking that their intent was not betrayed: and so leaving that strength, went into those parts of the City that he had shewed the traitors. them. Agestiaus then bringing othersthither, possessed the Fort of Issorium, and took fifteen of those conspirators, and put them to death the next night following. Howbeit then there brake our another conspiracy far greater then the first, of the SPARTANS themselves, which were secretly gotten together into a house, to make some sudden stir and garboil; and to punish them in so great a trouble, it was hard : on the other fide to neglect it, the conspiracy was over dangerous. Agefilaus having consulted with the Ephors, did put them all to death, without any judgment of law: where never Spartan before them suffered death, without due order of law. Again, whereas divers of their neighbours, and of the ILOTES themselves (whom they had billed in their bands of fouldiers) stole away and ran to their enemies, which did much discourage them that remained: he warned his men that they should every day go to their Couches where they lay, and that they The departure should take away their armour that were fled, and hide it, because they should not know the numof the Thobars ber of them that were fled in this fort. Now for the departure of the THEBANS, some say that out of Laconiii they went out of LACONIA by reason of the Winter that came on, whereupon the ARCADI-ANS discharged their Bands, and every one departed his way in disorder. Others also hold opinion, that they continued there three moneths together, during which time they deftroyed the most part of the Countrey. Theopompss writeth notwithstanding, that the Captains of the THEBANS having determined to depart, there came one Phrixus a SPARTAN unto them, fent from Agefilans, who brought them ten talents that they should depart out of their Countrey. Thus had they money given them to defray their charges homewards, to do that, which they themselves had long before determined to have done. And yet do I wonder, how it is possible that all other Historiographers knew nothing of this, and that Theopompus onely could tell of it, All do acknowledge truely, that Agestians onely was the cause that the City of Sparta was faved: who leaving his ambition and felf-will, being paffions born with him, did wifely forefee their wed the City of fafety. Nevertheless, after this great overthrow, he could never raise Spart a again to her former greatness For like as a whole body, which having acquainted it self continually with a moderate diet, with the least diforder doth furfeit presently, and so putteth all in danger: even so Lycurgus having framed a perfect state of Government in the Commonwealth of SPARTA, to

make her Citizens live in peace and amity together; when they did enlarge it by great King-

doms and Realms, the which the good Law-maker thought unmeet to continue happy life,

they were straight overthrown, and all went to wrack. By this time Age filans was grown

old, and could no more go to Wars for very age : but his Son Archidamu, with the aid

which Dionysius the tyrant of SYRACUSA fent unto them, wan a battle against the ARCADIANS,

Parlets Butte: for their died not one of his men, and they flew a great number of their Enemies. This Victory plainly shewed the great weakness and decay of the City of SPARTA, The tearless For in former times it was to common a thing unto them to overcome their Enemies in Battle, that Battle of Arthey did facrifice nothing elfe to the gods in token of thanks, within the City, but a poor Cock: this distance overand they that had fought the Battle, made no boast of it, neither did they that heard the news, Arcadians. greatly rejoyce at it. For when they had won that great Battle at the City of MANTINEA, The Lacedawhich Thucydides describeth, the Ephori onely sent the Messenger that brought the news, for re- monians were ward, a piece of powdered meat, and no other thing. But then when news was brought of this not wont to Victory, and that they understood Archidamiu came home victorious, neither man nor woman could at any Victory: keep the City, but the father himself went first of all to meet him, with the tears in his eyes for joy, and after him all the other Magistrates and Officers of the City; and a swarm of old folk both men and women came down to the Rivers fide, holding up their hands to Heaven, and thanking the gods, as if their City had redeemed and recovered her shame and lost honour, and began now to rife again, as before it did. For untill that time, some say, that the Husbands durst not boldly look their Wives in the faces, they were to alhamed of their great loffes and miferable effate. Now Melling refly. the City of MESSINIA being by Epaminondas re-edified and replenished with People, he called red again by home again out of all parts, the natural Inhabitants of the fame. The SPARTANS durft not fight Epaminonias with him nor hinder his purpose (though it spighted them to the hearts) and were angry with Agestlans, for that in his reign they had lost all that Territory, which was as great as all LA-CONIA felf, and for goodness and fertility to be compared with the best parts of all GREECE, the which they had quietly possessed many years before. And this was the cause why Ageplans would not agree to the Peace which the THEBANS fent to offer him; and all because he would not relinquish that in words, which the Enemies kept in deeds. Therefore being wilfully bent once more to fight with them, he went not onely without recovering the thing he looked for, but had in manner also loft the City of SPARTA by a warlike Stratagem, in the which he was deceived. For the MAN-TINEANS being newly revolted again from the alliance of the THEBANS, and having fent for the LACEDEMONIANS, Epaminondas receiving intelligence that Agefilaus was departed from SPARTA with all his Power to aid the MANTINEANS, marched away fecretly by night from TEGEA, without the privity of the MANTINEANS, and went straight to SPARTA; the which he had almost furprized on the fudden, going another way then Agentaus came (being in manner without men to defend it.) Howbeit a THESPIAN called Euthynus, as Callifhenes faith (or as Xe-fecond four-feed of the control of the contr nophon writeth, a CRETAN) brought Agestlans news of it; who dispatched a Horseman straight nevunto Sparto advertise them of the City of SPARTA, and marching forward himself to return, stayed not ta long after before he arrived. He was no fooner come, but incontinently also came the THEBANS, Agefilant rewho passing over the River of Euro TAS, gave assault to the City. Then Agesilans perceiving that pulled Epamithere was no more place nor time of fecurity as before, but rather of desperation and courage, he Lacedamoni valiantly defended it, more then an old mans years could bear. Thus, through courage and defperate mind, whereto he was never brought before, neither did ever use it, he put by the danger, and faved the City of SPARTA from Epaminondas hands, fetting up marks of Triumph for repulfing of the Enemies, and making the women and children of SPARTA to see the LACEDEMO-NIANS how honourably they rewarded their Nurse and Countrey for their good education, but Archidamus chiefly of all other, fought wonderfully that day, running into every part of the City, The forting with a few about him, to repulse the Enemies wheresoever the danger was greatest. It is said also, of Archidamus. that at that time there was one Isadas the Son of Phabidas, that did marvellous strange things to behold, both in the face of his Enemies, as also in the fight of his Friends. He was of goodly perionage, and at that time in the prime of his youth; and being stark naked, and unarmed, his body nointed with oyl, having in one hand a Bore-staff, and in the other a Sword, in this manner he went out of house, and ran amongst them thatt fought, killing and overthrowing his The valiant-Enemies that withflood him, and was not once hurt, either for that the gods preferved him for his nels of Isadas; manhoods fake, or else because men thought him more then a man. The Ephori immediately a Sportan. gave him a Crown, in honour and reward of his valiantness: but withall they fet a Fine on his Madas rewardhead to pay a thousand Silver Drachma's for his rash attempt, to hazard himself in Battle, tun-ed and ametarmed for defence. Shortly after they fought another great Battle before the City of MANTI- ced. NEA. There Epaminondas having overthrown the first Ranks of the LACEDEMONIANS, and couragiously distressing the rest, valiantly following the chase, there was one Anticrates a LA-CONIAN, who receiving him (as Dioscorides writeth) flew him with his Bore-spear. The LA- The death of CEDEMONIANS to this day notwithftanding, do call the off-spring of this Anticrates, Macha- Epiminondas. riones, as much to fay, as Sword-men, as though he had flain him with a Sword. The LACEDE- Machariones MONIANS did efteem this Anticrates fo much, for that deadly stroke he gave (because they were why so called. afraid of Epaminondas while he lived) that they gave him that slew him, great Honours and Dignities, and discharged all his off-spring and kindred from payment of Subsidy and common Contributions, which priviledge one Callicrates, a Kinsman of this Anticrates, enjoyed even in our time. After this Battle, and death of Epaminondas, the GRECIANS having taken peace generally amongst them, Agefilans would needs exclude the MESSENIANS from being fworn to this Peace, faying: That they need not swear, because they had no City. Now, forasmuch as all the GRECIANS esse did receive them as amongst the number, and took their Oath unto this Peace, the LACEDEMONIANS brake

Conspiracies at Lacedamon under Agesi-Ifforium the

MGESILA

dy of Wars.

ty things.

off from this general Peace, and none but they onely made War, in on none country; and all through the allurement of Agefilam, who for this caufe was thought of the Grecians a cruel and unfatiable man for Wars, to deal fo craftily, and all to break this general League. Again, he brought himself in discredit with all men, being compelled to make his City bare of Money, borrowing of them still, and raising fundry Contributions amongst them: whereas indeed it had been his best way to have ended all these miseries, having so happy an occasion offered at that time, and not to have loft fo great an Empire of fo many Towns and Cities both by Sea and Land, and all to plague his Countrey, to win the Land and riches of the MESSENIANS. But yet was this most shame unto him of all other, when he gave himself unto one Tachos, a Captain of yet was uns mon mame oncommon at our, when he gare manufacture are one a second a capitant of the EGYPTIANS, every manthinking it a shamefull part of him, that such a personage as he (reputed the chiefest man of all the GRECIANS, and the which had filled the World with report of his same and glory) (hould for Money let out his person to hire, and the glory of his name, unto a barbarous person, a traytor and rebell to his King and Master, to become a mercenary Captain and Souldier to do him Service. And moreover, he being now four core years of age and upwards, his body all mangled with wounds, though he had undertaken this honourable charge for the recovery of the liberty of the GRECIANS, yet had his ambition deferved fome blame: for noble acts have their time, yearather the good and ill do nothing differ from other, but in mean and mediocrity. But Agefilam had no regard of all this, and thought no manner of shame in service, specially for benefit organism nau no regain or an time, and thought no manner of an activity, specially for centre of the Commonwealth, but perfeated himfelf that it was a dishonour to him to live idle in a City and do nothing, till death should come and make his funmons: thereupon therefore he leavied men of War through all Greece with the Money Tachos fent unto him, and with them took Sea, having thirty Spartans Councellors and affiftants to him, as he had in his first Journey. Now Agestlans being arrived in ÆGYPT, all the chief Captains and Governours of King Tachos came to the Sea shore, and honourably received him: and not they onely, but infinite numbers of EGYP-TIANS of all forts (that were marvellous desirous of him, for the great fame that went abroad of Agefilan) came thither from all parts to fee what manner of man he was. But when they faw no frately Train about him, but an old gray-beard layed on the grafs by the Sea fide, a little manthat looked fimply of the matter, and but meanly apparelled in an ill-favoured thread-bare Gown: they fell a laughing at him, remembring the merry tale, that a mountain should bring forth, and was delivered of a moule. Besides all this, they wondered when they saw men bring him Presents to welcome him, that he took Meal, Calves, and Geese, and such gross things: and resusted all Con-Agefilaus de-rided of the Egyptians. wearone must make took mean, carrer, and occur, and offered those dainty things to him, to give fections, Perfumes, and other delicacies, praying them that offered those dainty things to him, to give them to the ILDTES his Slaves. Theophrastus writeth, that he delighted marvellously in the Rush Papyrus, and liked the Garlands they made of them, for their fitness and the handsomness, the which he carried home with him when he departed thence. Having spoken at that time with Tachos, who was affembling his Army to go on his Journey, he was not made Captain-general, as he looked he should have been, but was appointed onely Colonel of all the strangers, Chabrias General of all the Army by Sea, and the chief of all the reft was Tachos himself in person. This at the first grieved Agestians to the heart, being driven whether he would or not, to bear with the vanity and pride of this ÆGYPTIAN. So he failed with them into PHENICE, against the PHENICE ANS, imbasing himself against his noble disposition and mind, and gave him place, untill he saw time of revenge. It chanced that one Nettanebos 2 Nephew of this Tachos, having the leading of part of this Army, rebelled against him, and being chosen King by the ÆGYPTIANS, he sent unto Agessan, and prayed him to come and take his part. The like he did also unto Chabrian, and prayed him to joyn with him, promiting great rewards unto them both. Tacker understanding that, befought them both that they would not for fake him. Chabrias for his part also did likewise entreat Agefilaus, and perswaded him what he could, to continue friendship with Tachos. Agefilaus anfwered him : For thee, Chabrias, thou camelt of thine own good will, and therefore mayeft do what thou thinkeft good, but so is it not with me: for I am fent hither a Captain by my Countrey, to ferve the ÆGYPTIANS, and therefore it were no honefty for meto make War with him, whom I am fent to ferve and aid: were it not that they themselves which sent me, do now command me the contrary. This answer being made, he sent certain of his men to Sparta to accuse Tachos, and to commend Nellanebos. Both they also for their parts sent to entreat the Council of Lac &-DAMON: the one as being always their friend and confederate, and the other promifing to be their faithfull friend thenceforth. The LACEDAMONIANS having heard the requests of both, anfwered them openly, that Agefilam should consider of this matter: and wrote secretly to him, that he should do what he thought best for the Commonwealth of SPARTA. So Agessians 12king with him the mercenary Souldiers which he had brought out of GREBCE, went unto Nothenebs, cloaking his departure, that it was for the benefit of his Countrey, to bewray a wicked thing: but indeed taking away the Vizard to benefit his Countrey, they might by a better name rightly have tearmed it Treason. Howbeit the LACEDAMONIANS placing the chiefest point of honour, to confift in the benefit of their Countrey, did acknowledge nothing to be justice, but that which they thought might ferve for the advancement of the glory of Sparta. Tachos feeing himfeli forfaken thus by his mercenary strangers, fled. But now on the other side, there arose ano-

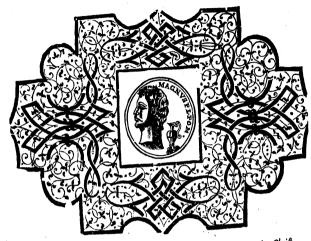
ther King in the City of MENDES against this Nettanebos, who having levied to the number of a hundred thouland fighting men, came to fight with Neltanebox. But he thinking to encourage Ageflant, told him, that indeed they were a great number of men of all forts together,

and goeth un-to Nettanebos.

and specially men of handy-craft, and therefore that they were not to be feared, because they knew not what War meant. But Agefilaus answered him again: It is not their number that I fear, but their rudenels and unskillulnels, which is hardeft of all to deceive. For Warlike stratagems do most pre- In whom stravail against men that have greatest jear and experience; and therefore they forcice one thing rather tagems take then another. But men of no judgement nor experience, neither tear danger, nor have forecast, and most effect: therefore do give him no more advantage that feeketh to deceive them; then the Wrestler by sleight is able to overthrow him whom he cannot ftir nor remove. Afterwards the MENDESIAN King himfelf fent unto Agesilaus, to win him if he could. Nestanebos then began to beafraid. For when Agefilans counfelled him to try it by Battle as foon as he could, and not to prolong this War against ignorant men that had no skill to fight, but yet for their over-multitude might intrench him round about, and prevent him in divers things: then he began to fear and suspect him more, and thereupon retired into a great City, well walled about, and of great ftrength. Agestlans being offended that he mistrusted him thus, took it inwardly t but being ashamed to turn again unto the third, and also to depart without any Exploit done, he followed him, and inclosed himself within those Walls. The Enemies purfuing him hard, came unto the City, and began to intrench it round, to keep him in. Then the A.-GYPTIAN Ne Tanebos fearing a long Siege, determined to give them Battle. Thereto the hired GRECIANS gave consent, as desiring no better match, and the rather also for that there was but small flore of Cornwithin the City. But Agestlans perswading the contrary, would in no wise consent to it ; whereupon the EGYPTIANS thought worse of him then before, and plainly called him Traytor to their King. Howbeit he did patiently bear all these accusations, expecting time to perform an Exploit he intended, which was this. The Enemies had caft a deep Trench without to compass them in. When this Trench drew near to end, and that both ends lacked not much of meeting, tarrying till night came on, he commanded the GRECIANS to arm and to put themselves in readiness: then he came unto the ÆGYPTIAN, and faid unto him: Lo here is an excellent occasion presented to save thee, which I would not acquaint thee withall till I faw it brought to the perfection I looked for, fearing left otherwife we should have lost it. Now sith the Enemies themselves have with their own hands given us the way to fave our felves by this Trench they have cast, the which as much as is finished thereof doth hinder their great multitude to help themselves, and that which is yet lest unfinished, doth give us opportunity to fight with them of even hand : determine to shew thy valour, and following us, save thy felf The strategein and thy People. For the Enemies which we shall affail before us, shall never be able to abide us: and of Agostian and the shall never be able to abide us: the other by means of the Trench which defendeth us on every fide, can no way hurt us. Nettanebos gyptians: hearing his words, wondered at his great wildom, and to thrufting in among the GRECIANS, did affail the Enemies: the which were foon overthrown and put to flight as many as durst resist and make head against them. Agestiant having won Nestanebos again to trust him, he once again deceived his Enemies with the like subtilty wherewith he had first beguiled them, and which they knew not how to avoid. For one while he made as though he fled, and inticed them to follow him: fuddenly again he would turn this way and that way. In fine, he brought all this great multitude into a straight fluce; walled about on either fide, with great broad ditches full of running water: to that when they were even in the midft of it, he fuddenly stopped their passage with the front of his Battle, which he cast to the breadth of the fluce, and thus made his number of fighting men equal with the multitude of his Enemies, which could never compassim in behind, nor flank him on the fides. They having in this fort made some small resistance, in the end turned their backs and fled, and left a great number slain in the Field : the refidue after that last Overthrow forfook their Gaptains, and fled stragling here and there. Thus the Affairs of the ÆGYPTIAN King after that time had good fuccels, and he was quietly ftablished in his Kingdom, making much of Agefilaus: and doing him all honour possible, prayed him to tarry with him all that Winter. Howbeit he would needs haften home to his Country, which was in War with others, knowing that his City of SPARTA was without Money, because they were driven to give Pay to Strangers. Thereupon Neltanebos in the end took his leave of him very honourably, presenting him a Gift (besides all other honours he did him) of two hundred and thirty Silver Ta- The liberality lents in ready Money, to defray the charges of the War in his Countrey. Howbeit the Sea being rough of King Ne-fanches unto in the Winter-quarter, he died by the way, having notwithfanding recovered Land with his Ships in a defait place of the Coast of Ly BIA, which was called the Haven of Menelam, after he was fourfcore The death of and four years old : of the which he had reigned one and forty years King of SPARTA, and thirty Agefilau. years thereof and more he was always taken and reputed for the greatest person, and in manner Chief. The reign of years thereof and more ne was always taken and reputed for the greater period, and more ne was always taken and reputed for the LACEDEMONIANS having Ageflatic body tain general of all Greece, until the Battle of Leuctres. Now the LACEDEMONIANS having Ageflatic body a cultom to bury the dead bodies of their Citizens that died out of their Countrey, in the fame place anointed with where they departed (the bodies of their Kings excepted) the SPARTANS which were at that time a- wax for lack of bout Agefilans, anointed his body with wax for lack of honey, and carried him home to Sparta honey. in this manner. His Son Archidamus succeeded him in the Kingdom, whose Issue successively reigned after him, unto the time of Agus (who was the fifth King in fuccession after Agesilaus) whom indeed Leonidas put to death, because he fought to restore the LACEDEMONIANS ancient discipline and form of life.

The end of the Life of Agefilaus.

THE LIFE OF POMPEY.



Ann. Mund. 3873.

Ant. Chrift.

He ROMANS seemed to have loved Pompey from his childhood, with the self-

affection that Promethem in the Tragedy of Affebylm appeareth to have born unto Hercules, after that he was delivered by him : when he faid : So great a hate I bare not to the Father,

But that I love the Son of him much rather. For the ROMANS never shewed more bitter hate against any other Captain,

then they did unto Strabo Pompey's Father. Truly to long as he lived, they feared his greatness obtained by Arms, for indeed he was a noble Captain: but being stricken with a Thenderbolt, and dead, they took him from the Bier whereon his body lay as they

Pompey hated in Rome. Strabo, the Fa-

The love of the Romans unto Pompey.

The Father of

The favour of Pompey.

Florathe Curtizan loved Pompey.

carried him to burial, and did thereto great villany. Contrariwise never any other ROMAN (but Pompty) had the Peoples earnest good wills so soon, nor that in prosperity and adversity continued longer constant, then unto Pom, ey. One onely caule procured the Fathers bate, and that was, an unfariable and greedy defire of Money. But Pompey his Son, was for many occasions beloved: as for temperance of life, apinels to Arms, eloquence of tongue, faithfulnels of word, and courtelie in convertation: fo that there was never man that requefted any thing with lefs ill will then he, nor that more willingly did pleasure any man when he was requested. For he gave without disdain, and took with great honour. Furthermore, being but a child, he had a certain grace in his look that wan mens good wills before he spake: for his countenance was sweet, mixed with gravity, and being come to mans flate, there appeared in his gesture and behaviour a grave and Princely Majesty. His hair also stood a little upright, and the cast and soft moving of his eyes, had a certain relemblance (as they faid) of the Statutes and Images of King Alexander. And because every man gave him that name, he did not refuse it himself: infomuch as there were some which sporting-wise did openly call him Alexander. Whereupon Lucisa Philippus a Conful, was not afhamed to fay openly in an Oration he made in Pompty's favour, that it was no marvell if he being Philip did love Alexander. It is reported also, that when Flora the Curtizan waxed old, the much delighted to talk of the familiarity which the had with Pompey being a young man: telling that after the had lien with him, the could not possibly rise from him, but the must needs give him some sweet quip or pleasant taunt. She would tell also how one of Pompey's familiars and companions called Geminim, fell in love with her, and was a marvellous earnest Suiter to obtain her good will: and that the answered him flatly, the would not, for the love the bare to Pompey. Geminisse thereupon brake the matter to Pompey himself. Pompeydestrous to pleasure him granted the request: howbeit Geminisse after that, would not come near Flora, nor speak unto her, albeit it appeared that he yet loved her. But Flora took this not Curtizan-like, for she was sick a long time for very grief of mind, and the thought the took upon it. All this notwithstanding, it is faid that this Flora had then fuch fame of her passing grace and beauty, that Cecilius Metellus Florathe Curfetting forth and beautifying the Temple of Caffor and Pollux, with goodly Tables and Pictures, tizan was paramong the reft, he caused her Picture to be lively drawn for her excellent beauty. Furthermore, sing fair Pompey against his nature, dealt very hardly and uncourteoully with the Wife of Demetrius, his tranchized Bondman (who while he lived was in great credit with him, and dying, left her worth four thousand Talents) fearing to be taken with her beauty, which was very fingularly fair, left he should be thought in love with her. Now though herein he feemed to be very circumspect, and to cast the worft, yet could be not thus scape the detracting tongues of his ill-willers: for they did accuse him, that to please and content his Wives, he would let pass and wink at many things that were against the profit of the Commonwealth. To prove his lober and temperate diet, and how he was contented with common Meats, a word (they fay) he spake when he was very sick, and could taste no The temper meat, is specially noted. For to bring his stomach to him again, his Physician willed him to eat rance of Ponta Thruth. So feeking all about to get him one, there was no Thruth to be bought for Money, for 107 in diet. they were out of season. Notwithstanding, one told him that he should not miss of them at Lucullus House, for he kept them up all the year through. Why, what then, said he, if Lucullus riot were not, should not Pompey live? Therewithall, letting his Physicians counsel alone, he made them dress such meat as was every where common. But of that we will speak more hereaster. Now Pompey being a young man, and in the Field with his Father that was in Arms against Cinna. there lay with him in his Tent a companion of his, called Lucius Terentius; who being bribed with Money, had promifed Cinna to kill him, and other Confederates also had promifed to set their Captains Tent on fire. This Conspiracy was revealed unto Pompey as he sate at supper, which nothing The Treasant amazed him at all, but he drank freely, and was merrier with Terentins then of cultom. So when of Lucius Teit was bed time, he stole out of his own Tent, and went unto his Father to provide for his safety. remius against Terentins thinking the hour was come to attempt his Enterprize, rose with his Sword in his hand, and Pompey. wentto Pompeys Bed where he was wont to lie, and gave many a thrust into the Mattress. After he had done that, all the Camp was straight in an uprore for the malice they bare unto their Captain, and the Souldiers in all hafte would needs have gone and yielded to their Énemy, beginning already to overthrow their Tents, and to truss away bag and baggage. The Captain for fear of this tumult, durst not come out of his Tent: notwithstanding Pompey his Son ran amongst the mutinous Souldiers, and humbly befought them with tears in his eyes, not to do their Captain this villany; and in fine threw himself flatling to the ground overthwart the Gate of the Camp, bidding them march over him, if they had such a delire to be gone. The Souldiers being ashamed of their folly, returned again to their lodging, and changing mind, reconciled themselves with their Captain, eight hundred onely excepted, which departed. But immediately after that Strabo, Pompey's Father, was departed out of the World, Poinpey being his Heir, was accused for the Father, pey's Father, was departed out of the World, Fompey being his axin, was account of the Father, by Pompey accuse to rob the common Treature. Howbeit he contessed and avowed, that it was Alexander one of his fed for robbing Fathers infranchized Bondmen that had ftoln the most part of it, and brought him in before the fed for robbin Judges. Notwithstanding he was accused himself, for taking away the toyles and arming cords of Treasure. Hunters nets, and Books that were taken in Asculum. He confessed the having of them, and that his Father gave him them when the City was taken: howbeit that he had loft them fince, when Cinna returned unto ROME with his Souldiers, who breaking into his House by force, spoiled him of all that he had. His matter had many days of hearing before definitive fentence, in which time Pompey shewed himself of good spirit and understanding, more then was looked for in one of his years: infomuch as he wan such fame and favour by it, that Antifitius being Prætor at that time, and Judge of his matter, fell into such a liking with him, that secretly he offered him his Daughter in marriage. Then that matter being by friends broken to Pompey, he liked of the match, and the parties were fecretly affured. This was not fo closely conveyed, but the People perceived it, by the care and pains Antiftim took to favour his matter. Infomuch, when the Judges gave judgement, and cleared him, all the People together, as it they had been agreed, cryed out with one voice, Talassio, Talassio, being the usual and common cry they used of old time at Marriages in Rome. This custom by report of ancient folk came up in this manner. At what time The cause of the chiefest Peers and Lords of ROME did ravish the SABINES Daughters, which came to ROME the cry of Tathe chiefest Peers and Lords of ROME did ravish the Sabinas Dauguetts, white team to down justice at Marton fee common Sports played, there chanced a few ralcals (as Hog-heards or Neat-heards) to carry lates in Romei away a goodly fair woman. They fearing the should be taken from them, cryed out in the streets as they went, Talassio, as if they would have said, she is for Talassius. This Talassins was a young Gentleman well known, and beloved of most men : so that such as heard him but named onely, did clap their hands for joy, and cried out with them, Talaffio, commending the choice they had made for him. So, hereof they say came this custom, that ever fince they have cryed this word Talaffio unto them that are newly married, because the marriage of that fair young Maid proved fortunate, and happy unto Talassius. And this methinks soundeth nearest to the truth of that they report of this Wedding-cry of Talassio. Shortly after this Judgement given, Pompey Pompey matrimarried Antifia. After that, going unto Cinna's Camp, they wrongfully accused him of some-ed Antifia. what, whereupon he being atraid, secretly stole away. Now when they could not find him in Cinna's Camp, there ran straight a rumour abroad, that Cinna had put him to death. Thereupon, they that of long time had maliced Cinna, did fet upon him for this occasion. But he thinking

The death of

Pompeys first Captainship under Sylla.

Pombey Was Chieftain of an Army at 23 The City of Auximium

Pompey goeth unto Sylla.

Pompcy's Vi-Marians.

Pompey called Imperator of Sylla.

to fave himfelf by flying, was straight overtaken by a private Captain that followed him with his Sword drawn in his hand. Cinna feeing him, fell down on his knees before him, and took his Seal from his finger wherewith he fealed his Letters, which was of great price, and offered it him, Tush, said the Captain, I come not to seal any Covenant, but to chastise a Villain and cruel Tyrant : and therewithall thrust his Sword through him, and slew him presently. Cinna being slain in this fort, Carbo succeeded him, and took the Government in hand, being a more cruel Tyrant then the first. Shortly after came in Sylla, being wished for, and desired of the most part of the Ro-MANS, for the grievous oppressions and miseries they endured, that they thought themselves happy to change Governour: for their City was brought into fifth milery, as hoping no more to fee ROME recover her last liberty, they desired yet a more tolerable bondage. Now Pompey at that time was in a place of ITALY called PICENUM (now the Marches of ANCONA) where he had certain inheritance, but much more great love and good will of the City for his Fathers fake. He feeing that the nobleft men of Rome forfook their Houles and Goods, to fly from all parts unto Syna's Camp, as unto a place of fafety, would not go to him as a fugitive and cast-away to save himfelf, without bringing him some Power to increase his Army, but would honourably go thither with an Army, as he that meant first to do himself pleasure. So he felt the good will of the PICEN-TINES, who willingly took his part, and rejected them that were fent by Carbo. Among them there was one Vindius, that stepping forth, said that Pompey which came from the School the last day, must now in haste be a Captain. But they were so offended with his speech, that they straight dispatched him, and killed him out of hand. After that time Pompey being but three and twenty years old, tarrying to receive no authority from any man, took it upon him of himself; and causing a Tribunal to be set up in the middest of the Market-place of Auximium, a great populous City, he commanded the two Brethren called the VENTIDIANS (being the chiefest men of the City, and they that for Carbo's fake withstood his doings) without delay forthwith to avoid the City: and fo began to levy men, and to appoint Captains, Serjeants, Centiniers, and such other Officers as appertain to Martial Discipline. Then he went to all the other Cities of the same Marches, and did the like. They that took part with Carbo, fled every man, and all the rest willingly yielded unto him: whereby in flort space he had gotten three whole Legions together, Munition to entertain them, Carts, and all manner of Beafts for carriage. In this fort he took his Journey towards Sylla, not in hafte: as a man afraid to be met with by the way, but by small Journeys, staying still where he might hurt his Enemy, causing the Cities every where as he came to revolt from Carbo. Nevertheless, three Captains of the contrary patt, Carinna, Calini, and Brutus, all three did fet upon Pompey together, nor all in a front, nor of one fide, but in three feveral places they compaffed him with their Armies, thinking to have made him fure at the first onset. This nothing amazed Pompey, but putting forth his force together in one place, he first marched against Brutus, having placed his Horsemen (among the which he was himself in person) before the Battle of his Footmen. Now the men of Arms of the Enemy which were Gaults, coming to give Charge upon him, he ran one of the chiefest among them through with his Launce and slew him. The other GAULS seeing him flain, turned their backs, and brake their own Footmen: fo that at length they all fled for life. Therewithall the Captains fell out among themselves, and some sled one way, some another way, the best they could. Then the Towns round about, thinking that they were dispersed for sear, came all in to Pompey, and yielded themselves. Afterwards Scipio the Consul coming against Poms pey to fight with him, when both Battles were in manner ready to joyn, before they came to throwing of their Darts, Scipio's Souldiers falured Pompey's men, and went on their fide: fo was Scipio driven to fly. And in fine, Carbo himfelf having fent after him divers Troops of Horsemen by the River of Arsis, Pompey made towards them, and did so siercely assail them, that he drave them into such places as was almost impossible for Horsemen to come into. Whereupon they seeing no way to fcape, yielded themselves Horse and Armours, all to his mercy. Sylla all this while heard no news of these Overthrows: wherefore, as soon as he understood of it, searing lest Pompey should miscarry, being environed with so many Captains of his Enemy, he made haste to march towards him for to aid him. Pompey understanding of his approach, commanded his Captains to arm their men, and put them in Battle ray, that their General might fee them bravely appointed when he should present them unto him: for he looked that Sylla would do him great honour; and indeed he did him more honour then Pompey looked for. For when Sylla faw him afar off coming towards him, and his Army marshalled in so good order of Battle, and such goodly men that so bravely advanced themselves, being couragious for the Victory they had obtained of their Enemies, he lighted on foot. When Pompey also came to do his dury to him, and called him Imperator (as much as Emperour, or Soveraign Prince) Sylla refaluted him with the felf-name, beyond all mens expectation prefent, little thinking that he would have given to honourable a name unto to young a man as Pompey, who had not yet been Senator: confidering that he himfelf did contend for that Title and Dignity, with the Faction of Mariss and Scipio. Furthermore, the entertainment that Sylla gave him every way, was answerable to his first kindness offered him. For when Pompey came before him, he would rife and put off his Cap to him, which he did not unto any other Noblemen about him. All this notwithstanding, Pompey gloried nothing the more in himself. Wherefore when Sylla would straight have sent him into GAUL, because Meiellas that was there, was thought to have done no exploit worthy of fo great an Army as he had with him: Pompey answered him again, that he thought it no reason to displace an ancient Captain that was of greater same and

experience then himself: yet if Metellus of himself were contented, and would entreat him, that he would willingly go and help him to end this War. Metellus was very glad of it, and wrote Pomber wont for him to come. Then Pompey entring GAUL, did of himself wonderfull Exploits, and did so to aid Metellus revive Metellus old courage and valiantness to fight, which now began to faint, like boyling Cop. in Gral. per that being poured upon the cold and hard Copper, doth melt and diffolve it, as fast or faster then fire it felf. For like as of a Wreftler, who hath been counted very ftrong, and the chiefeft in all Wenderfull Games, having ever born the prize away where he had wreftled, they never record among them his Victories of childish victories and wreftlings, as things of no account : even so I am afraid to speak of the wonderfull deeds that Pompey did in his childhood, because they are obscured in respect of the infinite great Wars and Battles which he had won afterwards. For I am afraid that whileft I should go about particularly to acquaint you with his first beginnings, I should too lightly pass over his chiefest Acts and most notable Enterprizes, which do best declare his natural disposition and singular wit. Now when Sylla had overcome all ITALY, and was proclaimed Dictator, he did reward all his Lieutenants and Captains that had taken his part, and did advance them to honourable place and dignity in the Commonwealth, frankly granting them all that they requested him. But for Pompey, reverencing him for his valiantnels, and thinking that he would be a great flay to him in all his Wars, he fought by fome means to allie him to him. Metella his Wife being of his opinion, they both perfiva- Pemperput aded Pompey to put away his first wife Antistia, and to marry Anylia the Daughter of Metella, and way his Wife other fift Husband, the which also was another mans Wife, and with child by her Husband. These married ## Marriages were cruel and tyrannical, fitter for Sylla's time, rather then agreeable to Pompey's na-mylia, the ture and condition: to see Amylia, this new married Wife taken from her lawfull Husband, to Daughter of marry her great with child; and shamefully to forfake Antifita, who not long before had loft her Mercila Sylla's marry her great with china; and manifolding to forther Antifins, who not long outsite had toler than toler than Wife.

Father, and for respect of her Husband that did put her away. For Antifins was murthered within The death of the very Senate-house, being suspected to take part with Sylla for his Son-in-law Pompey's sake: Antifine. and her mother voluntarily put her felf to death, feeing her Daughter received fuch open wrong, By these apparent causes, those unfortunate Marriages tell out into a miserable Tragedy, by means of the death of Amylia, who shortly after miserably died with child in Pompey's House. Then came news to Sylla, that Perpenna was gotten into Sicile, and that he had made all that Island at his devotion, as a fafe place to receive all Sylla's Enemies: that Carbo also kept the Sea thereabouts with a certain number of Ships: that Domitius also was gone into Africk: and divers other Noble men that were banished, that had scaped his Proscriptions and Outlawries, were all in those Pompey Sent parts. Against them was Pompey sent with a great Army. Howbeit he no sooner arrived in Sici- from Sylla into LE, but Perpenna left him the whole Island, and went his way. There he favourably dealt with all Sicile. the Cities, which before had abidden great trouble and mifery, and fet them again at liberty, the MAMERTINES onely excepted, which dwelt in the City of Messina. They despising his Tribunal and Jurisdiction, alledged the ancient Order and Priviledge of the ROMANS set down in times past amongst them. But Pompey answered them in choler: What do yo prattle to us of your Law, that have our Swords by our fides? It feemeth alfothat Pompey dealt too cruelly with Carbo in his mifery. For fith he must needs die, as there was no remedy but he should, then it had been better they had killed him when he was taken: for then they would have imputed it to his malice that to had commanded it. But Pompey after he was taken, made him to be brought before him, that had been thrice Conful at Rome, to be openly examined, and he fitting in his Chair of State or Tribunal, condemned him to die in presence of them all: to the great offence and misliking of every one that was present. So Pompey bade them take him away and carry him to execution. When Carbo came to the Scaffold where he should be executed, and seeing the Sword drawn that The death of should cut off his head, he prayed the Executioners to give him a little respite and place to untrus Carbo. a point, for he had a pain in his belly. Catur Oppius also (one of Julius Casars friends) writeth, that he dealt very cruelly in like manner with Quintus Palerius. For Pompey faid he, knowing that he was excellently well learned, as any man could be, and few like unto him: when he was brought unto him, he took him afide, and walked a few turns about that when he had questioned with him, and learned of him what he could, he commanded his Guard to carry him away, and to dispatch him. Howbeit we may not give too light credit to all that Oppins writeth, speaking of Julius Cafars friends or foes. For Pompey indeed was compelled to make away the greatest personages of Sylla's Enemies that fell into his hands, being notoriously taken; but for the reft, all those that he could secretly suffer to steal away, he was contented to wink at it, and would not understand it : and moreover did help some besides to save themselves. Now Pompey was determined to have taken sharp revenge of the City of the HIMERIANS, which had stoutly taken the Enemies part. But Sthenis one of the Governours of the City, craving audience of Pompey, told him he should do them wrong and injuffice, if he should pardon him that committed all the fault, and should destroy them wrong and injultice, it he infome parton injulian communication and informations. The bold them that had not offended. Pompey then asking him, what he was that durft take upon him to father the offence of them all, Schemis answered fittight, that it was himself, that had perfused schemis. his friends; and compelled his etienties, to do that which they did. Pompey being pleased to hear the frank speech and boldness of this man, first forgave him the fault he had committed, and con-

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sequently all the other Himergans. Pompey understanding that his Souldiers did kill divers men in the high ways, he sealed up all their Swords, and whose Seal soever was broken, he was well-sealed in the high ways, he leated up an their Swortes, and whole Scal lover was broken in the has been feeled favouredly punished. Powher being buse about these matters in Sicile, received Letters and up his Soulding Commission from Sylla and the Senate, to depart thence immediately into Africk, to make ers Swords,

POMPEIUS.

ney into A. frick under syll a against Domitius.

The Love of the Souldiers unto Pompey.

War upon Domitius with all his power, who had levied already more men of War then Marius had, not long before, when he came out of AFRICK into ITALY; and had there overthrown all the ROMANS doings, being become of a fugitive out-law, a cruel Tyrant. Pompey thereupon Pompry Jour having speedily put himself in readiness to take the Sea, lest Menmius his Sisters Husband Governour of SICILE: and fo himfelf imbarked, and hoifed Sail with fixfcore Galleys; and eight hundred other Ships or Bottoms, to transport their Victuals, Munition, Money, Engines of Battery, and all other carriage whatfoever. After he was landed with all his Fleet, part at UTICA, and part at CARTHAGE, there straight came to him seven thousand Souldiers from the Enemies, and yielded themselves, besides seven whole Legions that he brought with him. They say moreover, that at his arrival, he had a prefent chance happened unto him to be laughed at : for it is reported, that certain of his Souldiers stumbled on a Treasure by chance, and got thereby a great masse of Money. The residue of the Army hearing that, thought sure that the Field where this Treasure was found, was full of Gold and Silver, which the CARTHAGINIANS had hidden there long before in time of their calamity. Pompey hereupon, for many days after, could have no rule of his Souldiers; neither could be choose but laugh to see so many thousand men digging the ground, and turning up the Field: untill in the end they wearied themselves, and came and prayed him then to lead Domitius came them where he thought good, for they had payed well for their folly. Domitius came to Pompey, pomities came them where he thought good, for they had payed well for their long. Domities canne to 1000/15, peed by PomPt with his Army fet in Battle ray. Howbeit there was a certain quagmire before him, that ran with a fwilt running ftream, very ill to get over: befides that, from the very break of day it had poured down and rained fo faft, and was fo great a wind withall, that Domities thinking all that day they should not fight, commanded his People to truss away and remove. Pompey on the other fide, finding this an excellent fit occasion for him, suddenly made his men to march, and passed over the Valley. The Enemies perceiving that, being altogether out of order, were marvelloully amazed, and in that hurly burly would have made refiftance. But they were neither all together, nor yet evenly fet in Battle ray, and had befides the wind beating the rain full in their faces. So did the fform much hurt unto the ROMANS also, for they could not one see another: insomuch as Pompey himself was in great danger of being killed by one of his own Souldiers, who not knowing him, asked him the word of the Battle, and was somewhat long before he answered him. In fine, when he had overthrown his Enemies with great flaughter (for they fay, that of twenty thousand of them, there were but three thousand faved) Pompey's Souldiers falured him by the Pompess vitto. name of Imperator: but he answered them, that he would not accept the honour of that Name; fo long as he saw his Enemies Camp yet standing: and therefore, if it were so they thought him worthy of that Name, that first they should overthrow the Trench and Fort of their Enemies, wherein they had intrenched their Camp. The Souldiers when they heard him fay fo, went pre-fently to affail it. There *Pompey* fought bare-headed, to avoid the like danger he was in before, Domitius flain. By this means they took the Camp by force, and in it flew Domitius. After that Overthrow, the Cities in that Countrey came and yielded themselves, some willingly, and others taken by sorce: as also they took King Jarbas that had fought for Domitius, and his Realm was given to Hiempfall. But Pompey being defirous further to employ his Power, and the good fortune of his Army, went many days journey into the main Land, and still conquered all where he came, making the Power of the ROMANS dreadfull unto all the barbarous People of that Countrey, the which made but small account of them at that time. He said moreover, that the wild Beasts of Africk also should feel the force and good success of the ROMANS: and thereupon he bestowed a sew days in hunting of Lions and Elephants. For it is reported, that in forty days space at the unterrompeti con most, he had overcome his Enemies, subdued Africk, and had established the Affairs of the ty four years of Kings and Kingdoms of that Countrey, being then but four and twenty years old. So when he returned unto the City of UTICA, Letters were brought from Sylla, willing him to discharge all his Army, and to remain there with one Legion onely, tarrying the coming of another Captain that should be sent to succeed him in the Government of that Countrey. This commandment grieved him not a little, though he made no shew of it at all: but his Souldiers shewed plainly that they were offended. For when Pompey prayed them to depart, they began to give out broad specifies against Sylls, and told directly that they were not determined (what soever became of them) to for lake him, and they would not that he should trust unto a Tyrant. Pompey seeing that he could not perswadt them by any reason to be quiet, rose out of his Chair and retired into his Tent weeping. But the Souldiers followed him, and brought him again to his Chair of State, where he spent a great part of the day, they entreating him to remain there and command them, and he desiring them to obey \$ylla, and leave their mutinies. But in fine, seeing them importunate to press him to it, he sware he would kill himself, rather then they should compell him; yet they feant left him thus. Hercupon it was reported unto Sylla, that Pompey was rebelled against him. Syila when he heard that, faid to his friends: Well, then I fee it is my destiny in mine old days to fight with children. He meant fo, because of Maring the younger, who had done him much milchief, and had belides put him in great danger. But afterwards understanding the troth, and hearing that all generally in Rome were determined to go, and meet. Pompey, and to receive him with all the honour they could: because he would go beyond them all in thew of good will, he went that the because him and the second him home and out of his House to meet him, and embracing him with great affection, welcomed him home, and called him Magnus, to say, Great, and commanded all them that were present to give him that Name also. This notwithstanding some say, that it was in Africk this Name was first given him

Pompey called

by a common cry of all his whole Army, and that afterwards it was confirmed by Sylla. Indeed it is true, that Pompey himself being sent Proconsul into SPAIN, long time after that, was the last that subscribed all his Letters and Commissions with the name of Pompey the Great : for this name then was fo commonly known and accepted, as no man did envy it. And therefore rightly is the wildom of the ancient ROMANS to be both commended and had in admiration, which did not The wildom of onely reward fervice in the Field with fuch honourable Names and Titles, but Civil Service and good commended for Government also in Peace at home. For there were two, whom the People of Rome called Maximi, to fay, very great: of the which Valerius was the one, for that he made Peace and agreement raign and home betwixt the People and Senate : the other was Fabin Rullin, for that he put from the Senate certain service. Bondmen infranchifed, who through their riches and favour had obtained that place. After that, Valerthus and Pompey required the honour of Triumph, but Sylladenied it, alledging that none could enter in Tri-Maximi in a called the property of the property umph into Rome but Confuls or Prators. For fith Scipio the first, who in Spain had overcome Rome. the CARTHAGINIANS, never defired this honour of Triumph, being neither Conful nor Prator, much less should be stand upon demand of 1 riumph into Rome, when that through his young years he was not yet a Senator: and befides, it would purchase him envy of his Honour and Greatness. These reasons did Sylla alledge against Pompey, and told him plainly, that if he were bent to stand in it, he would refist him. All this blanked not Pompey, who told him frankly again, how men Pompey's flour did honour the rifing, not the fetting of the Sun: meaning thereby, how his own honour in- answer unto creafed, and Sylla's diminished. Sylla heard him not very perfectly what he said; but perceiving by Sylla. their countenances that stood by, that they wondred at it, he asked what it was he faid. When it was told him, he marvelled at the boldness of so young a man, and then cryed out twice together. was told him, he marvened at the bordeness of the property (as it is reported) to
Lethim then Triumph a Gods name. Many being offended therewith, Pompey (as it is reported) to
Pompey notbeanger them more, would needs be brought in a triumphant Chariot drawn with four Elephants: Pampey notbing Sensor, for he had taken many of them from those Kings and Princes which he had subdued. Howbeit the triumpheh s-Gate of the City being too narrow, he was driven to leave the Elephants, and was contented to be gainft the Law. drawn in with Horses. Now his Souldiers that had not all things as they looked for, and which was promifed them, going about to trouble and hinder his Triumph, he faid he paffed not for it, and that he would rather let alone all his preparation of Triumph, then once to yield to flatter them. Whereupon, there was a famous man at that time called Servilius, who at the first was one of the chiefest against Pompey's Triumph, who said openly, Now I know that Pompey indeed is great, and deserveth Triumph: being evident enough, that if he would, he might then have eafily been made Senator: he fued not for that, but as they fay, fought honour by a stranger mean less honourable. For if he had been made Senator so young, it had not been so great a matter: but to have such honour before he was Senator, that was marvelloufly to be noted. But this wan him the more favour and good will still amongst the common People: for they were glad when after his Triumph they faw him in company amongst the ROMAN Knights. On the other fide, it spighted Sylla to see him come fo fast forward, and to rife to fo great credit: notwithstanding being ashamed to hinder him, he was contented to keep it to himself untill that Pompey by force, and against Sylla's will, had brought Lepidus to be Consul, by the help and good will of the People, that surthered his defire. There-Marcus Lepidus upon Sylla feeing Pompey returning overthwart the Market-place from the Election, with a great created Confull Train of followers to honour him, he faid unto him: O young man, I fee thou art glad of this Victory, and so hast thou cause; for it is a goodly thing out of doubt to have had such favour of the People, as for thy fake to have made Lepidus Conful (the vileft person of all men) before Catulus the honestest man of the City: but I will tell thee one thing, see that thou sleep not, and look well to thy business, for thou hast advanced a dangerous enemy to thy felf. Now the chiefest thing from the love wherein Sylla discovered most his ill will unto Pompey, was in his last will and Testament : for he gave of Pompey. Legacies unto every one of his friends, and fome of them he made Tutors and Overfeers of his Son, but he made no mention of Pompey at all. This notwithstanding Pompey took it well enough. And where Lepidus and some other would have kept Sylla's body from burial in the Field of Mars, and that his Funeral should not be openly solemnized, he contrariwise brought him very honourably and faiely to the ground. Shortly after Sylla's death, his words of Prophecy unto Pompey concerning Lepidus mo-Lepidus, proved true. For Lepidus usurping the Authority which Sylla had before, not colourably, veth Civil but openly entred straight in Arms, stirring up again those of Marius saction, whom Sylla could Was. not be avenged of, and which lay lurking a long time, spying for occasion to rise again. True it is, that his Collegue and fellow-Conful Catulus (whom the best and soundest part of the People followed) was thought a marvellous honest man, both just and modest howbeit, a better Governour in Peace, then a good man of War, infomuch as time required Pompey's skill and experience. So Pompey stood not doubtfull which way he would dispose himself, but took part straight with the Nobility and honestest men, and was presently chosen Captain of their Army against Lepidus, who had already won the greatest part of IT ALY, and with an Army under the conduct of Brutus. kept GAUL on this fide the Mountains called GALLIA CISALPINA. And for the rest, Pompey eafily overcame it: howbeit he lay a long time before Modona, befieging of Brutus. In the mean feafon Lepidin came to Rome, and being hard at the Walls, demanding the fecond Confulthip, made them afraid in the City with the great numbers of men he had about him, gathered together of all forts. Howbeit this fear was cooled straight by a Letter which Pompey fent to Roma, advertifing how he had ended this War without any blood-shed: for Brutus either betraying his Army, or being betrayed of it, yielded himself unto Pompey, who gave him a certain number

POMPEIUS.

Brutus the ta ther, flain by Pompey.

The death of Lepidus.

> The valiantnels of Sertoriut in Spain.

pleasure.

Pempey flew Herennius and Perpenna. Battle betwirt Pompey and Sersorius. Sucron ft.

of Horsemen that conducted him into a little Town upon the River of Po; where the next day after, Geminius being sent by Pompey, slew him. But hereof Pompey was greatly blamed, for that he had written Letters to the Senate from the beginning of the change, how Brutus had put himfelf into his hands; and afterwards wrote Letters to the contrary, which burthened him for putting him to death. This Bruiss was Father of that Bruiss, which afterwards by the help of Cassius flew Julius Cafar: howbeit he shewed not himself so like a coward, neither in Wars nor in death, as his Father did, as we have declared more at large in his Life. Furthermore, Lepidus being driven to forfake ITALY, fled into SARDINIA, where he died (as it is reported) of a ficknels that he had, not for any forrow or grief of his own affairs, but for a Letter that was brought him which went to his heart, knowing thereby that his Wife had played the Harlot. There remained at that time Sertorias in Spain, who was another manner of Warriour then Lepidus, and that kept the Ro-MANS in great awe: for that all the fugitives of the late Civil Wars were fled to him, as from the last disease of the Wars. He had already overthrown many inferiour Captains, and was now wreftling with Merellus Pins, that in his youth had been a noble Souldier, but now being old, made Wars but flowly, and would not couragiously take prefent occasions offered him, which Sertorius by his nimbleness and dexterity took out of his hands. For he would ever hover about him, when he thought leaft of him, like a Captain rather of Thieves then of Souldiers, and would still lay Ambushes in every corner, and round about him: where the good old man Metellus had learned to fight in Battle-ray, his men being heavy armed. Hereupon Pompey keeping his Army alway together, practifed at Rome that he might be fent into Spain to aid Metellus. But notwithstanding that Catulus at ROME that he might be tent into Spain to and Presents. But notwinitesiming that Cashing commanded him to disperse his Army, Pompey fill kept them together by colour of new devices, and was continually about Rome in Arms, until that by Lucius Philippus means he had obtained the government of that Countrey. They say, that one of the Senators marvelling to hear Philip programment of that Countrey. Pound that matter to the Senate, asked him: How now Philip, doeft thou then think it meet to fend Pompey Proconful (to fay, for a Conful) into SPAIN? No truly, faid Philip, not Proconful onely, but pra Consultibus (to say, for both Consuls) meaning that both the Consuls for that year were into Spain 2 guind Serrorius men of no value. Now when Pompey was arrived in SPAIN, men began straight to be carried away (as the manner is commonly where no Governours be) with the hope of a thing that they had not before. Thereupon Sertorius gave out proud and bitter words against Pompey, faying in mockery, he would have no other Weapon but rods to whip this young boy, if he were not afraid of this Metallus given upon his guard, and went stronger to fight there he did before, being afraid of Pompey. For Metallus given upon his guard, and went stronger to fight there he did before, being afraid of Pompey. tellus was very diffolure of life (which no man would have judged in him) and was given over too much to riot and pleasure: howbeit they saw in him a marvellous sudden change, both of his honour and glory which he used before, as also the cutting off of his superfluous expence. That thing, befides that he did honour Pompey greatly by it, wan him also much more the good will of the People, when they faw that he drew himself down to a straighter life. And this was no great pain to him, for of his own disposition he was a grave man and temperately given for his desires. In this War fortune changed divertly, as it is commonly feen in Wars: but nothing grieved Pompey more then Sertorius winning of the City of Lauron. For he thinking to have flut him in, and had given out fome glorious words of the matter, wondred when he faw himfelf straight compassed in, that he could Lauron in the not fit out of the Camp where he lay, and was driven befides to fee the City burnt before his face. This notwithstanding, afterwards at a set-Battle by the City of VALENTIA, he slew Herennius and Perpenna, both notable Souldiers, and Servorius Lieutenants, and with them ten thouland men. This Victory to encouraged Pompey, that he made hafte to fight with Seriorius alone, because Metellus should have no part of the honour of the Victory. So they both met by the River of Su-CRON, about Sun-fer, both fearing Metellus coming: the one, that he might fight alone; and the other, with one alone. In fine, the Victory fell out doubtfull in the end of the Battle : foreign ther of their Wings had the upper hand. Between the two Captains, Sertor ins had the greater honour: for he alone overcame all them that stood before him. And as for Pompey, there was a great man of Arms that being on foot, came and fet upon him; and having both their Swords in their hands, they both lighted upon their hands, but not both in one fort; for Pompey's hand was but a little hurt, and the man of Arms had his hand clean cut off. Then Pompey's men fell upon him, all his own fellows on that fide being fled from him: notwithftanding, beyond all hope, he faved himfelf after a strange fort, by casting up his Horse among his Enemies, that was richly trapped with gilt Harnels, having a Caparison of great value; and in the mean time while they were busine dividing his booty among them, and fighting for it, he escaped their hands. The next morning by break of day, both of them paris, heavily, their Bands into the United to confirm the Victorian to the confirmation of the paris the confirmation of the confirmation o of day, both of them again brought their Bands into the Field, to confirm the Victory, which eight ther of them supposed they had gotten. But Mesellus came to Pompey at that present time; whereupon Servorius went his way, and dispersed his Army : for his Camp was easily broken, and suddenly gathered again together. For Sertorius would sometime wander the Fields alone, and at another time again he would have a hundred and fifty thousand fighting men together in the Field; like a vehement stream, that sometime is dried up, and that suddenly again is all of a slood. Pompey after this Battle going to welcome Merellus, when they came near one another, he commanded his Serjeants The modely of and Officers to put down their bundle of Rods and Axes which they carried before him, to honour Metellus withall, who was a better man than himself. But Metellus would not suffer them, but shewed himself equal with him in that, and in all things else, not respecting his seigniority, nor that he that is rad been Comin, and Pompey not, faving when they camped together, Metellus gave the Watchword to all the Camp. Notwithstanding, commonly they camped afunder, for their Enemy that was fo ftirring from place to place, and was feen in fo fundry places in fo short time, compelled them to be afunder to foresee the worst, drawing them suddenly from one purpose to another : so that in fine, cutting them off from Victuals every way, spoiling their Countrey, and keeping the Sea fide, he drave them both out of the Provinces of their charge which they had in Spain, and did compell them to go some other-where for lack of Victuals. Pompey in the mean time having fpent the most part of his Goods in this War, fent to Rome for Money to pay his Souldiers, threatning the Senate, that if they fent him no Money, he would return with his Army into ITALY. Lucullus then being Conful, though Pompey's Enemy, procured they should fend him Money: for be practifed to be fent Captain against King Mithridates, and therefore was afraid to give Pompey any occasion to return, who defired nothing more then to leave Sertorius to bend his force against Mithridates, whose overthrow should be more honourable to him, and also less dangerous. In the mean space Sertorius died, being betrayed by those whom he thought his friends, among the which Perpenna was the chief man, that after Sertorius death would needs counterfeit his doings, having the same means, the same furniture, and the same power that he had : howbeit he lacked his wit and skill to employ them. Pompey therefore marching directly towards him, and finding how ignorant Perpenna was in his Affairs, he layed a bait for him of ten Cohorts which he fent to prev in the Fields, commanding them to disperse themselves abroad as far as they could, one from another. Perpenna ftraight took the occasion, and gave them charge, and had them in chase. But Pompey tarrying him at the Foord, was ready for him with all his Army fet in order: he gave him Battle, ob-came Perpenni tained the Victory, and ended all this War, because the most of the Captains were slain in the and slew him. Field, and Perpenna the chief of all taken Prisoner, whom he presently put to death. But herein Pompey was not to be condemned of ingratitude nor oblivion (as some do burthen him) of Perpenna's friendship shewed him in Sicilia, but rather deserved praise to have determined so wisely for the benefit of the Commonwealth. For Perpenna having in his cultody all Sertorius Writings, he shewed Letters of the greatest Noblemen of ROME (which were desirous of change of Government) willing him to return into IT ALY. Pompey upon fight of these Letters, fearing left they would breed greater fedition and fitr in ROME then that which was already pacified, put Perpenna Pomper burne to death as foon as he could, and burnt all his papers and Writings, not reading any Letter of them. Sertorius Letto death as 10011 as he could, and out the time, till he had pacified all Commotions and Tu-slo did #ulius mults marvelloufly out of order, he brought his Army back again into ITALY, and arrived there Cafar when he when the War of the Bondmen and Fencers led by Spartacus, was in greatest fury. Upon his co- overcame ming therefore Crassus being sent Captain against thele Bondmen, made haste to give them Battle, Pompey. which he wan, and slew twelve thousand three hundred of these fugitive Slaves. Notwithstanding, Fortune meaning to give Pompey fome part of this honour, five thousand of these Bondmen e- Pompey overfcaping from the Battle, fell into his hands. Whereupon he having overcome them, wrote unto the came the refl Senate, that Graffus had overcome the Fencers in Battle, and that he had pluckt up this War by men. the roots. The ROMANS receiving Pompey's Letters, were very glad of this news for the love they bare him. But as for the winning of SPAIN again, and the overthrow of Sertorius, there was no man, although it were in sport, that ever gave any man elsethe honour, but unto Pompey onely. For all this great honour and love they bare unto Pompey, yer they did suspect him, and were afraid of him, because he did not disperse his Army, that he would follow Sylla's steps, to rule alone by plain force. Hereupon as many went to meet him for fear, as there were that went for good will they bare him. But after he had put this suspition quite out of their heads, telling them that he would discharge his Army after he had triumphed, then his ill-willers could blame him for nothing elfe, but that he was more inclined unto the People then to the Nobility, and had a defire to reftore the Tribuneship of the People which Sylla had put down, onely to gratifie the common People in all he could: the which indeed was true. For the Common People at ROME never longed for thing more, then they did to fee the Office of the Tribunes set up again. Yea Pompey himself thought it the happiest turn that ever came to him, to light in such a time to do such an act. For had any other man prevented him of that, he could never have found the like occasion possibly to have required the Peoples good wills unto him fo much as in that. Now therefore this fecond Triumph and first Confulthip being decreed by the Senate, that made him nothing the greater nor better man. And yet was it a shew and fignification of his greatness, the which Crassus (the richest man, the eloquentest and greatest person of all them that at that time dealt in matters of State, and had more estimation of himself then of Pompey and all the rest) never durst once demand, before he had craved Pompey's good will. Pompey was very glad of his request, and had fought occasion of long time to pleasure him : and thereupon made earnest suit unto the People for him , assuring them he would as much thank them for making Crassus his Colleague and fellow-Consull, as he would for making himfelf Confull, All this notwithftanding, when they were created Confuls, they were in all things Craffic first contrary one unto another, and never agreed in any one thing while they were Confulbip. ther. Craffus had more authority with the Senate, but Pompey had more credit wish the People. For he reftored them the Office of the Tribunes, and passed by Edict, that the Knights of ROME should have full power again to judge Causes Civil and Criminal. It was a plea- The custom of fant fight also unto the People, when he came unto the Cenfors in person, to pray that he the Knights of

might be dispented with for going to the Wars. For it was an ancient custom in Rome, Rome,

and CALABRIA : and the Temples of Apollo in ACTIUM, in the Isle of LEUCADES : the

Temples of Truo in Samos, in Argos, and in Lucania. They had also many strange Sacri-

should bring their Horse into the midft of the Market-place before the two Cenfors, declaring every Captain under whom they had ferved, in what Journeys and Countreys they had been: and having alfo delivered account of their good behaviour and fervice, they then prayed to be difmiffed from the Wars. Now if it appeared that they had done good fervice, then were they honourably rewarded : or otherwise, openly shamed and punished. At that time, Gellim and Lentulm the two Cenors, being honourably fet in their Tribunal or Judgement-fear, taking view of all the ROMAN Knights that mustered before them, to be feen and examined, they marvelled when they saw Pom-Romer as a kingle of Rome further end of the Market-place, having all the marks of a Conful born before him, and himself leading his Horse in his hand by the bridle. When Pompey came nearer, and that be dicharged they faw it was he, he commanded his Serjeants that carried his Axes before him, to make room for him to pass by the Bars with his Horse, where the Censors sate. Then the People flocked about him, wondering and rejoycing, being very filent. The Cenfors themselves also were marvellous glad to fee him so obedient to the Law, and did him great reverence. In fine, the elder of the Cenfors did examine him in this fort. Pompey the Great, I pray thee tell me if thou haft ferved fo long time in the Wars as the Law did appoint? Then answered Pompey aloud: Yes verily that I have, and under no other Gaptain then my felf. The People hearing this Anfiver, made an open shout for joy, they were so glad to hear it : and the Cenfors themselves came from their Judgement-feat, and went to accompany Pompey home to his H use, to please the great multitude of People that followed him, clapping their hands with great figns of joy. At the end of their Conlulthip, when milliking enerealed further between Pompey and Craffus, there was one Gaim Aurelim, of the order of Knighthood, who till that time never spake in open Assembly, but then got up into the Pulpit for Orations, and told the People openly, how Jupiter had appeared to him in the night, and had commanded him to tell both the Confuls from him, that they should not leave their Charge and Office before they were reconciled together. For all these words Pompey stirred not. But Crassus first took him by the hand, and spake openly to him before the People: My Lords, I think not my felf dishonoured to give place to Pompey, sith you your selves have thought him worthy to be called the Great, before he had any hair on his face, and unto whom you granted the honour of two Triumphs before he came to be Senator. When he had faid his mind, they were made friends together, and so surrendred up their Office. Now for Crassis. rompey and the held on his former manner of life-which he had begun. Pompey as near as he could, gave over to plead mens causes anymore, and began by little and little to withdraw himself from frequenting the Market-place, and matters of judgment, coming feldom abroad, and when he did, he had alwaies a great Train following him. It was a rare thing also to see him any more come out of his House, or talk with a man, but he was ever accompanied with a great number, and he rejoyced to himself to see that he had alwaies such a Train after him: for that made him to be honoured the more, and gave him greater countenance to fee him thus courted, thinking it dishonour to him to be familiar with mean persous. For men that rise by Arms, are easily despited, when they come to live like private Citizens: because they cannot fashion themselves to be companions with the common People, (who Citizen-like use a common familiarity together) but look to be their betters in the City, as they are in the Field. Yea and contrarily, they that do acknowledge themselves to be their inferiours in Wars, will think foul scorn if they be not their superiours in peace. And by this means when they have a noble Warrier among them that followed publick Causes, (which had triumphed for many Victories and Battles he hath obtained) they obscure his Glory, and make him an underling unto them: whereas they do not otherwise envy any Souldiers that are contented equally to give them placeand authority, as plainly appeared thortly after The beginning by Pompey himself. By fuch an occasion, the power of Pirates on the Sea, took beginning in

friends.

and glory.

And afterwards the ROMANS being troubled with Civil Wars, one fighting with another, even at ROME Gates, the Sea not being looked to all this while, it fet them a gog, and made them go farther then ever they did before. For they did not onely rob and spoil all Merchant-venturers by Sea, but rifled also the Islands and Towns upon the Sea-coast: insomuch as then there joyned with

The Pirats fand Ships.

them men of great Wealth and Nobility, and of great wildom allo, and entred into their fellow-The power and ship, as into a commendable faculty. Now they had fet up Arsenals or Store-houses in fundry plainclonery of ces, they had fundry Havens and Beacons on the Land, to give warning by fire all along the Sea-coaft, and those well kept and watched: moreover, they had great Fleets of Ships ready furnished, with excellent good Galliots of Oars, skilfull Pilots and Mariners, their Ships of fwift fail, and Pinnaces for discovery, but withall so gloriously set out, that men less hated their excess, then seared their force. For the Poops of their Galliots were all gilt, the Coverings of the fame all of Purple Silk, delighting onely to make a glorious flew of their pillage. All the Sea-coaft over, there was no fight of any thing but Musick, finging, banquetting, and riotting, prizes of Captains and men of great quality, and ranfom of 1000 Priloners: and all this was to the shame an dishonour of the ROMANS. Their Ships were about 1000 in number, and they had taken 400 Towns. They had spoiled and destroyed many holy Temples that had never been touched before: as the Temple of the Twins in the Ifle of CLAROS, the Temple of Samothracia, the Temple of Earth in the City of HERMION, and the Temple of Afenlapins in Epidaurum : the Temples of Neptune in Is THMOS, TANARIA,

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untill they grew bold and venturous in King Withridates Wars, being hired to do him fervice.

fices and certain Ceremonies of Religion among themselves, in the Mount Olympiu, and among other, the Mystery of Mi bres , which is the Sun : and remaineth yet in being unto this day, being first shewed by them. But besides all these insolent parts and injuries they did the ROMANS upon the Sea, they went aland, and where they found any houses of Pleasure upon the Sea-coast, they spoyled and destroyed them : and on a time they took two ROMAN Prators', Sextilius and Bellinus, being in their Purple Robes, with their Sergeants and Officers attending on them, and carried them quite away. Another time also they stole away the Daughter of Antonius (a man that had received honour of Triumph) as fhe went a walking abroad in the Fields, and fhe was redeemed for a great fum of Money. But yet the greatest spite and mockery they used to the Ro- The Pirates deemed for a great min of Money. Dut yet the greatest spite and morkery they then to the RO-MANS, was this, that when they had taken any of them, and that he cried he was a Citizen of Romans, when ROME, and named his name: then they made as though they had been amazed, and afraid of that they were tathey had done. For they clapped their hands on their thighes, and fell down on their knees before ken. him, praying him to forgive them. The poor Prisoners thought they had done it in good earnest. feeing they humbled themselves as though they feemed fearfull. For fome of them came unto him, and put shooes on his feet: others clapt a Gown on the back of him after the ROMAN sashion, for fear (faid they) left he should be mistaken another time. When they had plaid all this pageant, and mocked him their bellies full: at the last they cast out one of their Ship-ladders, and put him on it, and bad him go his way, he should have no hurt: and if he would not go of himself, then they cast him over the board by force, and sent him packing. These Rovers and Sea-pirates had all the Sea Mediterraneum at commandment : insomuch there durst not a Merchant look out, nor once traffick that Sea. And this was the onely cause that moved the ROMANS (searing scarcity of Victuals, and a great dearth) to fent Pompey to recover the Signiory again of the Sea from these Pyrates. The first man that moved it might be decreed, that Pompey should not be onely Admirall or Generall by Sea, but should have absolute power to command all manner of persons Gabinius Law as he thought good, without any account to be made of his doings in his charge, was Gabiniu, for Pompeys Pomerys friend. The sum of this Decree gave him full power and absolute Authority of all the Authority Sea from Hercules Pillars, and of the main Land, the space of four hundred Furlongs from the gainst the Pa-Sea, (for the ROMANS Dominions at that time in few places went further then that : notwith- races. standing within that compass were many great Nations and mighty Kings.) | urthermore, it gave him power to choose of the Senate fifteen Lieutenants, to give unto every one of them severall Provinces in charge, according to his discretion; and also to take money out of the Treasure, of the generall Receivers of the State, to delray the charges of a Fleetlof two hundred fail, with full power besides to leavie what men of War he thought good, and as many Galliots and Marriners as he lifted. This Law when it had been read over among them, the People confirmed it with very good will. Yet the Noble-men and chief of the Senate thought that this Authority did not onely exceed all envy, but also that it gave them apparent cause of tear, to give such absolute power unto a private person. Whereupon they were all against it but Cejar, who savoured the Decree, not so much to pleasure Pompey as the People, whose favour he fought. The Noblemen fell marvelloufly out with Pompty: and at the length one of the Confuls was very hot with him, and told him he looked to follow Rome les steps, but peradventure he would come thort of that end he made. Thereupon the People thought to have killed him. After that, Catulus stood up to speak against this Edict. The People at the first heard him quietly, because he was a worthy man. Then he began without any shew of envie, to speak many goodly things in the praise of Pompey, and in fine, advised the People to spare him, and not to venture in such dangerous Wars (one after another) a man of fo great account , as they ought to make of him. It ye chance to lofe him, faid he, whom have you then to put in his place? The People then eried out: Your felf. Then perceiving that he loft his labour, feeking to turn the People from their determination, he left it there, and faid no more, Roscius role next after him to speak, but he could have no audience. When he faw that the could not be heard, he made a fign with his fingers, that they should not give Penpey alone this Authority, but joyn another with him. The People being offended withall mide fuel. an outcry upon it, that a Crow flying over the Market-place at that inftant; was ftricken blind At the Voice an outcry upon at , that a Grow hying over the warket-place at that a fowl falling out of the air to the a Grow flying and fell down amongst the People. Whereby it appeareth that a fowl falling out of the air to the a Grow flying ground, did not fall for that the air is broken or pierced with any force or fury : bur because the very fell down. breath of the Voice (when it cometh with such a violence , as it maketh a very Tempest in the Air) doth ftrike and overcome them. Thus for that day, the Affembly brake up, and nothing past: and at

the day appointed when this Decree should pass by Voices of the People, Pon profi went abroad into

the Country o There being advertised that the Decree was past for the confirmation of his charge,

he returned again that night into the City, because he would avoid the envy they would have born

him to have ken them run out of all parts of the City unto him, to have waited on him home.

The next morning he came abroad, and facrificed unto the gods : and audience being given him at an open Affembly, he handled the matter to, that they gave him many things besides to end Pompers prelarge his power, almost doubling the preparation set down and appointed at the first Decree paration a-For he ordained that the Common wealth should arm him five hundred ships, and they leavied gainst the for him fix-fcore thousand Footmen, and five thousand Horsmen, and choic besides sour and Pirates. twenty Senators, which had every one of them been Generals of Armies, and two generall Trea-

furers

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that the Knights of Rome having ferved a certain time in the Wars priced by the order, should bring their Horse into the midst of the Market-place before the two Censors, declaring every Captain under whom they had ferved, in what Journeys and Countreys they had been: and having alfo delivered account of their good behaviour and fervice, they then prayed to be difmified from the Wars. Now if it appeared that they had done good fervice, then were they honourably rewarded : or otherwife, openly shamed and punished. At that time, Gellim and Lentulm the two Cenors, being honourably fet in their Tribunal or Judgement feat, taking view of all the ROMAN Knights that mustered before them, to be feen and examined, they marvelled when they saw Pomrompey as a kinght of Knight of Rome facther end of the Market-place, having all the marks of a Conful born before him, and himfelf leading his Horfe in his hand by the bridle. When Pompey came nearer, and that they faw it was he, he commanded his Serjeants that carried his Axes before him, to make room for him to pass by the Bars with his Horse, where the Censors sate. Then the People slocked about him, wondering and rejoycing, being very filent. The Cenfors themselves also were marvellous glad to fee him so obedient to the Law, and did him great reverence. In fine, the elder of the Cenfors did examine him in this fort. Pompey the Great, I pray thee tell me if thou haft ferved fo long time in the Wars as the Law did appoint? Then answered Pompey aloud: Yes verily that I have, and under no other Gaptain then my felf. The People hearing this Anfwer, made an open shout for joy, they were so glad to hear it : and the Censors themselves came from their Judgement-feat, and went to accompany Pompey home to his Houfe, to pleafe the great multitude of People that followed him, clapping their hands with great figns of joy. At the end of their Confulship, when milliking encreased surther between Pompey and Crassus, there was one Gaim Aurelim, of the order of Knighthood, who till that time never spake in open Assembly, but then got up into the Pulpit for Orations, and told the People openly, how Jupiter had appeared to him in the night, and had commanded him to tell both the Confuls from him, that they should not leave their Charge and Office before they were reconciled together. For all these words Pompey stirred not. But Crassus first took him by the hand, and spake openly to him before the People: My Lords, I think not my felf dishonoured to give place to Pompey, sith you your selves have thought him worthy to be called the Great, before he had any hair on his face, and unto whom you granted the honour of two Triumphs before he came to be Senator. When he had faid his mind, they were made friends together, and to furrendred up their Office. Now for Craffus, he held on his former manner of lifewhich he had begun. Pompey as near as he could, gave over Pompey and Crassus made to plead mens causes anymore, and began by little and little to withdraw himself from frequenting the Market-place, and matters of judgment, coming feldom abroad, and when he did, he had alwaies a great Train following him. It was a rare thing also to see him any more come out of his House, or talk with a man, but he was ever accompanied with a great number, and he re-Pompeys pride joyced to himself to see that he had alwaies such a Train after him: for that made him to be honoured the more, and gave him greater countenance to fee him thus courted, thinking it dishonour to him to be familiar with mean persons. For men that rise by Arms, are easily despited, when they come to live like private Cuizens : because they cannot fashion themselves to be companions with the common People, (who Citizen-like use a common familiarity together) but look to be their betters in the City, as they are in the Field. Yea and contrarily, they that do acknowledge themselves to be their inferiours in Wars, will think foul scorn if they be not their superiours in peace. And by this means when they have a noble Warrier among them that followed publick Causes, (which had triumphed for many Victories and Battles he hath obtained) they obscure his Glory, and make him an underling unto them: whereas they do not otherwise envy any Souldiers that are contented equally to give them placeand authority, as plainly appeared (hortly after The beginning by Pompey himself. By such an occasion, the power of Pirates on the Sea, took beginning in of the Pirates the Countrey of CILICIA, which was not reckoned of at the first, because it was not perceived untill they grew bold and venturous in King Mithridates Wars, being hired to do him fervice. And afterwards the ROMANS being troubled with Civil Wars, one fighting with another, even at ROME Gates, the Sea not being looked to all this while, it fet them a gog, and made them go farther then ever they did before. For they did not onely rob and spoil all Merchant-venturers by

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cellent good Galliots of Oars, skilfull Pilots and Mariners, their Ships of fwift fail, and Pinnaces for discovery, but withall fo glorioully fer out, that men less hated their excess, then feared their force. For the Poops of their Galliots were all gilt, the Coverings of the fame all of Purple Silk, delighting onely to make a glorious flew of their pillage. All the Sea-coast over, there was no fight of any thing but Mufick, finging, banquetting, and riotting, prizes of Captains and men of great quality, and ranfom of 1000 Prifoners: and all this was to the shame an dishonour of the ROMANS. Their Ships were about 1000 in number, and they had taken 400 Towns. They had spoiled and destroyed many holy Temples that had never been touched before: as the Temple of the Twins in the Ifle of CLAROS, the Temple of Samothracia, the Temple of Earth in the City of HERMION, and the Temple of Afenlapins in Epidaurum : the Temples of Neptune in Isthmos, TANARIA,

Sea, but rifled also the Islands and Towns upon the Sea-coast: insomuch as then there joyned with

them men of great Wealth and Nobility, and of great wildom also, and entred into their fellow-

Temples of Truo in Samos, in Argos, and in Lucania. They had also many strange Sacrifices and certain Ceremonies of Religion among themselves, in the Mount Olympus, and among other, the Mystery of Mi hres, which is the Sun: and remaineth yet in being unto this day, being first shewed by them. But besides all these infolent parts and injuries they did the ROMANS upon the Sea, they went aland, and where they found any houses of Pleasure upon the Sea coast, they spoyled and destroyed them : and on a time they took two ROMAN Prators', Sextilius and Bellinus, being in their Purple Robes, with their Sergeants and Officers attending on them, and carried them quite away. Another time also they stole away the Daughter of Antonius (a man that had received honour of Triumph) as she went a walking abroad in the Fields, and she was redeemed for a great fum of Money. But yet the greatest spite and mockery they used to the Ro- The Pirates MANS, was this, that when they had taken any of them, and that he cried he was a Citizen of Romans, when ROME, and named his name: then they made as though they had been amazed, and afraid of that they were tathey had done. For they clapped their hands on their thighes, and fell down on their knees before ken. him, praying him to forgive them. The poor Prisoners thought they had done it in good earnest, feeing they humbled themselves as though they seemed fearfull. For some of them came unto him. and put shooes on his feet : others clapt a Gown on the back of him after the ROMAN sashion, for fear (faid they) left he should be mistaken another time. When they had plaid all this pageant, and mocked him their bellies full: at the last they cast out one of their Ship-ladders, and put him on it, and bad him go his way, he should have no hurt: and if he would not go of himself, then they caft him over the board by force, and fent him packing. These Rovers and Sea-pirates had all the Sea Mediterraneum at commandment : insomuch there durst not a Merchant look out, nor once traffick that Sea. And this was the onely cause that moved the ROMANS (fearing scarcity of Victuals, and a great dearth) to fent Pompey to recover the Signiory again of the Sea from these Pyrates. The first man that moved it might be decreed, that Pompey should not be onely Admirall or Cenerall by Sea, but should have absolute power to command all manner of persons Gabinius Lave as he thought good, without any account to be made of his doings in his charge, was Gabiniu, for Pompers Pomerys friend. The sum of this Decree gave him full power and absolute Authority of all the Authority Sea from Hercules Pillars, and of the main Land, the space of four hundred Furlongs from the gainft the Francisco Sea, (for the ROMANS Dominions at that time in few places went further then that : notwith- tates. standing within that compass were many great Nations and mighty Kings.) | urthermore, it gave him power to choose of the Senate fifteen Lieutenants, to give unto every one of them severall Provinces in charge, according to his discretion; and also to take money out of the Treasure, of the generall Receivers of the State, to delray the charges of a Fleetlof two hundred fail, with full powerbelides to leavie what men of War he thought good, and as many Galliots and Marriners as he lifted. This Law when it had been read over among them, the People confirmed it with very good will. Yet the Noble-men and chief of the Senate thought that this Authority did not onely exceed all envy, but also that it gave them apparent cause of tear, to give such absolute power unto a private person. Whereupon they were all against it but Ce/ar, who savoured the Decree, not so much to pleasure Pompey as the People, whose davour he fought. The Noblemen fell marvelloufly out with Pompey; and at the length one of the Confuls was very hot with him, and told him he looked to follow Romilius steps, but peradventure he would come thort of that end he made. Thereupon the People thought to have killed him. After that, Catulus stood up to speak against this Edict. The People at the first heard him quietly, because he was a worthy man. Then he began without any shew of envie, to speak many goodly, things in the praise of Pompey, and infine, advised the People to spare him, and not to venture in such dangerous Wars (one after another) a man of fo great account, as they ought to make of him. If ye chance to lofe him, faid he, whom have you then to put in his place? The People then cried out : Your felf. Then perceiving that he loft his labour, feeking to turn the People from their determination, he left it there; and faid no more. Roleins role next after him to speak, but he could have no audience. When he law that the could not be heard, he made a fign with his fingers, that they should not give Pemper alone this Authority, but joyn another with him. The People being offended withall mide fuch. an outery bon it, that's Crow flying over the Market-place at that inftant; was fricken blind At the Voice an outcry upon at, that a Crow trying over the Market place at that a fowl falling out of the airtio the a Crow flying ground, did not fall for that the air is broken or pierced with any force or fury : bur because the very fell down, breath of the Voice (when it cometh with fuch a violence , as it maketh a very Tempeft in the Air) doth ftrike and overcome them. Thus for that day, the Affembly brake up, and nothing past; and at the day appointed when this Decree should pass by Voices of the People, Ton pun went abroad into the Countreyl. There being advertised that the Decree was past for the confirmation of his charge, he returned again that night into the City, because he would avoid the envy they would have born him to have seen them run out of all parts of the City unto him, to have waited on him home. The next morning he came abroad, and facrificed unto the gods: and audience being given him at an open Affembly, he handled the matter to, that they gave him many things befides to en Pompeys pre-

large his power, almost doubling the preparation let down and appointed at the first Decree, paration a-For he ordained that the Common wealth should arm him five hundred ships, and they leavied gainst the for him fix-fcore thousand Footmen, and five thousand Horsmen, and chose besides four and Pirates. twenty Senators, which had every one of them been Generals of Armies, and two generall Trea-

furers also. While things were thus a preparing, the price of Victuals fell by chance, which rejoyced the People to much, that they fluck not to fay, that the Name of Pompty onely had already ended this War. This notwithftanding, he divided all the Sea between the Lands into thirteen Regions, and in every of them he appointed a certain number of his Ships, and moreover one of his Lieutenants over them. Thus having dispersed his power all abroad, he brought all the Pyrates Ships that were in a Fleet together, within his danger: and when he had taken them, he brought them all into a Dock. Now for them that had disperted themselves betimes, or that otherwise could scape his generall chase they fled all into CILICIA, as Bees into the Bee-hive, against whom he would needs go himself in person with threescore of his best Ships. Howbeit he cared not though he west not before he had scoured all the Thus can Sea, the Coasts of Lybia, Sardinia, SICILE, and of CORSICA, of all thole Theeves which were wont to keep thereabours, and this he did within forty days space, taking infinite pains, both himself and his Lieutenants. Now when one of the Confuls called Pife, did all the best he could to hinder Pompeys preparation, and had discharged his Oar-men, for that he envied Pompeys prosperity: Pompey sent his Ships before to make towards ITALY to arrive at the City of BRUNDUSIUM. He in the mean time went through THUSCAN to ROME, where to foon as his coming was known, all the People ran out to meet him, as if he had been ablent a long time: and that which made the People more joyfull to fee him, was the sudden change of Victuals unlooked for, that daily came to the Town out of all parts. But Pifo went near to be deprived of his Confulfhip: for Gabinisse had the Decree written, and ready to prefent to the People. But Pompey would not fuffer it. So, having gently brought all to pass as he defired, he went unto the City of Brundusium, and there took Sea, and hoised fail. Now though his hafty Voyage, and thormels of time made him pass by many good Cities The courtesie without coming into them: notwithstanding, he would not so pass by the City of ATHENS, but landed there, and after he had facrificed to the gods, returned to imbark again. At his going out of the City, he read two Writings that were made in his praise, the one within the Gate which faid thus:

The humbler that thou doest thy self as man behave, The more thon doeft deferve the Name of God to have :

And the other Writing was without the Gate, which faid, We wisht for thee, we wait for thee,

Now because Powpry having taken certain of these Rovers by Sea that kept together, did use them gently when they required pardon, and having their Ships and bodies in his power, did them no hurt at all: their other Companions being in good hope of his mercy, fled from his other Captains and Lieutenants, and went and yeelded themselves, their Wives and Children into his hands. Passpey pardoned all them that came in of themselves, and by that means he came to have knowledge of the reft, and to follow them where they went, whom he took in the end : but knowing that they deferved no pardon, they hid themselves. Yet the most part and the richest of them, had conveyed their Wives, Children and Goods, and all other their Family unmeet for Wars, into strong Castles and little Towns upon Mount Tanrus: and such men as were able to carry Weapons, imbarked, and lay before a City of CORACESIUM, where they tarried Pompey, and gave him Battell first by Sea, and there were overcome, and asterwards they were belieged by Land. Howbeit shortly after, they prayed they might be received to mercy, and thereupon yeelded their Bodies, Towns, and Illands, which they had fortified , and were hard to have taken and worfe to have approached. Thus was this War ended, and all the Pyrates in lefs then three Moneths driven from the Sea wherefoever they were. He wan also a great number of other Shipa, besides fourof Pompsy upon foore and ten Gallies armed with Copper Spurs. And touching the men whom they had taken (who were in number above twenty thouland perions) he did not onely confider whether he should put them to death, but also thought it no wife part on the other side to let them go at liberty, to gather force again, being fo great a number of them as indeed they were; and all poor men and Soul-

tamed.

diers. Therefore weighing with himfelf that man by nature is not born a wild or a favage beaft, but contrarily becometh a bruit beaft changing nature, when he falleth to Vice : and again is made tame and tivill in time, changing place and manner of life; (as the bruit beafts that being wild by nature do also become gentle and tractable, with gentler usage by continuance) he determined to draw these How men are Pyrates from the Sea into the upland, and make them feel the true and innocent life, by dwelling in Towns, and manuring the Ground. Some of them therefore he placed in certain small Towns of the CILICIANS, that were fcant inhabited, and were very glad of them, giving them Land to keep them with. The Ciry of the SOLIANS also, that not long before had been deftroyed by Tigramer the King of ARMENIA, being defirous to replenish that again , he placed many of them there. He bestowed diversalso in the City of Dy MA in the Countrey of ACHAIA, which at that time lacked Inhabitants, and had great store of very good Land. Now therefore his Enemies reproved him greatly; and for that he did in CRETA, they that were his best and greatest Eriends milliked him. For Metellus that gentle person (a cousin to that Metellus which was his Colleague, and made Wats in SPAIN with him against Servorius) was fent Prator into Cast a before Pompey was chosen Generall against the Pyrates. This CRETA, next unto CILICIA, was even a second Den of Pyrates. Metellin finding there a great number of these Therves, took many of them and put them to death, even all that came to his Itands. Then, such as had scaped from him, being flraightly besieged, tent unto Pompey to pray him

of pardon, and to take them to mercy : declaring unto him , that the Isle of CRETA was within the precinct of his charge , because all parts of that Region from the Sea , came just within the compass Pompeys lewd limited him on the Land. Pamper pardoning them upon their fubmission, wrote unto Metellus; and Feet against commanded him to leave off his War, and therewithall charged all the Cities, that they should not Metellus. obey Metellus Commandments. After that he fent Lucius Octavius one of his Lieutenants, who entred into the Towns Merellim befreged, and fought for the Pirates. This made Pompey not onely hated and envied, but derided also : for that under his Name he had protected fuch vile Theeves, that had neither God nor Law, and given them his Authority to fave their lives, for a little envy and emulation he bare unto Metelliss. And therefore they rightly reprove Achilles, and fay that he shewed not Achilles difthe part of a wife man, but of a young fool belides himself, for defire of Glory making a fign to the honest Fact. GRECIANS, forbidding them to ftrike at Hellor, to the end that as Homer faid :

Left le too late should to the Battell run. When others had the Honour of it won.

But Pompers Fact was worse then this: for he fought for the common Enemies of the World. and onely to deprive a ROMAN Prætor of Triumph, who had done great good fervice to have deftroyed them. This notwithstanding, Metellus lest not off his War for Pompeys Letters, but having taken the Pirates by affault, he put them to death : and afterwards having done Octavisus open shame through his Camp, he let him go. When News came to ROME, that the Pirates War was brought to good end, and that Pompey having no other service in hand, went visiting the Cities up and down, one Manliss a Tribune of the People, put forth another Pompey appoint-Decree unto them of this effect: That Pompey taking all the Army Lucullus had, and the Pro- ted Lucullus vinces under his Government, with all BITHYNIA, which Glabrio kept, should go make Successor. War upon the Kings, Tigranes and Muhridates, keeping in his hands notwithstanding all his jurisdiction and Army by Sea, in as Royall manner as he had it before. In fine, this was even to make one man Monarch and absolute Prince of all the ROMAN Empire. For by this second Decree, he had all these Countries, not named in his former Commission, added to amplifie his Authority, as PHRYGIA, LYCAONIA, GALATIA, CAPPADOCIA, CILICIA, high COLCHIDA and Armenia, with all the Armies and Forces with the which he had overcome those two mighty Kings. Then the Senate stuck not so much at the injury that was offered unto Luculus, depriving him of the honour of his doings, to give it to another, that should rather succeed him in honour of Triumph, then in danger of Wars, knowing that they did him too manifest injury, and shewed themselves too unthankfull : but that which most grieved them , was to see Pompeys power established in a plain tyranny. Hereupon therefore one of them perswaded and encouraged another. flourly to withftand this edict, and not to suffer their liberty to be lost in this fort. Notwithstanding. when the day came that this Decree should pass, they were so asraid to anger the People, that The boldness their hearts failed them, and none durft speak against it but Catulus onely, that earnessly inveyed of Canalas in against the passing of it a long time together, and greatly blamed the People. At the length, per-diffusding ceiving he had won never a man to take his part, he oftentimes cried out to the Senate, that they Manifus Law! should look to seek out some Mountain or high Rock to retire safely unto, to defend their liberty as their Ancestors had done in old time before them. All this prevailed not, for the Decree passed by the voices of all the Tribes, as it is reported. And thus was Pompey in his absence made Lord almost of all that, which Sylla by force of Arms, and by great effusion of Bloud (having made himself Lord of Rome) had before in his Power. When Pompey had received Letter's from Rome, advertifing him what the People had past in that behalf, some say that at the receit of them in the prefence of his familiar. Friends that were about him, and rejoyced with him for congranulation, he pretence or nis-raminar receives that was about many a pretence or nis-raminar receives that this browes, and clapped on his thigh, as though it grieved him marvelloully to have such great Pompeys great Offices and charge laid upon him, one in the neck of another, and burft forth in these words: diffimulation. O gods schall I never see an end of such a world of troubles as I have ! Had it not been better for me to have been a mean man born and unknown, then thus continually to be in War with Armour on my back? What, shall I never see the time, that breaking the necks of spite and envy against me, I may yet once in my life live quietly at home in my Countrey with my Wife and Children? When Pompey spake those words , his familiar Friends could not abide to fee his deep diffi- Quarrell bemulation, knowing that befides his naturall ambition, and covetous defire to rule, he was glad in twix Pompey his heart that he had his Charge, for the contention that was betweet him and Lucullus : which his and Lucullus deeds forthwith bewrayed. For he prefently fent out Precepts into every quarter, commanding all forts of Souldiers to come to him immediately, and made all the Princes and Kings within precinct of his Charge to come unto him, and going through the Countries, altered and changed all that Lucullin had established before. Furthermore, he did release the penalties enjoyned them, and took from them allo the Gifts that Lucullus bestowed on them. In fine, this was all his purpose and defire: to make them that honoured Luculius know, that he had no further power and authority to do any thing. Lucullus finding himfelf hardly handled by Pompey, the friends of either fide thought good they should meet and talk together : which came fo to pals, for they meet in the Countrey of GALATIA: And because they both were Captains of the ROMAN Armies and had done many Pompey and famous Acts, they had their Sergeants and Officers that carried the bundels of Rods before them, wrea. Lucultus meethed all about with Lawrell Boughs. When they met, Lucullus came out of a close and woody ting in Galasia: Country , all covered with green Trees; and Pompty on the other fide had paffed through a great Country, all covered wind green 1 rec; and tamp; Lucklim Sergeants feeing the Lawrell Boughs fandy plain, where no Tree was growing. Thereupon Lucklim Sergeants feeing the Lawrell Boughs

die Tens to him this could kill him. Thereupon, passing by the head of the River of Explorates,

he feel through the Countrey of COLCHIDE. In the mean time , Pompey invaded the Countrey

of ARMENIA, at the request of Tigranes the younger', who was revolted against his Father, and

went to meet with Pompey at the River of Araxes; which halt his beginning almost about the head

of Euphrates: but it runneth towards the East, and falleth into Mare Caspium. So they both to-

gether marched on further into the Gountrey, receiving fuch Towns as yeelded unto them. But King

unto him. When he came hard to his Camp, being on horf-back, there came out two Sergeants of

Powers and commanded him to light and go in a foot, for there was never man feen a horf-back with-

in the ROMAN'S Camp. Tigrames did not onely obey them, but further plucked off his Sword

made him to fit down by him on the one fide of him, and his Son on the other. Then he faid unto

them both : as for the other losses you have sustained heretofore, you must thank Lneullus for them,

who bath taken from you SYRIA, PHOENICIA, CILICIA, GALATIA, and SOPHENA: but

forthat you have left you till my coming, I will let you enjoy it, paying to the ROMANS a fine

of fixthousand Talents for the injury you had done them, provided also, that your Son have the

Kingdom of SOPHENA for his part. Tigranes accepted the Conditions of Peace. The ROMANS

then falured him King. He was so glad thereof, that he promised to give every Souldier half a Mina,

every Centiner ten Minas, and to every Colonell of a thousand men a Talent. His Son was very angry

withall : infomuch as Pompey fending for him to come to Supper to him , he answered again, that was

do it with justice. So, leaving Afraniu in ARMENIA, to keep the Countrey, Pompey passed by

they were there, and they bufily occupied about Saturnes Feafts: the barbarous People having lea-

vird about forty thouland fighting men in one Camp together, came and paffed over the River of

of Araxes into it, which paffeth through Armenia, dispersed it self into twelve severall Mouthes,

and fo falleth into Mare Caspium. Some notwithstanding hold opinion, that Cyranus received not

the River of Araxes into it , but that it runnetbby it felf, and falleth into the fame Sea, near unto

the mouthes of the other.) Pempey might if he would; have kept them from coming over the River,

yet did he suffer them quietly to pass over. When they were all over, he went against them, over-

came them in Battell, and flew a great number of them in the Field. Afterwards he pardoned their

King, submitting himself unto Pompey by his Ambassadours, and made Peace with him. Then from

and to drive out Pompey. These IBERIANS were never subject to the Empire of the PERSIANS.

bloudy Battell, having flain nine thousand in the Field, and taken ten thousand Prisoners. From thence

the Fleet of Thips with the which he kept all Mare Ponticum. Now to follow Mithridates further,

who had hid himself amongst a People that were neighbours unto the straights of Bos риониз, and

had made a strong desence a great way along the River side, with a marvellous number of great Trees,

feld and layed across one over another. Turthermore, when he had with great difficulty passed

Water, and so went forward to meet with his Enemies whom he found by the River of Abas,

them) ill-armed with wild Beafts Skins. Their Chieftain was Cosis the Kings own Brother.

He, when the Battell was begun, flew upon Pompey, and threw a Dart achim, and hurt him in the

Flanck. Pimpey on the other fide, ran him through with his Lance on both fides, and flew him

drie and withered away, which Pompeys Sergeants carried, they gave them of their green and fresh Boughs to beautifie the Rods and Ares. This was a plain token that Pompey came to take Lacellus honour from him. In truth Luculius had been Confull before Pompey, and fo was he also an older man then he : yet the dignity of Pompty was greater , because he had triumphed twice. At their first meeting, their entertainment and discourse was with great ceremony and courtesse as might be, one highly praising the others Deeds, rejoycing at each others good success: but at parting they fell to hot words together, Pompey upbrayding Lucullus avarice, and Lucullus Pompeys ambition, to that their friends had much ado to part them. Luculius departing thence, divided the Lands in GALA-214, which he had conquered, and bestowed them and other Gifts on such as he thought good. Pemper on the other fide camping, hard by him, specially commanded the People in every part to obey him in nothing that he did: and belides he took all his Souldiers from him, leaving him onely fixteen hundred; which he supposed were such, as for disdain and ill will they bare him, would do him but fmall fervice. Furthermore, to blemish the glory of his doings, he told every body Luculius had fought with the pomp and fhadow onely of these two Kings, and that he had lest him to fight with all their whole force and power, Mithridates being then prepared for Wars, with Shields, Swords, and Horless Lucullus for revenge on the other fide faid , that Pompey went to fight but with a shadow of War, like a cowardly buzzard that preyeth upon dead bodies, which others have flain: and to cut afunder the remain of this War ended by another, as he had done before, attributing the bonour of the overthrow of Sertorius, Lepidus and Spartacus, to himself, where indeed Metellus Craffus, and Catuliu did overcome them. And therefore it was no marvell, that he fought the glory and honour to Triumph for the Kingdoms of PONTUS and ARMENIA : fith that through his subtile practises he had obtained Triumph for a few slaves and sugitives. Luculius being now gone his way, Pompey fent good Garrisons unto all the Coasts upon the Sea, from the Province of Phoe-NICIA ... unto the Realm of Bosphorus. That done, he took his journey by land towards Mithridates; who had in his Camp thirty thousand Footmen, and two thousand Horsemen, and yet durft not offer Battell, but camped first upon a Mountain of great strength, and hard to get upon: not-withstanding shortly after, he for look it for lack of Water. He was no sooner gone thence, but forthwith Pompin took it: who, conjecturing by the nature of the Plants and Trees in that place which were very green, and also by divers holes he found, that by reason thereabouts should be some Springs; the commanded them to dig welsin every corner; so that in a very short time all his Camp had Water enough, and he wondered at Misbrodates that he could not find that out in all the time be lay there. In the end, he went and camped round about Mitbridates, and intrenched him with a Wall within his own Camp: who after he had abidden the Siege five and forty days, fled away with all the choife of his Army, unknowing unto Rompey, having first flain all the fick and impotent persons within his Camp. inferential, Pompey found him another time by the River of Emphrates, and went and lodged hard by him. But fearing that Mitbridates would pass over the River before he and dependent of the contraction. fore he could prevent him in time, he raifed his Camp again, and marched away at midnight. About that time, they fay, that Mishridates faw that in a dream which did Prognosticate what would happen. He thought, that having the wind in the poop of the Ship, he was under fail in the middelt of the Sea of Mare Bofphorum, and that he was marvellous glad of it, and rejoyced with them that failed with him, thinking himfelf certainly past all danger : yet suddenly again, that all this Joy left him , and that he floated up; and down the waves of the Sea, upon a little piece of the Ship that was broken, trufting to the mercy of the Winds. As he was troubled with this ill favoured Dream, certain of his Familiars came to him and told him, that Pampey was come to near, that aftere was no shift, but they must needs fight to defend their Gamp. Thereupon his Captains straight began to put his men in battell ray, ready to fight. Pempsy understanding they prepared to make defence, was in doubet to venture: his men to fight in the dark, thinking it better to compais them in to keep them from flying, and then in the morning to fet upon them more easily, his men being the better Souldiers. But Rompeysold Captains were focarnefly in band with him to perswade him they thight fight, that in the end he was contented they should give charge, Now it was not so dark but they could four what for, for the Moon that was very low and upon her feeting, gave light enough to differn the body of a man : yet because the Moon was very low, the (hadow which gave our further fat then their bodies, camelalmoft even toutheir very Enemies , which did let them that they could not certainly judge what space of ground was between them, but imagining that they were hard by them, they call their Darts at the ROMAN & then they hurrinever a man, for their bodies were a great way from them. The Rosdam's perceiving that area upon them with great cases. But the barbarous People durft not abide their charge, they were to afraid, but turned their backs; and ran away for life, to that they were hain down right. Thus were there ten thousand of the barbacous Reople flain and more, and their, Camp alfo taken. As for Mubridates himfelf, at the beginning of the onlet, the made a lane through the Roman swith eight hundred Horsmen, and passed clean through them. But incontineolly histmen dispersed upon it, some one way, some another way, so that he was lest alone but with three persons onely, whereof Hypherana was one of the number, which had ever been valuant and had a mans heart combercapon, for that cuife. Michridates called ther Hypfirates. She at that time being arrayed like a man of Arms of Pansia and mounted alfo on a Horse after the Pansia N manner red Hyppresies, was never wears, with any long Journey the King made, nor never left to wait upon his Person, until neh like a man fuch time as the King cannot to a frong Cantle called Locks, where was great store of Gold and Silver. Howest Tigraves fent to let him , and further proclaimed by Trumper, that he would give an hun-

Mithridates.

Mithridates

Pompey over-

Hypficratea

gether marched on further into the Countrey, Lecturing and Towns as yether distinct and Tigranes/yeeld-Tigranes (that not long before had been confound and defroyed by Luculius) understanding that eith himfelf un-Pompey was of a mild and gentle nature, he received his Garrifons into his strongest Forts and Roy- to Pompey all Houles, and went himself with his Friends and Kinsmen to meet Pompey, and to yeeld himself

and gave it them; and in fine, when he came almost to Pompey, taking of his Royall Hat from his Tigranes laid head, he would have laid it at Pompeys feet, and falling down most shamefully on the ground, imbased his Diadem at himself to embrace Pompeys knees. But Pompey himself prevented him, and taking him by the hand,

not the friendship he looked for at Pempey hands, for he should find many other ROMANS that Tigrames Son a not the triending ne 100xed 10r at Fompey for his answer, clapped him up as a Prisoner, and kept him Prisoner, would offer him that courtese. Pompey for his answer, clapped him up as a Prisoner, and kept him Prisoner, would offer him that courtese. Shortly after, Phrastes King of Part His fent Ambassadours to be led in Triumph at ROME. Shortly after, Phrastes King of Part His fent Ambassadours to fent from the Pompey to demand this young Prince, that was his Son in law, and to tell him that the River of Eu- King of Parphrates must be the uttermost Confines of his Conquests, Pompey answered again; that Tigranes had this unto Pommore right to his Son, then the Father in Law? and as for limiting of his Borders, that he would 197.

other Nations which inhabit about Mount Cancasus having Mitbridates in chase: of which Na- Cancasus Mone.

tions, two of the chiefest and of greatest power, are the ALBANIANS and IBERIANS. The IEERIANS do stretch out unto Mount Moschium, and to the Realm of PONTUS. The ALBA-Alban; and NIANS lie towards the East, and Mare Caspium. These men first suffered Pompey to pass through manner of their Countrey, upon his fending to them. But winter having stollen upon the ROMANS while People.

Cyranus. (This River cometh from the Mountains of the IBERIANS, and receiving the River Cyranus ft.

thence he went against the IBERIANS, who were no less in number then the ALBANIANS were Pompey overat the first, and allo better Souldiers, and were refolutely bent to do good service unto Mitbridate, threw the Al-

nor of the MEDES, and fcaped also from being subject to the MACEDONIANS, for that Alex. Pomper overander never staid in the Countrey of HYRCANIA : whom also Pompey overcame in a great and came the libe-

he went into the Countrey of COLCHIDE. There Servilius met him by the River of Phafis, with Phafis fl.

the Marishes Marishes he found it a hard piece of work. Furthermore also, he had news that the The Albanians ALBANIA No were rebelled again, which drew him back to be revenged of them. Thereupon he rebell against passed again over the River of Cyrnu, with great pain and danger, because the barbasous People. Pomper.

through them; he fell into an ill-favoured Countrey, where he should travell a great way before he could come to any Water. Thereupon he caused ten thousand Goats Skins to be filled with being fix store thousand Footmen, and twelve thousand Horsmen, but all. (or the most of

Brother of the with the Ams-Zones. Thermedon fl.

Rutilius an Hiftoriogiapher.

ftark dead. Some fay also, that there were certain AMAZONES at this Barrell; which fought, on the barbarous Peoples fide, coming from the Mountains that run along the River of Therm Coffiche Kings For, after the Overthrow given, the ROMANS spoyling the dead, found Targets and Buskins of the AMAZONES, but not a body of a Woman among them. They also do inhabite on the fide of the Mountain Caucasus that looketh tawards Mare Hircanium, and do not border upon the ALBANIANS: but the GELE and the LEGELES are between them, with whom they compa-Queet. ALBANIANS: but the GELE and the Legeles are current damage. All the reft of Gcle and Lege- ny two Moneths onely every year, meeting together by the River of Thermodos: all the reft of Gcle and Lege- ny two Moneths onely every year, meeting together by the River of Thermodos: the year they live apart by themselves. After this Battell , Pompey going to invade the Countrey of HYRCANIA, as far as Mare Caspinam, he was compelled to go back again for the infinite number of deadly venomous Serpents which he met with , being come within three days journey of ir. So he returned back again into ARMENIA the lefs, and there received Prefents which were fent unto him from the Kings of the ELYMIANS and the MEDES, and wrote very courteoully unto them again : howbeit he fent Afranium with part of his Army against the King of the PAR-THIANS, who had invaded the Countrey of GORDINEA, and harried and spoyled the King Tigranes Subjects. Notwithstanding he drave him out , and followed him unto ARIELITIDE. Furthermore, all the Lemmans and Concubines of King Mitbridates being brought unto Pempey, he would touch none of them, but fent them all home again to their Parents and Friends, because the most of them were either the Daughters of Princes, of Noblemen, or of Captains. Notwithstratonice Mi. standing , Stratonice that of all the rest of his Lemnans had most credit about Methridates, unto whom he had left the Charge of his Caftle, where the greatest part of his Treasure of Gold and Silver lay, was a Singers Daughter, who (as they faid) was not rich, but an old man. She having fung one night before Mithridates, being at Supper, he fell in such fancy with her, that he would needs have her lie with him the fame night, and the old man her Father went home offended, because the King would not fo much as give him one gentle word. But the next morning when he arofe, he marvelled to fee the Tables in his House full of Plate of Gold and Silver, and a great company of Serving-men, Grooms of Chamber and Pages, and that they had brought him marvellous rich Apparell, and a Horse ready at the Gates bravely surnished, as the Kings Familiars did use when they went abroad into the City: he thought it was done in mockery, to have made sport with him, and therefore would have run his way, had not the Serving-men kept him, and told him that they were a great rich mans goods that died of late, which the King had bestowed on him, and that all this he faw, was but a little Portion in respect of the other Goods and Lands he gave him. So the old man believing them, at the length did put on this Purple Gown they brought bin, and got up on Horfeback, and riding through the Streets cried, All this is mine, all this is mine. Certain laughing him to fcorn for it, he Pompey, abili- told them: Mafters , ye may not wonder to hear me thus crie out, but rather, that I throw not Stones nence from to at them I meet, I am so mad for joy. Such was Stratonices Birth and Parentage, as we have told you, She did then deliver this Caftle into Pempeys hands, and offered him many goodly rich Prefents, but he would take none of them, other then such as served to adorn the Temples of the gods, and to beautifiehis Triumph, and left all the reft with Stratopice her felf, to dispote as she thought good. In like manner also, the King of the IBERIANS, having fent him a Bed-stead, a Table, and a Chair of clean Gold, praying him to take it as a remembrance from him he delivered it over unto the Treasurers custody, to be accountable for it unto the Senate. In another Castle called Camon, he Mibrilates te found certain fecret Letters fent from Mibrilates , which pleafed him marvelloufly to read, because thereby he plainly understood the Kings nature and inclination. For in them were mentioned that he had poyfoned (besides many other) Ariarather his own Son , and Aleass the SARDINIAN, because he had won the Bell, at the Horf-race before him. There was also interpreting of Dreams, that either himself or his Wives had dreamed, and also Love-letters betwixt Monime and him. Theophanes writeth also, that there was found an Oration of Rutiline, in the which he enticed and perfwaded Mithridates to put all the ROMANS to death that were in ASIA. Howbeit in reason men think that this was a shamefull lie, maliciously devised by Theophanes, who hated Rusilius, because he was but a counterfeit to him : or peradventure to gratifie Pompey, whose Father Rusilius in his Histories described to be as wicked a man as ever lived. Thence Pompey departed towards the City of AMISUS. There his ambition brought him to commit such Facts, as he himself did condemn before in Lucullus : for that his Enemy being yet alive ; he took upon him to establish Laws, to give Gifts, and distribute such Honours, as Captains that had obtained Victory were wont to do , when they had ended all War and trouble. For he himself (Misbridares being yet the stronger in the Realm of Bos PHORUS , and having a great puissant Army about him) did all that which he reproved another for , appointing Provinces , and giving out Gifts to every man according as he deferved : to gratific twelve barbarous Kings, with divers other Princes, Lords and Captains that came to him thither. Writing also to the King of PARTHIA, he disdained to give him that Title, which others were wont to do in the direction of their Letters, calling him King of Kings. Furthermore, he had a wonderfull great defire to win Syria, and to go through ney into Syrii. the Countrey of ARABIA, even unto the red Sea, because he might enlarge his Conquests and Vi-Ctories every way, even unto the great Sea Oceanum, that compaffeth all the whole Earth, For in Ly-BIA, he was the first ROMAN that conquered all to the great Sea. On the other fide, in SPAIN he enlarged the Empire of ROMB, and brought the Confines thereof unto Mare Atlanticum. And thirdly, having lately the ALBANIANS in chale, he came almost unto Mare Hyrcanium. Thus he pur himfelf in Journey, intending his circuit unto the red Sea, specially because he saw Mithri-

to follow, and worle to overcome by force when he fled, then when he fought anv Bartler and that made him fay, that he would leave a sharper Enemy behind him then himself : and that he meant Famine. For he appointed Souldiers with fufficient number of Ships, to lie in wait for the Merchants that failed to the Countrey of Bos PHORUS, to carry them any Victuals or other Merchandizes, prohibiting them upon pain of death that should attempt it. Then he went forward with the best part of his Army, and in his way, found the bodies of the dead ROMANS which Mithridates had overthrown under the leading of Triarius their Captain, and were yet un- Pompty buried. So he caused them all to be taken up, and honourably buried. Lucullus having forgotten, brought Syria buried. or otherwise neglected to do it, in my conscience that was the chiefest cause why his men did hate and Governhim. Pompey now having by Afranius subdued the ARABIANS dwelling about Mount Amanus, ment of a Prowent himself in Person into Syria, and made a Government and Province of it, being won to vince. the ROMAN Empire, for that it lacked a lawfull King; and conquered all lurie also, where he took King Aristobulus, and builded certain (ities there, and delivered others also from bondage, which by Tyrants were forcibly kept, whom he chaftiled well enough. Howbeit he foent the most part of his time there, deciding of Controversies, pacifying of Contentions and quarrels by Arbitrement, which fell out betwixt the free Cities, Princes and King, and fent of his Friends into those places where he could not come himself. For on a time when he was chosen Arbitrator betwixt the PARTHIANS and the ARMENIANS, touching the Title of a Countrey which both parties claimed, he sent three Commissioners thither to judge definitively betwirt them both. If Pompeys Pompeys Verfame and renown were great, no less was his Vertue, Justice and Liberality, which indeed did hide tues. many faults, his friends and Familiars about him did commit. For truly he was of fo gentle a nature. that he could neither keep them from offending, nor yet punish them when they had offended. Notwithstanding, he did use them so well that complained unto him, or that had to deal with him in any matter, that he made them contented patiently to bear their covetouinels and straight The power and dealing. One of his chiefest Familiars about him whom he loved best, was called Demetrius, a infolency of bondman infranchifed, who otherwife was very discreet in his doings, but being somewhat too bold Demetrius; of his good fortune: of him they make this mention. Cato the Philosopher being at that time a Pompeyo inyoung man, yet of good judgement and of a noble mind, in Pompeys absence went to see the City franchised of ANTIOCH. Now for himself, his manner was always to go on foot, and all his friends be-bondman, fides that did accompany him to honour him, were on Horf-back. He perceiving afar off, a great fort of People coming towards him all in white, and of one fide of the Street little Children, and on the other Boyes, round about him as in a ring : at the first he was angry withall, thinking thev had done it for his fake to honour him, that they made this Procession, which he in no wise would have had done. Thereupon he commanded his Friends to light from their Horses, and go on foor with him. But when they came near to the Gate of the City, the Mafter of the Ceremonies that led this Procession, having a Garland on his Head, and a Rod in his hand, came unto them, and asked them, where they had left Demetrius, and when he would come? Cato's Friends laughed to hear this question: then said Cato, Alas poor City: and so passed by it. Notwithstanding, Pompey Cato'rexelahimself was cause that Demetrius had the less ill will born him, then otherwise he should have mation against himself was cause that Demetries had the cles in with had; because they saw how boldly he would use Pompey, and how well he would take it without Demetries, had; because they saw how boldly he would use Pompey, and how well he would take it without Demetries inoffence. It is reported, that when Pompey oftentimes had bidden some to Dinner or Supper; while franchised he was entertaining and welcoming of them, and would tarry till they were all come: Demetrius bondman. would be fet at the Board, and prefumptuoully have his Head covered even to the very ears. And furthermore, before he returned into ITALY out of his Journey, he had already purchased the goodliest Houses of Pleasure, and fairest Walkes that were about ROME, and had sumptuous Gardens alfo, the which the People commonly called, Demetrini Gardens : though his Mafter Pomper was but meanly housed till his third Consulship. Howbeit afterwards, he built that famous ftately Theater, called Pompeys Theater; and joyned unto that also another House; as a Pent-house Pompeys The to his Theater, far more sumptuous and stately then the first, and yet no more then needed. Informuch as he that was Owner of it after him, when he came into it, he marvelled, and asked whereabouts it was that Pompey dined and supped. These things are reported thus. Now the King of The King of the ARABIANS, that dwelt about the Castle called Petra, having never untill that time made Arabia. any account of the ROMANS Army was then greatly afraid of them, and wrote unto Pompey, Petra Submitthat he was at his devotion, to do what he would command him. Pompey thereupon to prove him, eth himself to whether he meant as he spake , brought his Army before this Castle of Petra. Howbeit this Pompey, Voyage was not liked of many men, because they judged it was an occasion found out to leave following of Mithridates, against whom they would have had him rather have bent his force, being an ancient Enemy to ROME and that began to gather ftrength again, and prepared (as they heard fav) to lead a great Army through SCYTHIA and PANNONIA into ITALY. But Pompey thinking he should fooner diminish his power by suffering him to go on with Wars, then that he should otherwise be able to take him flying : would not toil to follow him in vain. And for these causes

he would needs make Wars in other places, and linger time fo long: that in the end he was put by

hishope. For when he was not far from the Castle of Petra, and had lodged his Camp for that

day: as he was riding and mannaging his Horse up and down the Camp, posts came flinging to him

from the Realm of PONTUS, and brought him good news, as was eafily to be discerned afar off

by the heads of their Javelings, which were wreathed about with Lawrell Boughs. The Souldiers

perceiving that, flocked ftraight about him; but Pompey would make an end of his riding first, before

death.

The value of fcabbard of his

Mutia, the Wife of Pompey.

Pompey for-Mutia.

ged his Souldiers.

Pompeys honourable return to Rome out of Afia. A Law for Triumph.

Pompeys alli

he read these Letters. Howbeir they crying to him, and being importunate flat this, be lighted from his Horfe, and returned into his Camp, where there was no stone high enough for him to stand upon to speak unto them; and again, the Souldiers would not tarry the making of one after the manner of their Camp, which men of War do make themselves, with great Turves of Earth, laying one of them upon another: but for hafte and earnest defire they had to hear what news there was in the Letters, they layed together a heap of Saddles one upon another, and Pompey getting up on them, told how Mithridates was dead, and had killed himself with his own hands, because his Son Pharnaces did rebell against him, and had won all that which his Father possessed writing unto him, that he kept it for himself and the ROMANS. Upon these news, all the Camp, ye may imagine, made wonderfull joy, and did Sacrifice to the gods, giving them thanks and were as merry as if in Mithridates Person alone, there had died an infinite number of their Enemies. Pompty by this occasion, having brought this War more easily to pals then he hoped for, departed prefently out of ARABIA; and having speedily in few days passed through the Countries lying by the way, he came at length to the City of Amisus. There he found great Presents that were brought unto him from Pharnaces, and many dead bodies of the Kings Bloud, and amongst the rest, Mithridates Corps, which would not well be discerned by his Face, because they that had the carrying of his Body had forgotten to drie up the brain: nevertheless, such as desired to see him, knew him by certain scars he had in his Face. For Pompey Would in no wise see him: but to avoid envy, fent him away unto the City of Synope. He wondered much at the marvellous fumpruous rich Apparell and Weapons that he wore. The scabbard of his Sword (which cost four hundred Talents) was stolen by Publim, and sold to Ariarathes. Also a Hat of Mithridates, of wonderfull workmanship, being begged of Caiss his Foster-brother was secretly given to Fastfrus the Spri of Sylla, without Pomjeys privity. But afterwards when Pharnaces underflood of it, he punished the parties that had imbezelled them. Pompey having ordered all things, and established that Province, went on his Journey homewards with greater Pomp and Glory. So coming unto Pompeys return MITTLENE, he released the City of all Taxes and Payments for Theophanes sake, and was present out of Afa. at a certain Play they yearly make for Games, where the Poets report their Works contending one with another, having at that time no other matter in hand, but Pompey: Acts and Gefts. Pompey liked exceeding well of the Theater, where these Plays were made, and drew a Modell or Platform of it, to make a statelier then that in ROME. As he passed by the City of RHODES, he would needs here all the Rhetoritians dispute, and gave every one of them a Talent. Posidonim had written the disputation he made before Pompey, against Hermagoras the Rhetoritian, upon the theam and proposition Pempey himself did give them, touching the Generall question. Pempey did the like at A-THENS unto the Philosophers there. For he gave towards there-edifying of the City again, fitty Talents. So he thought at his return home into ITALY, to have been very honourably received, and longed to be at home to fee his Wife and Children, thinking also that they long looked for him: but the god that hath the charge given him to mingle Fortunes prosperity with some bitter sop of adversity, laid a block in his way at home in his own House to make his return more forrowfull. For Musia his Wife had in his absence played salse at Tables. But Pompey being then far off, made no account of the reports nor tales that were told him. Howbeit, when he drew near unto ITALY, and that he was more attentive to give ear to the ill reports he heard, then he fent unto her to tell her, that he refused her for his Wife, writing nothing to her at that time, neither ever after told the cause why he had forfaken her. Notwithstanding, in Cicero's Epistles, the cause appeareth. Furthermore, there were rumors ran abroad in ROME, which troubled them fore, being given out that he would bring his Army straight to ROME, and make himself absolute Lord of all the Roman Empire. Craffe the supon, either for that he believed it indeed to be true, or (as it was thought) to make the acculation true, and the envy towards Pompey the greater, conveied himself, his family and goods suddenly out of ROME. So Pompey when he came into ITALY, return out of Affia dilcharcalled all his Souldiers together; and after he had made an Oration unto them, as time and occasion required; he commanded them to sever themselves, and every man to repair home to apply his bulinels, remembring to meet at ROME together at the day of his Triumph, His Army being thus dispersed, and straight reported abroad for news, a marvellous thing happened unto him. The Cities feeing Pompts the Great without Souldiers, having but a small train about him of his familiar Friends onely, went all of them to meet him, not as though he were returned home from his great Conquefts, but from fome Journey taken for his pleasure. Such was the love of the People to him, that they accompanied him to ROME, whether he would or not, with a greater power then that he had brought into ITALY: fo that if he had been disposed to have made any innovation in the Common-wealth, he had not needed his Army. In those days there was a Law : that no man should enter into Rome before his Triumph: whereupon Pompey fent to the Senate, to pray them to defer the chufing of Confuls for a few days, because he might be present to further Pife, who fued for the Consulship that year. They denied him his request, by Cato's means that hindred it. Pompey marvelling to hear of the boldness and plain speech, which he onely used of all other to defend his just Causes, had a marvellous destre to win him, and to make him his Friend. So Cato having two Neeces, Pompey, desired to marry the one himself, and the other for his Son. But Cato militrutting this desire of Pompey, that it was a colour onely to win and corrupt him, denied him flatly. His Wife and Sifter on the other fide, they were angry with him for refufing to make alliance with Pompey the Great. About that time it chanced, that Pompey being very desirous to prefer Afranius to be Confull, he caused certain Money

TOMPEID'S.

to be given among the Tribes of the People, and the same was delivered out to some even in his own Gardens. This thing being reported abroad in the City, every man spake ill of Pempey : that he pur the Confulthip to fale for Money unto those that could not deserve it by Vertue, fith himself onely had obtained it by purchase of many a noble and worthy deed. Then faid Cato to his Wife and Sifter: Lo now, we had been partakers of this fault too, had we matched with Pompey, When they heard it, they confessed he had reason to resuse the match, for equity and his honour. But now to his Triumph, Pompeys third For the statelines and magnificence thereof, although he had two days space to shew it, yet he lacked Triumph. time; for there were many, things prepared for the Shew, that were not feen, which would have ferved to have fer our another Triumen. First there were Tables carried, whereon were written the Names and Titles of all the People and Nations for the which he triumped, as these that follow: The The Countries Kingdom of PONTUS, ARMENIA, CAPPADOCIA, PAPHLAGONIA, MEDIA, COLCHIS, IBERIA, ALBANIA, SYRIA, CILICIA, and MESOPOTAMIA: and furthermore, the People Pompey. that dwell about Phoenicia and Palestine, Judea, and Arabia: and all the Pirates which he had overcome both by Sea and by Land, in all parts of the World. In all these Countries he rook about a thousand Castles, few less then nine hundred Towns and Cities: of Piraces Shins eight bundred , and nine and thirty defolate Towns left without Inhabitants, replenished again with People by him. Moreover, these Tables declared, that the revenue of the Common-wealth of Roms before these Conquests he made, amounted yearly but to five thousand Miriades: and that from thenceforth with the fums he had added unto the former revenue, they should now receive eight thousand and five hundred Miriades : and that he brought presently in ready Gold and Silver, and in Plate and Jewels, to put into the common Treasurie, the value of twenty thousand Talents, besides that which had been distributed already among the Souldiers: of the which, he that had leaft for his share, had sitteen hundred Drachmaes, The Prisoners that were led in the shew of this Triumph, besides the Captains of the Piraces, were these that follow: The Son of Tiorans King of AEMENIA, with his Wife and Daughter : the Wife of King Tieranes himself. called Zohme : Arifobulus King of Juny : Mithridates Sifter, with five Sons of hers , and some Ladies of SCYTHIA. The Hodages also of the IBERIANS and the ALBANIANS and also of the Captives led Kings of the COMMAGENIANS: over and befides a great number of other marks of Triumphs in Pompeys which himself or his Lieutenant had won at fundry Battels in divers places. But the greatest honour third Trithat ever he wan , and which never other Confull of the ROMANS but himself obtained , was this, umph. that he made his third Triumph of the three parts of the World. Divers other ROMANS had trithat it make up him a Anthony the first triumphed of AFRICE: the second time of Europe: Pompeyconqueshe third time of Asia. So that it appeared by these three Triumphs, that he had triumphed in red three parts manner of all the land that is inhabited, being at that time (as it is reported by them which compare of the World : his doings unto Alexander the great) under four and thirty years of age, though in troth at that Africk Europe, time he was near forty. O happy had it been for him, if he had died when he had Alexanders and Alax Fortune: for all his life afterwards, made his prosperty hateful, or his adversity miserable: immphed thrice
ploying the honour and authority he had gotten by his valiantness, sayouring mens unjust Causes: before the see the more he furthered them, the more he leftened his honour, and unawares brought his greatness of forty years. 19 nothing. For like as when the ftrongest places of a City, which receiving their Enemies into them, The change of do give them the benefit of their own fitrength : even to through Pompey: Power, Ce/ar growing Pompey: Fortune and hotole great, onesthese him in the end with the felf fame means he imployed to the overthrow of one nour. thers. And thus it fortuned: Lucally at his return out of Asia (where Pompey had uncourteoutly Lucallus beleeused him) was then nery well taken of the Senare, and much more when Pempey was also come to ved of the Senare, and much more when Pempey was also come to ved of the Senare and sencourage him to deal in the Affairs, of the State, seeing nate at his remainder. him was very flow, and given non much to his selfs and pleature, by reason of his great Wealth he turn out of his decision. So when Power was come, he hegan to speak against him; and through the friend. Lucultur inflictions of the confirmal alleis design in the self-self in the confirmal alleis design. Thip and aftitiance of Case, confirmed allhis doings in Asia, which Bimgey had broken and reje- veighed against Sted. Pampey finding he had link a regulae of the Senate, was driven to have recourse unto the Tri- Pompey by Cabunes of the People, and to fall in friendthip with light young men. Of the Tribunes, the most imputo's still thank
friend the performant Cleans, who received him, and made him a prey unto the People. For he
with Cleans,
and American third live and against his honour carried him want down the Markey live in the
with Cleans, had Rompey ever at his elbow, and against his howour carried him up and down the Market place after Tibune of the him, to speak as accadion served, to confirm any manger or device which he preferred unto him to People sham, to speak as accadion served, to confirm any manger or device which he preferred unto him to People shame to see the served of People People shame the common Recogle. And further, for recompence of his good will, he craved of People People shame the served of People shame the serve (not as a thing dithonourable , but beneficial for him) that he would for take (icero, who was his chero.

Friend , and had done much for him in matters of Common wealth

Passes granted his control. Friend, and died done much for him in matters of Common-wealth. Powpey granted his request. Thereupon Ciacrobeing brought in danger of Law, and requiring Pempeys friendship to help him, be thur his door against allem that came to speak in his behalf , and went out himself at another back door. Civerethersupon fearing the extremuty of Law, willingly torlook Rome. At that time, Jalian Cafar returning home from his Pratorthip out of Spain, began to lay such a Plot, that presently broughishim into great fangue, and afterwards much increased his power, but otherwi eutterly undid P. mpry and the Common wealth. Now be was so fue for his first Confulthip, and confidering the enmiry betwitst. Bampey and Craffer, if he joyned with the one, he made the other his Enemy the de- Cafar reconcivifed to make elemáticada, a thing ferming of great honelty at the first fight, but yet a petitient device, and as subtill a peacific as could be. For the power of the city being before divided into two Parts. (as a Ship evenly hallast of each fide) maintained the Common-wealth upright; and being now brought into one mass power, there was no possibility to withfrand it , so that all fell to wrack

he overcame Clodiu. Thus Cicero being called home by Decree of the People, when he was

dividing of I ands. Lex Agraria.

> Daughter of Cafar. Bibulus the Confull, driven out of I he Law Agraria confirmed by the eth the ruine of the Common-wealth.

Cloding the

Pompey Was

in the end. Whereupon Cato wifely told them afterwards, that faid, the civill Wars betwixt Pompey and Cafar was cause of the destruction of the Common-wealth : that their enmity and difcord was not the chief original cause of this misery, but rather their friendship and agreediffer Law for ment. For by their friendship Casar was chosen Consult, who straight fell to flatter the People and poor men, and made a Law for the restoring of the Colonies belonging to ROMS and for differibuting of Lands to them that had none, imbaling the Majesty and Dignity of the chief Magistrates, and making the Consulship in a manner no better then the Tribuneship of the People. Bibulss his Colleague and fellow Confull, did what he could to refift him, and Caro allo did aid him to his power, until Cafar openly brought Pempey into the Pulpit for Orations before the People, and calling him by his Name, asked him if he did give his confent to the Decrees which he did fet with Cafar, for forth. Pempey answered him, he did. Why then, faid Cefar, if any man will by force let the paffing pulling his Law of this Law by Voices of the People, wilt thou then come to help them? Yes that I will indeed, faid Pompey: against them that threaten with the Sword, I will bring both Sword and Target. Pompey in all his life never did nor spake thing that men more misliked, then that which he said at that time. His Friends excused him, and said it was a word passed his mouth before he was aware : but his deeds afterwards shewed, that he was altogether at Cefars Commandment. For not many days after, hemarried Julia the Daughter of Cefar: which was affianced or made fure before unto Ser-Pompey marti. after, he married Julia the Daughter of Cafar: which was affianced or made fure before unto Seruth Julia the willis Capio, when no man thought of it: and to pacific Capios anger, he gave him his own Daughter in marriage, whom he had also promised before unto Faustum, the Son of Sylla 1 and Cafar also married Calphurnia the Daughter of Pifo. After this, Pompey filling all ROME with Souldiers, did what he would by force. For as the Confull Bibulus came into the Market-place accompanied with Lucullus and Cato, they fuddenly fet upon him, and brake the bundels of Rods which his Officers carried before him: and some one, whatsoever he was, cast a basket of horf-Dung upon his place by Pom- head. Moreover, the two Tribunes that were in his company, were also very fore hurt. By this means having cleared the Market-place of all their Enemies, they passed the Law for division of Lands, as they would themselves. The People being flethed with this bait, were contented to be ruled by them as they would, and would never flick at any matter that they would have passed. So were all Pomp. y. matters confirmed, which Luculing was against: and they appointed unto Cafar alfo, the Government of the Gauls on this fide and beyond the ALPES: and ILLYRIA for five years space, bris appointed with four whole Legions. The next day following were appointed Confuls, Pife Cefars Father in unto Cajar. Pilo and Gabinius the greatest flatterer Pampy had about him. But now while things stood in these Pijo and Gabi.

Rubania Gabi.

Rubania though he were Confull, kept himfelf close in his House for eight Moneths space, and miss Confuls.

Rubania Confuls.

Cato forethere onely sent out Bills and set them up on every post in open places, accusing Pompty and Cafar. Cato on the other fide, as if he had been inspired with the spirit of Prophetie, told openly in the Senate-House, what would become of the Common-wealth and Pempey. Luculin growing old , lay ftill and took his pleafure, and would no more meddle in the Common-wealth. At that time it was that Pompey faid, it was more unfeafonable for an old man to follow his pleafure, then to attend matters of the Comand of Pompey. mon-wealth. Yet himfelf fhortly after was so doted of his young Wife, that he would follow her up and down in the Countrey, and in his Gardens, and leave all Affairs of weight afide. Whereupon (Value being then Tribune of the People, despited Pompey, and began to enter into seditions attempts. For when he had driven Cicero out of ROME and had fent away Cato to make Wars in Cyprus, and that Cafar also was occupied in GAUL, and finding that the People in like case were at his Commandment, because to flatter them he did what they would have him : he attempted incontinently to undoe fome thing that Pompey had established. Amongst other things, he took young Tigrants out of Prison, and ever carried him up and down with him wheresoever he went, and continually pickt quarrels unto Pompegs Friends, to try what credit he had. In the end Pompey coming abroad one day into the common Affembly, to hear how a matter of his was handled, this Codius having a company of vagabonds and desperate men about him, that cared not what they did: he sitting in a place where he might be feen from the rest, began to ask these questions out aloud: Who is the licentiousest Captain in all this City? What man is he that feeks for a man? What is he that feratcheth his head with one finger? They , like a company of Dancers and Singers , when he spake and clapped his hands on his Gown, answered him straight aloud to every question, that it was Pompe). This went to Pompey, heart, that was not wont to hear himself so ill spoken of openly, neither grierousty pey. This went to Pompeys neart, that was not wont to made him bite the lip more, when he saw scomed of Cle-was acquainted with any such kind of fight: but yet it made him bite the lip more, when he saw scomed of Cle-was acquainted with any such kind of fight: but yet it made him bite the lip more, when he saw the Senate glad to fee him thus ashamed and reproved, as a just revenge and punishment for his vile betraying and forfaking of Cicero. So great stir and uproar being made upon this in the Marketplace, and many men fore hurt, and one of Clodins bondmen being taken also in the prefs of the People with a Sword in his hand; very near unto Pompey: making this his colour (but otherwife fearing Clodius infolency and proud words) he would never after come into the Marker-place, as long as Cloding was Tribune, but kept at home ftill, confulting with his Friends what way he should take to appeale the anger of the Senate against him. Thereupon one of his Friends called Culco, periwaded him to put away his Wife Julia, and utterly to refuse Cafars friendfhip, and to flick again to the Senate: but he would none of that. Norwithstanding he was contented to hearken unto them that gave him councell to call Cicero home again, who was Clodise mortall Eneray, and in great favour with the Senate. Thereupon he brought Cicero's Brother into the Market-place, to move the matter to the People, with a great number of men about him, where they fell to blowes, and divers were flain of either fide: notwithflanding,

come, he brought Pompey again in favour with the Senate, and standing with the Law propounded to give Pompey Authority to cause Corn to be brought to ROME, he once again made him have power both by Land and Sea over all the Territories of the ROMANS. For all the Havens, Marts, and Fairs, and all Store-houses of Corn, yea moreover all the trade of Merchan-Commission dize and Tillage, came under Pampeys hands. Then Clodius accusing him, faid: that the Senate had given to Paminot made this Law for the dearth of Victuals, but that they made a dearth of Victuals, because ing Com into the Law should pass, to revive Pompeys Power and Authority again, that was almost under foot. Rosec. Other fay, that this was a device of Lentulus Spiniber the Confull, who gave Pompey the greater Authority, because he might be fent to put King Prolomy again into his Kingdom. This notwith- The Restoring standing , Canidim the Tribune preferred another Law to fend Pompey without an Army, with two again of Pro-Sergeants onely to carry the Axes before him, to bring Ptolomie in favour again with the ALEX limic King of Argyl to his ANDRIANS. This Law feemed not to millike Pompey: but the senate with honest colour put by Resim. this Law, as being afraid left Pompeys person would miscarry in so doing, Nevertheless, little Papers were found thrown about the Market-place, and the Senate-house, declaring that Prolonie defired Pompey might come to aid him in Spinibers stead. Timagenes writeth notwithstanding, that Ptilomie went to ROME, and left EGYPT, without any occasion given him, at the perfwafion of Theophanes, who perfwaded him to do fo, because he would give Pempey occasion to make new Wars. But Theophanes craft and fubrilty made not this matter to credible, as Pompeys wir and good nature made it altogether untrue; for his ambition was nothing fo vile or ill, as that was. So Pompey having now full Authority to cause Corn to be brought to ROME, he sent then his Lieutenants and Friends abroad, and himfelf in person went into Cicile. Now being ready to return again, there arose such a storm of wind in the Sea, that the Mariners were indoubt to weigh their Anchors. But himself first imbarked, and commanded them straight to hoise fail. crying out aloud, It is of necessity I must go, but not to live. So, through his boldness and good fpirit, using the good Fortune he had, he filled all the places of Mart, and Markets with Corn, and all the Sea besides with Ships : infomuch, the plenty he brought did not onely furnish the City of ROME, but all their neighbours also about them, and came like a lively Spring that dispersed it self through all ITALY. About that time, the great Conquests that Casar made in GAUL, did set Great repair him aloft. For when they thought that he was occupied in Wars far off from ROME, with the unto Cafar BELGIANS, SVVISSES, and English-men, he by secret practise, was in the middest among the Luca. People at ROME, and most against Pompey in the weightiest Affairs of the Common-wealth. For he had the power of an Army about his Person, which he did harden with pains and continual practife, not with intent to fight onely against the barbarous People : but for the Battelshe had with them, were in manner but as a hunting sport, by the which he made himself invincible, and dreadfull to the World. But furthermore, by the infinite Gold and Silver, and the incredible spoils and Treasure which he wan upon the Enemies whom he had overcome : and by sending great Presents alfo to ROME, to the Ediles , Prators , Confuls, and their Wives, he purchased him many Friends. Therefore, after he had passed over the ALPES again, and was come to winter in the City of Lu-CA, a world of People (both men and Women) and of the Senate themselves almost two hundred Perfons (and amongst them, Craffur and Pompey by Name) went out of ROME unto him. Furthermore, there were feen at Cefars Gate, fixicore Sergeants carrying Axes before Prætors, or Proconfuls. So Cafar fent every one back again, either full of Money, or good words: but with Pompr) and (rass, he made a match, that they two together, should be to be Confuls, and that he himself would tend them good aid to ROME, at the day of Election, to give their Voices. And if they were chosen, that they should then practise by Decree of the People, to have the Governments of some new Provinces and Armies assigned them : and withall, that they should adjourn the Government of those Provinces he had, for five years more. This pack being bewrayed and spread abroad

through ROME, the honestest fort misliked much thereof. Whereupon Marcellinus at an open

Affembly of the People, did ask them both, if they would fue for the Confulfhip at the next E-

lection. So, they being urged by the People to make answer, Pompey spake first, and faid: Per-

adventure he would, peradventure not. Crassus answered more gently, that he would do that

which should be best for the Common-wealth. Then Marcellinus sharply inveying against Pompey,

he angerly again cast him in the teeth, and faid, that Marcellinus was the rankest churl, and the un-

thanklullest beast in the world : for that of a dumb man he had made him Eloquent, and being in

manner starved and famished, many a time he had filled his belly. This notwithstanding divers that be-

fore were determined to sue for the Consulship, went no further in it, saving Luciun Domitiun, whom

Caro counfelled and incouraged not to give it over: for, faid he, thou doft not contend for the Confulfhip, but to defend the common liberty of thy Countrey against two Tytanis. Pompey therefore

fearing Cate's Faction, lest that having all the Senates good wills; he should draw also the best part of the violence of the People after him, thought it not good to suffer Domitius to come into the Market-place. To of Pompey obthis end therefore, he sent men armed against him, who at the first order, slew the Torch-bearer that taining the fecarried the Torch before him, and made all the rest to flie: amongst whom also fato was the last man cond Consulthat retired, who was hurt in his elbow defending of Domitius. Pompey and Craffus being become thip. that retired, who was hurt in his elbow detending of Domitian. Tompty and Craffes come become from Pompty and Confuls after this fort, they ordered themselves nothing the more temperately, nor honeftly. For Craffes fecond first of all, the People being about to chuse Cate Prætor, Pempey being at the Affembly of the E-Confulfine.

Tection, perceiving that they would chuse him, brake up the Assembly, falsly alledging that he had

POMPEIUS.

Provinces divided unto Pampey. Cafar and Crassus.

noted certain ill figns; and afterwards, the Tribes of the People being bribed and corrupted with Money, they chole Aniss and Vatiniss Prators. After that, by Trebenius Tribune of the People, they published Edicts, authorising Casars charge for five years longer, according to the appointment they had made with Casar. Unto Crossim also they had appointed Syria, and the War against the Parthians. Unto Pempey in like case, all Africk, and both Spains, with four Legions besides : of the which, at Cefars desire, he lent him two Legions to help him in his War in Gaul. These things done, Crassus departed to his Province, at the going out of his Confulship: and Pompty remained at ROME about the dedicating of his Theater, where he caused many goodly Playes to be made, both for exercise of person, as also for Learning and Musick, and caufed wild Beafts also to be baited and hunted, and killed five hundred Lions. But of all things, there was no such fearfull fight and terrible Fight, as was between the Elephants. This great charge and bountifull expense, defrayed by Pompey, to fhew the People paftime and pleafures, made him again to be very much efteemed of, and beloved amongst the People. But on the other side, he wan himself as much ill will and envy, in committing the Government of his Provinces and Legions into the hands of his Lieutenants, whilest he himself roamed up and down the pleasant places of ITALY, with his Wife at his pleasure: either because he was far in love with her, or else for that she loved him so dearly, that he could not find in his heart to leave her company. It was reported of her (being known of many) that this young Lady Julia loved her Husband more dearly, not for Tempess flourishing age, but for his affured continence, knowing no other Woman but her : befides also, he was no folemn man, but pleasant of conversation, which made Women love him marvelloully, unless we will reprove the Curtifan Flera's Testimony. It is certain, that at an Election of the Ediles, men rifing fuddenly in hurly burly, drew their Swords, and many were flain about Pompey: infomuch as his cloaths being bloudied, he fenthis men home in hafte to fetch him other to change him. His young Wife that was great with child, feeing his cloaths bloudy, took fuch a fright upon it, that she feil down in a swound before them, that they had much ado to recover her; and yet she fell straight in labour upon it, and was delivered. So that they themselves, which blamed him most for his good will he bare unto Cafar, could not reprove the love he bare unto his Wife. Another time after that, the was great with child again, whereof the died, and the Child lived not many days after the Mother. As Pampi, was about to carry her into the Countrey to be buried, to a House he had there near unto the City of Alba, the People by force took her Corps, and carried it into the Field of Mars, more The death of for the pity they took of the young Lady, then to pleasure either Casar or Pompey: and yet what the People did for them, it appeared rather they did it more for Cafars fake being ablent, then for Pempes that was present. But straight when his alliance was broken, which rather covered then bridled their ambitious defire to rule, there arose a new stir in ROME immediately, and every mans mouth was full of prittle prattle and feditious words. Not long after that also came news that Crassus was overthrown, and flain in PARTHIA: who was a manifest stay and let to keep them two from civill Wars, for that they both feared him, and therefore kept themselves in a reasonable fort together. But when Fortune had taken away this third Champion, who could have withflood the better of them both that had overcome the other, then might have been faid of thefe two which remained, as the Comicall Poet faid:

Julia the Daughter of

The beginning of the diffention betwixt Pompey and Cz(ir.

See how these Champions purposing each others force to try,

With nointed shin, and dusty hands, stand vaunting valiantly. So little can Fortune prevail against nature, having no power to stop covetoulness: fith so large and great an Empire, and such a wide Countrey besides could not contain the covetous desire of these two men. But though they had often both heard and read:

Among the gods themselves all things by Lot divided are,

And none of them intrudes himfelf within his neighbours share. Yet they thought that the Empire of Rome was not enough for them, which were but two. But Pempey spake openly in an Oration he made unto the People, that he ever came to Office before he looked for it, and also left it sooner then they thought he would have done : and that he witnessed by discharging his Army so soon. Then thinking that Cafar would not discharge his Army, he lought to make himfelf strong against him, by procuring Offices of the City, without any other alteration. Neither would be seem to mistrust him , but he plainly shewed that he did delpife and contemn him. But when he saw that he could not obtain the Offices of the City as he would, because Citizens that made the Elections were bribed with Money, he then left it without a Magistrate, so that there was none either to command, or that the People should obey. Hereupon there ran a bruit straight, that there must needs be a Dictator made, and the first man that propounded it, was Lucilina Tribune of the People, who perswaded them to chuse Pampey. But Cato stuck so stoutly against it, that the Tribune had like to have lost his Office, even in the Market-place. But then many of Pompeys Friends stepped up, and excused him, saying: that he neither fought, nor would have the Dictatorship. Then Cato commended him much, and prayed him to fee good order kept in the Common-wealth. Pompey being ashamed to deny so reasonable a request, was carefull of it. Thereupon two Confuls were chosen, Domitius, and Messala but afterwards when the state began to change again by the death of one of the Consuls, and that nate for Pom divers were more earneftly bent to have a Dichator then before, Cato fearing it would break out with fury, determined to give Pompey some Office of reasonable Authority, to keephim from the other more tyrannicall. Infomuch, as Bibulus himfelf being chief of the Senate, and Pompeys

might be chosen Consul alone : for, faid he, by this means. be rid of the present trouble : or else it shall be in bondage to an ho-

This opinion was marvelled at, in respect of him that spake it. Whereupon, Cato stand- Cato strake in ing up, it was thought straight that he would have spoken against him : but silence being made him, he Pompersfavour plainly told them, that for his own part he would not have been the first man to have propounded that was fpoken: but fithence it was fpoken by another, that he thought it reasonable and meet to be followed. And therefore, faid he, it is better to have an Officer to command, whatfoever he be, rather then none : and that he faw no man fitter to command, then Pompey, in so troublesome a time. All the Senate liked his opinion, and ordained that Pompey should be chosen sole Conful, and that it he faw in his discretion he should need the affistance of another companion, he might name any whom he thought good, but not till two moneths were past. Thus was Pompey made Conful alone Pompey cholen by Sulpiting, regent for that day. Then Pompey made very friendly countenance unto Cato, and Conful. thanked him for the honour he had done him, praying him privately to affift him with his counsel in the Consulfhip. Cato answered him, that there was no cause why he should thank him, for he had fpoken nothing for his fake, but for respect of the Commonwealth onely : and for his counsel, if he would ask it, he should privately have it, if not, yet that he would openly say that which he thought. Such a man was Cato in all his doings. Now Pompey returning into the City, married Pompey married thought. Such a man was caro man in onigs. Two 1 ompey retaining and the city, man tell city for color continue tion, that was flain in PARTHIA, to whom she was married a maiden. This Lady had excel- Scipio. lent gifts to be beloved befides her beauty: for she was properly learned, could play well on a The venues of Harp, was skilfull in Musick and Geometry, and took great pleasure also in Philosophy, and Cornella, the not vainly without some profit. For she was very modest and sober of behaviour, without brawling and foolish curiosity, which commonly young women have that are indued with such fingular Micellan's cipio. gifts. Her father also, was a noble man, both in blood and life. Notwithstanding, these unlike marriages did nothing please some: for Cornelia was young enough to have been his sons wife. Now the best Citizens thought, that therein he regarded not the care of the Commonwealth, being in such a troublesome time, which had chosen him onely, as her remedy to redress the same : and that he in the mean time gave himself over to marrying and feasting, where rather he should have been carefull of his Consulship, which was disposed upon him against the law for common calamities sake, that of his Community, which was an arrived and the state of t which by bribery and unlawfull means came to office: and having made laws and ordinances for the rity, against administration of justice, otherwise he dealt justly and uprightly in all things, giving safety, order, those that obfilence and gravity, to matters of judgement, with force of Arms, himself being present : faving tained office by that when his father in law was also accused among other, he sent for three hundred and threescore bribery. Judges home to his house, praying them to help him. Whereupon, when the accuser faw Scipio accompanied by the Judges themselves, returning into the Market-place, he let fall his suit. This made Pompey again be condemned, and blamed also more then before, for that he having made a law, that no man should praise the offenders, whilst their matter was a hearing, came himself and openly praised Planess being accused. Thereupon Cato being one of the Judges, stopped his ears with both his hands, faying : that he might not hear an offender praifed, seeing it was forbidden by law. But therefore he was refused for a Judge, before they gave sentence. Notwithstanding, Planeus was condemned by all the reft of the Judges, to *Pompey's* great fhame and reproach. Shortly after, *Hypfus* on that had been Conful, being likewife accused, watching *Pompey* on a time as he came out of his bath to go to supper, upon his knees he belought *Pompey's* favour and help: but he stally passed by him, and gave him no other answer, but told him, he marred his supper and said nothing else to him. This inconstancy was much reproved in Pompey. Howbeit otherwise he set all things in good order, and chose his father in law Scipio, for his colleague and fellow in the Consulship, for the five last moneths. After that, he caused the government of his Provinces to be appointed him for four Pompeys Proyear more, with commission to take yearly out of the treasure a thousand talents to defray the vinces affigned year more, with committon to take yearly out of the treather a more, with committon the take years charges of his War. Cafars friends feeing that, stepped up for him, and prayed that there might further. also be had some consideration of him, that had likewise great Wars for the Empire of Rome: faying, that his good service deserved, either that they should make him Consul again, or else that they should prolong his charge and government, so as he may yet peaceably enjoy the honour to command that which he had conquered , to the end that no other successour might reap the fruit of his labour. Much stir and contention being about this matter at Rome, Pompey as though for good will he meant to excuse the envy they might have born Casar, said: that he had received letters from him, by the which he requested a successor, and to be discharged of this War: and furthermore, that he thought it good they should grant him priviledge to demand the fecond Confulship, although he were absent. Which Cato stoutly withstood, saying, that he must return home as a private man, leaving his Army, should come in person to crave re-

suspected straight that he had no great good liking of Casar, and the rather, because he had sent unto him for the two legions which he had lent him, under colour of his War against the PARTHI- Pomer sell sick ANS. But Cefar though he fmelt him wherefore he fent for his fouldiers, returned them home with at Naples. liberal reward. About that time, Pompey fell fick at NAPLES of a dangerous diffede, whereof Great rejeyce-norwithflanding he recovered again. The Nacapara has refusely and Property ing for the renotwithstanding he recovered again. The NEAPOLITANS thereupon, by perswasion of Praxa-covery of Pomgoras, one of the chiefest men of their City, did facrifice to the gods for his recovery. The like did pers health.

compence of his Countrey. But because Pompey made no reply nor answer to the contrary, men

no City or Town (great or fmall) but made open feafts and rejoycing fides, the infinite number of people was fuch, that went to meet him our all parts, that

not place enough for them all, but the high ways, Cities, Towns, and Ports of the sea, were all

full of people, feafting and facrificing to the gods, rejoycing for his recovery. Divers also went to

meet him, crowned with Garlands, and so did attend on him, cafting Nosegaies and Flowers upon

him. Thus was his journey the nobleft fight that ever was, all the way as he came: howbeit men thought also, that this was the chiefeft caule of the beginning of the civil Wars. For he fell into

fuch a pride, and glorious conceit of himself, with the exceeding joy he took to fee himself thus ho-

noured: that forgetting his orderly government, which made all his former doings to prosper, he

thy Countrey with that Army thou hast already, and also to levy more to aid thee. The like speech did Lentulus use unto him who was appointed one of the Consuls the year following. Now,

when Pompey thought to levy fouldiers in ROME to bill them, some would not obey him, a

few others went willingly to him with heavy hearts, and the most part of them cried, Peace,

peace. Antony also, against the Senates mind, read a letter unto the people fent from Cafar con-

taining certain offers and reasonable requests, to draw the common peoples affection towards him. For his request was that Pompey and he should both of them resign their governments, and

should dismiss their Armies to make all well, referring themselves wholly to the judgement of the

people, and to deliver up account unto them of their doings. Lentulus being now entred into his

Confulfhip , did not affemble the Senate. Bur Cicero lately returned out of CICILY, practifed

also their neighbours round about : and in fine, it ran so generally the

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grew too bold in despiting of Calars power, as though he ftood in no need of other power to care or Pride, and fool withftand him, but that he could overcome him as he would, far more easily, then he could have done conceit made before. Furthermore, Appins thereupon returned from GAUL, that brought him his two legions Pompry delpife back again which he had lent unto Cefar, reproaching much his doings which he had done there, and giving out many foul words against Cefar. For he faid, that Pompry knew not his own strength and

his humour.

Paul the Conful bribed by Cafar.

authority, that would feek to make himfelf strong, by other power against him: considering that he might overcome him with his own legious he should bring with him, so soon as they saw bur Pompey in the face, fuch ill will did Cefars own fouldiers bear him, and were marvellous defirous befides to fee himfelt. These flattering tales so pussed up Pompey, and brought him into such a security and truft of himfelf, that he mocked them to fcorn which were afraid of Wars. And to those also which said, that if Cafar came to Rome, they saw not how they could resist his power, he fmilingly answered them again, and bad them take no thought for that : for as oft, faid he, as I do but stamp with my foot upon the ground of ITALY, I shall bring men enough out of every corner, both footmen and horsemen. In the mean time, Celar gathered force still upon him, and thenceforth drew nearer unto IT ALY, and fent of his fouldiers daily to ROME to be prefent at the election of the Magistrates, and many of them that were in Office, he wan with money: amongst whom was Paul, one of the Confuls, whom he wan of his fide, by means of a thousand five hundred talents. And Curio the Tribune of the people, whom he dicharged of an infinite debt he ought: and Mark Antony alfo, who for Cario's lake, was discharged likewise for part of the debt which Curio ought, being also bound as himself. Furthermore, it was found that a Captain or tribunes of the people bribed by Gofar. Well faid he, this shall give it him. So. to be short, all the ground and the people bribed by Gofar. Notwithstanding, the petitions and requests that Curio made in Cafars behalf, seemed somewhat more reasonable for the people: for he requested one of the two, either to make Pompey to put down his Army, or elfe to licence (2) or to have his Army as well as he. For, either being both made private men, they would fall to agreement of themselves: or else being both of like strength, neither of both would feek any alteration, fearing one another, but would content themselves either of them with their own. Or otherwise, he that should weaken the one, and strengthen the other, should double his power whom he feared. Thereto very hotly replied the Conful Marcellus, calling Cafar thief, and faid that he should be proclaimed an open enemy to ROME, if he did not disperse his Army. This notwithftanding in fine, Curio, Antony, and Fifo procured that the Senate should decide the matter. For, faid he, all those that would have Casar leave his Army, and Pompey to keep his, let them stand on the one side. Thereupon the most part of them stood at one hand. Then he bad them again come away from them that would have them both leave their Armies. Then there remained onely but two and twenty that stood for Pompey: and all the rest went on Curio's fide. Then Curio looking aloft for joy of the victory, went into the Market-place, and there was received of his Tribune faction, with thous of joy and clapping of hands, and infinite Nofegaies and Garlands of flowers thrown upon him. Pompey was not then prefent to fee the Senators good will towards him: because by the law, such as have commandment over souldiers, cannot enter into ROME. Notwithstanding Marcellus standing up, faid: that he would not stand trilling, hearing of orations and arguments, when he knew that ten legions were already passed over the Alpes, intending to come in Arms against them; and that he would fend a man unto them, that Straight they changed apparell at Rome, as their manner was in a common calamity. Marcellus then coming through the Market-place unto Pompey, being

Pompey cholen followed of all the Senate, went unto him, and told him openly: Pompey I command thee help

Cicero moveth to bring them to agreement, propounding that Cafar should leave GAUL, and all the rest of and Pompey.

Mariny, referring onelyarion legions and the government of Intrana, attending his fecond Confulfhip. Pomper liked nor this motion. Then Cafars friends were contented to grain that he frould have but one of his legions. But Lentulus spake against it, and Carderied out of the other side also. that Pompey was deceived, and they both. So all Treaty of peace was cut off. In the mean time; news came to Rome that Cafar had won ARIMINUM, a fair great City of Fraly, and that he came directly to Rome with a great power. But that was not true; for he came bur with three thouland horfe. and five thousand footmen, and would not tarry for the rest of his Army that was yet on the other fide of the mountains in GAUL, but made hafte rather to surprise his enemies on the fudden, being afraid and in garboil, not looking for him to foon : rather then to give them rime to be provided and to fight with them when they were ready. For when he was come to the River fide of Rubicon Rubicon B. (which was the utmost confine of the Province he had in charge towards IT ALY) he ftayet fuddenly, weighing with himself the great enterprise he took in hand. At the last, as men that being of a marvelous height from the ground, do headlong throw themselves down, closing up their eyes, and withdrawing their minds from the thought of the danger: crying out these words onely into them that drawing their minds from the thought of the danger: crying out their words only mind that that Coffee paffed of were by, in the Greek tongue, 4-19:192208: in English, let Die be caff (meaning hereby to pur ver the River all in hazard, and according to our Proverb, to fet all on fix and feven) he paffed over with his Army. of Rubicon. Now, the news of his coming being carried to ROME, they were in fuch a marvellous fear, as the like Cafars laying to was never feen. For all the senate ran immediately unto Pompey, and all the other Magistrates of Let the Die be the City fled unto him alfo. Tullus asking Pompey what power he had to refult them, he answered cast, him, faultring somewhat in his speech: that he had two legions ready which Cafar fent him back again, and that he thought with the number of them which he had levied in hafte, he should make up the number of thirty thousand fighting men. Then Tullus cryed out openly: Ah, thou hast mocked us Pompey: and thereupon gave order they should fend Ambassadors unto Cafar. There was one Phaonius in the company, who otherwise was no ill man, faving that he was somewhat too Phaonius overbold, thinking to counterfeit Cato's plain manner of speech; he bad Pompey then framp his foot bold words unupon the ground, and make thole fouldiers come which he had promifed them. Pompey gently bare to Pompey. with Phaonius mock. But when Cato told him alfo, what he had prophecied before hand of Cefar, he answered him again : Indeed thou hast propliced more truly then I, but I have dealt more friendly then he. Then Cato thought good that they should make him Lieutenant General of ROME with foll and absolute power to command all, saying: that the self same men which do the greatest mischief, know best also how to remedy the same. So he immediately departed into Sicilie, having the charge and government of that Countrey : and also every one of the other Senators' went unto the charge they were appointed. Thus all ITALY being in Arms, ho man knew what was best to bedone. For they that were out of ROME, came flying thither from all parts: and those on the other Tumultat fide that were within Rome, went out as fast, and forfook the City in his trouble and diforder. Romeupon Ca-That which might ferve being willing to obey, was found very weak; and that that on the other fars coming. fide which by disobedience did hurt, was too strong and ill to be governed by the Magistrates, having law to command. For there was no possibility to pacifie their fear, neither would they suffer Pompe to order things as he would : but every man followed his own fancy, even as he found himself grieved. alraid, or in doubt, and in one day they were in divers minds. Pempey could hear nothing of certainty of his enemies. For some one while would bring him news one way, and then again another way : and then if he would not credit them, they were angry with him. At the length, when he faw the tumult and confusion so great at Rome, as there was no mean to pacifie it: he commanded all the Senators to follow him, telling all them that remained behind, that he would take them for Cafars friends, and so at night departed out of the City. Then the two Confuls fled also, without doing any Pompey forfook facrifice to the gods, as they were wont to do before they went to make any wars. So Pompey, even Rome. in his greatest trouble and most danger, might think himself happy to have every mans good will as he had. For, though divers milliked the cause of this war, yet no man hated the Captain: but there were moe found that could not forfake Pompey for the love they bare him, then were there were inoc tourn in the tourn that the tourn in the tourn pacified their fear : faving that he threatned Metellits, one of the Tribunes of the people to put him Pompey fled, to death, because he would not suffer him to take any of the treasure of the Commonwealth. Unto that cruel threat, he added a more bitter speech also, saying: that it was not so hard a thing for him to doit, as to fpeak it. Thus having pur down Merellus, and taken that he needed to ferve his turn, he took upon him to follow Pompey, thinking to drive him out of ITALY, before that his Army he had in Spain thould come to him. Pompey in the mean time, having taken the City of BRUN- Cefar follow-Dus russ, and gotten forme flips together: he made the two Confuls prefently imbark with thirty eth Pampey. Enlignes of footmen; which he fent beyond the fea before unto Dre RACHIUM. And incontinently after that, he lent his father in law Scipio, and Cheius Pompey his fon, med Syria, to provide him Pompeys ftratathips. Himself on the other fide, fortified the rampiers of the City, and placed the lightest fouldiers gem at Brunhe had upon the walls, and commanded the BRUNDUSTA'NS not to file one of their houles : and fur - dufium, for his he had upon the walls, and commanded the DRUNDUS IANS not of the sold of the fire of the had upon the walls, and filled thole trenfrom Cafar. ches with sharp pointed stakes, faving two streets onely, which went into the haven. Then the third day after, having imbarked all the reft of his fouldiers at his pleasure, the suddenly lifting up a fign into the air, to give them warning which he had left to guard the rampiers: they firaight ran to Pompey forlehim with speed, who quickly receiving them into his ships, the weighed Anchor, and horied sail. Cafar keth Italy. Aaaz

ed Pompey.

Cafar leaveth Pompey, and goeth into Spain.
Pompey's power in Greece. Pompey being traineth his Souldiers.

Labienus forfaketh Cafar. and goeth to Pompey.

Cicero followeth Pompey.

The clemency

POMPEIV perceiving the walls naked outward, he ftraight miltrufted that Pompey was fleds who hading after him had almost run upon the tharp ftakes, and faln into the trenches, had not the BRUNDUSTANS given him warning of them. So he stayed, and ran not overthwart the City, but setched a compass about to go to the haven : where he found that all the Ships were under fail, but two thips onely excepted, upon the which were left a few fouldiers. Some think that this departure of Pompey, was one of the belt ftratagems of war that ever he used. Notwithstanding, Cefer marvelled much, that he being in a ftrong City, and looking for his Army to come out of SPAIN, and being mafter of the fea belides, Citero reprove that he would ever forlake ITALY. Citero also reproved him, for that he rather followed Themifocles counfell, then Pericles : confidering that the troublesome time was rather to be likened unto Pericles, then Themiffocles time. Yea Cafar himself shewed, that he was afraid of the time, For when he had taken Aumeriss one of Pompey's friends, he fent him unto Pompey at BRUNDUSIUM, when he had taken Aumeriss one of Pompey's friends, he fent him reasonable conditions of peace: But Numeriss followed Pompey, and failed away with him. By this means, Cafar in threefcore days being Lord of all ITALY without any bloodshed: he was very desirous to follow with speed after Pompey. But because he had no ships ready, he let him go, and hafted towards SPAIN, to joyn Pompey's Army there unto his. Now Pompey in the mean space, had gotten a marvellous great power together both by sea and by land. His Army by sea was wonderfull. For he had five hundred good Ships of War, and of Galliots, Foifts, and Pinnaces, an infinite number. By land, he had all the flower of the horfemen of ROME, and of ITALY, to the number of feven thousand horse, all rich men of great houses, and valiant minds. But his footmen, they were men of all forts, and raw fouldiers untrained, whom Pompey continually exercised, lying at the City of Berroea, not fitting idly, but taking pains, as if he had been in the prime of his youth. Which was to great purpose to incourage others seeing Pompey being eight and fifty years old, fight on foot armed at all pieces, and then on horfeback, quickly to draw out his sword while his horse was in his full carier, and easily to put it up again, and to throw his dart from him, not onely with fuch agility to hir point blank, but allo with a strength to cast it away from him, that few young men could do the like. Thither came divers Kings, Princes, and great Lords of Countries, and yielded themselves unto him : and of ROMAN Captains that had born office, he had of them about him, the number of a whole Senate. Amongst them came unto him Labienus also, who before was Cefars friend, and had alwaies been with him in his wars in GAUL. There came unto him alfo, Brutsu the fon of that Brutsu which was flain in GAUL, a valiant man, and which had never fpoken unto Pompey untill that day, because he took him for a murtherer of his father : but then willingly followed him as a defender of the liberty of ROME. Cicero himfelf alfo, though he had both written and given counsel to the contrary, thought it a shame to him not to be amongst the number of them that would hazard their lives for defence of their Countrey. There came unto him also Tidius Sextims even into MACEDON, notwithflanding that he was an old man, and lame of one of his leggs: whom others laughing to fcorn to fee him come, when Pompey faw him, he rofe and went to meet him, judging it a good token of their good wills unto him, when fuch old men as he, chofe rather to be with him in danger, then at home with fafety. Hereupon they fate in Council, and following Caso's opinion, decreed that they should put no Citizen of Rome to death but in battle, and should fack no City that was subject to the Empire of ROME, the which made Pompey's part the better liked. For they that had nothing to do with the wars, either because they dwelt far off, or else for that they were so poor, as otherwife they were not regarded : did yet both in deed and word favour Pompey's part, thinking him an enemy both to the gods and men, that wished not Pompey victory. Cefar also shewed himself very merciful and courteous, where he overcame. For when he had won all Pompey's Army that was in SPAIN, he suffered the Captains that were taken to go at liberty, and onely releaved the Cafar coming fouldiers. Then coming over the Alpes again, he passed through all ITALY, and came to the City out of Spainter- of Brundustum in the Winter quarter: and there passing over the sea, he went unto the City of turned to Brun- ORICUM, and landed there. Now Cefar having Vibia, one of Pompey's familiar friends with him, whom he had taken prisoner: he sent him unto Pompey, to pray again that they might meet, and both of them disperse their Armies within three days, and being reconciled (giving their faith one to another) fo to return into IT ALY like good friends together. Pempey thought again, that these were new devises to intrap him. Thereupon he suddenly went down to the sea, and took all the places of strength by the sea side, safely to lodge his Camp in, and all the ports, creeks, and harbours for ships to lie in rode : so that what wind soever blew on the sky, it served his turn to bring him either men, victuals, or money. Cefar on the other fide was so distressed both by fea and by land, that he was driven to procure battle, and to affail Pompey even in his own Forts, to make him come to fight with him: of whom most times he ever had the better in all skirmithes, faving once, when he was in danger to have loft all his Army. For Pompry had valiantly repulfed his men, and made them fly, and had flain two thousand of them in the field: but he durft nor enter pell mell with them into their Camp, as they fled. Whereupon Cefar faid to his friends, that his enemy had won the victory that day, if he had known how to overcome. This victory put Pompey's men in such courage, that they would needs hazard battle. And Pompey himself also though he wrote letters unto strange Kings, Captains, and Cities of his confederacy, as if he had already won all: was yet afraid to fight another battle, thinking it better by track of time, and diffress of victuals, to overcome him. For Cafars men being old and expert fouldiers, and wont ever to have the victory when they fought together; he knew they would be loth to be brought to fight any other kind of way, to be driven to often removing of their Camp from place to place, and ftill

intredes memielves, and therefore that they would rather put it to adventure our of and, and fight it out. But notwithstanding that Pompey had before perswaded his men to be quiet, and not to ftir, perceiving that after this last bickering, Cafur being scanted with victuals railed his Camp, and departed thence to go into Thessaly, through the Countrey of the Athe-NIANS: then he could no more bridle their glory and courage, which cryed, Cofar is fled, let us follow him. And others, let us return home again into ITALY. And others also sent their friends and fervants'before to Rome, to hire them houses near the Market-place : intending when they came this ther to fue for Offices in the Commonwealth. Some there were also that in a jollity would needs take ship, and fail into the sele of Les Bos, unto Cornelia (whom Pompey had sent thither) to carry her that good news, that the war was ended. Thereupon affembling the Council, Africanus thought it best to win ITALY, for that was the chiefest mark to be shot at in this war : for whosoever obtained that, had straight all Sicile, SARDINIA, CORSICA, SPAIN, and GAUL at commandment. Furthermore, that it was a dishonour to Pompey (which in reason should touch him above all things) to fuffer their Countrey to be in fuch cruel bondage and subjection unto slaves and flatterers of Tyrants, offering it felf as it were into their hands. But Pompey neither thought it honourable for him, once again to fly from Casar, and to make him follow him, sith fortune had given him opportunity to have Cafar in chale: nor lawfull also before the gods, to for fake his father in law Scipio, and many other also that had been Consuls, dispersed abroad in GREECE and THES-SALY, which should immediately fall into Cafars hands, with all their riches and Armies they had. Furthermore, he faid, that they had care enough for the City of ROME, which drew the Wars fartheft off from them: fo as, they remaining fate and quiet at home (neither hearing nor feeling the mifery of Wars) might in the end peaceably receive and welcome him home, that remained conquerour. With this determination, he marched forward to follow Cafar, being determined not to our. With this determination, he marcined forward to follow Cefar, being determined not to Pompey followgive him battle, but to befiege him, and onely to compass him in still being near unto him, and so eth Cesar into to cut him off from victuals. There was also another reason that made him to follow that determing the state of the state nation. For it was reported to him, that there was a speech given out among the ROMAN Knights, that fo foon as ever they had overcome Cafar, they must allo bring Pompey to be a private man again. Some say therefore, that Pompey would never afterwards employ Cato in any great matters of weight in all this War: for when he followed Cafar, he left him to keep his carriage by the fea fide, fearing that fo foon as Cafar was once overcome, he would make him straight also resign his authority. Pompey following Celar in this manner fair and foftly, they cryed out upon him, that he made no War with Cefar, but against his Countrey and the Senate, because he might be still in authority: and that he would never leave to have them for his fervants and guard about him, which should rule and command the world. Furthermore, Domitius Anobarbus, calling him continually Pompty mock-Inould rule and command the world. Furthermore, Dominia Common, Laming min community ed of his own Agamemon, and King of Kings: made him much to be envied. Phaonisus also mocked him as much fouldiers. as the other, that spake most boldest: for he went crying up and down, My masters, I give you warning, you are like to eat no Thus CULAN figs this year. And Lucius Afranius alfo, he that had lost the Army which he had in SPAIN , and was also suspected for a traitor, seeing Pompey then refused to come to battle: I marvel, faid he, that they which accuse me, do not luftily go to find him out, whom they call the Marchant and common buyer of Provinces, to fight with him presently? With these and many such other lewd speeches, they compelled Pompey in the end (who could not abide to be ill spoken of, and would not deny his friends any thing) to follow their vain hope and defires, and to forfake his own wife determination: the which thing, no good fhip-mafter, and much less a chief and foveraign Captain over so many Nations and so great Armies, should have fuffered and confented unto. Now, he that did alwaies commend the Phyfitians, that would not follow the fond defire of the fick patients: was himself contented to obey the worst part of his Army, fearing their displeasure, where their life or health stood in hazard. For who would think, or judge them to be wife men, and in their wits, who walking up and down their Camp, did already fue to be Consuls and Prætors? considering that Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio, were at strife together, making friends to be high Bishop (which Office Cofar had) as if they should have fought with Tigranes King of ARMENIA, or with the King of the NABATHEIANS, which had camped by them, and not with Cafar and his Army; who had taken a thousand Towns Cafars conby affault, had subdued above three hundred several Nations, and had won infinite battles quells. of the GERMANS and GAULS, and was never overcome, he had also taken a Million of men priloners, and had likewife flain fo many at divers battles. All this notwithflanding, they of Pompey's fide still being importunate of him, and troubling him in this fort : in fine, when they were come into the fields of PHARSALIA, they compelled Pompey to call a Council. There Labienus, General of the horsemen standing up, sware before them all, that he would Labienus Genot return from the battle, before he had made his enemies to fly. The like oath all the rest did neral of Pomtake. The next night following, Pompey thought in his dream, that he came into the Theatre, peys hortemen. and that the people to honour him, made a marvellous great clapping of their hands: and that he Pompeys dream himself did fet forth the Temple of Venus the Conquerour with many spoils. This vision part-tle of Pharfalla ly put him in good courage, and partly again made him doubt: for that he was afraid, because Cafars family was descended from this goddes Venus, that his dream did signifie, that he should have the honour of the victory, with the spoils he should win of him. Besides all this, Wonderfull there were sudden and fearfull noises heard in his Camp, without any apparent cause, that noises heard in waked all the Camp upon it. At the fourth watch, when the watch is renewed in the morning, Pompeys camp.

POMPEIU there was feen a marvellous great light over Cefars Camp, and they we like a burning torch, and fell into Pompey's Camp. The which Cefar himselt said he saw, when he went to visit the watch. At the break of the day, Cefar being determined to raise his Camp, and to go to the City of Scotusa, as his fouldiers were buffe about overthrowing of their Tents, and fending away their bag and baggage before: there came Scouts unto him, that brought him word they saw a great deal of Armour and weapon carried too and fro in their enemies Camp, and heard a noise and builting besides, as of men that were preparing to fight. After these came in other Scouts, that brought word also that their Vaward was already set in battle ray. Then Cefar faid, that the day was now come they had longed for fo fore, and that they fhould now fight with men, not with hunger, nor with want of victuals: and thereupon gave order prefently that they should put out the red Coat of 'Arms upon his Tent, which was the fign the Re-MANS used to shew that they would fight. The fouldiers seeing that out, lest their carriage and Tents, and with great shouts of joy ran to Arm themselves. The Captains of every band also befrowed every man in such place as he should fight, and so they conveyed themselves into battle ray, without any tumult or diforder, as quietly, as if they should have entered into a dance. Pompey himself led the right Wing of his Army against Aniony. The middle of the battle he gave unto Scipio his Father in law being right against Domitius Calvinus. The lest Wing also was led by Lucius Pampey's Army Domitius Anobarbus, the which was guarded with men of Arms, all the horsemenwere placed on Cer in battle ray in Pharfalia. that fide, to diffrels Cefar if they could, that was directly against them : and to overthrow the tenth Legion that was so much accounted of, being the valiantest souldiers the enemy had in all his Pmpey's ordinance of his Color millisein would fly before they were charged. Thereupon he straightly commanded them in the Vaward, that Battle betwitt and twenty thouland fighting men : and in Pompey's Army, fomewhat above twice as many. Now,

nance.

Army, among the which Casar did ever use to fight in person. Casar then seeing the left Wing of his enemies fo ftrong with the guard of the hortemen, and being afraid of the brightness of their Armour: brought forward fix Enligns for fupply, which he placed hard behind the tenth Legion, commanding them that no man should stir, least their enemies should discover them. And furthermore, when the horsemenof the enemies should come to give charge upon them, that then they should run with speed on the one side of the foremost Ranks, and not to throw their darts far from them, as the valiancest fouldiers are wont to do, to come to the sword the sooner: but to throw them upwards in their enemies eyes and faces. For, faid he, these brave sellows and fine dancers, will never abide to have their faces marred. And this was Cafars device at that time. Pompey being on herseback, rode up and down to consider the ordinance of both battles: and perceiving that his enemies flood fill in their Ranks, looking for the fignal of battle, and that his own battle on the other fide waved up and down diforderly, as men unskilfull in Wars: he was afraid they they should steadily keep their Ranks, and standing close together should so defend themselves, receiving the charge of the enemy. But Cefar disliked of that device, for thereby, said he, the force of their blows was leffened, and in with-holding them from giving the charge, he not onely took away that courage which the affailant carrieth with him coming with fury : but made them moreover faint-hearted, in receiving the charge of the enemies. In Cafars Army, there were about two Gafarand Pommental would be all arm:

oring Photolitis when the word of battle was given of either fide, and that the Trumpers did found the all arm: every man began to look to himfelf. But a few of the chiefest of the ROMANS, and certain GRECIANS that were there also out of the set battle, perceiving the imminent danger, began to bethink them: to what pass the ambition and wilfull contention between these two men, had brought the State of ROME. For the weapons of kinfmen, the bands of brethren, the Enfigns all alike, the flower of fo many valiant men of one City, did ferve for a notable example, to shew how mans nature prickt forward with coverousnels, is quite blind and without reason. For if they could have been contented quietly to have governed that which they had conquered : the greatest and best part of the world, both by sea and by land was subject unto them. Or otherwise, if they could not have quenched their unfatiable defire of victory and triumph, they had occasion of war enough offered them against the PARTHIANS and GERMANS. Furthermore they had enough to do befides to conquer SCYTHIA, and the INDIANS: and withall, they had had an honeft colour to have cloaked their ambitious defires, if it had been but to have brought the barbarous people to a civil life. For what horsemen of SCYTHIA, or Arrows of PARTHIA, or riches of INDI-ANS, could have abidden the power of threefcore and ten thouland ROMAN fouldiers, and specially being led by two famous Captains, as Pompey, and Cafar? whose names, these strange and far Nations understood long before the name of the ROMANS: so great were their victories, having conquered fo many wild and barbarous people. They both being then in Arms the one against the other, not regarding their honour which made them fo ambitious: did not spare their own Countrey, who had untill that time remained unvincible, both in fame and prowels. For, the alliance that was made betwen them, the love of Julia, and marrying with her, was suspected from the beginning to be but a deceit, and a pledge as it were of a conspiracy made between them, for a private benefit, more then for any true friendship. Now when the fields of Pharsalla were covered over with men, with horse and armour, and that the fignal of battle was given on either fide : the first man of Cefar: Army that advanced forward to give charge, was Caim Craffinim, Cap-Cairs Craffinis tain of fixfcore and five men, to perform a great promife which he had made unto Cafar. For Cafar, when he came out of his Tent in the morning, feeing him, called him to him by his name, and asked him what he thought of the fucces of this battle? Craffinins holding out his right hand unto him,

tried . The elar, thine is the victory, and this day thou shalt commend me either alive or dead. Then remembring these words, he brake out of the ranks, and many following after him. ran amongst the middest of his enemies. Straight they came to the sword, and made great slaughter. But he preffing forward still, one with a thrust ran him through the mouth, that the swords point came through at his neck. Thereupon Graffinius being flain, the battle was equal : Pompey did Graffinius flain not make his left Wing march over fuddenly, but stayed, and cast his eyes abroad to fee what his horsemen would do, the which had already divided their companies, meaning to compass in Casar, and to make the small number of horsemen which he had before him, to give back upon the squadron of his footmen. On the other fide, as foon as Cafar had given the fignal of battle, his horsemen retired back a little, and the fix Enfigns which he had placed fecretly behind them (being three thoufand fighting men) ran fuddenly to affail the Enemy upon the flanck, and when they came near unto the horsemen, they threw the points of their darts upwards according to Casars commandment, and hit the young gentlemen full in their faces. They being utterly unskilfull to fight, and least of all looking for such manner of fight : had not the hearts to defend themselves, nor to abide to be hurt Pompeys horse as they were in their faces, but turning their heads, and clapping their hands on their faces, fhamefully men put to fled. They being overthrown, Cafars men made no account to follow them, but went and gave charge upon the battle of footmen, in that place specially where they had no guard of horsemen, whereby they might easilier be compassed about. Thus, they being charged by them in the flank, and in the Vaward also by the tenth Legion, perceiving themselves (contrary to their expectation) compassed about by their enemies, where they thought to have environed them: they could make no longer refiftance. They also being likewise driven to fly, when Pompey saw the dust in the element, and conjectured the flying of his horsemen: what mind he was of then, it was hard to say. For by his countenance, a man might well think he was like a man amazed, and at his wits end, forgetting that he was Pompey Bying the great: for that he went straight into his Camp, and spake never a word to any man, rightly verify- in the fields of ing Homers verles to this effect :

POMPEIUS.

But mighty Jove who sits aloft in Ivory Chariot high, Strake Ajax with fo great a fear, that Ajax by and by Let fall his Leathern Target, made of tough Ox hide seven fold, And ran away, not looking back, for all he was fo bold.

In this estate Pompey entred into his Tent, and fate down there a great while, and spake never a word: untill fuch time as many of the enemies entred pell mell with his men that fled into his Camp. And then, he faid no more, but, What, even into our Camp? and fo rifing up, he put a Gown on his back even fit for his misfortune, and secretly stole out of the Camp. The other Legions also fled : and great slaughter was made of the Tent-keepers, and their fervants that guarded the Camp. For Asinius Pollio wri- Afinius Pollio teth (who was at that battle on Cafars fide) that there were flain onely but fix thousand fouldiers, reporteth this Howbeit at the taking of their Camp, Cafars fouldiers then found plainly the madness and vanity of Pompey's men. For, all their Tents and pavilions were full of Nofegays and Garlands of Mirtle, and their Couches all covered with Flowers, their tables full of bowls of wine, and men prepared ready to do facrifice for joy, rather then to arm themselves to fight. Thus went they to battle, carried away with this vain and toolish hope. When Pompey was gone a little way from his Camp, he forsook his horse, having a very few with him: and perceiving that no man purfued him, he went on foot fair and foftly, his head full of fuch thoughts and imaginations, as might be supposed a man of his like calling might have, who for four and thirty years space together, was wont continually to carry victory away, and began then even in his last cast, to prove what it was to fly, and to be overcome: and who thought then with himself, how in one hours space he had lost the honour and riches which he had got in so many foughten fields and battles, whereby he was not long before followed and obeyed of fo many thousand men of war, of so many horsemen, and of such a great Fleet of Ships on the sea, and then to go as he did in such poor estate, and with so small a train, that his very enemies who sought him, knew him not. Thus when he was passed the City of LARISSA, and coming to the valley of Tempe: there being a thirst, he fell down on his belly and drank of the River. Then rifing up again, he went his way thence and came to the fea fide, and took a fishers cottage where he lay all night. The next morning by break flate of Pompey of the day, he went into a little boat upon the River, and took the free men with him that were about him: and as for the flaves, he fent them back again, and did counfel them boldly to go to Cafar, and not to be afraid. Thus rowing up and down the shore side, in this little boat, he spied a great ship of burden in the main sea, riding at Anchor, which was ready to weigh Anchor, and to fail away. The master of the ship was a ROMAN, who, though he was not familiarly acquainted with Pompey, yet knew him by fight very well. He was called Peticius, who had dreamed the night be- Peticius dreame fore, that he faw Pompey speak unto him, not like the man he was wont to be, but in poverty and of Pompey. in mifery. So, he had told this dream unto the Mariners which failed with him (as men commonly use to do, specially when they dream of such weighty matters, and being at leisure withall) and at the very inftant, there was one of the Mariners that told him, he faw a little boat on the River rowing towards them, and that there were men in it that shook their cloaks at them, and held our their hands. Thereupon Peticine standing up, knew Pompey straight, even in like case as he had dreamed of him the night before : and clapping his head for anger, commanded his Mariners to let down his boat, and gave his hand, calling him Pompey by his name, mistrusting (feeing him in that estate) what missortune had happened to him. Thereupon, not looking to be

POMPEIUS

intreated, nor that he should tell him of his mishap, he received him into the sin would have with him, and then hoifed fail. With Pompey there were both the Lentuli and Faoring. Shortly after also, they perceived King Desorars coming from the River to them, that beckened and made figns to receive him: which they did. At supper time, the master of the ship, made ready such meat as he had aboard. Faonisus feeing Pompey for lack of men to wait on him, washing of himself: ran unto him, washed him, and anounted him, and afterwards continued still to wait upon him, and to do fuch fervice about him, as fervants do to their mafters, even to washing of his feet, and making ready of his supper. When a simple man faw him, that could no skill of service, he faid:

eth in the Ifle Lesbos, at the City of Mity-

> The words of Cornelia unto Pompey.

> > Pmpey's anfwer unto Cornclis.

1.12

Good gods! how every thing becometh noble men? Pompey passing then by the City of AMPHIPOLIS, coasted from thence into the Isle of LESBOS, to go fetch his wife Cornelia and his fon being then in the City of MITYLENE. There having cast out his Anchor, and riding at rode, he put a meffenger on the shoar, and fent him unto the City to his wife: not according to her expectation, who was fill in good hope by continual letters and news brought unto her, that the war was ended and determined by the City of DYRRACHIUM. This mellenger now finding her in this hope, had not the heart fo much as to falute her, but letting her understand rather by his tears then words, the great misfortune Pompey had: told her, the must dispatch quickly, if she would fee Pompey with one ship onely, and none of his own but borrowed. The young Lady hearing thefe news, fell down in a found before him, and neither spake nor stirred of long time: but after she Cornetts for Pompey's over- was come to her felf, remembring that it was no time to weep and lament, the went with speed through the City unto the sea side. There Pompey meeting her, took her in his arms, and embraced her. But The meeting of the finking under him, fell down and faid: Out alas, wo worth my hard fortune, not thine (good huf-Pomey and his band) that I fee thee now brought to one poor ship, who before thou marriedst thy unfortunate Cornelia, wert wont to fail thele leas with five hundred ships. "Alas, why art thou come to see me, and "why didft thou not leave me to curfed fate and my wicked deftiny: fith my felf is cause of all this thy "evil? Alas, how happy a woman had I been, if I had been dead before I heard of the death of my first "husband Publiss Craffus, whom the wretched PARTHIANS slew? And how wife a woman had I "been, if (according to my determination) I had killed my felf immediately after him: where now I "live to bring yet this misfortune unto Pompey the Great? It is reported that Cornelia spake these words, and that Pompey also answered her in this manner. " Peradventure Cornelia mine, thou hast "known a better fortune, which hath also deceived thee, because she hath continued longer with me "then her manner is. But fince we are born men, we must patiently bear these troubles, and prove sor-"tune again. For it is no impossible matter for us again to come into prosperity out of this present mi-"fery, as to fall out of late prosperity into present calamity. When Cornelia heard him say so, she fent back into the City for her stuff and iamily. The MITYLENIANS also came openly to falute Pompey, and prayed him to come into the City, and refresh himself: but Pampey would not, and gave them counfel to obey the Conquerour, and not to fear any thing, for Cafar was a just man, and of a courteous nature. Then Pompey turning to Cratippus the Philosopher, who came among the Citizens also to see him: made his complaint unto him, and reasoning a little with him about divine providence. Cratippus courteoully yielded unto him, putting him still in better hope, fearing less he would have eth with Cristippus the Phis grown too hot and troublefome, if he should have holden him hard to it. For Pompey at the length lolopher, about might have asked him, what providence of the gods there had been in his doings? And Crasippus might have answered him, that for the ill government of the Commonwealth at Rome, it was of necessity that it should fall into the hands of a foveraign Prince. Peradventure Gratippus might then have asked him: how and whereby Pompey wouldft thou make us believe, if thou hadft overcome Casar, that thou wouldft have used thy good fortune better then he? But for divine matters refer them to the gods as it pleafeth them. Pompey taking his wife and friends with him, hoifed fail, and landed no where, but compelled to take fresh acates and water. The first City he came unto was ATTALIA in the Country eth at Attalia, of Pamphy Lia. Thither came to him certain Galleys out of CILICIA, and many fouldiers also, in the County informuch he had threefcore Senators of ROME again in his company. Then understanding that his Army by fea was yet whole, and that Caro had gathered together a great number of his fouldiers after the overthrow, whom he had transported with him into AFRICK: he lamented, and complained unto his friends, that they had compelled him to fight by land, and not fuffered him to help himself with his other force wherein he was the stronger; and that he kept not still near unto his Army by sea, that if fortune failed him by land, he might yet presently have repaired to his power ready by sea, to have resisted his enemy. To consess arruth, Pompey committed not so great a fault in all his War, rompey's great neither did Cafar put forth a better device, then to make his enemy fight far from his Army by fea. error, and the Thus Pompey being driven to attempt somewhat according to his small ability, he sent Ambassadors unto the Cities. To others, he went himself in person also to require money, wherewith he manned and armed some ships. This notwithstanding, fearing the sudden approach of his enemy, lest he should prevent him before he could put any reasonable force in readiness for to resist him; he bethought himfelf what place he might best retire unto for his most safety. When he had considered of ie, he thought that there was never a Province of the ROMANS that could fave and defend them. And for other strange Realms, he thought PARTHIA above all other, was the best place to receive them into at that prefent (having fo small a power as they had) and that it was best able to help and aid them. Other of his counfell were of mind to go, into Africk, unto King Juba. But

failing from thence, and King Prolomy (being but lately come to mans state, and bound unto Pompey Leiblan cerfor the late friendship and favour his Father found of him) and to go put himself into the hands of the swaded Pomper PARTHIANS, the vileft and unfaithfulleft Nation in the world, and not to prove modefty of a Ro- tofly into E-MAN, that had been his father in law, whose prosperity if he could have endured, he would have been gypt. the chiefest man: and now to put himself to Arfaces good will, who could not away with Crassine when he lived. Further, he thought it an ill part also, for him to go carry his young wife of the noble house of Scipio, amongst the barbarous people, who think it lawfull for them to use what villany and infolency they lift to any. For, admit the have nor the villany offered her by them: yet it is an undecent thing, to think the might have been dishonoured they having her in their power to do it. There was no perswasion (as they say) but this onely that turned Pompey unto Euphrates : for it seemeth that Pompey's counsel, and not his fortune made him take that way. Being determined therefore to fly into EGYPT, he departed out of CYPRUS in a Galley of SELEUCIA with his wife Cornelia. The residue of his train imbarked also, some into Galleys, and others into Merchants ships of great burden, and so fasely passed the sea without danger. When Pompey heard news that King Ptolomy was in Pompey arriva the City of PELUSIUM with his Army, making war against his lifter : he went thither, and sent a mel- eth in Egyps fenger before unto the King, to advertise him of his arrival, and to entreat him to receive him. King Petulium, Prolomy was then but a young man, infomuch as one Pothinus governed all the whole Realm under him. Pothinus an He affembled a Council of the chiefest and wifest men of his Court, who had such credit and authority Eunuch, and as it pleafed him to give them. They being affembled, he commanded every man in the Kings name groom of the to fay his mind touching the receiving of Pompty, whether the King should receive him or not. It was King Pollomy. a miserable thing to see Pothinus an Eunuch of the Kings, and Theodotus of CHIO, and hired school-ruleth all Emafter to teach the young King Rhetorick, and Achillas ÆGYPTIAN to consult among themselves grpt. what they should do with Pompey the Great. These were the chiefest counsellors of all his Eunuches, and of those that had brought him up. Now did Pompey, ride at Anchor upon the shore side, expecting the resolution of his Council: in the which the opinions of other were divers, for some would not on of the Ehave received him: other would that he should be received. But the Rhetorician Theodorus to shew gyptians, for his eloquence, perswaded them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, said he, thereceiving of if we receive him, we shall have Cafar our enemy, and Pompey our Lord : and if we do deny him on Pompey. the other fide, Pompey will blame us for refuling of him, and Cefar for not keeping of him. Therefore this should be the resolution, to send to kill him: for thereby we should win the good will of the one, and not fear the displeasure of the other: and some say moreover, that he added this mock with- swaded them all: A dead man bites not. They being determined of this among themselves, gave Achillas commission to kill Pomber.

fion to do it. He taking with him Septimins (who had charge aforetime under Pompey) and Salvins A dead man another Centurion also, with three or four souldiers besides, they made towards Pompey's Galley, bireth not. about whom were at that time the chiefest of his train, to see what would become of this matter. But ointed to kill when they faw the likelihood of their entertainment, and that it was not in Princely shew and manner, Pompey nor nothing answerable to the hope which Theophanes had put them in, seeing so sew men come to them

MAN tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as foveraign Captain: and Achillas also spake to How Pomper him in the Greek tongue, and bad him come into his boat, because that by the shore side, there was a was received great deal of mud and land hanks. So that his Galley should have no water to being him in Arthous into Agent.

to his wife and fon, and faid thefe verfes of Sophocles unto them: The man that into Court comes free, Must there in state of bondage be.

in a fisher boat : they began then to mistrust the small account that was made of them, and counselled

Pompey to return back, and to launch again into the sea, being out of the danger of the hurling of a

dart. In the mean time, the fisher boat drew near, and Septimins rose and saluted Pompey in the Ro-

great deal of mud and fand banks, so that his Galley should have no water to bring him in. At the ve-

ry fame time, they faw afar off divers of the Kings Galleys, which were arming with all speed possible,

and all the shoar besides full of souldiers. Thus, though Pompey and his company would have altered

their mind, they could not have told how to have escaped: and surthermore, shewing that they had

mistrusted them, then they had given the murtherer occasion to have executed his cruelty. So taking

his leave of his wife Cornelia, who lamented his death before his end : he commanded two Centurions to

go down before him in the ÆGYPTIANS boat, and Philip one of his flaves infranchifed, with another

flave called Scynes. When Achillas reached out his hand to receive him into his boat, he turned him

These were the last words he spake unto his people, when he lest his own Galley and went into the Æ-GYPTIANS boat. The land being a great way off from his Galley, when he faw never a man in the boat speak friendly unto him, beholding Septimius, he faid unto him: Methinks my friend I should know thee, for that thou hast served with me heretofore. The other nodded with his head that it was true, but gave him no answer, nor shewed him any courtesse. Pompey seeing that no man spake to him, took a little book he had in his hand, in the which he had written an oration that he meant to make unto King Ptolomy, and began to read it. When they came near the shoar, Cornelia with her servants Pomper the and friends about her, flood up in her ship in great fear, to see what should become of Pompey. So Great cruelly the hoped well, when the faw many of the Kings people on the shoar, coming towards Pompey at his stain as he landing, as it were to receive and honour him. But even as Pompey took Philip his hand more eafily, landed. Septimism came first behind him and thrust him through with his fword. Next unto him alfo, Salvins The manliness Septimism came first behind him and thrult him through with his tword. Next thin him and, Salving and patience and Achillae drew out their swords in like manner, Pompey then did no more but took up his Gown of Pompey at with his hands and hid his face, and manly abid the wounds they gave him, onely fighing a little. Thus his death,

in Egypt.

put to death.

being nine and fifty wears old, he ended his life the next day after the day of his birth. They wine rode oring nine and mercy years out, in conce in the unablated, gave both a fearful cry, that it was heard to the floor: then weighing up their Anchors with fpeed, they holled fail, and departed their way, has the most: then weighing up their remained was they had gotten to the main fee. The ÆGYPTI-A NS which prepared to row after them, when they faw they were pass their reach, and unpossible to be overtaken, they let them go. Then thiving stricken off Pompey's head, they threw his body overboard, for a milerable spectacle to all those that were definous to see him. Philip his infranchised bondman remained ever by it, untill such time as the ÆGYBTBANS had seen it their bellies full. Then having washed his body with falt water, and wrapped it up in an old shirt of his, because he had no other shirt to lay it in : he sought upon the tands, and found at length 2 piece of an old fifter boat, enough to ferve to burn his naked body with, but not all fully out. As he was bufie gathering the broken pieces of this boat together, thither came unto him an old ROMAN, who in his youth had ferved under Pompey, and faid unto him: O friend, what art thou that prepareft the funerals of Pompsy the Great? Philipsy and faid unto him: O friend, what art thou that prepareft the funerals of Pompsy the Great? Philipsy and faid unto him to that he was a bondman of his infranchifed. Well, faid he, thou that not have all this honour alone, I pray thee let me accompany thee in fo devout a deed, that I may not altogether repent me The funerals of to have dwelt fo long in a ftrange Countrey, where I have abidden fuch mifery and trouble: but that to recompence me withall, I may have this good hap, with mine hands to touch Pompey's body, and to help to bury the onely and most famous Captain of the Romans. The next day after, Lucius Lemin-Is not knowing what had passed, coming out of Cyprus, failed by the shoar side, and perceived afire made for funerals, and Philip standing by it, whom he knew not at the first. So he asked him, what is he that is dead and buried there? But straight setching a great sigh, alas, faid he, perhaps it is Pomis the tital in the same title and was fraight taken and slain. This was the end of Pompey pey the Great. Then he landed a little, and was fraight taken and slain. This was the end of Pompey the Great. Not long after, Cafar also came into EGY PT that was in great wars, where Pompey's Cofar arriveth head was presented unto him : but he turned his head aside and would not see it, and abhorred him that Lucius Lentubrought it as a detectable murtherer. Then taking his ring wherewith he fealed his letters, whereupon was graven a Lion holding a fword : he burft out a weeping. Achillas and Positions he put to death. King Ptolomy himself also, being bverthrown in battle by the River of Wilm, vanished away, and was never heard of after. Theodor as the Rhetorician eleaped Cafars hands, and wandred up and down The murcher-EGYPT in great milery, despited of every man. Afterwards Marcus Brutus (who flew Cafar)

The end of Pompey's Life.

completing As 1 A, met with him by chance, and putting him to all the torments be could poffibly devile,

as tholength flew him. The afters of Pempey's body were afterwards brought unto his Wife Cornelia,

who buried them in a Town of hers by the City of ALBA.

THE COMPARISON OF POMPEY with AGESILAUS.



Furthermore, Pompey did honour Sylla while he lived, and when he was dead, gave his body honour-

Ow that we have declared unto you the lives of Agefilaus and Pompey, let us compare their manners and conditions together, which are their times that the came to his honour and conditions together. came to his honour and greatness by his integrity, and so advanced himself, and How Pomper was a great aid unto Sylla, doing many noble exploits, helping him to rid those and Agofilant tyrants out of ITALY, who held it in bondage. But Agefilans usurped the King-greatness. dom of Lacedamon, againft the law of gods and men, condemning Leoychides for a baftard, whom his brother avowed to be his lawfull on; and contemned besides the Oracle of the gods, which gave warning of a lame King.

able burial in despite of Legidus: and married his daughter unto Faustus the son of Sylla. Agesilans contrarily did difhonour Lysander upon light occasion: but Pompey had done no less for Sylla, then Sylla had done for him. Lysander on the other side, had made Agesilaus King of LACEDEMON, and Lieutenant Generall of all GREECE. Thirdly, the injuries that Pompey did unto the Commonweal, The faults of were done of necessity to please Casar and Scipio, both of them his fathers in law. Agestiaus allo, to Agestiaus and saissine his sons love, laved Sphodriae life that had deserved death, for the mischief he had done the Pomper. ATHENIANS: and he willingly also took part with Phabidas, not secretly, but openly, because he had broken the peace made with the THEBANS. To conclude, what hurt Pompey did unto the ROMANS, either through ignorance, or to pleasure his friends: the same did Agesilaus unto the LACEDAMONIANS, through anger and felf-will, in renewing War with the BOEOTIANS, upon a full peace concluded. If we shall reckon of the fortune of the one and the other, in the faults they committed: Pompey's fortune unto the ROMANS was unlooked for. But Agefilane would not fuffer the LACEDEMONIANS to avoid the lame Kingdom, though they knew it before. For though Leorychides had been proved a bastard ten thousand times, yet had not the race of the Eurityontides failed, but they could have found another lawfull King among them, that should have gone upright: had not Lysander, favouring Agestlans kept the true meaning of the Oracle from the LACEDEMONIANS. On the other fide again for matters of government, there was never fuch an excellent device found out, as was done by Agefilaus, to help the fear and danger the LACEDA-MONIANS were in, for those that fled at the battle of LEUCTRES, when he counselled them to let the law sleep for that day. Neither can any man match Pompey's with the like: who, to shew his friends what power he was of, did break the laws which himself had made. For Agesslaus being driven of necessity to abolish the law, to save the life of his Citizens, found such a device that the law was not hurtfull to the Commonwealth, neither yet was put down for fear it should do hurt. I must needs commend this for a great vertue and civility in Agesilans, who so soon as he received the Scytala (or scrowl of parchment from the Ephori) returned into his Countrey, and left the war of Asia. He did not as Pompey, who made himself great to the benefit of the Commonwealth, and for the Commonwealths fake, did forfake such honour and so great authority, as never Captain before him, but Alexander the Great, had the like in those parts. But now to other matter. Touching their battles Thingsdone by and exploits in wars, the multitude of victories and triumphs that Pompey obtained, and the great Agefilaus and Armies that he led : Xenophon himself if he were alive, could not compare Agesilans victories unto Pompes in wars his; although for the fingular vertues and qualities he had in him, for recompence thereof he had liberty granted him," to write and speak of Agesilaus what he thought good. Methinks also, there was great difference betwirt Pompey and Agestlans, in their equity and clemency towards their enemies. For, whilft Agefilans went about to conquer THEBES, and utterly to race and destroy the City of MESSINA, the one being an ancient City of his Countrey, and the other the capital City of BoEO-

the feigniory

TIA: he had almost lost his own City of SPARTA, for at the least his he had over the reft of GREECE. The other contrarily gave Cities unto pyrauses dwell willing to change their trade and manner of life : and when it was in his choice to lead Tigrames King willing to change their trans and mainter agreement to make him a confederate of the ROMANS, of ARMENIA, in triumph at ROME, he choic rather to make him a confederate of the ROMANS, faying, that he preferred perpetual honour before one days glory. But fince it is reason we should give the first place and honour of the discipline of wars, unto a Captain of the greatest skill and experience in wars: the LACEDAMONIAN then leaveth the ROMANS far behind. For first of all Agessiam never forfook his City, though it was befreged with threefcore and ten thousand men, and that there were very few within the same to defend it, the which also a little before had been overthrown at the battle of LEUCTRES. And Pompey on the other fide, hearing that Cafar with five thousand footmen onely had taken a Town in ITALY, Hed from ROME in very great fear. And therein he cannot be excused of one of these two: either that he fled cowardly for so few men, or else that he had a false immagination of more. For he conveyed his wife and children away, but he left all the reft without defence and fled:

Pombey's fault to fortake Rome.

of a skilfull Captain.

where indeed he flould either have overcome, valiantly fighting for defence of his Countrey, or elle have received the conditions of peace which the conquerors flould have offered him. For he was a Citizen and allied unto him. And he that thought it an untollerable thing, to prolong the term of his government, or to grant him a fecond Conful-ship: did now give him opportunity, suffering him to take the City of ROM 5, to fay unto Metellus the Tribune and the reft, that they were all his prisoners. Aspecial point Sith therefore it is the chiefest point of an excellent Captain, to compell his enemies to fight when he findeth himself the stronger, and also to keep himself from compulsion of fight when he is the weaker: Agefilam excelling in that, did ever keep himfelf invincible. Cafar also had great skill therein, to keep himself from danger being the weaker, and again could tell how to compell Pompey to hazard battle, to his utter destruction by land, where he was the weaker: and by this means he made himself Lord of the treasure, victuals, and also of the sea, which his enemies had in their hands without fighting. That which they alledge in his excule, is that which most doth condemn him, specially for so great and skilfull a Captain. For asit is likely enough, that a young General of an Army may easily be brought from his wife and lafe counfel, with rumour and rumult of a few fearfull men, that should perswade him it were a shame and dishonour for him if he did otherwise: yet were this no strange matter, but a fault to be pardoned. But for Pompey the Great, whose Camp the Romans called their Countrey, and his Tent the Senate, and called all the Prætors and Confuls that governed at Rome, rebels and traitors to the Commonwealth of Rome: who could excuse him (who was never seen commanded by other then himself, but had been alwaies chief Captain and General in any war he made, and ever had the upper hand) but that he was drawn on by the fooffs of Faonius and Domitims, to hazard battle, to endanger the whole Empire and liberty of ROME, onely for fear they should call him King Agamemnon? Who, the whole complete and making the first the found have fought from the beginning for the defence of the City of ROME, and not to have taken example of Themistocles policy by flying, and afterwards to think it a shame as he did, to lie in Thessaly a time without fighting. Neither did God appoint them the fields of Pharfalia for a Theatre, or close Camp of necessity to fight which of them should have the Empire of ROME. Further, there was no Herauld to fummon him to fight, as there are at games of price, where he must answer to his name, and come and fight, or else to lose the honour of the Crown unto another. But there were infinite other fields and Towns (and as a man would fay the whole earth) which the commodity of his Army by fea gave him shoice to conquer, if he would rather have followed the steps of Fabius Maximus, of Marius, of Lucullus, or of Arefilaus himself: who did patiently abide no less tumults within the City self of Sparta, when the Thebans went to summon him to come out to fight for all the rest of his Country. And in £GYPT also, he did abide many fall to cultations against him, wherewith the King himself did burthen him, praying him alwaics to have a little patience. In fine, having followed the best counsel which he had determined with himself from the beginning, he faved the EGYPTIANS against their wills: and furthermore, he did not onely keep the City of Spart a from fo great a danger, but did also fer up tokens of triumph in the same against the THEBANS, whereby he was not compelled at that time to lead them out to the slaughter, and befides that, gave his Citizens occasion to obtain victory afterwards. Hereupon Agesilans was highly praised of them, whose lives he had saved against their wills. And Pompey contrarily was blamed by them-

felves through whom he had offended : yet some say, that he was deceived by his father in law Scipio.

For he meaning to keep the most part of the money to himself which he had brought out of Asia, did

haften and periwade Pompey to give battle, telling him there was no money left. The which though it

had been, a worthy Captain should not so lightly have been brought into error, upon a salse account

to hazard himself to lose all. Thus may we see what both of them were, by comparing them together.

Furthermore, for their journeys into ÆGYPT, the one fled thither by force: the other willingly went

thither with small honour, for moneys sake to serve the barbarous people, with intent afterwards to make war with the GRECIANS. Laftly, in that which we accuse the ÆGYPTIANS for Pompey's

fake : for the like matter do they again accuse Azefilans. For the one was cruelly put to death, and

Pompey flying into Egypt is excused.

berrayed by them whom he trufted: and Azefilaus for fook them which trufted him, and went to his enemies, having brought aid to fight against them. THE

THELIFEOF ALEXANDER The Great.



Ann. Mund.

Ant. Chrift. 334.



Aving determined in this volume to write the Life of King Alexander, and of Julius Cafar, that overcame Pompey, and being to speak of many things, I will use none other Preface, but onely desire the Readers not to blame me though I do not declare all things at large, but briefly touch divers; chiefly in those, their noblest acts and most worthy of memory. For they must remember, that my intent is not to write Histories, but onely Lives. For the noblest deeds do not always shew mens vertues and vices, but oftentimes a light occasion, a word, or some sport, makes mens naturall dispositions and manners appear more plain, then the famous Battels won, wherein are slain ten thousand men, or the great Armies, or Cities won by siege or af-

fault. For like as Painters or drawers of Pictures, which make no account of other parts of the body, The face flowdo take the refemblances of the face and favour of the countenance, in the which conflict the judgedo take the refemblances of the tace and tayour of the countenance, in the which condition in the tace and tayour of the countenance, in the which conditions and conditions, and disposition; even to they must give us leave to feek out the figns and to-ditions. kens of the mind onely, and thereby shew the life of either of them, referring you unto others to write the Wars; Battels, and other great things they did. It is certain that Alexander was descended The Parentage from Hercules by Caranus, and that by his Mothers fide, he came of the blood of the Aacides by Ne of Alexander. optolemus. They fay alfo, that King Philip his Father when he was a young man, fell in fancy with his Mother Olympias, which at that time allo was a young Maiden, and an Orphan without Father or Mo-Olympias the ther, in the Isle of SAMOTHRACIA, where they were both received into themystery and fraternity King of Mucof the House of the religious: and that afterwards, he did ask her in marriage of her Brother Arym-don. bas, with whole confent they were married together. The night before they lay in wedded bed, the Olympiss Bride dreamed, that lightning fell into her belly, and that withall, there was a great light fire that dif- Dream perfed it felf all about in divers flames. King Philip her Husband allo, shortly after he was married, King Philips dreamed that he did feal his wives belly, and that the feal wherewith he fealed left behind the print of Dream. dreamed that he did feal his wives belly, and that the feal wherewith he fealed, left behind the print of a Lion. Certain Wifards and Southfayers told Philip, that this Dream gave him warning to look ftraight to his wife. But Aristander TELMESIAN answered again, that it signified his wife was conceived with child; for that they do not feal a veffell that hath nothing in it: and that she was with child with a boy, which should have a Lions heart. It is reported also, that many times as she lay a Olimbia Secfleep in her bed, there was feen a Serpent lying by her, the which was the chiefest cause (as some presuppose) that withdrew Philips love and kindness from her, and caused him that he lay not so oft with her, as before he was wont to do : either for that he feared some charmor enchantment , or else for that he thought himself unmeet for her company, supposing her to be beloved of some god. Some do also report this after another sort: as in this manner. That the women in those parts of long time, have been commonly polleft with the spirit of Orpheus, and the divine fury of Bacchus, whereupon they are called Cleodones, and Mimallones (as much, as war-like and fierce) and do many things like unto the women of Edonia and Thracia, dwelling about the Mountain Æmus. Hereby it appeareth; that this word Treskevin fignifieth in the Greek Tongue, too superstitiously given to the

Ceremonies of the gods) came from them. For Olympia above other women, 100

with fuch divine madness and fury, did celebrate her Solemn Sacrifice with a certain morning

barbarous manner. For in these dances to Bacchua, she carried a great number of tame Snakes about

her, the which gliding upon the Ivic wherewith the women were dreffed in those Ceremonies, and win-

ding themselves about the little Javelins they had in their hands, and the Garlands about their heads,

The birth of Alexander.

The Temple of Diana burnt at Ephefus. Wonderfull things feen at the birth of A lexander.

> Alexanders stature and personage.

dy had a marvellous (weet

Alexander coveted honour.

thereby they made menthe more afraid of them. Whereupon Philip after this Dream, fent Charo MEGALIPOLITAN unto the Oracle of Apollo at DELPHES, to enquire what it fignified. Answer was given him, that he should do Sacrifice unto Jupiter Hammon, and honour him above all gods: and that he had loft one of his eyes, with the which he peeping in at a cranny of his chamber door, saw the god in form of a Snake lie by his wife. Furthermore, Olympias (as Eratofthunes writeth) bidding her Son farewell when he went to conquer As 1A, after the had fecretly told him alone, by whom he was begotten, the prayed him to be valiant, and to flew himself worthy his Son that begat him. Others tell alfo, that the was angry with this report, faying : Will Alexander never leave to make me suspected alfo, that the was angry with this report, cted of Juno? So it is, that Alexander was born on the fixth day of the Moneth of Hecatombecon, (in English, June) which the MACEDONIANS call Lous. On the very fame day, the Temple of Diana in the City of Ernesus was burnt, as Hegefias MAGNETIAN doth witnels, whole cry and exclamation was to terrible and cold, that it was enough to have quenched that fire. It is not to be wondred at, that Diana suffered her temple to be burnt, being like a Midwife, busie about Alexanders birth, But this is true that all the Priefts, Magitians and Soothsayers, which were at that time in E-PHESUS, judging that this did prognofticate iome marvellous great misfortune to come like men beftraught of their wits, they ran up and down the City finiting of their faces, and crying, that some great plague and mischief was born that day unto Asia. Shortly after that King Philip had won the City of POTIDEA, three Messengers came to him the same day, that brought him great news. The first, that Parmenio had won a notable Battell of the ILLYRIANS: the second, that his Horse onely wan the bell and prize at the Olympian Games: and the third, that his Wife had brought him a Son called Alexander. Philip being marvellous glad to hear these news, the Soothfayers did make his joy yet greater: assuring him, that his Son which was born with three Victories all together, (hould be invincible. Now for his flature and personage, the Statues and Images made of him by Lyppu do best declare it, for that he would be drawn of no man but him onely. Divers of his Successions and friends did afterwards counterfeit his Image, but that excellent workman Lifippus onely, of all other the chiefest, hath perfectly drawn and resembled Alexanders manner of holding his neck, somewhat hanging down towards the left side, and also the sweet look and cast of his eyes. But when Apelles painted Alexander, holding Lightning in his hand, he did not shew his fresh colour, but made him somewhat black, and swartier then his face indeed was: for naturally he had a very fair white colour, mingled also with red, which chiefly appeared in his face and in his brest. I remember I read also in the Commentaries of Aristozinus, that his skinhad a marvellous good favour, and that his breath was very fweet : infomuch that his body had so sweet a smell, of it felf, that all the Apparell he wore next unto his body, took thereof a passing delightfull favour, as if it had been perfumed. And the cause hereof peradventure might be the very temperature and constitution of his body, which was hot and burning like fire. For Theophrass is of opinion, that the fweet favour cometh by means of the heat that drieth up the moifture of the body. By which reason also it appeareth, that the dry and hot Countries parched with heat of the Sun, are those that deliver unto us the best Spices: because that the Sun drieth up the moiflure of the outward parts, as a matter of corruption. This naturall heat that Alexander had, made him (as it appeareth) to be given to drink, and to be hafty. Even from his childhood they faw that he was given to be chafte. For though otherwise he was very hot and hasty, yet was he hardly moved with lust or pleasure of the body, and would moderately use it. But on the other side, the ambition and desire he had of honour, shewed a certain greatness of mind and noble courage, patting his years. For he was not (as his Father Philip) defirous of all kind of glory: who like a Rhetoritian had a delight to utter his cloquence, and stamped in his Coyns, the Victories he had won at the Olympian Games, by the fwift running of his Horle and Coaches. For when he was asked one day (because he was swift of foot) whether he would assay to run for victory at the Olympian Games: I could be content (faid he) fo I might run with Kings. And yet to speak generally, he milliked all fuch contention for Games. For it feemed that he utterly milliked all wreftling and other exercise for prize, where men did use all their strength : but otherwise he himself made certain Festivall days and Games of prize for common Stage-players, Musicians and Singers, and for the very Poets also. He delighted also in hunting of divers kind of Beasts, and playing at the Staff. Ambaifadours being fent on a time from the King of PERSIA, whileft his Father was in fome Journey out of his Realm : Alexander familiarly enterraining of them, fo wan them with his courteous entertainment (for that he used no childish questions unto them, nor asked them trifling matters, but what diflance it was from one place to another, and which way they went into the high Countries of As1A, and of the King of Persia himfelf, how he was towards his Enemies, and what power he had) that he did ravish them with delight to hear him, infomuch that they made no more account of Philips eloquence and sharp wit, inrespect of his Sons courage and noble mind, to attempt great Enterprizes. For when they brought him news that his Father had taken some famous City, or had won fome great Battell, he was nothing glad to hear it, but would fay to his play-fellows : Sirs, my Father will have all , I shall have nothing left to conquer with you , that shall be ought worth. For he delighting neither in pleasure nor riches, but onely in valiantness and honour, thought that the greater Conquefts and Realms his Father should leave him, the less he should have to do for himfelf. And therefore, feeing that his Fathers Dominions and Empire increased daily more and more, perceiving all occasion taken from bim to do any great attempt, he desired no riches nor pleasure, but Wars and Battels, and aspired to a Seigniory where he might with honour. He had divers men appointed him (as it is to be supposed) to bring him up : as School-masters, Governours, and Grooms of his chamber to attend upon him: and among those, Leonidas was the chiefest man that had the government and charge of him, a man of severe disposition, and a Kinsiman also unto the Queen O-Impias. He missised to be called a Master or Tutor, though it be an Office of good charge; where- Leonidas the upon others called him Alexanders Governour, because he was a Nobleman, and allied to the Prince. Governour of But he that bare the name of his schoolmafter, was Lysimack wan Acarnanian born, who Las Alexander. no other manner of civility in him, faving that he called himself Phanix, Alexander Achilles, and Philip Peleus: and therefore he was well thought of, and was the fecond person next unto Leonidas. At what time Philonicus THESSALIAN had brought Bucephall the Horfe to fell unto King Philop, Bucephall, A. asking thirteen Talents, they went into the Field to ride him. The Horse was found so rough, and lexande Horse. churlish, that the riders said he would never do service; for he would let no man get upon his back, nor abide any of the Gentlemens voices about King Philip, but would yerk out at them. Thereupon Philip being afraid, commanded them to carry him away as a wild Beaft, and altogether unprofitable: the which they had done, had not Alexander that flood by , faid : O gods, what a Horse do they turn away, for lack of skill and heart to handle him? Philip heard what he faid, but held his peace. Alexander of rrepeating his words, feeming to be forry that they should fend the Horse back again : Why, faid Philip, dost thou controll them that have more experience then thou, and that know better then thou how to handle a Horse? Alexander answered, and yet methinks I should handle him better then all they have done. But if thou canst not, no more then they, replied Philip, what wilt thou forfeit for thy folly? I am content (quoth Alexander) to jeopard the price of the Horse. Every man laughed to hear his answer, and the wager was laid between them. Then ran Alexander to the Horse, and took him by the bridle: and turned him towards the Sun. It feemed that he had marked (as I Suppose) how mad the Horse was to see his own shadow, which was ever before him in his eye, as he firred too and fro. Then Alexander speaking gently to the Horse, and clapping him on the back The agility of with his hand, till he had left his fury and fnorting, fottly let fall his Cloak from him, and lightly leap-Alexander in with his hand, till he had left his fury and morting, 101111 let iall his Look from him, and ingitive leap-ing on his back, got up without any danger, and holding the reins of the bridle hard, without striking wildness of or stirring the Horle, made him to be gentle enough. Then when he saw that the fury of the Horle Bucephall the was past, and that he began to gallop, he put him to his full carier, and laid on spurs and voice a good. Hote. Philip at the first with fear beholding his Sons agility, left he should take some hurt, faid never a word : but when he faw him readily turn the Horse at the end of his carier , in a bravery for that he had done, all the lookers on gave a great shout for joy. The father on the other side (as they say) fell a weeping for joy. And when Alexander was lighted from the Horse, he said unto him killing his head : Philip prophe-O Son, thou must needs have a Realm that is meet for thee, for MACEDON will not hold thee, fieth of his San Furthermore, confidering that of nature he was not to be won by extremity, and that by gentle Alexander, means and perswasion he could make him do what he would, heever fought rather to perswade then command him in any thing he had to do. Now Philip putting no great affiance in his School-mafters of Musick and humanity, for the instruction and education of his Son, whom he had appointed to

ALEXANDER the Great.

teach him, but thinking rather that he needed men of greater learning then their capacities would reach

He needed many reins, and many bits at once. He fent for Aristotle (the greatest Philosopher in his time, and best learned) to teach his Son, unto Aristotle was whom he gave honourable flipend. For Philip having won and taken before, the City of STAGI- Alexanders RA, where Ariffotle was born, for his fake he built it again, and replenished it with Inhabitants School-master. which fled away, or otherwise were in bondage. He appointed them for a School-house and dwelling in the City of place, the pleasant house that is by the City of MIEZA. In that place are yet seen seats of stone stagirs. which Arifforle caused to be made, and close walks to walk in the shadow. It is thought also, that Alexander did not onely learn of Aristotle Morall Philosophy and Humanity , but also he heard of him, othermore fecret, hard, and grave Doctrine, which Aristotles Scholars do properly call Acroamata, or Epoptica, meaning things speculative, which requireth the Masters teaching to understand them, or elle are kept from common knowledge: which Sciences they did not commonly teach. Alexander being paffed into Asia, and hearing that Arifforle had put out certain Books of that matter, for the honours sake of Philosophy: he wrote a Letter unto him, somewhat too plain, and of this effect. Alexander unto Aristotle greeting, Thou hast not done well to purforth the Acroamaticall Sciences. For An Epistle of wherein shall we excell others, if those things which thou hast secretly taught us, be made common to Alexaster unto all ? I do thee to understand, that I had rather excell others in excellency of knowledge, then in great- Arifficile. nels of Power. Farewell. Ariftotle to pacifie this his ambitious humour, wrote unto him again. That these Books were published, and not published. For to say truly, in all his Treatises which he called used Tel activate, there is no plain instruction profitable for any man, neither to pick our by himself, nor yet to be taught by any other then Ariftotl: himself, or his Scholars. So that it is written as a memoriall for them that have been entired and brought up in the Peripatetick Sect and Doctrine. It feemeth also that it was Aristotle above all other, that made Mexander take delight to study Physick. For Alexander did not onely like the knowledge of speculation, but

unto : and that as Sophocles faith,

Phylick. Some think among King Darius Tewels. in the which

Alexandropolis

The quarrels of Philip with Olympias and

Alexander

Alexander the medies, and rules to live by: as appeareth by his Letters he wrote, that of his own nature he was much Great practifed given to his Book, and defired to read much. He learned also the Iliads of Homer, of Aristeles correction, which they call, 7th is 78 144 draces, the corrected, as having passed under the rule; and laid it every night under his bedshead with his Dagger, calling it (as Onefferates writeth) the Institution of Martiall Discipline. And when he was in the high Countreys of Asia, where he could not readily mean of the come by other Books, he wrote unto Harpalus to fend them to him. Harpalus fent him the Histories of Philifiu, with divers Tragedies of Empides , Sophocles, and Efebilm: and certain Hymnes of the was found Teleftu and Philoxenu. Alexander did reverence Ariftotle at the first, as his Father, and so he termed him: because from his naturall Father he had life, but from him, the knowledge to live. But afterwards he suspected him somewhat; yet he did him no hurt, neither was he so friendly to him as he had been: whereby men perceived that he did not bear him the good will he was wont to do. This notwithflanding, he left not that real and defire he had to the fludy of Philosophy, which he had learned Homers Works from his youth, and ftill continued with him. For he shewed divers testimonies thereof. As the honour he did unto Anaxarchus the Philosopher. The fifty talents which he fent unto Xenocrates, Dandamis, and Calanus: of whom he made great account. When King Philip made War with the Bi-Alexandershift ZANTINES, Alexander being but fixteen years old, was left his Lieutenant in MACEDON, with the cuftody and charge of his great Seal : at what time also he subdued the MEDARIANS which had rebelled against him; and having won their City by affault, he drave out the barbarous People, and made a Colony of it, of fundry Nations, and called it ALEXANDROPOLIS, to fay, the City of Alexander. Hewas with his Father at the Battell of CHERONEA against the GRECIANS, where it was reported, that it was he that gave charge first of all upon the holy Band of the THEBANS. Furthermore, there was an old Oke feen in my time, which the Countreymen commonly call Alexanders Oke, because his Tent or Pavilion was fastned to it: and not far from thence is the Charnell house, where those MACEDONIANS were buried that were flain at the Battell. For these causes, his Father Philip loved him very dearly, and was glad to hear the MACEDONIANS call Alexander King, and himself their Captain. Howbeit the troubles that fell out in his Court afterwards, by reason of Philips new marriages and loves, bred great quarrell and strife amongst the women : for the mischief of diffention and jealousse of women, doth separate the hearts of Kings one from another, whereof was chiefeft cause, the sharpness of Olympias, who being a jealous woman, fretting and of a revenging mind, did incense Alexander against his Father. But the chief cause that provoked Alexander, was Attalm, at the Marriage of Cleopatra, whom Philip married a Maiden, falling in fancy with her when himself was past marriage. This was the matter; Attalas being Uncle unto this Cleopatra, fell drunk at the Marriage, and being in his cups, he perswaded the MACEDONI-ANS that were at the Feaft, to pray to the gods, that they might have a lawfull Heir of Philip and Cleopatra, to succeed him in the Kingdom of MACEDON. Alexander being in a rage therewith, threw a Cup at his head, and faid unto him: Why, Traytor, what am 1? doft thou take me for a Baftard? Philip feeing that , rofe from the boord, and drew out his Sword , but by good fortune for them both, being troubled with choler and Wine, he fell down on the ground. Then Alexander mocking him, Lo, faid he to the MACEDONIANS, here is the man that prepared to go out of Eu-ROPE INto Asia, and stepping onely from one bed to another, ye fee him laid along on the ground. After this great infolency, he took his Mother Olympias away with him, and carrying her into his Countrey of EPIRUS, he left her there, and himfelf afterwards went into ILLYRIA. In the mean time, Demaratus Corinthian, a friend of King Philips, and very familiar with him, came to fee him. Philip when he had courteoully welcomed him, asked him how the GRECIA NS did agree together. Truly, O King, quoth he, it imports you much to inquire of the agreement of the GRECI-ANS, when your own Court is fo full of quarrell and contention. These words nipped Philip in fuch fort, and caused him to know his fault, that through Demarativ means, whom he sent to per-Arident King swade Alexander to return, Alexander was made to come back again. Now when Pexodorm, a Philiphalard, Prince of Carla (desiring for necessities sake, to enter in League and Friendship with Philip) of begotten of a fered his eldeft Daughter in marriage unto Aridem King Philips Son, and had fent Arifforritus common Armbastadour into Macedon for that purpose: the friends of Alexander and his Mother, began again to inveigle him with new reports and fulpitions, how Philip by this great Marriage would advance Aridem, to his utter undoing, and leave him his Heir in the Kingdom. Alexander being netled therewith, fent one Theffalm a Player of Tragedies into CARIA to Pexodorm, to perswade him to leave Aridam, that was a Baftard and a fool, and rather to make alliance with Alexander. This offer pleafed Pexodorm far better, to have Alexander his Son-in-law, then Aridam. Philip understanding this, went himself into Alexanders chamber, taking Pailotas with him (the Son of Parmenio) one of his familiars, and bitterly took up Alexander, telling him that he had a base mind, and was unworthy to be left his Heir after his death, if he would caft himself away, marrying the Daughter of a Carian, that was a Slave and Subject of a barbarous King. Thereupon he wrote Letters unto Corinth, that they should send The flatus bound unto him. And surthermore he banished out of MACEDON, Harpalus, Nearchen , Phrygim , and Ptelomy, his Sons companions : whom Alexander afterwards called home again , and placed them in great authority about him. Shortly after , Pan-Philip King of fanias furtaining villany by the countell and commandment of Attalm and Cleopatra, craving juffice Muchan flam of Philip, and finding no amends, he converted all his anger against him, and for spight slew him himself, by Parlinia. by Paulania. Of this murther most men accused Queen Olympias, who (as it is reported) alluring this young man,

aft cause of anger, to kill him. And Alexander also went not clear from suspition of this murther. For some fay that Paulanias after this villany was done him, complained unto Alexander, and told him how he had been abuted: who recited these Verses of Europides to him, in the Tragedie of Medea, where the faid in anger, that the would be revenged:

Both of the Bridegroom, and the Bride,

And of the Father-in-law. Notwithstanding, afterwards he caused diligent search to be made, and all them to be severely punished that were of the conspiracy: and was angry also that his Mother Olympias had cruelly slain The beginning Citepatra. 30 me came to the Range of Alexa greatly envied and hard of dangerous Enemies, and every way full of danger. For the barbarous Reign. Nations that were near Neighbours unto Macedon, could not abide the bondage of strangers, but defired to have their naturall Kings. Neither had Philip time enough to bridle and pacific GREECE, which he had conquered by force of Arms: but having a little altered the Governments, had through his infolency left them all in great trouble, and ready to rebell, for that they had not long been acquainted to obey. Thereupon Alexanders Councell of MacEdon, being afraid of the troublesome time, were of opinion, that Alexander should utterly for sake the affairs of GREECE, and not to follow them with extremity, but that he should feek to win the barbarous People by gentle means, that had rebelled against him, and wisely to remedy these new stirs. But he far otherwife determined to stablish his fafety by courage and magnanimity: perswading himself, that if they faw him ftoop and yeeld at the beginning, how little foever it were, every one would be upon him: Thereupon, he straight quenched all the rebellion of the barbarous People, invading them suddenly Alexander oin the Army, by the River of Da Nusy, where in a great Battell he overthrew Syrmu King of vertame Syrwith his Army, by the River of Da Nusy, where in a great Battell he overthrew Syrmu King of vertame Syrwith his Army, by the River of Da Nusy, where in a great Battell he overthrew Syrmu King of vertame Syrven has a supplied to the system of the syste the TREBALLIANS. Furthermore, having intelligence that the THEBANS were revolted, and mu King of that the ATHENIANS allo were confederate with them : to make them know that he was a man, the Triballians, he marched with his Army towards the Straight of Thermopilis, faying; that he would make Demo-Street the Oratour fee (who in his Orations, whilest he was in ILLYRIA, and in the Countrey of the TRIBALLIANS, called him child) that he was grown a stripling passing through THESSALY, and should find him a man before the Walls of ATHENS. When he came with his Army unto the Gates of THERES, he was willing to give them of the City occasion to repent them: and therefore onely demanded Phanix and Prothytes, authors of the rebellion. Furthermore, he proclaimed by Trumpet, pardon and fafety unto all them that would yeeld unto him. The THEBANS on the oa ther fide, demanded of him Philoras and Antipater, two of his chiefest servants, and made the Crier proclaim in the City, that all fuch as would defend the liberty of GREECE, should joyn with them. Then did Alexander leave the MACEDONIANS at liberty to make War with all cruelty. The THEBANS also fought with greater courage and defire then they were able, confidering that their Enemies were many against one. And on the other fide also, when the Garifon of the MACE-DONIANS which were within the Castle of CADMEA, made a Salley upon them, and gave them Charge in the Reer-ward : then they being environed of all fides , were flain in manner every one Thehes won of them, their City taken, destroyed and razed even to the hard ground. This he did, specially to and razed by make all the rest of the People of GREECE astraid by example of this great calamity and misery of Alexander. the THEBANS, to the end none of them should dare from thenceforth once to rife against him. He would cloak this cruelty of his under the complaints of his Confederates, the PHOCIANS and PLA-TEIANS: who complaining to him of the injuries the THEBANS had offered, could not deny them justice. Notwithstanding, excepting the Priests, and the religious, and all such as were friends unto any of the Lords of MACEDON, all the friends and kindred of the Poet Pinday w, and all those that had diffiwaded them which were the Rebels, he fold all the reft of the City of THEBES for Slaves, which amounted to the number of thirty thousand persons, besides them that were slain at the Battell, which were fix thousand more. Now amongst the other miseries and calamities of the poor City of THERES, there were certain THRACIAN Souldiers, who having spoiled and defaced the houle of Timoclea, a vertuous Lady, and of a noble parentage, they divided her Goods among them : and their Captain having ravished her by force, asked her, whether she had any where hidden any Gold or Silver. The Lady told him she had. Then leading him into her Garden, the brought him unto a Well: where the faid the had caft all her Jewels and precious things, when the heard the City was taken. The A noble act of barbarous Thracian stooped to look into the Well: The standing behind him, thrust him in, Timestes 2 noand then threw stones enough on him, and so killed him. The Souldiers when they knew it, took and blewoman of bound her, and so carried her unto Alexander. When Alexander saw her countenance, and marked Theber. her gate, he supposed her at the first to be some great Lady, she sollowed the Souldiers with such a majefty and boldness. Alexander then asking her what the was: the answered that the was the Sifter of Theagenes, who fought a Battell with King Philip before the City of CHERONEA, where being Generall, he was flain valiantly fighting for the defence of the liberty of GREECE. Alexander wondering at her noble answer and couragious deed, commanded no man should touch her nor her children, and so freely let her go whither she would. He made I cague also with the ATHENIANS, though they were very forry for their milerable fortune. For the day of the folemn Feaths of their Mysteries being come, they lest it off, mourning for the THEBANS: courteously entertaining all those that flying from THEBES came to them for fuccour. But whether it was for that his anger was past him, following therein the nature of Lions: or because that after so great an example of cruelty, he would Thew a singular elemency again: he did not onely pardon the ATHENIANS of all faults committed,

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but did also counsell them to look wisely to their doings, for their City one day included GREECE, if he chanced to die. Men report, that certainly he oftentimes repented him that he had dealt fo cruelly with the THEBANS, and the grief he took upon it, was cause that he afterwards shewed himself more mercifull unto divers others. Afterwards also he did blame the fury of Bacclin, who to be revenged of him, made him kill Clina at the Table being drunk, and the MACE-DONIANS also to refule him to go any further to conquer the lndians, which was an imperfe-Ction of his Enterprize, and a diminishing also of his Honour. Besides, there was never THEBAN afterwards, that had escaped the fury of his Victory, and did make any Petition to him, but he had his fuit. Thus was the eftate of THEBES as you have heard. Then the GRECIANS having affembled a generall Councell of all the States of GREECE within the Straights of PELOPONNEsus, there it was determined that they would make War with the PERSIANS. Whereupon Alexander cho- they chose Alexander Generall of all GREECE. Then divers men coming to visit Alexander, as well Philosophers, as Governours of States, to congratulate with him for his election, he looked that Diogenes Sinopian (who dwelt at CORINTH) would likewise come again ere the rest had done: but fen Generall when he saw he made no reckoning of him, and that he kept still in the Suburbs of CORINTH, at a of all Grecce, place called CRANIUM, he went himself unto him, and found him laid all along in the Sun. When Disgenes faw fo many coming toward him , he fare up a little, and looked full upon Alexander. Alexander courteoutly spake unto him, and asked him, if he lacked any thing. Yea said he, that I do: talk with Dirthar thou stand out of my Sun a little. Alexander was so well pleased with this answer, and marvelled so much at that great boldness of this man, to see how small account he made of him : that when he went his way from him , Alexanders familiars laughing at Diogenes, and mocking him, he told them: Masters lay what you lift, truly if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes. Alexander being defirous to hear what the Oracle of Apillo DELPHIAN would fay unto him touching the fuccels of his Journey into ASIA, he went unto the City of DELPHOS. It chanced to, that he came thither in the days which they call unfortunate, on which days no man used to ask Apollo any thing. This notwithstanding, he sent first unto the Nun which pronounced the Oracles, to pray her to come unto him. But the refused to come, alleadging the custom which forbade her to Thereupon Alexander went thither himself in person, and brought her out by sorce into the Temple. She seeing then that he would not be denied, but would needs have his will, told him: My Son, for that I fee, thou art invincible. Alexander hearing that, faid, he defired no other Oracle, and that he had as much as he looked for. Afterwards when he was even ready to go on with his Voyage, he had divers figns and tokens from the gods: and amongst other, an Image of the Poet Orphemade of Cyprus, in the City of LEBETHRES, in those days did sweat marvellously. Many men fearing that fign , Arifiander the Soothfayer bade Alexander be of good chear , and hope well ; for he should obtain noble Victories that should never be forgotten, the which should make the Poers and Musicians sweat to write and sing them. Then, for his Army which he led with him, they that do fet down the least number, say, that they were thirty thousand Footmen, and five thousand Horsemen: and they that say more, do write, four and thirty thousand Footmen, and four thousand Horsemen. Arisebulus writeth that Alexander had no more but threescore and ten Talents to pay his Souldiers with: and Darie writeth, that he had no more Provision of Victuals, then for thirty

Wonderfall figns appearing unto Alexander before his Journey into Afia.

genes.

Army in Afia.

The liberality of Alexander.

faying of A-

fome Haven. Thus by his bounty, having in manner spent almost the revenues of the Crown of MACEDON, Perdiceas asked him: My Lord, what will you keep for you felf? Hope, faid he. Then, quoth Perdicess again, we will also have some part, since we go with you: and so resused the Revenue which the King had given him for his Pension. Many others did also the like. But such as were contented to take his liberality, or would ask him anything, he gave them very frankly, and in fuch liberality spent all the Revenue he had. With this defire and determination, he went on to the Straight of Hellespont, and going to the City of Ilium he did Sacrifice unto Diana, and made funerall effusions unto the demy-gods (to wir, unto the Princes which died in the War of TROIA, whose bodies were buried there) and specially unto Achilles, whose grave he anointed with oil, and ran naked round about it with his familiars, according to the ancient cuftom of Funerals. Then he covered it with Nofegayes and Flowers, faying, that Achilles was happy, who while he lived had a faithfull friend, and after his death an excellent Herauld to fing his praife. When he had done, and went up and down the City to fee all the Monuments and notable things there, one asked him, if he would fee Paris Harp. He answered again, he would very tain see Achilles Harp, who plaid and fung upon it all the famous acts done by valiant men in former times. In the mean time, Darim King of PERSIA, having leavied a great Army, fent his Captains and Lieutenants to tarry Alexander at the River of GRANICUS. There was Alexander to fight of necessity, being the onely bar to ftop his entry into Asia. Moreover, the Captains of the Councell about him, were afraid of the depth of this River, and of the height of the bank on the otherfide, which was very high and freep, and could not be won without fighting. And fome faid also that he should have speciall care of the ancient regard of the Moneth; because the Kings of MACEDON did never use to put the Army into the Field in the Moneth of Dason, which is June. For that, faid Alexander, we will remedy foon: let them call it the fecond Moneth, Artemisium, which is May. Fur-

days onely. And Oneficritin faith moreover, that he did owe two hundred Talents. Now, notwith-

standing that he began this War with so small ability to maintain it, he would nevertake Ship be-

forehe understood the state of his friends, to know what ability they had to go with him, and before

he had given unto some, Lands; and unto others, a Town; and to others again, the Custom of

of opinion, that he should not meddle the first day because it was very late. Alexander made answer again , that HELLESPONT would blush for shame , if he were now afraid to pass over the River, fince he had already come over an arm of the Sea. Thereupon he himself first entred the River with thirteen Guidons of Horsemen, and marched forwards against an infinite number of Arrows which the Enemies shot at him, as he was coming up the other bank, which was very high and fteep, and worft of all, full of armed men and Horfe-men of the Enemies: which staved to receive him in Battell-ray, thrusting his men down into the River, which was very deep, and ran fo fw ft, that it almost carried them down the stream; infomuch that men thought him more rain to twin, that it among the most fact danger. This notwithstanding, he was so wilfully bent, rash then vise, to lead his men with such danger. This notwithstanding, he was so wilfully bent, Battell betwire that he would need so ver, and in the end with great ado recovered the other side, specially because that he would needs over, and in incension and account in outer ince specially occasing Alexander and the Earth flid away, by reason of mud. So when he was over, he was driven to fight pell mell Darius at the man to man, becaule his Enemies did fet upon the first that were passed over, before they could put River of Grathemselves into Battell-ray, with great cries, keeping their Horses very close together, and fought nicus. first with their Darts, and afterwards came to the Sword when their Darts were broken. Then many of them fet upon him alone, for he was eafily to be known above the reft by his shield, and the hinder part of his Helmet, about the which there hung from the one fide to the other, a marvellous fair white Plume. Alexander had a blow with a Dart on his thigh, but it hurt him not. Thereupon Rosfaces and Spithridates, both two chief Captains of the Persians, fetting upon Alexander at once, he left the one, and riding straight to Rosfaces, who was excellently armed, he gave him fuch a blow with his Launce, that he brake it in his hand, and straight drew out his Sword. But so foon as they two had closed together, Spibridates coming at the one fide of him, raised himself upon his firrops, and gave Alexander with all his might fuch a blow on his head with a Battell-ax, that he cut the creft of his Helmer, and one of the fides of his Plume, and made fuch a gash, that the edge of his Battell-ax touched the very hair of his head. And as he was lifting up his hand to ftrike Clitas faved Alexander again, great Cliens preventing him, thrust him through with a Partisan; and at the very Alexander. fame instant, Roefaces fell dead from his Horse with a wound which Alexander gave him with his Sword. Now whileft the Horfemen fought with fuch fury, the Squadron of the Battell of the Ma-CEDONIANS Footmen had paffed the River, and both the Battels began to march one against the other. The PERSIANS fluck not manfully to it any long time, but ftraight turned their backs Alexanders and fled , faving the GRECIANS which took pay of King Darim : they drew together upon a Victory of the and fied, laying the Gracians which the discrete But Alexander setting upon them, more of will then discrete Granicus, and craved mercy of Alexander. But Alexander setting upon them, more of will then discrete Granicus, tion, had his Horse killed under him, being thrust through the slank with a Sword. This was not Bneephall, but another Horse he had. All his men that were slain or hurt at this Battell, were hurt amongst them valiantly fighting against desperate men. It is reported that there were slain at this first Battell, twenty thousand Footmen of these barbarous People, and two thousand five hundred Horsemen. On Alexanders side, Aristobulus writeth, that there were flain four and thirty men in all, of the which, twelve of them were Footmen. Alexander to honour their valiantness, caused every, one of their Images to be made in brass by Lysippus. And because he would make the GRE-CIANS partakers of this Victory, he fent unto the ATHENIANS three hundred of their Targets, which he had won at the Battell; and generally upon all the other Spoils he put this honourable Inscription, Alexander the Son of Philip, and the Grecians, excepting the Lacedamonians, have won this spoyl upon the barbarous Asians. As for Plate of Gold or Silver, also Purple Silks, or other fuch precious things which he got among the Persians , he fent them all unto his Mother. a few except. This first Victory of Alexander, brought such a sudden change amongst the barbarous People in Alexanders behalf, that the City felf of SARDIS, the chief City of the Empire of the barbarous People, or at the leaft through all the Low-countries and Coasts upon the Sea , veelded ftraight unto him, and the reft also, faving HALICAR NASSUS and MILETUM, which did ftill refift him: howbeit at length he took them by force. When he had so conquered all thereabout he flood in doubt afterwards what he were best to determine. Sometimes he had a marvellous defire, horly to follow Darius wherefoever he were, and to venture all at a Battell. Another time again, he thought it better first to occupie himself in conquering these Low-Countries, and to make himself strong with the Money and Riches he should find among them, that he might afterwards be the better able to follow him. In the Countrey of Lydia, near unto the City Xanthum. they fay, there is a Spring that brake of it felf, and overflowing the banks about it, cast our a little Table of Copper from the bottom, upon the which were graved certain Characters in old Letrers. which faid: that the Kingdom of the Persians should be destroyed by the Grecians. This did farther so encourage Alexander, that he made haste to clear all the Sea-coast, even as far as CILICIA and PHOENICIA. But the wonderfull good fuccess he had, running along all the Coast of PAMPHILIA, gave divers Historiographers occasion to set forth his doings with admiration, faying: that it was one of the wonders of the World, that the fury of the Sea, which unto all other was extream rough, and many times would fwell over the tops of the high rocks upon the cliffs, fell calm unto him. And it appeareth, that Menander himself in a Comedy of his, doth

> O great Alexander, how great is thy State? For thon with thy felf mayeft thus justly debate : If any man living I list for to call, He cometh, and humbly before me doth fall.

witness this wonderfull happiness of Alexander, when merrily he faith:

The memory of Theodestes

Alexander. The City of King Mides

honoured by

Cydnus fl.

And if through the surges my journey do ly, The waves give me way, and the Sea becomes dry. Yet Alexander himself simply writeth in his Epistles (without any great wonder) that by Sea he pasfed a place called the Ladder, and that to pass there, he took Ship in the City of PHASELIDES. There he remained many days: and when he faw the Image of Theodelies PHA SELITAN, standing in the Market place, he went in a Dance thither one evening after Supper, and cast Flowers and Garlands upon his Image, honouring the memory of the dead, though it feemed but in fport; for that he was his companion when he lived, by means of Arifitale and his Philosophy. After that he overcame also the Pisidians, who thought to have resisted him; and conquered all PhryGIA besides. There in the City of GORDIUS; which is said to be the ancient seat of King Midas, he faw the Chariot that is so much spoken off, which is bound with the bark of a Cornell-tree, and it Physics, where was told him for a troth, of the barbarous People, that they believed it was a Prophecy : That who foever could undo the band of that bark, was certainly ordained to be King of all the World. It is commonly reported, that Alexander proving to undo the band, and finding no ends to undo it by, they were to many-fold wreathed one within the other, he drew out his Sword, and cut the knot in the middeft : fo that then many ends appeared. But Aristobulus writeth, that he had quickly undone the knot, by taking the bolt out of the Ax-tree, which holdeth the beam and body of the Chariot, and so severed them afunder. Departing thence, he conquered the PAPHLAGONIANS and CAPPADOCIANS, and understood of the death of Memnon, that was Darius Generall of his Army by Sea, and in whom was all their hope to trouble and withftand Alexander: whereupon he was the bolder to go on with his determination, to lead his Army into the high Countreys of ASIA. Thendid King Darim himself come against Alexander, having leavied a great Power at Susa, of fix hundred thouland fighting men, trufting to that multitude, and also to a dream, the which his Wifards had expounded rather to flatter him, then to tell him truly. Darius dreamed that he faw all the Army of the MACEDONIANS on a fire, and Alexander ferving of him in the felf-fame attire that he himself wore when he was one of the Chamber unto the late King his Predecessor: and that when he came into the Temple of Belm, he suddenly vanished from him. By this Dream it plainly appeared, that the gods did fignifie unto him, that the MACEDONIANS should have noble fuccels in their doings, and that Alexander should conquer all As 1 A, even as King Darius had done, when he was but Algandes unto the King; and that fhortly after, he should end his life with great honour. This furthermore made him bold also, when he saw that Alexander remained a good while in CILICIA, supposing it had been for that he was afraid of him. Howbeit it was by reason of a AIEXARAGES in Ci- fickness he had, the which fome say he got by extream pains and travell, and others also, because he washed himself in the River Cydnus, which was cold as ice. How loever it came, there was none of the other Phylicians that durft undertake to cure him, thinking his difease uncurable, and no Medicines to prevail that they could give him, and fearing also that the MACEDONIAN'S would apply to their charge, if Alexander miscarried. But Philip ACARNANIAN, confidering his Master was very ill, and bearing himfelf of his love and good will towards him, thought he should not do that became him, if he did not prove (feeing him in extremity and danger of life) the utmost remedies of Physick, what danger foever he put himself into: and therefore took upon him to minister unto Alexander, and periwaded him to drink it boldly if he would quickly be whole, and go to the Wars. In the meantime, Parminio wrote him a Letter from the Camp, advertifing him, that he should beware of Philip his Phylician, for he was bribed and corrupted by Darius, with large promifes of great riches that he would give him with his Daughter in marriage, to kill his Master. Alexander when he had read this Letter, laid it under his beds head, and made none of his nearest familiars acquainted therewith. When the hour came that he should take his Medicine, Philip came into his Chamber with other of the Kings familiars, and brought a cup in his hand with the Potion he should drink, Alexander then gave him the Letter, and withall, chearfully took the cup of him, shewing no manner of fear or miltrust of any thing. It was a wonderfull thing, and worth the fight, how one reading the Letter, and the other drinking the Medicine both at one instant, they looked one upon another, howbeit not both with like chearfull countenance. For Alexander looked merrily upon him, plainly shewing the trust he had in his Physician Philip, and how much he loved him: and the Physician also beheld Alexander like a man perplexed and amazed, to be so failly accused; and straight lift up his hands to heaven, calling the gods to witness that he was innocent; and then came to Alexanders beds fide, and prayed him to be of good chear, and boldly to do as he would advise him. The Medicine beginning towork, overcame the Difease, and drave for the time, all his naturall strength and powers to the lowest parts of his body: insomuch as his speech failed him, and he fell into such a weaknels, and almost swouning, that his pulse did scant beat, and his senses were well near taken from him. But that being past, Philip in few days recovered him again. Now when Alexander had gotten some strength, he shewed himself openly unto the MACEDONIANS: for they would not be pacified, nor periwaded of his health, untill they had feen him. In King Daviss Camp, there was one Amystas a Macedonian, and banisht out of his Countrey, who knew Alexanders disposition very well. He finding that Dariss meant to meet with Alexander within the Straights and Valleys of the Mountains, belought him to tarry rather where he was, being a plain open Countrey round about him, considering that he had a great Hoast of men to fight with a few Enemies, and that it was most for his advantage to meet with him in the open field. Daring answered him again, that he was afraid of nothing but that he would flie, before he could come to him. Amynas replied : For that O King , I pray you fear not : for I warrant you upon my life he will come to you. yea and is now onwards on his way coming towards you. All these perswasions of Amyntas could not Darias contemturn Darius from making his Camp to march towards CILICIA. At the felf-same time also, A. nech Amparas lexander went towards Syria to meet with him. But it chanced one night that the one of them Profitable miffed the other, and when day was come, they both returned back again: Alexander being glad of this hap, and making hafte to meet with his Enemy within the Straights. Dariu also feeking to win Alexanders lodging from whence he came, and to bring his Army out of the Straights, began to find the fault and errour committed: for that he had thut himfelf up in the Straights (holden in on the one fide with the Mountain, and on the other with the Sea, and the River of Pindarus that ran between both) and that he was driven to disperse his Army into divers Companies, in a stony and ill-savoured Countrey, ill for Horsemen to travell; being on the contrary side a great advantage for his Enemies, which were excellent good Footmen, and but few in number. But now, as Fortune gave Alexander the Field as he would wish it, to fight for his advantage, so could he tell excellently well how to set his men in Battell-ray to win the Victory. For albeit that Alexander had the less number by many then his Enemy, yet he had fuch policy and cast withhim, that he foresaw all, and would not be environed. his Enemy, yet he had fuch policy and care warman, that he foretaw any and would not be environced. But ell betwixe For he did put out the right Wing of his Battell a great deal farther then he did his leit Wing, and Darint and A. fighting himself in the left Wing in the foremost ranks, he made all the barbarous People flie that Lexinder in Cifrood before him: howbeit, he was hurt on his thigh with a blow of a Sword. Chares writeth that licia. Darins felf did hurt him, and that they fought together man to man. Notwithstanding, Alexander felf writing of this Battell unto Antipater, faith, that indeed he washurt on the thigh with a Sword: howben it put him to no danger: but he writeth not that Darius hurt him. Thus having won a Alexanders vifamous Victory, and slain above a hundred and ten thousand of his Enemies, he could not yet take ctory of Darius Darins, because he fled, having still four or five furlongs vantage before him: howbeit he took his Chariot of Battell wherein he tought, and his Bow also. Then he returned from the chase, and found the MACEDONIANS facking and spoiling all the rest of the Camp of the barbarous People. where there was infinite Riches (although they had left the most part of their Carriage behind them in the City of DAMAS, to come lighter to the Battell) but yet referved for himself all King Darius Tent, which was full of great number of Officers, of rich Moveables, and of Gold and Silver. So, when he was come to the Camp, putting off his Armour, he entred into the Bath and faid : Come on, let us go and wash off the sweat of the Battell in Darius own Bath. Nay, replied one of his familiars again, in Alexanders Bath: for the Goods of the vanquished are rightly the Vanquishers. When he came into the Bath, and faw the Batons and Eures, the Boxes, and Viols for Perfumes all of clear Gold, excellently wrought, all the Chambers pertuned passing sweetly, that it was like a Paradife: then going out of his Bath, and coming into his Tent, feeing it so stately and large, his Bed, the Table, and Supper, and all ready in fuch sumptuous fort, that it was wonderfull, he turned him unto his familiars, and faid: This was a King indeed, was he not think ye? As he was ready to Darius Mogo to his supper, word was brought him, that they were bringing unto him amongst other Ladies ther. Wife and taken Prisoners, King Darius Mother and his Wife, and two of his Daughters unmarried: who ha-two Daughters, ying feen his Chariot and Bow, burst out into lamentable cries, and violent beating of themselves, taken by Alexthinking Darim had been flain. Alexander pawfed a good while, and gave no answer, pitying ander. more their misfortune, then rejoycing at his own good hap. Then he prefently fent one Leng-tum unto them, to let them understand, that Darius was alive, and that they should not need to be afraid of Alexander, for he did not fight with Darius, but for his Kingdom onely : and as for them, that they should have at his hands all that they had of Darius before, when he had his The elemency whole Kingdom in his hands. As these words pleased the captive Ladies, so the deeds that fol- of Alexander lowed, made them find his clemency to be no lefs. For first, he suffered them to bury as many unto the capof the PERSIAN Lords as they would, even of them that had been flain in the Battell, and to tive Ladies. take as much Silks of the Spoils, Jewels, and Ornaments, as they thought good to honour their Funerals with: and also did leffen no part of their honour, nor of the number of their Officers and Servants, nor of any jot of their Estate which they had before, but did allow them also greater penfions then they had before. But above all, the Princelieft grace, and most noble favour that Alex- The chastity of ander shewed unto these captive Princesses, which had always lived in honourable same and chasti- Alexander. ty, was this: That they never heard word, or so much as any suspicion that should make them asraid to be dishonoured or defloured : but were privately amongst themselves , unvisited or repaired unto by any man, but of their own, not as if they had been in a Camp of their Enemies, but as if they had been kept in some close Monastery : although Darius Wife (as it is written) was palling fair, as Darim alfo was a goodly Prince, and that his Daughters likewife did resemble their Father and Mother. Alexander thinking it more Princely for a King, as I suppose to conquer himfelt, then to overcome his Enemies, did neither touch them, nor any other Maid or Wife, before he married them , Barfine onely excepted ; who being left Memnons Widow (Generall of King Darius by Sea) was taken by the City of DAMAS. She being excellently well learned in the Greek Tongue, and of good entertainment (being the Daughter of Artabazus, who came of a Kings Daughter) Alexander was bold with her by Parmenio's procurement (as Aristobulus Writeth) who inticed him to imbrace the company of so excellent a Woman, and patting fair befides. Furthermore, beholding the other Persian Ladies beside which were Prisoners, what Alexanders goodly fair Women they were, he spake it pleasantly, that the Ladies of Persia made mens of womens

eyes fore to behold them. Notwithstanding, preferring the beauty of his continency before beauty.

bly, by dividing Satyrs into two, and then it is one Topes, which fignifieth, the City of Tyre shall

be thine. And they do yet shew unto this day, the Fountain where Alexander thought he saw the

foot: and Alexander was of fo courteous a nature, that he would not leave his Tutor Lylimachus

behind him (who was fo weary that he could go no farther) but because it was dark night, and for

that the Enemies were not far from them, he came behind to encourage his Tutor, and in manner to

carry him. By this means unawares, he was far from his Army with very few men about him, and

benighted belides: moreover, it was very cold, and the way was very ill. At the length, percei-

ving divers fires which the Enemies had made, fome in one place, and fome in another, trufting to his

valiantness, having always provided remedy in extremity, when the MACEDONIANS were diffrei-

fed, himself ever putting to his own hand, he ran unto them that had made the fires next him, and killing two of the barbarous People that lay by the fire fide, he featched away a fire brand, and ran

with it to his own men, who made a great fire. At this the barbarous People where fo afraid, that they ran their way as faft as they could. Other also thinking to come and set upon him, he slew them

and fent a few of his men onely to give affault unto the City, to keep the Tyrians occupied, that

they should take no rest. One day the Soothsayer Aristander sacrificing unto the gods, having confidered of the figns of the intrails of the Beafts, did affure them that were prefent, that the City should betaken by the latter end of the Moneth. Every body laughed to hear him : for that day was the very last day of the Moneth. Alexander feeing him amazed, as one that could not tell what

to fay to it, feeking ever to bring those tokens to effect, which the Soothfayers did prognofficate,

commanded them that they should not reckon that day the thirtieth day, but the seven and twentieth: and immediately upon it made the Trumpet found the Alarum, and gave a hotter affault to the wall,

then he had thought to have done before. They fought valiantly on both fides, infomuch as they

that were left in the Camp, could not keep in, but must needs run to the assault to help their com-

the which there flew a Bird into the air. The Bird lighting upon one of the Engins of his Bat-

tery, was caught with the Nets made of finews which covered over the ropes of the Engines, A-

ristander did prognosticate, that it signified he should be hurt in his shoulder, notwithstanding,

Talents weight of Frankincense, and a hundred Talents weight of Myrrhe: remembring the hope

he put him into when he was a Child. For, as Alexander was upon a day facrificing unto the

gods, he took both his hands full of Frankincenie to cast it into the fire, to make a perfume thereof.

When his Governour Leonidas faw him, he faid thus unto him : When thou haft conquered the

Countrey where these sweet things grow, then be liberall of thy Persume: but now, spare that

little thou hast at this present. Alexander calling to mind at that time his admonition, wrote

unto him in this fort : We do fend thee plenty of Frankincense and Myrrhe, because thou shouldest

no more be a niggard unto the gods. There was brought unto him a little Coffer also, which

was thought to be the preciousest thing, and the richest that was gotten of all Spoyls and Riches, raken at the overthrow of Darim. When he saw it, he asked his familiars that were about

him, what they thought fittest, and the best thing to be put into it. Some faid one thing, some

faid another thing : but he faid, he would put the Iliads of Honer into it, as the worthiest thing.

This is confirmed by the best Historiographers. Now if that which the ALEXANDRIANS re-

port upon Heraclides words, be true, then it appeareth that he did profit himself much by Honer

these Verses:

ALEXANDER the Great. their sweet fair faces, he passed by without any spark of affection towards them, more then if they had been Images of stone without life. To confirm this, Philoxenus whom he had left his Lieutenant in the Low-countries upon the Sea-coaft, wrote unto him on a time, that one Theoderus a Merchant mine Low-countries upon the occations, whose this mine in a time, that one 1 most man a were than of Tarentum, had to fell two goodly young boys, marvellous fair, and therefore that he fent unto him to know his pleasure, if he would buy them. Therewith he was fo offended, that many times he cried out aloud: O my friends, what villany had ever Philoxenus feen in me, that he should devife (having nothing to do there) to purchase me such infamy? whereupon he wrote unto him from the Camp, with reproachfull words, that he should fend that vile TARENTINE-Merchant Theaderss and his Merchandize to the Devill. He sharply punished also one Agnon, that wrote unto him he would buy a young boy called Crobylus (who for beauty bare the onely name in CORINTH) and would duy a young doy care of corps and the control of the control under Parmenio's charge, had defloured two of the Souldiers Wives that were ftrangers, and waged of him, he wrote unto Parmenio to look unto it, and to examine the matter: and if he found them guilty of the rape, that then he should pur them both to death, as brute beasts born to destroy mankind. Altransferens. And in that Letter he wrote thus of himfelf: For my felf, faid he, I have neither feen, nor defire to fee Darius wife: neither had I fuffered any speech of her beauty before me. Moreover he faid, that he did understand that he was mortall by these two things: to wit, sleep, and lust: for , from the that he use undertrand that he was mortain by these two things : to whe, heep, and that i for , from the weaknels of our nature proceedeth fleep, and fenfuality. He was also no greedy-gut, but temperate weamics of our nature proceedings, and chiefly in that he faid unto the princels Ada; whom he in eating, as he shewed by many proofs: but chiefly in that he faid unto the princels Ada; whom he adopted for his Mother, and made her Queen of Caria. For when (for the love she bare him) she auopicu ior nis monier, and made increased of Acata, 101 when (for the rove inc pare init) me daily fent him fundry delicate diffes of Meats, Tarts, and Marchpains, and befides the meat it felf, How Leonidas the Paftlers and Cooks to make them, which were excellent workmen: he answered that he could not row Leonago the Fathers and Cooks to many them, for he had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better Cooks then those appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better the had better Cooks the high appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better the high appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better the high appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better the high appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better the high appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better the high appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the had better the high appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the high appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the high appointed him by his Governour Lecture of the high appointed him by his Governour him him high appointed him high appoin nydus, to wit: for his dinner, to r.fe before day, and to march by night; and for his supper, to ear ngame, town the insuminary to the charge and of the charge of the charge in the charge and apparell lay, to fee if my mother had put any fine knacks or conceipts among them. Furthermore, he was less given to Wine, then men would have judged. For he was thought to be a greater bibber then he was, because he fate long at the boord, rather to talk then drink. For ever when he drank, he would propound fome tedious matter, and yet but when he was at leifure. For having matters to the would propound ione regions matter, and yet out when he was at reduce. For naving matters to do, there was neither Feaft, Banquet, Play, Marriage, nor any paffime that could fray him; as they had done other Captains. The which appeareth plainly by the fhortness of his life, and by the won-had done other Captains. The which appeareth plainly by the fhortness of his life, and by the won-had derivid and notable deeds he did in that little time he lived. When he had leifure, after he was up in Miceanders lite action and instant action when he was at the morning, first of all he would do Sacrifice to the gods, and then would go to dinner, passing pleasant Prince Bath, and rub and anoint himfelf; and would ask his Pantelers and Carvers, if his Supper were ready.

away all the reft of the day, in hunting, writing fomething, taking up fome quarrell between Souldiers, or elfe in ftudying. If he went any Journey of no hafty business, he would exercise himself by the way as he went, shooting in his Bow, or learning to get up or out of his Chariot fuddenly as it tne way as ne went, mouting in ins now, or rearning to get up of our of this Charlot inducting as it ran. Oftentimes also for his passine, he would hunt the Fox, or catch Birds, as appeareth in his Book of Remembrances of every day. Then when he came to his Lodging, he would enter into his He would ever fup late, and was very curious to fee, that every man at his boord were alike ferved, and would fit long at the Table, because he ever loved to talk, as we have told you before. Otherwise he was as noble a Prince and gracious to wait upon , and as pleasant , as any King that ever was. For he lacked no grace nor comeliness to adorn a Prince, faving that he would be some ever was. For the lacked no grace not contented to anoth a reflect, faving that he would be infleted in glorying of his own deeds, much like unto a bragging Souldier; neither was he contented himfelf to pleafe his own humour that way, but would also fuffer his familiars to sooth him even to his teeth. And this was many times the destruction of honest men about him, the which would never praife him in his prefence, hating the flatterers, nor yet durft fay lefs of the praifes which they gave him. For of the first they were ashamed, and by the second they fell in danger. After Supper, he would wash himself again, and sleep until noon the next day following, and oftentimes all day long. For himself, he was nothing curious of dainty Diffnes: for when any did fend him rare Fruits, or Fish, from the Countreys near the Sea side, he would fend them abroad unto his friends, and feldom keep any thing for himfelf. His Table notwithflanding was always very honourably served, and did still increase his fare, as he did enlarge his Conquests, till it came to the fum of ten thouland Drachma's a day. But there he stayed, and would not exceed that sum: and moreover, commanded all men that would feaft him, that they should not spend above that sum. After this Battell of Issus , he fent unto the City of DAMAS , to take all the Gold and Silver, the Carriage, and all the women and children of the Persians which were left there, where the men of Arms of the Thessalians feed them full well : for therefore did he fend them thither, becaufe he faw that they had fought valiantly at the day of the Battell . and fo were the rest of his Army alfowell flored with Money. There the Macedonians having tafted first of the Gold, Silver, Women, and barbarous life: as Dogs by feent do follow the track of Beafts, even fo were they greedy to follow after the Goods of the PERSIANS. First Alexander thought it best to win all the Sea-coaft. Thither came the Kings of Cyprus and Phobnicia, and delivered up to him the whole Illand, and all PHOENICIA, faving onely the City of Tyre. That City he belieged feven Alexander be- Moneths together by Land, with great Bulwarks and divers Engines of battery, and by Sea, with fiegedthe City two hundred Galleys. During this Siege, Alexander dreamed one night, that Hercules held out his hand unto him over the Walls of the City, and called him by his name : and there were divers Ty-

difflike fort, that Apollo told them that he would go unto Alexander, beof a wonderfull bigness) with great chains, and nailed him down fast to the base, as it he had been Dream at the a Traytor that would have yeelded himself unto their Enemies, and called him Alexandrine, as much City of Tyre.

a Traytor that would have yet men in the month product of the dreamed he faw a Saryr afar off fporting with him, and when he thought to have come near to have taken him, he fill cleated the fil ped from him: untill at the length, after he had run a good while after him, and intreated him, he against Tyre. fell into his hands. The Soothsayers being asked what this Dream should fignifie, answered proba-

Satur. Continuing this Siege, he went to make War with the ARABIANS, that dwell upon the Alexanders Mountain Antiliban, where he was in great danger of being cast away, one y because he heard his Journey Totor Lysimachin that followed him, fay boattingly, that he was not inferior, nor older then the saint the A-rabitant. Phonix. For when they came at the foot of the Mountain, they left their Horfes, and went up on Antiliban Mon.

every man, and so lay there that night, himself and his men without danger. Thus Chares report- The courage eth this matter. Now for the Siege of Tyre, that fell out thus. Alexander caused the most part and agility of of his Army to take reft, being over-harried and wearied with fo many Battels as they had fought: Alexander-

panions. The Tyrians feeing the affault fo fore on every fide, their hearts began to fail them. The City of panions. The TYRIANS recing the anadat viscosity and by this means was the City taken the felf-fame day. Another time also, when Alexander was Tyre belieged and by this means was the City taken the felf-fame day. before GAZA, the chief City of Syria, there fell a clod of Earth upon his shoulder, out of Alexander.

that he should yet take the Town. And indeed it came so to pass. When he sent great Presents Alexandertook of Spoyls which he wan at the fack of this City, unto his Mother Olympias, Cleopatra, and di- the City of vers others of his friends : among other things he fent unto Leonidas his Governour, five hundred Gaza.

in this Journey. For it is reported, that when he had confidered ÆGYPT, he determined to Thebuilding build a great City, and to replenish it with a number of GRECIANS, and to call it after his name. of the City of But as he was about to inclose a certain ground, which he had chosen by the advice of his Engineers Alexandria. and Work-masters, the night before he had a marvellous Dream, that he saw an old man stand- Alexanders

ing before him, full of white hairs, with an honourable prefence, and coming towardshim, faid Dream in

Within

Within the foming Sea there lies a certain Island

The Ifle of Phares.

was a little above the mouth of the River of Nilus, called Canobia, howbeit it is now joyned unto firm Land, being forced by mans hand. This he thought the meetest place that could be, to build the City which he had determined. For it is as a tongue or a great bar of earth, broad enough, that ieparateth a great Lake on the one fide, and the Sea on the other, the which doth joyn hard to a great Haven. Then he faid that Homer was wonderfull in all his things, but that amongst others, he was an excellent Architector: and commanded that ftraight they should cast the Platform of the City, according to the fination of the place. Now they found at that time, no chalk, nor white earth there to

A wonder.

Alexaniers Journey unto the Oracle of Hammon.

Crows guided

Alexander in his Journey.

Against the Shore of Egypt, which of Ancient Phare I hight. As foon as he arose the next morning, he went to see this 1se of PHAROS, the which at that time mark withall, wherefore they were driven to take meal, and with that did mark out upon the earth being black the compals of the Town that was round and circular, and being divided into two equall parts, either of them refembled the skirts and fashion of the MACEDONIAN cloak. Alexander liked this draught passingly well. But there arose upon the sudden out of the River or Lake, such an infinite multitude of great Fowl of all forts, that they covered the element as it had been a cloud, and lightning within this circuit, did eat up all the nieal, and left not a crum. Alexander liked not these figns. Notwithstanding, his Soothsayer bade him not be discouraged, for they told him it was a fign that he should build a City there, so plentiful of all things, that he should maintain all forts of People. Then he commanded them, unto whom he had given the charge of the building, that they should go forward with their work, and he himself in the mean time, took his journey to go visit the Temple of Jupiter Hammon. The journey was long, and there were many troubles by the way, but two dangers above all the reft most speciall: the first, lack of water, because they had to travell many days journey through a great Defart: the second was, the danger of the rising of the South wind by the way, to blow the fand abroad, which was of a wonderfull length. And it is reported, that on a time there rose such a tempest in that Desart, that blew up whole hills of sand, which slew fifty thousand CambiferArmy men of Cambyles Army. Every man in Alexanders Train did know these dangers very well: howbeit it was hard to diffwade Alexander from any thing which he had a defire unto. For, fortune favouring him in all his attempts, made him conftant and refolute in his determinations: and his noble courage befides, made him invincible in all things he took in hand; infomuch as he did not onely compell his Enemies, but he had power also of time and place. In that Voyage, in stead of these former dangers spoken of, he had many helps, the which are supposed were sent him from the gods, by the Oracles that followed afterwards. For in a certain fort they have believed the Oracles that were written of him. First of all, the wonderfull water and great showers that sell from the Element, did keep him from fear of the first danger, and did quench their thirst, and moistned the dryness of the fand in such fort, that there came a sweet fresh air from it. Furthermore, when the marks were hidden from the Guides to shew them the way: and that they wandred up and down they could not tell were: there came Crows unto them that did guide them flying before them: flying fast when they saw them follow them, and stayed for them when they were behind. But Calightenes writeth a greater wonder then this, that in the night time, with the very noise of the Crows, they brought them again into the right way, which had loft their way. Thus Alexander in the end, having passed through this Wilderness, he came unto the Temple he sought for : where the Prophet or chief Priest saluted him from the god Hammon, as from his father. Then Alexander asked him, if any of the murtherers that had killed his Father, were left alive. The Priest answered him, and bade him take heed he did not blafpheme, for his Father was no mortall man. Then Alexander again rehearfing that he had spoken, asked him, if the murtherers that had conspired the death of Philip his Father were all punished. After that, he asked him touching his Kingdom, if he would grant him to be King over all the World. The god answered him by the mouth of his Propher, he should: and that the death of Philip was fully revenged. Then did Alexander offer great Presents unto the god, and gave Money large to the Priests, and Ministers of the Temple. This is that the most part of Writers do declare touching Alexanders, demand, and the Oracles given him: Yet did Alexander himself write unto his Mother, that he had secret Oracles from the god, which he would onely impart unto her, at his return into Macedon. Others fay also, that the Prophet meaning to falute him in the Greek Tongue to welcome him the better, would have faid unto him, O Paidien, as much as dear Son: but that he tripped a little in his tongue, because the Greek was not his naturall tongue, and placed an s, for an n, in the latter end, faying, O Paidies, to wit, O Son of Appier: and that Alexander was glad of that miftaking. Whereupon there an a rumour flraight among his men, that Jupiter had called him his Son. It is faid alto the the his men, that Fupiter had called him his Son. It is faid alto that he had Pfanmon the Philosopher in EGYPT, and that he liked his words very well, the first had also the first had also the first him for the philosopher in EGYPT, and that he liked his words very well, the first had also the first had also the first him for the philosopher in EGYPT, and that he liked his words very well, the first had also the first him for the philosopher in EGYPT. The faying of when he faid that god was King of all mortall men. For (quoth he) he that commandeth all Plannon the things, must needs be god. But Alexander felf spake better, and like a Philosopher, when he faith Philospher, of that god generally was Father to all mortall men, but that particularly he did elect the best fort for the providence himself. To conclude, he shewed himself more arrogant unto the barbarous People, and made as though he certainly believed that he had been begotten of fome god : but unto the GRECIANS he spake more modefly of divine generation. For in a Letter he wrote unto the ATHENIANS touching the City of Sa Mos, be faid: I gave ye not that noble free City, but it was given you at that time feribeth god ing the City of SAMOS, he faid: I gave ye not that noble tree City, out it was given by the state of the stat an Arrow, and feeling great pain of it: My friends, faid he, this bloud which is spilt is mans bloud, and not as Homer faid,

No such as from th'immortal gods doth flow.

And one day also in a marvellous great thunder, when every man was afraid, Anaxarchus the Rhetorician being present, said unto him: O thou Son of Jupiter, wilt thou do as much? No, said he, laughing on him, I will not be so fearfull to my friends, as thou wouldst have me : disdaining the ferrice of Fish to my Board, because thou feelt not Princes heads served in. And the report goeth also that Alexander upon a time sending a little Fish unto Hephastion, Anaxarchus should say as it were in mockery, that they which above others feek for fame with great trouble and hazard of life, have either small pleasure in the world, or else as little as others have. By these proofs and reasons alledged, we may think that Alexander had no vain nor prefumptious opinion of himfelf, to think that he was otherwise begotten of a god, but that he did it in policy to keep other men under obedience, by the opinion conceived of his godhead. Returning out of PHOENICIA into ÆGYPT, Alexander be made many Sacrifices, Feafts, and Procellions in honour of the gods, fundry Dances, Tragedies, made Feafts and fuch like paftimes goodly to behold: not onely for the fumptuous fetting out of them, but also and Plays. for the good will and diligence of the Setters forth of them, which strived every one to exceed the other. For the Kings of the CYPRIANS were the Setters of them forth, as at ATHENS they drew by Lot a Citizen of every Tribe of the People, to defray the charges of these pastimes. These Kings were very earnest who should do best, but specially Nicocreon, King of SALAMINA, in CYPRUS; and Paficrates, Lord of the City of SOLES. For it fell out to their Lot to furnish two of the excellenteft Players, Passcrates furnished Athenodorus, and Nicocreon Thessatus: whom Alexander loved fingularly well though he made no shew of it, untill that Athenodorus was declared Victor, by the Judges deputed to give fentence. For when he went from the Plays, he told them he did like the Judges opinion well, notwithstanding, he would have been contented to have given the one half of his Realm, not to have feen Theffalus overcome. Athenodorus being condemned upon a time by the ATHENIANS, because he was not in ATHENS at the Feasts of Bacchin, when the Comedies and Tragedies were played, and a fine fet on his head for his absence : he befought Alexander to write unto them in his behalf, that they would release his Penalty. Alexander would not do so, but sent thither his Money whereof he was condemned, and payed it for him of his own Purse. Also when Lycon SCARPHIAN, an excellent Stage-player had pleased Alexander well, and did foist in a Verse in his Comedy, containing a Petition of ten Talents: Alexander laughing at it, gave it him. Darius at Darius fend that time wrote unto Alexander, and unto certain of his friends also, to pray him to take ten thou- Ambassadors fand Talents for the ranfom of all those Prisoners he had in his hands, and for all the Countries, Lands unto Alexanand Signiories on this fide the River of Euphrates, and one of his Daughters also in marriage, that der. from thenceforth he might be his Kinfman and friend. Alexander imparted this to his Council. Amongst them Parmenio faid unto him : if I were Alexander, quoth he, furely I would accept this offer. So would I indeed, quoth Alexander again, if I were Parmenio. In fine, he wrote again unto Darim; that if he would submit himself, he would use him courteously: if not, that then he would presently march towards him. But he repented him afterwards, when King Darius Wifewas dead with child: for without diffimulation it grieved him much, that he had loft fo noble an occasion to shew his courtefie and clemency. This notwithftanding, he gave her body honourable burial, sparing for no cost. A- died in travel mongst the Eunuchs of the Queens Chamber, there was one Tireus taken prisoner, among the Wo- of child. men: who stealing out of Alexanders Camp, taking his horse-back, rode unto Darius to bring him news of the death of his Wife. Then Darius beating of his head, and weeping bitterly, cryed out aloud: Tirens report O gods, what wretched hap have the Persians! that have not onely had the Wife and Sifter of to Datius of their King taken prisoners even in his life time, but now that she is dead in travel of Child, she hath Statistaciburial been deprived of princely burial. Then spake the Eunuch to him, and said : For her burial, most gracious King, and for all due honour that might be wished her, PERSIA hath no cause to complain of her hard fortune. For, neither did Queen Stativa your Wife whilft she lived prisoner, nor your Mother, nor Daughters, want any part or jot of their honour they were wont to have before, faving only to fee the light of your honour, the which, god Oromafder grant to reftore again (if it be his will) unto your Majefty: neither was there any honour wanting at her death (to fet forth her stately Funerals) that might be gotten, but more, was lamented also with the tears of your Enemies. For Alexander is as mercifull in Victory, as he is valiant in Battle. Darius hearing the Eunuchs words, being vexed in mind for very grief: took the Eunuch aside into the secretest place of his Tent, and said unto him: If thou be not, with the misfortune of the Persians, become a Macedonian, but doeft in thy heart acknowledge Darius for thy foveraign Lord and Mafter: I pray thee, and do also conjure thee, by the reverence thou bearest unto this bright light of the Sun, and to the right hand of the King, that Darius talk thou do tell me truly. Are these the least evils which I lament in Statira, her imprisonment and death? And did the nor in her life make us more miserable by her dishonour, then it me had dishonour. death? And did she not in her life make us more miserable by her dishonour, then if we had dishonourably fallen into the hands of a cruell Enemy ? For, what honeft communication 1 pray thee, can a young Victorious Prince have with his Enemies Wife a prifoner: having done her fo much honour as he hathdone? Darius going on with these speeches, Tireus the Eunuch sell down on his knees, and belought him not to fay to, neither to blemish the Vertue of Alexander in that fort, nor yet so to dishonour his Sifter and Wife deceased, and thereby also to deprive himself of the greatest comfort he could wish to have in his calamity, which was, to be overcome of an Enemy that had greater Vertues then a man could possible have: but rather that he should wonder at Alexanders Vertue, who had shewed himself chaster to the Ladies, then valiant against the PER'SIANS. And therewithall, the

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Eunuch confirmed the great honefty, chaftity, and noble mind of Alexander, by many great and The commendation of Alexa deep Oaths. Then Davis coming out among his friends again, holding up his hands unto dation of Alex. acep Oattis. Then Darriss coming our among the friends again, morang up his hands unto ander chaffity, the heavens, made his prayer unto the gods: "O heavenly gods, Creators of men, and Protectors ander thaffity the heavens, made his prayer unto the gods: anaerschautry. The leaves, made his prayer and Realms: first, I beseech you grant me, that restoring the Persians again to their Darius prayer of Kings and Realms: first, I beseech you grant me, that restoring the Persians again to their dunto the gods. "former good state, I may leave the Realm unto my Successors, with that glory and fame I received "it of my Predecessors: that obtaining Victory, I may use Alexander with that great honour and "courtelie, which he hath in my milery shewed unto those I loved best in the world. Or otherwise "if the time appointed be come, that the Kingdom of PERSIA must needs have end, either through "divine revenge, or by natural change of earthly things: then good gods yet grant, that none White sevenge, after me, may fit in Cyrus Throne. Divers Writers do agree, that these things came even thus to pals. Now Alexander having conquered all Asia on this fide of the River of Euphrates, he went to meet with Darius, that came down with ten hundred thousand fighting Darius Army Emporates, he went to meet with Darius, that came down with ten hundred thousand fighting of ten hundred men. It was told him by some of his friends to make him laugh, that the Slaves of his Army had thousand fight divided themselves in two parts, and had chosen them a Cananal of either areas and had chosen them. thousand fight divided themselves in two parts, and had chosen them a General of either part, naming the one ing menagainst divided themselves in two parts. Alexander, and the other Darius: and that at the first, they began to skirmish onely with clods of Earth, and afterwards with fifts, but at the last, they grew so hot, that they came to plain Stones and Staves, so that they could not be parted. Alexander hearing that, would needs have the two

ander.

Generals fight hand to hand one with the other; and Alexander felf did arm him that was called Alexander, and Philotas the other which was called Darius. All the Army thereupon was gathered together to see this combat between them, as a thing that did betoken good or ill luck to come. The fight was sharp between them, but in the end, he that was called Alexander overcame the other: and Alexander to reward him, gave him twelve Villages, with priviledge to go after the PERSIAN manner. Thus it is written by Eratosthenes. The great Battle that Alexander fought with Darius was not (as many Writers report) at Arbeles, but at Gausameles, which signifieth in the Persian Tongue, the House of the Cammell. For some one of the ancient Kings of Persia that had escaped from the hands of his Enemies, flying upon a Dromedary-Cammel, lodged him in that place, and therefore appointed the revenues of certain Villages to keep the Cammel there. There fell out at that time an Eclipse of the Moon, in the Moneth called Backromion (now August) about the time that the Feasts of the Mysteries was celebrated at ATHENS. The eleventh night after that, both the Armies being in fight each of other, Darius kept his men in Battle-ray, and went himself by Torch-light viewing his Bands and Companies. Alexander on the other fide whilest his MACEDONIAN Souldiers slept, was before his Tent with Aristander the Soothsayer, and made certain fecret Ceremonies and Sacrifices unto Apollo. The ancient Captains of the MACEDONIANS, specially Parmenio, seeing all the Valley betwirt the River of Niphates, and the Mountains of the GORDIEIANS, all on a bright light with the fires of the barbarous People, and hearing a dreadfull noise as of a confused multitude of People that filled their Camp with the found thereof: they were amazed, and confulted, that in one day it was in manner unpossible to fight a Battle with such an incredible multitude of People. Thereuponthey went unto Alexander after he had ended his Ceremonies, and did counsel him to give Battle by night, because the darkness thereof should help to keep all sear from his men, which the fight of their Enemies would bring The magnani- them into. But then he gave them this notable answer: I will not steal Victory, quoth he. This mity of Alex answer seemed very fond and arrogant to some, that he was so pleasant, being near so great danger. Howbeit others think that it was a present noble courage, and a deep consideration of him, to think what should happen: thereby to give Darius no manner of occasion (if he were overcome) to take heart again, and to prove another Battle, accusing the darkness of the night as caule of his Overthrow: as he had done at the first Conflict, imputing his overthrow to the Mountains, the Straights, and the Sea. For, faid he, Darius will never leave to make Wars with us for lack of men, nor Munition, having to large a Realm as he hath, and such a world of People besides: but then he will no more hazard Battle, when his heart is done, and all hope taken from him, and that he feeth his Army at noon daies overthrown by plain Battle. After his Captains were gone from him, he went into his Tent, and laied him down to sleep, and slept all that night more foundly then he was wont to do before: infomuch as the Lords and Princes of his Camp coming to wait upon him at his uprifing, marvelled when they found him fo fast asleep, and therefore of themselves they commanded the Souldiers to eat. Afterwards, perceiving that time came fast upon them, Parmenso went into Alexanders Chamber, and coming to his beds-fide called him twice or thrice by Name, till at the last he awaked him, and asked him how it chanced that he slept so long, like one that had already overcome, and that did not think he should fight as great and dangerous a Battle as ever he did in his life. Why, faid Alexander, laughing on him : doeft thou not think we have already overcome, being troubled no more with running after Daviss up and down a Countrey utterly destroyed, as we should otherwise have been compelled to have done, if he would not have come to Battle, and destroyed the Countrey beforeus? Now Alexander did not onely shew himfelt before the Battle, but even at the very instant of the Battle, a noble man of courage, and of great judgement. For Parmenio leading the left Wing of his Battle, the men of Armsof the Ba-CTRIANS gave such a sierce onset upon the MACEDONIANS, that they made them give back: and Mazem allo, King Darim Lieutenant, fent certain Troops of Horfemen out of their Battle, to with Darius. give charge upon them that were left in the Camp to guard the Carriage. Parmenio being amazed with

It from the fent immediately to advertise Alexander, that all their Camp and Carriage would be loft, if he did not fend prefently to aid the rereward. When these News came to Alexander from Parmenio, he had already given the Signal of Battle unto his mentor to give Charge. Whereupon he answered the Meffenger that brought him these News, that he should tell Farmenso he was a mad man and out of his wits, not remembring that if they wan the Battle, they should not onely fave their own Carriage, but also win the Carriage of their Enemies : and if it were their chance to lofe it, then that they should not need to care for their Carriage, nor for their Staves, but onely to think to die honourably, valiantly fighting for his life. Having fent this Mel- The Armour of fage unto Parmenio, he put on his Helmet. The rest of his Armour for his Body, he had put it on Alexander. before in his Tent, which was, a CICILIAN Caffock, and upon that a Brigandine made of many folds of Canvas with Oylet-holes, which was gotten among the spoils at the Battle of Issus. His Head-piece was as bright as silver, made by Theophilus the Armourer: his Coller fuit-like to the fame, all fet full of precious Stones, and he had a Sword by his fide marvellous light, and of excellent temper, which the King of the CITIEIANS had given him, using commonly to fight with his Sword at any fet Battle. His Coat-armour was marvenous rich, and of sumptuous workmanship far above all the rest he wore. It was of the workmanship of Helicon, the which the RHODIAN'S gave him for a Prefent, and this he commonly wore when he went to Battle. Now when he did fet his men in Battle-ray, or made any Oration unto them, or did ride alongst the Bands to take view of them; he alwaies used to ride upon another Horse to spare Bucephal, because he was then somewhat old: notwithstanding, when he meant indeed to fight, then Bucephal was brought unto him, and as foon as he was gotten up on his back, the Trumpet founded, and he gave Charge. Then after he had made long Exhortations to encourage the men of Arms of the THESSALIANS and the other GRECIANS also, and when they had all promised him they would stick to him like men, and prayed him to lead them, and gave charge upon the Enemies: he took his Launce in his left hand. and holding up his right hand unto Heaven, belought the gods (as Callisthenes writeth) that if it were true he was begotten of Jupiter, that it would please them that day to help him, and to encourage the GRECIANS. The Soothfayer Ariffander was then on horfe-back hard by Alexander. apparelled all in white, and a Crown of Gold on his Head, who shewed Alexander when he made apparelled all in white, and a Crown of Gold on his fread, who mewed Attexander when he made his prayer, an Eagle flying over his head, and pointing directly towards his Enemies. This marvellously encouraged all the Army that saw it, and with this joy, the men of Arms of Alexanders ders head when fide, encouraging one another, did fet spurs to their Horse to charge upon the Enemies. The he went to Battle of the Footmen of the PERSIANS, began a little to give way, and before the foremost could fight with Dacome to give them charge, the barbarous People turned their backs, and fled. The chase was great: rias. Alexander driving them that fled upon the middest of their own Battle, where Darius self was in person, he spied him afar off over the foremost Ranks in the middest of his Battle, being a goodly tall Prince, standing in a Chariot of War, compassed in round with great Troops of Horsemen, all set in goodly ordinance to receive the Enemy. But when they saw Alexander at hand with fo grim a look, chasing them that fled, through those that yet kept their Ranks: there fell such a fear among them, that the most part dispersed themselves. Notwithstanding, the best and most valiantest men fought it out to the death before their King, and falling dead one upon another, they did let them, that the Enemies could not fo well follow Darius. For they lying one by another on the ground, drawing on to the last gasp, did yet take both men and Horses by the legs to hinder them. Darius then feeing nothing but terrour and destruction before his eyes, and that the Bands which he had fet before him for fafeguard, came back upon him, fo as he could not devise how to turn his Chariot forward nor backward, the Wheels were so hindred and staved with the heaps of dead Bodies, and that the Horse also being set upon and hid in manner in this Conflict, fell to leaping and plunging for fear, so that the Charriottiers could no longer guide nor drive them : he got up upon a Marethat lately had a Foal, and fo faved himself flying upon The flying of her. And yet had he not thus escaped, had not Parmenio once again sent unto Alexander to pray Darius. him to come and aid him: because there was yet a great Squadron whole together that made no countenance to fly. Somewhat there was in it, that they accused Parmenio that day to have dealt but flackly and cowardly, either because his age had taken his courage from him, or else for that he envyed Alexanders greatness and prosperity, who against his will became over great, as Callifthenes faid. In fine, Alexander was angry with the second Message, and yet told not his men truly the cause why, but faining that he would have them leave killing, and because also night came on: he caused the Trumpet found retreat, and so went towards his Army, whom he thought to be in diffres. Notwithstanding, News came to him by the way, that in that Alexanders place also, they had given the Enemies the Overthrow, and that they fled every way for life, third Victory The Battle having this fuccels, every man thought that the Kingdome of the Persians was of Darius, and unterly overthrown, and that Alexander likewife was become onely King of all Asia. where-upon he made fumpuous Sacrifices unto the gods, and gave great riches, Houses, Lands and Possessions unto his Friends and Familiars. Furthermore, to shew his liberality also unto the GRECIANS, he wrote unto them, that he would have all Tyrannies suppressed throughout all GREECE, and that all the GRECIANS should live at liberty under their own Laws. Particularly also he wrote unto the PLAT EIANS, that he would re-edifie their City again, because their Predecessours in time past, had given their Countrey unto the GRECIANS, to fight against the

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barbarous People for the defence of the common Liberty of all GREECE. He fent also into ITALY

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tain Lines in the Greek O riginal.

gufu. * It icemeth ed in Purple, whereof the

> Alexanders journey into Perfis. Alexander

unto the GROTONIANS, part of the spoil, to honour the memory of the falling will of Phayllus their Citizen, who in the time of the Wars with the MEDES (when all the GREwill of Fringues their Chiles, who in the traction the wars while the state of Greece it felf, because Cians that dwelt in Italy had for faken their natural Countrymen of Greece it felf, because they thought they could not otherwise scape) went with a Shippof, his unto SALAMINA, which he armed and fet forth at his own charges, because he would be arithe Battle, and partake also of the common danger with the GRECIANS: fuch honour did Alexander bear unto Prowefs, that he loved to reward and remember the worthy deeds of men. Then Alexander marching with his Army into the Countrey of BABYLON, they all yielded ftraight unto him. When he came ingo the Country of the ECBATANIANS, he marvelled when he faw an opening of the Earth, our of the which there came continual sparks of fire as out of a Well: and that hard by also the Earth * The strength spued out continually a kind of * Maund or Chalky Clay somewhat liquid, of such abundance, "The Itrength space our communary a same of manner of chalk is like unto a kind of Lime or Clay, but it is fo and power of as it fremed like a Lake. This Maund or Chalk is like unto a kind of Lime or Clay, but it is fo and power of as it ficting line a Lanc. Also manufact of chains be that the calleto be fet a fire, that not touching it with any flame, by the brightness onely of the light that cometh out of the fire, it is fet a fire, and doth also fet the Air a fire which is between both. The barbarous People of that Countrey, being desirous to shew Alexander the nature of that Naptha, featured the Street that led to his lodging, with some of it. Then the day being shut in, they fired it at one of the ends, and the first drops taking fire, in the twinckling of an eye, all the rest from one end of the Street to the other was of a flame, and though it was dark and within night, lightned all the place thereabout. Alexander being in Bath at that time, and waited upon by a Page called Steven: (a hard favoured Boy, but yet that had an excellent fweet Voice to Sing) one Athenophanes an ATHENIAN, that alwaies nointed and bathed the King, and much delighted him with his pleafant conceits, asked him if he would feethe trial of this Naptha upon Steven: for if the fire took and went not out, then he would fay it had a wonderfull force, and was unquenchable. The Page was contented to have it proved upon him. But foon as they had laid it on him, and did but touch it onely, it took straight of such a slame, and so fired his body, that Alexander himself was in a marvellous perplexity withall. And fure had it not been by good hap, that there were many by, ready with Veffels full of Water to put into the Bath, it had been unpossible to have faved the Boy from being burnt to nothing; and yet so he scaped narrowly, and besides was sick long after. What Medicar Now forme apply this Naptha unto the fable of Medica, faying, that therewith she rubbed the Crown and Lawn the gave unto the Daughter of Creen at her marriage, so much spoken of in the Tragedies. For neither the Crown nor the Lawn could eath fire of themselves, neither did the fire light by chance. But by oyling them with this Naptha she wrought a certain aptness to receive more forcibly the Operation of the fire, which was in place where the Bride fate. For the beams which the fire cafteth out, have over fome bodies no other force, but to heat and lighten them. But such as have an oily dry humour, and thereby a simpathy and proportionable conformity with the nature of the fire: it eafily enflamenth and fetteth a fire, by the forcible impression of his beams. Howbeit they * In this place make a great question of the cause of this natural force of Naptha, * or whether this liquid suban ins place flance and most humour that taketh fire so easily, doth come of the Earth that is fatty and apt to conceive fire. For the Countrey about BABYLON is very hot, infomuch as oftentimes Barley being put into the Ground, it bloweth it up again, as if the Earth by vehement inflamation had a ftrong blaft to cast it out : and men in the extreamest heat of the Summer, do sleep there, upon great Leather budgets filled full of fresh Water. Harpalus, whom Alexander lest there his Lieutenant and Governor of that Countrey, defiring to fet forth and beautifie the Gardens of the Kings Pallace and Walks of the same, with all manner of Plants of GREECE: he brought all the reft to good pass, saving Lyy onely, which the earth could never abide, but it ever died, because the heat and temper of the Earth killed it, and the Ivy of it felf liketh fresh air and a could Ground. This digression is somewhat from Treasure found the matter, but peradventure the Reader will not think it troublesome, how hard soever he find it, by Alexander fo it be not over tedious. Alexander having won the City of Sus A, he found within the Caftle four at the City of Thousand Talents in readu coin. Gold and Silver. besides other infinite Treasure and inestimable, a thousand Talents in ready coin, Gold and Silver, befides other infinite Treasure and ineftimable, a mongst the which (it is faid) he found to the value of five thousand Talents of * Purple HERMIONA Silk, which they had fafe locked up and kept the space of two hundred years save ten, and yet the cothat he means of Sik dys lour kept as fresh as if it had been newly made. Some fay that the cause why it was fo well kept, came at its Darolle. by means of the dying of it with Honey, in Silks, which before had been died red, and with white Oyl in white Silks. For, there are Silks seen of that colour of as long a time, that keep colour as well as the other. Dino writeth furthermore, that the Kings of Persia made water to be brought from the Kivers of Nylus and Ister (otherwise called Danuby) which they did lock up with their other Treasure on, in Lucania for the confirmation of the greatness of their Empire, and to shew that they were Lords of the World.

The wave to great the Broad and the confirmation of the greatness of their Empire, and to shew that they were Lords of the World. Rivers of Nylus and Ister (otherwise called Danuby) which they did lock up with their other Treasure The ways to enter into PERSIA being very hard of paffage, and in manner unpaffable, (both for the ilness of the ways, as also for the guard that kept them, which were the choicest men of Persia) Darim also being fled thither: there was one that spake the GREEK and PERSIAN Tongue (whose Father was born in the Country of Lycia, and his Mother a Persian) that guided Alexander into PERSIA, by fome compals fetched about not very long, according to the Oracles answer of Alexander given by the mouth of the Nun Pythias, when he was a Child: that a LYCIAN should guide and lead him against the Persians. There was then great slaughter made in Persia of the Prisoners that were taken. For Alexander himself writeth, that he commanded the men should be put to the Sword, thinking that the best way to serve his turn. It is said also, that there he found a marvelvenous results lous Treature of Gold and Silver in ready Money, as he had done before in the City of Susa: the fure in Perfix lous Treature of Gold and Silver in ready Money, as he had done before in the City of Susa: the which he carried away with all the rest of the Kings rich Ward-robe, and with it loaded ten thoufand Mules, and five thousand Camels. Alexander entring into the Castle of the chief City of PERSIA, faw by chance a great image of Xerxes lie on the ground, the which unawares was thrown down by the multitude of the Souldiers that came in thronging one upon another. Thereupon he stayed, and spake unto it as if it had been alive; saying: I cannot tell whether I should pass by thee, and let thee lie, for the War thou madest sometime against the GRE-CIANS: or whether I should lift thee up, respecting the noble mind and Vertues thou haddeft. In the end, when he had stood mute a long time, confidering of it, he went his way: and meaning to refresh his weary Army, because it was the winter quarter, he remained there four Moneths together. The report goeth that the first time that Alexander fate under the Cloath of State of King Darius, all of rich Gold : Demarathus Corinthian (who first beganto love him, even in his Father Philips time) burst out in tears for joy (good old man) faying, that the GRECIANS long time dead before, were deprived of this bleffed hap, to fee Alexander fit in King Xerxes princely Chair. After that, preparing again to go against Darius, he would needs make merry one day, and refresh himself with some banquer. It chanced so, that he with his Companions was bidden to a private Feast privately, where was affembled some fine Curtizans of his Familiars, who with their Friends tarried at the Banquet. Amongst them was that famous Thais, born in the Countrey of ATTICA, and then The infolent Concubine to Ptolomy, King of EGYPT after Alexanders death. She finely praised Alexander, and boldness of partly in forting wife, began to utter matter in affection of her Countrey, but yet of greater impor- Thair the Hattance the became her mouth: faying, that that day she found her felf fully recompenced to her lor. great good liking, for all the pains she had taken, travelling through all the Countreys of ASIA, following of his Army, now that the had this favour and good hap to be merry and pleasant, in the proud and Stately Pallace of the great Kings of PERSIA. But yet it would do her more good for a recreation to burn Xerzes Houle with the fire of joy, who had burnt the City of ATHENS: and her felf to give the fire to it, before so noble a Prince as Alexander. Because ever after it might be said, that the Woman following his Camp had taken more noble revenge of the Persians, for the wrongs and injuries they had done unto GREECE: then all the Captains of GREECE that ever were had done, either by Land or Sea. When the had faid, Alexanders familiars about him, clapped their hands and made great noise for joy, faying: that it were as good a deed as could be possible, and perswaded Alexander unto it. Alexander yielding to their perswasions, rose up, and putting a Garland of Flowers upon his head, went foremost himself: and all his Familiars followed after him, crying and dancing all about the Castle. The other MACEDONIANS hearing of it also, came thither immedi- Perspotis set a ately with Torches light and great joy, hoping that it was a good fign that Alexander meant to re-fire buttern again into MACEDON, and not to dwell in the Congrey of the barbarous People, fith he did ander. burn and destroy the Kings Castle. Thus, and in this fort it was thought to be burnt. Some Writers think otherwise: that it was not burnt with such sport, but by determination of the Council. But howfoever it was, they all grant, that Alexander did prefently repent him, and commanded the fire to be quenched straight. For his liberality, that good will and readiness to give, increased with his Conquests: and when he did bestow Gifts of any, he would besides his Gift, ever give them good countenance, on whom he bestowed his grace and favour. And here I will recite a few examples thereof. Arifto being Colonel of the PEONIANS, having flain one of his Enemies, he brought him his Head, and faid : fuch a Prefent, O King, by us, is ever rewarded with a Cup of Gold. Yea, quoth Alexander, fmiling upon him with an empty Cup. But I drink to thee this Cup full of good Wine. and do give thee Cup and all. Another time, he met with a poor MACEDONIAN that led a Mule loaden with Gold of the Kings: and when the poor Mule was fo weary that the could no longer carry her burden, the Muletter put it upon his own back, and loaded himself withall carrying it so a good pretty way : howbeit in the end being over-loaden, was about to throw it down on the ground. Alexander perceiving it, asked him what burden he carried. When it was told him : well, quoth he to the Muletter, be not weary yet but carry it into the Tent, for I give it thee. To be short, he was angrier with them that would take nothing of him, then he was with those that would ask him somewhat. He wrote also unto Phocion, that he would take him no more for his Friend, if he would refuse his Gifts. It feemed that he had given nothing unto a young Boy called Serapion (who ever did ferve them the Ball that plaid at Tennis) because he asked him nothing. Where ore the King playing on a time, this young Boy, threw the Ball to others that played with him, and not to himself. The King marvelling at it, at the length faid unto him: Why, my Boy, doft thou not give me the Ball ? Because your Majefty doth not ask it me, quoth he. Alexander then understanding his meaning, laughed at the Boy, and did much for him afterwards. There was attending on him also one Protest, a pleafant conceited man, and that could jest finely. It chanced upon some occasion that Alexander fell our with him : whereupon fome of his friends were interceffors unto the King for him, and befought him to pardon him : and Protess himself also being present, craved pardon with tears in his eyes. Alexander thereupon forgave him. Then prefently replied Proteas, I defire it may please your Grace, that I may receive some Testimony to assure me I am in your favour. Thereupon the King straight commanded one to give him five Talents. The goods and riches he gave unto his Familiars and Guard about him, were very great, as it appeared plainly by a Letter which his Mother Olympiae wrote unto him, to this effect : I know thou sparest not to give thy Friends large Gifts, and that thou makest much of them: but thereby thou makest them Kings fellows, they get many Friends, and leave three post alone without any. His motherdid many times write such like matters unto him

the which Alexander kept very fecret, faving one day when he opened one of them, Hephaltion being present drew near, and read the Letter with him, as he was wont to do. Alexander did let protigative re-him alone, but when he had read it, he pluckt the Seal of Arms from his finger, wherewith hedid proved by mis Mother Olym- use to Seal his Letters, and put it to Hephaftions mouth. He gave also unto the Son. of Mazeus (that was the chiefest man about Darisss) a second Government, besides that which he had before, and greater then the first. This young Noble-man refused it, saying: why, and it please your Grate, before there was but one Darine, but you now make many Alexanders. He gave unto Parmento alfo, Bagon House, where (as it is reported) he found a thousand Talents worth of the Spoils and goods of the Susians. He wrote allo unto Antipater, that he should keep a Guard about his person, for he had many Enemies that lay in wait for him. He did fend also many goodly Presents unto his Mother, but withall he wrote unto ber, that she would meddle no more with his Matters or Gifts, raking upon her the Office of a Captain. She storming at it, he patiently did brook her anger. Antipater another time, writing a long Letter unto him against his Mother Olympias: when he had read it over, Lo, faid he, Antipater knoweth not, that one tear of the Mothers eye will wipe out ten thousand such Letters. Furthermore Alexander perceiving on a time, that his friends became very dissolute and licentious in Diet and Life, and that Agnon TEIAN had his corked Shooes nailed with Silver Nails, that Leonaus also caused divers Camels to be loaden amongst his carriage with Powder of EGVPT, to put upon him when he wrestled or used any other exercise of body, and that also they carried after Philorus, Toiles for chale and hunting, of an hundred furlong long, and that there were also that used precious Perfumes and sweet Savours when they bathed themselves, more then there were that rubbed themselves with plain Oyl, and that they had fine Chamberlains to rub them in the Bath, and to make their Beds foft and delicate: he wifely and courteoufly rebuked them and faid: I marvel, faid he, that you which have fought in so often and great Battles, do not remember that they which travel, do ilcep more sweet and foundly, then they that take their ease and do nothing: and that you do not mark, that comparing your Life, with the manner of the Life of the Persi-Alexander reanchers and curiofity of his ANS, to live at pleafure is a vilething and to travel is princely. And how I pray you, can a man take pains to drefs his own Horfe, or to make clean his Launce or Helmet, that for flothfull curiostities sake, distaineth to rub his own Body with his singers? Are you ignorant that the tipe of Honour in all our Victory confifteth, in scorning to do that which we see them do, whom we have vanquished and overcome? To bring them therefore by his example, to acquaint themselves with hardnels: he took more pains in Wars and in hunting, and did hazard himself more dangerously, then ever he had done before. Whereupon an Ambassador of LACEDEMON being present to see him fight with a Lion, and to kill him, faid unto him: truly your Grace hath fought well with this Alexander an Lion, and tried which of you two should be King. Craterus after that, caused this hunting to be set Enemy unto up in the Temple of Apollo in DELPHOS: where are the Images of the Lion, of the Dogs, and of the King fighting with the Lion, and of himself also that came to help him, all those Images being of Copper, some made by Lypppus, the rest by Leochares. Thus Alexander did put himfelf unto all jeopardies, as well to exercise his strength and courage, as also to allure his men to do the like. This notwithstanding his friends and familiars having Wealth at will, as men exceeding rich, they would needs live delicately at eafe, and would take no more pains, mishking utterly to go up and down the Countries to make War here and there, and thereupon began a little to find fault with Alexander and to speakevil of him. Which at the first Alexander took quietly, saying, that it was Honour for a King to fuffer himself to be slandered and ill spoken of, for doing of good. And yet the least good turns he did unto his friends, did shew his hearty love and honour he bare them, as shall appear unto you by some examples that follow. Pencessas being bitten by a Beare, did let his friends understand by Letters, but he wrote nothing thereof unto Alexander. Alexander was offended therewith, and wrote unto him thus: Send me word at the least yet how thou doest, and whether any of thy fellows did for take thee at the hunting, to the end they may be punished. Hephastian being absent about certain businels he had, Alexander wrote unto him, that as they were hunting a Beaft called Ichnewmon, Craterus, unfortunately crofting Perdice as Dart, was stricken through both his thighs. Peacestas being cured of a great disease, Alexander wrote uno Alexippus his Phistian that had cured him, and gave him thanks. Craterus also being Friends, and fick, he dreamed of him one night, and therefore made certain Sacrifices for the recovery of wonderfull his health, and fent unto him, willing him to do the like. And when the Phistian Pausanias courtelic tomeant to give him a drink of Eleborus, he wrote Letters unto him, telling him what danger he wards them. was in, and prayed him to be carefull how he received that Medicine. He did also put Ephialtes and Ciffus in prilon, who brought him the first news of Harpalus flying, because they did wrongfully accuse and slander him. When he communanded there should be a Bill made of all the Old mens Names, and difeafed persons that were in his Camp, to send them home again into their Country: there was one Eurylochus EGELAN, that made his Name be billed among the fick persons, and it was found afterwards that he was not fick; and confessed that he did it onely to follow a young Woman called Telestopa, with whom he was in love, who was returning home towards the Sea fide, Alexander asked him, whether this Woman were free or bond : he auswered him, that the was a Curtizan free born. Then faid Alexander unto Eurylochus, I would be glad to further thy love, yet I cannot force her to tarry : but feek to win her by Gifts

and fair words to be contented to tarry, fithence she is a free Woman. It is a wonderfull thing to fee what pains he would take, to write for his Friends, even in such trifles as bedid. As when he

Alexanders care of his

idleneis.

wrote into Erretal for a servant of Schools that was field from his Muree, rending Arbible Commandment while they from a carefully 145 for him. "And by another Letter he commenced personal and the carefully 145 for him." And by another Letter he commenced by the harbe had a hypeland carefully 145 for one of the letter has been as a large of color of the letter has been as a large of color of the letter had been as a large of the l set allound Megabizas; Bluming another Bondman that had taken Sanctuary in a Temple, he commanded thin also to feel, the cities thin out of the Sanctiffy to lay hold of him is to could, but subseques not so medic with him in any cite. It is fad also, that at the lift which he hed to fit in judgements to bear criminal Cuties, while the feel section with this confidition, the alterates willed to lay his hand upon one of his ears, to keep that clean from the matter of accolation; thereby refleving it to their the Pulgation and Juffification of the Person conserunce.
But attended the number of acculations that were brought before him, all so provoke and after him, this held before the Table rectifations; by the great hunder of the true that were brought in, one ear for the But nothing pix him there in tage, then when he underfield they had fiblier in of thin; and other condemned sou nounne gue men more marge, men when he indicated they had potent not not then his King. Petions. The was to freece, as no field of would be granted, or with the loved his Hollowin more then his King. According to the was to grant the work with the work of the love o would not part the world not part of the world not part the transaction of the world not part to Alexander trail then a marvellous long, hard, and painfull fourney in following of Davin for in elevenditys, he rolle three thousand and three hindred Philongs, infomuch as the most bart of his men were ven weary, and done for lack of Water. It, chanted him one day to meet with cer-nev in followtain MACEBONIANS that carried (upon Mules) Goat Skins full of Water, which they ing of Darius had served from a River. They feeing Alexander in mantler dead for thirft, being about nooh, ran quickly to lite, and in a Head-piece brought him Water. Alexander askell them to whom they carried this Water. They answered him again, that they carried it to their Children, but yet we would have your Create to live for though we lofe them, we thay get more Children. When they had The love of Gald to, Alexander took the Helmet with Water, and perfecting that the inth of Arinsthat were Alexander to lad ic. Alexander cook me remer with water, and present in this water, he gave his Souldiers, about fifth, and had followed him, did thriff our their necks to took upon this Water, he gave his Souldiers, and ablithence the Water back again eithe them that had given it him, and thanker them, but draits none of it: Alexander to the Water back again this chemithat had given in him, and manked them, but drain note of it: Alexander refor, had he, if I drain storie; all these them here will fail in. Then they feeling the noble courage garded not the and courtelled of Alexanders; over our that he Hundle lead them, and therewillful began to figure pool of Gold them Politics, flying, that they were not wearly hor addith, nor add think theinfelves mostal, to and sliver, in respect of pure long as they had fisch with. Every thin was alike willing to follow Alexander, yet had be but found therefore unled the place with him into the Enemies Camb. There, passing over much Gold Baseny.

and Silver; which was restrected abroad in the place; and going also by many Chariots full of Women and Chinten, which they found in the Fields, shying story at all adventure: they ran upon the speer thrill they had overtaken the foremost that flet, thinking to have found Daring. amongst them; But at the length with much adoe they found him layed along in a Coach, having many wounds upon his body, fome of Daris and fome of Spears. So he being almost at the last with, called for some Drink, and drank cold Water, which Polyst dis give him. To whom when he had drunk, he said: this is my last milliap this Friend, that having received this preafure, I cannot require thee mowhen Alexander will recompene thee, and the gods Alexander, for the liberality and countrie which he hath filtered unto my Wife and Children, whom I pray thee embrate for my fake. At their last worth he work Polyfratus by the hand, and to gave up the embrate for my fake. At their last worth he work plants the was forcy for his death the ghost. Alexander cash intiticlizately after, and plants thewest that he was forcy for his death. Darias. and misfortune: and unliking his own Cloak, he talk it upon the Body of Darius. After that, having by good hap goven Beffas into his hands, he tore thin in pieces with two high triaight trees which he bowed downwards, and tied his legs to eath of them: to that when the Trees were mentand execute go, they gave a folder cruel jerk up, and carried either Tree a piece of his body with it, cution of Bef-Then Alexander having given Darius Corps princely burial, and embalmed him, he fent it unto his fur. Mother, and received his Brother Exathres for one of his Friends. From thence he went into the Country of HY & CAN I A with all the flower of his Army, where he faw the gulf of the Sea Caffium, The Sea Hir which he thought of no less greathels, then the Sea of Pontus, howben calmer then the other canium or cafe Seas be. He could not then certainly find our what it was, nor from whence it came: but of pium. likelihood be thought it was fonce breaking out of the Lake of Marth of Media. Yet fortie ancient natural Philosophers feethed to know truly what it was. For many years before Alexanders Voyage and Conquest, they wrote, that of the four chiefest gulis of the Sea, which come from the Ocean. and do ener within main Land, that which is more Northerly, is the Sea Cafpium, which they call also Hyraminin. As Alexander went through the Countrey, certain barbarous People suddenly set upon them that led Bacephat his Horse, and took him: but, with that he was in such a rage, that he fent a Heraeld into their Countries to proclaim open Wars upon them, and that he would put Man, Woften, and Child to the Sword, if they brought him not his Horfe again. Whereupon, when his Horse was returned home, and that they yielded up their Cities and Ports into his hands, he did use them all very courrecully, and moreover did give them Money for the ranfom of his Horfe, which they reftored. Departing thence, he entred into the Countrey of PARTHTA. There having leafure enough, he began to apparel himself after the fashion of the batbarous People, because he thought thereby the better to win the hearts of the Countreymen, framing hillifell unto their own fathions: eth after the or else to try the hearts of the MACEDS NIAMS, to see how they would like the manner of the manner of the PRESTANS (which he means to bring them unto) in reverenting of him as they did their King, Persant.

ALEXANDER the Grade.

by little and little acquainting them to allow the alteration and change of his-life. This not withby muc and muc acquaining ment to show the Apparel of the Mappas, which was nearly frange, and altogether barbarous. For he went not without Breeches, nor did wear a long Gown traying on the Ground, nor a high coptand Hat, but took a mean Apparell, betwire the Manual and the PERSIANS, more modelt then the one; and more coulty then the other, and yet, at the first be did not wear it, but when he would talk with the barbarous People, or elle privately amongst his und not wear it, out when he would take what the octobrous recoper, the people in Friends and Familiars. Afterwards notwithtending, he shewed himself oppoly to the People in Some faults are that Apparel, when he gave them Audience. This fight grieved the MACERGANAME much Some hults are that Apparet, when he gave than a summarion, that they thought it meet an fome things, he should to be born with but they had his Vertues in such admiration, that they thought it meet an fome things, he should in a man of take his own pleasure, subsence he had been often high, in the Wars, and not, long before had a rest Vertue. his leg broken with an Arrow; and another time, had such a blow with a frone had in his neck, that it made him pur-blind a great while after, and yet nevertheless he never exchemed any bodi-

Orexartes fl.

that it made nim pur-nima a great wante after, and yet nevertueless up 1989; savings, any one by danger: for he passed over the River of Orexartes, which he took to he, Tanais, and having. In Battle overthrown the SCYTHIANS, he followed them in chase about an indirect Furlongs, notwithstanding that at that instant he, had a loosiness of body. Thinker came unto him of as it notwannaning that a man and the Amazons, as many Writers do tellifie, among the which are these Cliearchus, Polycritus, Onesecritus, Anigenes, and Hister: But Charces, Prolamy, Anticlides and Philon Theban, Philip the Historiographer, Hecatest Bretzelands, Philip CHALCIDIAN, and Duris Samian, all these do write, that it was not true; and it fearneth allo that Alexander self doth confirm it. For, writing all things particularly unto Antiques as they happened unto him, he wrote unto him that the King of SCYTHIA offered him his Danghier in marriage: but there he maketh no mention at all of any AMAZON It is also faid, that Quefferium long time after that did read unto King Lyfimachus, the fourth Book of his History, where he did forak of the AMAZON. Lyfimachus, fmiling, faid unto him: Why, and where was then? But for that matter, to credit it, or not to credit it, Alexanders estimation thereby is neither impaired for advanced. Furthermore, Alexander fearing that the Macedonians, being weary with this long War, would go no further, he left all the reft of his Army behind, and took onely sweny thoufand Footmen, and three thousand Horsemen of the cholsest men of his Army, and with them invaded the Countrey of Hyrcania, There he made an Oration unto them, and rold them, that the barbarous People of Asia had busteen them as it were in a Dream; and if they flowed now return back into Macedon, having but onely flurred them, and not altogether flubdund Asia, the People oftended with them, would fet upon them as they went home, as if they were no better then Women. Neverthelels, he gave any man leave to return that would, protesting, therewith against them that would go, how they did for fake him, his friends, and those who had so good hearts towards him, as to follow him in so noble a Journey, to conquer the whole earth unto the Alexander with MACEDONIANS. This felf matter is reported thus in a Letter which Alexander wrote unto Anone word of his ripater: and there he writeth furthermore, that having made this Oration unto them, they all cryed mouth brought out, and bade him lead them into what part of the World he would. When they had granted the Macdonia their good wills, it was no hard matter afterwards, to win the reft of the common fort, who

married Roya. ne Perfian.

followed the example of the chiefest. Thereupon he did frame himself the more to live after the fashion of the Countrey there, and enterchangeably also to bring the men, of that Countrey unto the manner of the MACEDONIANS: being periwaded that by this mixture and enterchange of manners one with another, he should by friendship more then force, make them agree lovingly together, when that he should be so far from the Country, of Persia. For this purpose therefore, gether, when that he should be so far from the Country, of Persia. For this purpose therefore, be chose thirty shouland of their Children of that Country, and set them to learn the Greek Tongue, and to be brought up in the Discipline of Wars after the Macadon NIAN's manner: and gave them School-mafters and Captains to train them in each faculty. And for the marrying of Rexane, he fancied her, fering her at a Feaft where he was : which fell out as well for his turn, as if he had with better advice and counsel loved her. For the barbarous People were very proud of this match, when as they faw him make alliance with them in this fort, infomuch as they loved him better then they did before, because they saw in those things he was alwaies so chaste and continent, that notwithftanding he was marvellously in love with her, yet he would not dishonourably touch this young Lady, before he was married unto her. Furthermore, Alexander confidering that of the two men which he loved beft, Hephaftion liked well of this match, and went apparelled as himfelf did, and that Craterin contrality did fill ule the MA CEDO NIANS manner, he dealt in all Affairs with the barbarous People, by Hephaftion; and with the GRECIANS and MACEDÓNIANS, by Craterus, To be frort he loved the one, and honoured the other: faying that Hepheltion, loved Alexander, and Craterus loved the King. Hereupon these two persons did bear one another grudge in their hearts, and twirt Hepheli- oftentimes brake out in open quarrel: infomuch as on a time being in INDIA, they drew their Swords, on and Grass- and fought together, and divers of their friends ran to take part with either fide. Thither, came Alexanders felf also, who openly before them all, bitterly took up Hephastion, and called him fool and bedlam, faying, doeft thou not know, that who over he be that should take Alexander from me, the should never live? Privately also, he sharply rebuked Craterus, and calling them both before him, he made them friends together, (wearing by Jupiter Hammon, and by all the other gods, that he loved them two of all men living; nevertheless if ever he found that they fell out together again, they should both die for it, or he at the least that first began to quarrell. So ever after that, they say, there was never foul word nor deed between them, not so much as in sport onely. There was also one Philoral, the Son of Permenia, a man of great Authority among the MACEDONIANS, who next unto Alexander was the most valiant man, the patientest to abide pain, the liberallest, and one that loved hismen and friends better then any Noble-man in the Camp whatfoever. Of him it is reported, that a friend of his came to him on a time to borrow Money : and he commanded straight one of his men to let him have it; His Purse-bearer answered him, that he had none. Why, iad his Master, doest thou tell me for Hast thou not Plate, and Apparel to sell or gage or help him to some? Howbeit otherwise, he had such pride and glory to shew his riches, to Apparel himfelf to fumptuoully, and to be more fine and princked then became a private man, that this made Why Philotas him to be hated: because he took upon him to be a great man, and to look big on the matter, was suspected which became him so ill favouredly, and therefore every man through his own folly, sell in milliking and envied of with him. Infomuch as his own Father faid one day unto him: Son, I pray thee be more humble. and lowly. This Philotas had long before been complained upon unto Alexander because that when the Carriage of King Darius Army (which was in the City of DAMAS) was taken after the Battle of Cilicia, among many Priloners that were taken and brought unto Alexanders Camp, there was one Antigona, a passing fair young Curtizan, born in the City of PIDNA. Philotas found means to get her, and like a young man that was in love with her, making merry with her at the Table, fondly let fall brave words and boafts of a Souldier, faying, that what notable things were done, they weredone by himfelf and his Father : and called Alexander at every word, young man, and faid, that by their means he held his Name and Kingdom. This Curtizan told one of her friends what he faid, and that friend told another friend, and so it went from man to man (as commonly it doth) till at the length it came to Crater we cars. He took the Curtizan, and brought her unto Alexander, unto whom the told as much as the had faid before. Alexander bad her still make much of Philoras, and to tell him every word what he faid of him. Philoras knowing nothing that he was thus circumvented, did ever frequent her company, and would be bold commonly to fpeak many foolish and undiscreet words against the King, sometime in anger, and sometime again in a bravery. Alexander this notwithstanding, though he had manifest proof and cause to accuse Philotai, yethe diffembledit for that time, and would not be known of it: either for that he knew Permenio loved him, or elle for that he was afraid of their great Power and Authority. About that time menu to the chere was one Limnus (halastrian a MACEDO NIAN, that laid great and secret wait to kill Alex- Limnus traiteander: and being in love with a young man called Nicomachus, inticed him to help him to do this routly feeketh deed. The young man wifely denied it, and told the fame to his Brother called Balinus. He went to kill Alexandered. unto Philotas, and prayed him to bring them both before Alexander, for they had a matter of great der. importance to impart unto him. Philotas would not let him speak with the King (but why no man could tell) telling them, that the King had greater matters in hand, and was not at leafure. Then they went unto another, and he brought them unto Alexander, unto whom they first opened the Treason of Limnus conspired against him: and by the way they told also, how they had been twice before with Philotas, who would not let them come in, nor speak with him. That angred Alexander greatly, and he was the more offended also when Limnus was slain by him, whom he sent to apprehend him, refilting him for that he would not be taken: and thought that by his death, he had loft a great means to come to the light of this Treason and conspiracy. Then Alexander frowning upon Philotas, brought all his Enemies upon his back, that of long time had hated him. For they began to fpeak boldly, that it was time for the King to look about him, for it was not to be supposed that this Linnus Chalastrian of himself durst have entred into that Treason, but rather that he was a Minister, and a chief Instrument, set on by a greater Personage then he : and therefore that it stood Alexander upon to examine them straightly which had cause to keep this Treason secret. After Alexander once gave ear unto such words and vehement presumptions, there was straight brought a thousand Accusations against Philotas. Thereupon he was apprehended, and in the presence of divers Lords and Familiars of the King put to the torture, Alexanders felt hanging behind, to hear what he would fay. It is reported, that when he heard how faintly and pitifully he befought Hephestion to take pity upon him, he said unto himself: Alas, poor Philosas, thou that had so faint a heart, how durft thou take upon thee so great matters? In fine Philos as was put Philos and nau to tame a meat, now after he was executed, Alexander fent also with speed unto the Realm his kather to death, and immediately after he was executed, Alexander fent also with speed to the had formed View Parmento put of Media to kill Permeno, who was his Lieutenant there, and one that had ferved King to death. Philip his Father, in his greatest Affairs; and he onely of all other the old Servants of his Father had procured Alexander to take in hand the conquest of Asia: and who also of three Sons which he brought out with him, had feen two of them before him, and afterwards was flain himself with the third. This cruelty of Alexander made his friends afraid of him, and specially Antipater : who fecretly fent Ambassadours unto the A TOLIANS to make League with them, Antipater was because they themselves also were affraid of Alexander, for that they had put the Oeniades as sided Alexander to death. Alexander hearing that faid, that he himself, and not the Sons of the Oeniades, would be revenged on the ETOLIANS. Not long after that, followed the murther of Clius, the which to hear it simply told, would feen much more cruel then the death of Philatas. But reporting the cause and the time together in which it chanced, it will be found that it was not of fet purpose, but by chance and unfortunately, that Alexander being overcome with Wine, did unluckily wreak his anger upon Clius. The manner of his misfortune was this. There came certain men of the low Countries from the Sea fide, that brought Apples of Why Alexan-GREECE unto Alexander. Alexander wondering to fee them fo green and fair, fent for Clinas to der flew Clinas

Alexanders Dream of Clitus.

nefs of Clitus

against Alex-

ander.

thew him them, and to give him fome of them. Clitus by chance did Sacrifice at that time unto the gods, and left his Sacrifice to go unto Alexander: howbeit, there were three Weathers that followed him, on whom the accustomed sprinklings had been done already to have sacrificed them. Alexander understanding that, told it to his Soothlayers, Aristander, and Cleomanu La-CONIAN, both did answer him, that it was an ill fign. Alexander thereupon gave order straight, that they should do facrifice for the health of Clisus, and specially for that three days before he dreamed one night that he saw Clism in a mourning Gown, fitting amongst the Sons of Pargreamed one night that it was a left. This notwithflanding, Clius did not make an end of menio, the which were all dead before. This notwithflanding, Clius did not make an end of his Sacrifice, but came straight to Supper to the King, who had that day sacrificed unto Castor and Pollux. At this Feaft there was old drinking, and all the Supper time there were certain Verses fung and made by a Poet, called Pranichus (or as others fay, of one Pierion) against certain Captains of the Macedonians, which had not long before been overcome by the barbarous People; and onely to shame them, and to make the company laugh. With these Verses, ancient men that were at this Feast, became much offended, and grew angry with the Poet that made them, and the Minstrell that sung them. Alexander on the other side, and his familiars, liked them very well and commanded the Minftrell to fing ftill. (litts therewithall being overtaken with Wine, and besides of a churlish nature, proud and arrogant, sell into greater choler, and said: that it was neither well nor honeftly done in that fort to speak ill of those poor MACEDONIAN Captains (and specially amongst the barbarous People their Enemies) which were far better men then they that laughed them to fcorn, although their fortune were worfe then theirs. Alexander then replied, and faid, that faying fo, he pleaded for himself, calling cowardlines, misfortune. Then Clius standing up, said again: But yet this my cowardliness saved thy life, that callest thy self the Son of the gods, when thou turnedft thy back from Spirbridates Sword: and the blood which thele poor MACEDONIANS did fled for thee, and the wounds which they received on their bodies fighting for thee, have made thee fo great, that thou difdainest now to have King Philip for thy Father, and wilt needs make thy self the Son of Jupiter Hammon. Alexander being moved with these words, straight replied : O, Villain, thinkest thou to scape unpunished for these proud words of thine, which thou useft continually against me, making the MACEDONIANS to rebel against me? Clittu answered again, Too much are we punished, Alexander, for our pains and fervice to receive fuch reward : nay, most happy think we them that long fince are dead and gone, not now to fee the MACEDONIANS fcourged with Rodsof the MEDES, and compelled to curry favour with the PERSIANS, to have access unto their King. Thus Cliem boldly speaking against Alexander, and Alexander again answering and reviling him, the gravest men sought to pacifie this fir and tunult. Alexander then turning himfelfunto Xenodochus Cardin, and Artemius Colo-PHONIAN: Do you not think (faid he) that the GRECIANS are amongst the MACEDONI-ANS, as demy-gods that walk among bruit Beafts? Clitte for all this would not give over his impudency and malapertness, but cryed out, and bad Alexander speak openly what he had to say, or else not to bid Free-men to come to sup with him that were wont to speak franckly: if not, to keep with the barbarous Slaves that honoured his PERSIAN Girdle, and long white Garment. Then could Alexander no longer hold his choler, but took an Apple that was upon his Table, and threw it at Clius, and looked for his Sword, the which Ariftophanes, one of his Guard that waited on him, had of purpose taken from him. And when every man came straight about him to stay him, and to pray him to be contented, he immediately role from the Board, and called his Guard unto him in the Ma-CEDONIAN Tongue (which was a fign of great trouble to follow after it) and commanded a Trumpeter to found the Allarm. But he drawing back, would not found: whereupon Alexander ftrake him with his fift. Notwithstanding, the Trumpeter was greatly commended afterwards, for that he onely kept the Camp that they role not. All this could not quiet Clieus, whereupon his friends with much a doe thrust him out of the Hall: but he came in again at another door, and arrogantly and unreverently rehearfed this Verfe of the Poet Euripides, Out of Andromaches Tragedy:

Alas for forrow evil ways Are into Greece crept now adays.

Clitus, and grievoully repented him.

Then Alexander taking a Partifan from one of his Guard, as Clitus was coming towards him, and had lift up the hanging before the door, he ran him through the body, so that Citus fell to the ground, and fetching one groan, died prefently. Alexanders choler had left him straight, and he became narvellous forrowfull: and when he faw his friends round about him fay nevera word, he pluckt the Partifan out of his body, and would have thrust it into his own throat. Howbeit his Guard about him caught him by the hands, and carried him perforce into his Chamber : and there he did nothing all that night but weep bitterly, and the next day following, untill fuch time as he was able to cry no more, but lying on the ground, only lay fighing. His friends hearing his Voice no more, were afraid, and came into his Chamber by force to comfort him. But Alexander would hear none of them, faving Ariftander the Soothfayer, who remembred him of his Dream he had of Clisus before, which was a Prognostication of that which had happened: whereby it appeared that it was his defliny, before he was born. This feemed to comfort Alexander: Afterwards they brought in Callistbener the Philosopher, a Kinsman of Aristotles, and Anaxarchus born in ABDERA. Of these two Callifthenes fought by gentle talk, not moving any matter offenfive, to comfort Alexanders forcour docom-fort Alexander. row. But Anaxarchus that from the beginning had taken a way by himself in the study of Philosophy,

Callifthenes

being accounted a brain-fick man, and one that despised his Companions, he coming into Alexanders Chamber also with him, cryed out at the door as he came in : See, yonder is Alexander the Great whom all the World looks upon, and is afraid of: fee where he lies, weeping like a Slave on the ground, that is afraid of the Law, and of the reproach of men : as if he himfelf should not give them Law, and stablish the bounds of justice or injustice, sithence he hath overcome to be Lord and Master, and not to be subject and slave to a vain opinion. Knowest thou not that the Poets say, that Jupiter hath Themis, to wit, right and justice placed on either hand of him? what fignifieth that, but all that the Prince doth, is holy, right and just? These words of Anaxarchus did comfort the forrowfull heart of King Alexander at that time, but therewithall, they made Alexanders manners afterwards more fierce and dissolute. For, as he thereby did marvellously grow in favour with the King, even so did he make the company of Callifthenes (who of himself was not very pleasant, because of his gravity and fowernels) much more hatefull and milliked then before. It is written also that there was certain talk one night at King Alexanders Board touching the leafons of the year, and temperateness of the Ayr, and that Callisthenes was of their opinion which maintained, that the Countrey they were in at that time was much colder, and the Winter also sharper then in GREECE. Anaxarchus held the contrary opinion, and stifly maintained it, infomuch as Callishenes said unto him: And yet must thou grant, that it is colder here then there. For there all the Winter time thou couldst go with a fingle Cloak on thy back onely, and here thou must have three or four Garments upon thee when thou art at thy Board, This galled Anaxarchus to the quick, and made him more angry then before : and for the other Rhetoricians and Flatterers, they did also hate him, because they saw him followed of young men for his Eloquence, and beloved also of old men for his honest life, the which was very grave, modest, and contented with his own, desiring no mans else. Whereby men found, that the reason he alledged for following of Alexander in his Voyage, was true: for he faid, that he came to be an humble fuiter to the King to restore his banished Citizens into their Countrey again, and to replenish their City with Inhabitants. Now, though his estimation made him chiesly to be envied, yet did he himself give The cause why his Enemies occasion to accuse him. For often times being invited by the King to Supper, either he Calliplones would not come, or if he came, he would be mute, and fay nothing, shewing by his gravity and si- was envied. lence, that nothing pleafed him that was either faid or done. Whereupon Alexander felf faid on a

I cannot think that person wife. That in his own cause hath no eyes.

It is reported of him also, that being at Supper on a time with the King, divers requesting him to make an Oration on the fudden in commendation of the MACEDONIANS, he made fuch an Eloquent Oration upon that matter, that all they that heard him, rose from the Board, and clapping their hands for joy, cast Nosegayes and Flowers upon him. But yet Alexander at that time said unto him that which the Poet Euripides faid :

> It is no mastery to be Eloquent, In handling of a plenteous argument.

Nay, but utter then thy Eloquence in reproving of the MACEDONIANS, that hearing their faults, they may learn to amend. Then Callistenes changing Copy, spake boldly many things against the MACEDONIANS, declaring, that the diffention amongst the GRECIANS did increase King Philips power, alledging these Verses.

> Where discord reigns in Realm or Town, Even wicked folk do win renown.

But by this occasion, he purchased himself great ill will of the MACEDONIANS: insomuch, as Alexanders felf faid at that time, that he had not fo much shewed his Eloquence, as the malice he bare unto the MACEDONIANS. Hermippu the Historiographer writeth, that one Strabus 2 Cleark of Callisthenes, did afterwards tell it unto Aristotle in this fort : and that Callisthenes feeing King Alexander offended with him, did recite these Verses of Homer three or four times as he

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And therefore very wisely said Aristotle, that Callistones was Eloquent, but not wise. For like a Aristotle Philosopher, he fourly flood against kneeling to the King, and faid that openly, which the No. thought Callifblest and the ancientest men among the MACEDONIANS durft but whisper one in anothers ear, thenes Elothough they did all urrerly millike it : whereby he did yet deliver GREECE from a great shame, and quent, but not wife.

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Alexanders Dream of

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And therefore very wifely faid Ariffetle, that Callifibenes was Eloquent, but not wife. For like a Ariffotle Philosopher, he floutly stood against kneeling to the King, and said that openly, which the No. thought Callifbest and the ancientest men among the MACEDONIANS durst but whisper one in anothers ear, there Elothough they did all utterly missible it: whereby he did yet deliver GREECE from a great shane, and wife.

Alexander from a greater, bringing him from that manner of adoration of his person. This not-withstanding, he undid himself, because he would seem rather by presumption to bring him to it, then by reason to perswade him. Chares MITYLENIAN hath written, that Alexander having drunk at a certain Feaft where he hapned to be, reaching his Cup unto one of his Friends, who after he had taken it of him, rose up first on his seet and drank also, turning him towards the gods; and first making folemn reverence, he went and kissed Alexander, and then face him down again. All the rest that were at the Feast, did the like one after another, and Callissibenes also who took the Cup when it came to his turn (the King not looking on him but talking with Hephestion) after he had drunk, came unto the King to kils him, 25 others had done. Howbeit, one Demetrine called Phidon, faid unto the King: kifs him not, I pray your Grace, for he of all men hath done you no reverence. Alexander turned his head alide, and would not kils him. Then cryed Callifthenes out aloud: Well, quoth he, then I will go my way, with lefs then others, by a kifs. And thus began Alexanders grudge first against Callishenes, by means whereof Hephession was credited the better, when he said that Callisshenes had promised him to reverence Alter him also Lysimachus, Agnon, and divers others began to play their parts against him, saying, that this Sophister went bragging up and down, as if he had deftroyed a whole Tyranny, and that all the young men followed him to honour him, as if among to many thousand Souldiers, never a man of them had to noble a heart as he. And therefore, when the Treason of Hermolaus against Alexanders person was discovered, they found the accusation probable, the which some salse detractors had informed against Callisthenes: who had answered Hermolam that asked him, how he could come to be so famous above all men, thus: In killing the famousest person. And to animate him to go forward with this Treason, he had told him surther, that he should not be asraid of a Golden Bed; but rememsuspected of ber he had to do with a man, which was sometimes fick and hurt as other men were. This notwithflanding, there was never a one of Hermolam Confederates, that would once name Callifine-Alexander. nes, what torments soever they abide, to bewray who were their Companions. And Alexander felf also writing of this Treason immediately after, unto Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, said, that their Servants which had been racked and put to the torture, did conffantly affirm, that they onely had conspired his death, and no man else was privy unto it. But afterwards, he sent another Letter unto Antipater, wherein he directly accused Callisthenes, and faid, that his Servants had already been stoned to death by the MACEDONIANS: howbeit that he himself would afterwards also punish the mafter, and those that had fent unto him; and that had received the murtherers into their Cities, who came of purpose to kill him. And therein he plainly strewed the ill will he bare unto Aristotle, for that Callisthenes had been brought up with him, being his Alexander of-Kinsman, and the Son of Hero, Aristotles Neece. Some say that Alexander trussed Callisthenes fended with The death of Calliflones the up. Others again report, that he died of sickness in prison. Nevertheless Chares writeth, that Rhetotician. Callisthenes was kept Prisoner seven Moneths together, because he should have had his judgement in open Council even in the presence of Aristotle himself: howbeit, being very fat, he was eaten in the end by Lice, and so died, about the time that Alexander was hurt, fighting against the MALLIANS OXYDRACIANS, in the Conquest of INDIA; but these things chanced a good while after. Demaratus CORINTHIAN being very old, had a great defire to fee Alexander: and when he had feen him, he faid, that the GRECIANS which were dead long before, were deprived Demaratus Co- of that blifs and happiness, that they could not see Alexander sit in the Royal Seat of King Da-Alexander, and riss. Howbeit, he did not long enjoy the Kings good will unto him, for he died of a fickness foon after he came unto his Camp, and Alexander did honour his Funerals: for all the Army in their Armour did caft up a Mount of Earth fashioned like a Tomb, which was a great compass his death. about, and fourfcore Cubits high. His after afterwards were brought with honourable convoy, unto the Sea fide, in a Chariot with four Horfes richly fet out. Alexander being ready to take his Journey to go conquer INDIA, perceiving that his Army was very heavy and unweildome to remove, for the wonderfull Carriage and Spoils they had with them : the Carts one morning being Alexanders journey into loaden, he first burnt his own Carriage and next his friends, and then commanded that they should India. also set the Carriage of the MACEDONIANS on fire; which countell seemed more dangerous to be relolved of, then the proof of the execution fell out difficult. For there were very few of them Alexander that were angry therewith, and the most part of them (as if they had been secretly moved by some burnt his Car god) with loud cries of joy, one of them gave unto another fuch necessary things as they had giages. need of, and afterwards of themselves did burn and spoil all the rest. This made Alexander much more rigorous then he was before, who besides that he was already become cruel enough, and without mercy or pardon, did sharply punish every man that offended. For having commanded Menander one of his friends, to keep him a strong hold, he put him to death because he would nor The cruelty of remain there. Furthermore, he himself slew Orsodates (a Captain of the barbarous People) with Alexander to- a Dart, for that he rebelled against him. About that time, there was an Ewe that had eaned a Lamb wards his men. which had upon her head, the form and Purple colour of the Kings Har, after the Persian manner

called Tiara, having two stones hanging on each fide of it. Alexander abhorred this monstrous

figu, infomuch as he purged himself by certain BABYLONIAN Priests, which he alwaies carried

about with him for that purpose, and said unto his Friends: that this Monster did not so much

move him for respect of himself, as it did for them, searing that the gods after his death had pre-

defined the force and power of his Kingdom to fall into the hands of fome base cowardly person. This notwithstanding, another fign and token which chanced in the neck of that, did take away his fear and discouragement he had. For a MACEDONIAN called Proxenus, that had charge of the Kings carriage, as hedigged in a certain place by the River of Oxus, to fet up the Kings Tent and his lodging, he found a certain fat and oiley vein, which after they had drawn out the first, there A spring of came our also another clearer, which differed nothing, neither in smell, tast, nor favour from na-oil found by tural oil, having the gloss and fatness so like, as there could be discerned no difference between them: $\frac{1}{O_{XYO}}$ the which was so much more to be wondred at, because that in all that Countrey there was no Olives. They fay also, That the water of the River self of Owns is very fost and maketh their skins fat, which wash or bath themselves therein. And yet it appeareth by that which Alexander feli wrote unto Antipater, that he was very glad of it, putting that amongst the greatest figns which the gods had fent unto him. The Soothfayers did interpret this wonder, that it was a fign, that he should have a noble, but yet a painfull voyage: for the gods, faid they, have given oil unto men to refresh Oil refresheth their weariness. And truly so did he sustain many dangers in those Wars, and was oftentimes weariness. hurt in fight. But the greatest loss he had of his men, was for lack of victuals, and by the infection of the air. For he firiving to overcome fortune by valiantness, and her force by vertue, thought nothing impossible for a valiant man, neither any thing able to withftand a noble heart. It is reported, that when he went to befrege a strong hold which Sistmethres kept, being thought unaffaultable, and that his fouldiers were in despair of it, he asked one Oxyathres, what heart Sissinethres had. Oxyathres answered him, that he was the verieft coward in the world. O, that is well quoth Alexander: then it is to be won, if that be true thou fayeft, fithence the Captain of the piece is but a coward, So he took it on a fudden, by putting Sifimethres in a great fear. After that also he did befiege another piece of as great strength and difficulty to affault as the other, and making the young fouldiers of the MACEDONIANS to go to the affault, he called one of them unto him, whose name also was Alexander, unto whom he faid thus: Alexander, this day thou must fight like a man, and it be but for thy names fake. The young man did not forget his words, for he fought valiantly, that he was flain, for whom Alexander was very forry. Another time when his men were afraid, and durft not come near unto the City NISA to affault it, because there ran a very deep River hard by the Walls, he The City of came to the Rivers fide, and faid: O what a coward am I, that never learned to fwim? and so prepared Nifa. himself to swim over upon his shield. After he had caused them to retire from the assault, there came Ambaffadors unto him, from the Cities befieged, to crave pardon of him. They wondred at him at the first, when they saw him armed without any Pomp or other Ceremony about him : but much more when a Chair was brought him to fit down on, that he commanded the oldest man amongst them called Acuphis, to take it to him, and fit down. Acuphis marvelling at Alexanders great courtefie. asked him what they should do for him, thenceforth to be his good friends. I will, faid Alexander: that they from whom thou comest as Ambassador unto us, do make thee their King; and withall, that they do fend me a hundred of their best men for Hostages. Acuphis smiling answered him again: Acuphis wife but I will rule them better, O King, if I fend you the worft and not the best. There was a King called answerunto Taxiles a very wife man, who had a great Countrey in India, no lefs in bigness and circuit, than Alexander. all ÆGYPT, and as full of good pasture and fruits as any Countrey in the world could be; who came on a time to falute Alexander, and faid unto him: What should we need, Alexander, to fight, and King Taxiles make Wars one with another, if thou comest not to take away our water, and our necessary commo- talk with Alexdities to live by: for which things, men of judgement must needs fight? As for our goods, if I be ander. richer then thou. I am readier to give thee of mine; and if I have less, I will not think from to thank thee, if thou wilt give me fome of thine. Alexander being pleased to hear him speak thus Alexanders wifely, imbraced him, and faid unto him: Thinkest thou this meeting of ours can be without fight, for answer to Taxiall these goodly fair words? No, no, thou hast won nothing by that: for I will fight and contend less with thee in honesty and courtesie because thou shalt not exceed me in bounty and liberality. So Alexander taking divers gifts of him, but giving more unto Taxiles, he drank to him one night at supper, and faid: I drink to thee a thousand talents in gold. This gut milliked Alexanders friends: but in recompence thereof, he wan the hearts of many of these barbarous Lords and Princes of that Countrey. There was a certain number of fouldiers of the Indians, the warlikest men of all that Countrey, who being mercenary fouldiers, were ever entertained in fervice of the great free Cities, which they valiantly defended, and did great hurt unto Alexander in divers places. Alexander ha- Alexander difving made peace with them in a City where they were kept in, when they came abroad upon furety honourably of this peace which they had made, he met with them as they went their way, and put them all to the brake the peace fword. There was but this onely fault, to blemish the Honour of his Noble deeds in all his Wars: for in all things else he shewed mercy and equity. Furthermore the grave Philosophers and wife men of India did greatly trouble him also. For they reproved the Kings and Princes of the In-DIANS, for that they yielded unto Alexander, and procured the free Cities to take Arms against him. But by their occasion, he took divers of their Cities. For King Porus, Alexanders self Alexandersages writeth in his Epiftles, all his Acts at large which he did against him. For he faith, that both their against King. Camps lying on either fide of the River Hydaspes, King Porus fet his Elephants upon the bank of Porus the River with their heads towards their enemies, to keep him from passing over : and that he Hydastes st. himself did continually make a noise and tumult in his Camp to acquaint his men not to be afraid of the barbarous people. Furthermore, that in a dark night when there was no Moon light, he took part of his footmen, and the choice of his horsemen, and went far from his enemies

ed unto Alex

ALEXANDER W to get over into a little Island. When he was come into the Island, there fell a wonderfull hower of rain, great winds, lightnings and thunders upon his Camp, infomuch as he faw many of his men burnt by lightning in this little Illand. This notwithstanding, he did not leave to get over to the other fide of the River. The River being (wollen with the great Hood of rain that fell the night before, overflowing the banks, it did eat into the ground where the water ran: fo that Alexander when he had palled over the river, and was come to the other fide, found himself in very ill case, for that he could hardly keep his feet, because the earth was slippery under him, and the rage of the water had eatenimo it, and broke it down on every side. It is written of him, that then he said unto the ATHENIANS: O ATHENIANS, could you think that I could take fuch pains, and put my felf into fo many dangers, onely to be praifed of you? Thus Oneficritus reporteth it. But Alexander felf writeth, that they left their Rafters or great pieces of timber pinned together, whereupon they had passed over the stream of the main River: and that they waded through the other Arm or Gut of the water which had broken the earth, up to their breafts, with their harnels on their backs. Furthermore when he had passed over both waters, he rode with his horsemen twenty surlongs before the battle of his footmen, thinking that if his enemies came to give him charge with their men at Arms, that he was the stronger: and if they would also advance their footmen forward, that his footmen also should come time enough. One of these twain fell out as he had guessed: for a thoufand horsemen and threefcore Chariots armed with his enemies, gave him charge before their great company, whom he overthrew, and took all their Chariots, and flew four hundred of the men at Arms in the field. King Porss then knowing by those fignes that Alexander was there in perfon, and had passed over the River, he marched toward him with all his Army in battle ray, saving a few which he left behind to refift the MACEDONIANS, if they should force to pass over the River. Alexander being afraid of the great multitude of his enemies, and of the terror of the Elephants, did not give charge upon the middeft of the battle, but being himfelf in the left Wing, gave charge upon the corner of the enemies left Wing, and also commanding them that were in the right Wing to do the like. So both the ends of the enemies Army were broken and put to flight: and they that fled, ran unto the Elephants, and gathered themselves together about them. Thus the battle being begun, the conflict continued long, infomuch as the enemies were frantly all overthrown by three of the clock in the afternoon. Most writers agree, that Porm was four cubits and a shaft-King Portus. length high, and that being upon an Elephants back, he wanted nothing in height and bigness The quick wit to be proportionable for his mounture, albeit it were a very great Elephant; and befides, that and care of the Flenhant to the Elephant did shew great wit and care to fave the King his master. For whils the perceived his Elephant to fave the King master was strong enough, he lustily repulsed those which came to assail him: but when he found that he began to faint, having many wounds upon his body, and Arrows flicking in it, then being afraid left his mafter should fall down from his back, he foftly fell on his knees, and gently taking his Darts and Arrows with his Trunk, which he had in his body, he pluckt them all from him one after another. Porus being taken, Alexander asked him, how he should handle him. Princely, answered Porus. Alexander asked him again, if he would fay any thing elfe. I comprehend all, faid he, in this word Princely. Thereupon Alexander did not onely leave him his Provinces and Realms, whereof before he was King, by the name of his Lieutenant, but gave him many other Countries also. When he had subdued all the free people, of the which there were fifteen several Nations, five thoufand of no small Cities, besides an infinite number of villages and thrice as many other Countries, he made Philip one of his friends, his Lieutenant of all those Countries. His horse Bucephal died at this battle, not in the field but afterwards whilest he was in cure for the wounds he had on his body: but Bucephal. A- as Onesicritus faith, he died even worn for very age. Alexander was as forry for his death, as if he had lexandershorse. rexenders north.

Bucepb a great lost any of his familiar friends: and for proof thereof, he built a great City in the place where his Citybuilty horse was buried, upon the River Hydaspes, the which he called after his name, Bucephalia. Alexander up. It is reported also, that having loft a Dog of his called Peritas, which he had brought up of a whelp, on the River of Hydaffer and loved very dearly, he built also a City, and called it after his name. Sotion writeth, that he of Hydasperand heard it reported thus of Poramon Lesbian. This last battle against King Porus, killed the Mace-why so named heard it reported thus of Poramon Lesbian. Pertise, Alex: DONIANS hearts, and made them that they had no defire to go any further to conquer INDIA. For finding that they had such ado to overcome them, though they were but twenty thousand footmen, and two thouland horfe, they spake ill of Alexander when he went about to compell them to pass over the River of Ganges, understanding by the Countrymen that it was two and thirty furlongs over, and a hundred fadom deep: and how that the bank of the River was full of fouldiers, hortemen and Elephants. For it was reported that the Kings of the GANGARIDES, and the people of In-PRESIANS were on the other fide with fourfcore thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand sootmen, eight thousand Charrets or Carts of War well armed, and six thousand Elephants of War. This was no fable nor frivolous tale : for a King called Androcottus (who reigned not long after) gave unto Seleuciu, five hundred Elephants at one time, and conquered all INDIA with fix hundred thouland fighting men. Alexander then offended with his mens rejulal, kept close in his Tent for certain days, and lay upon the ground, faying, that he did not thank them for all that they had done thitherto, unless they pals over the River of Ganges also; and that to return back again, it was as much as to confess, that he had been overcome. At the length, when he saw and confluenced that there was great reason in his friends perswasions which laboured to comfort him, and that his fouldiers came to the door of his Tent, crying and lementing, humbly befeeching him to lead them back again; in the end he took pitty of them, and was contented to

return. This notwithstanding, before he departed from those parts, he put forth many vain and return. Into nouvillusationing period in expense. He made Armours of greater proportion diextaler re-faile devices to make his name immortal among that people. He made Armours of greater proportion out in-then his own, and mangers for horfes, higher then the common fort: moreover he made bits also his. far heavier then the common fort, and made them to be thrown and feattered abroad in every Alexanders place. He built great altars also in honour of the gods, the which the Kings of the PRESIANS vain devices to have in great veneration at this day, and passing over the River, do make facrifice there, after the make himself have in great veneration at this day, and paring out that time was a very young man, and faw that Alex-immortal.

manner of the Grecians. Androcottus at that time was a very young man, and faw that Alex-King Androander himself, and faid afterwards, that Alexander had well-near taken and won all the Countrey, cottons. the King which then reigned, was fo hated of all his subjects for his wicked life, and base parentage he came of. Departing thence, he went to fee the great fea Oceanum, and made divers boats with Oars, in the which he eafily went down the Rivers at his pleasure. Howbeit, this his pleasure going by water, was not without War; for he would land oftentimes, and did affail Cities, and conquered all as he went. Yet in affailing the City of the Mallians (which they fay are the warlikest Alexander in men of all the INDIANS) he was almost slain there. For having with Darts repulsed the enemies danger at the from the wall, he himself was the first man that set foot on a ladder to get up, the which brake affoon Mallians. as ever he was gotten upon the Rampier. Then the barbarous people coming together against the wall, did throw at him from beneath, and many times lighted upon him. Alexander having few of his men about him, made no more ado, but leaped down from the Wall in the middest of his enemies, and by good hap lighted on his feet. His Harness making a great noise with the fall, the barbarous people were afraid, thinking they had feen some light or spirit go before them: so that at the first they all betook them to their legs, and ran scattering here and there. But after that, when they came again to themselves, and faw that he had but two Gentlemen onely about him, they came and fet upon him of all hands, and fought with him at the fword or push of the Pike, and so hurt him very fore through his Armour : but one amongst the rest, being somewhat farther off, gave him fuch a terrible blow with an Arrow, that he struck him through his Curaces, and shot him in at the fide under his breast. The blow entred so into his body, that he fell down on one of his knees. Whereupon, he that had stricken him with his Arrow, ran suddenly to him with a Cimiter drawn in his hand : howbeit as Pencestas and Limnaus stepped before him, and were both hurt, Limnaus was flain presently, and Peucestas fought it out, till at the length Alexander his felf slew the barbarous man with his own hand, after he had many grievous wounds upon his body. At the length he had a blow with a Dart on his neck, that fo aftonied him, that he leaned against the Wall looking upon his enemies. In the mean time the MACEDONIANS compassing him round about, took him, and carried him into his tent half in a fwound, and was past knowledge: whereupon there ran a rumour straight in the Camp, that Alexander was dead. They had much ado to cut the Arrow afunder that was of wood : so his Curaces being plucked off with great pain, yet were they to pluck the Arrow head our of his body, which stuck in one of his bones: the which (as it is reported) was four fingers long, and three fingers broad. So that when they plucked it out, he swounded so oft, that he was almost dead. This notwithstanding, he overcame the danger, and escaped. Being very weak, he kept diet a long time to recover himself, and never came out of his Tent : untill he heard the MACEDONIANS cry, and make great noise about his Tent, desirous to see him. Then he put on a night-gown, and came out amongst them all : and after he had done facrifice unto the gods for recovery of his health, he went on his journey again, and in the fame did conquer many great Countries, and took divers goodly Cities. He did also take ten of the wise men of the Countrey, The wise men which men do all go naked, and therefore are called GYMNOSPHISTE (to wit, Philosophers of of India. INDIA) who had procured Sabbas to rebell against him, and had done great hurt unto the MACE-DONIANS. And because they were taken to be the sharpest and readiest of answer, he did put them (as he thought) many hard questions, and told them he would put the first man to death, that answered worst, and so the rest in order : and made the eldest among them Judge of their answers. The que- Alexanders questions proftion he asked the first man, was this:

ion he asked the first man, was this:

1. Whether the dead or the living were the greater number? He answered, The living: for the pounded to the ten Philosophila. dead faid he, are no more men

2. The fecond man he asked: Whether the earth or the fea brought forth most creatures? He aniwered, The earth. For the sea, said he, is but a part of the earth.

3. To the third man : Which of all beafts was the fubtileft ? That (faid he) which man hitherto ne-

4. To the fourth: Why he did make Sabbas rebell? Because, said he, he should live honourably, or die vilely.

5. To the fifth, Which he thought was first, the day or the night? He answered, the day, by a day. The King finding his answer strange, added to this speech: Strange questions must need have strange

6. Coming to the fixth man, he asked him: How a man should come to be beloved? If he be a good man, faid he, not terrible.

7. To the leventh, How a man should be a god? In doing a thing, said he, impossible for a man. 8. To the eighth: Which was the stronger, life, or death? Life, said he, that suffereth so many

9. And unto the ninth and last man: How long a man should live? Untill, faid he, he think it better to die then to live.

Ddd 2

Alexanders conquells in the Indies. anders dog. Ganges fl. Gangarides . and Prafii,

volted against him : and of those he slew Oxiathres, one of Abulites sons, by his own hand running him

through with a Pike. And when Abulites felf also had brought Alexander three thousand talents only, without any other provision made for victuals for his Army, he made him put the money before his

horse, which would not once touch it. Then said he unto him, I pray thee to what purpose serveth this

provision? and therewithall immediately committed him to prilon. As he came through the Countrey of Persia, he first renewed the old customethere, which was: that as oftentimes as the Kings

did return home from any far journey, they gave unto every woman a crown a piece. It is faid therefore that for this cause, some of their natural Kings many times did not return again into their Coun-

try: and that Ochus amongst others did not so much as once return back again, willingly banishing

himself out of his Countrey, of niggardlinels, because he would not be at this charge. After that, Cyrus

earth that covereth my body. These words pierced Alexanders heart, when he considered the uncertain-

ty of wordly things. There also Calanus the INDIAN Philosopher, having had a flux a little while,

prayed that they would make him a ftack of wood, fuch as they use to burn dead bodies on, and then

rode thither on horf-back: and after he had made his prayer unto the gods, he cast those sprinklings up-

on him which were used to be sprinkled at the funerals of the dead : then cutting off a lock of his hair

before he went upon the wooditack, he bad all the MACEDONIANS that were there farewell, and

shoke them by the hands, praying them that day to be merry, and drink freely with the King, whom he would see shortly after in the City of BABYLON. When he had faid these words, he laid him

many years after in the City of ATHENS: and there is his tomb yet to be feen, commonly called

of other also that fell in sport to quaffing, who should drink most, there died of them (as Chares writeth) one and fourty persons, of an extream cold that took them in their drunkenness and Wine.

When they were in the City of Sus A, he married certain of his friends, and himfelf also married

Statira, one of King Darius Daughters, disposing also of the other PERSIAN Ladies (according

Ddd 3

Alexander rewarded the ten did let them

go. Onelicritus & Philosopher. Calanus, a wife man of India.

Pfitulcis an Iffand. Alexanders navy in the fea

Alexanders Army going into India.

Alexanders

When Alexander had heard these answers, he turned unto the Judge, and bad him give his judgement upon them. The Judge laid, they had all answered one worse then another. Then shalt thou die first, faid Alexander, because thou hast given such sentence : Not so O King, quoth he, if thou wilt not be a lyer: because thou saidst, that thou wouldest kill him first, that had answered worst. In fine, Alexander did let them go with rewards. He fent Oneficritus also unto the other wife men of the IN-DIANS, which were of greatest fame among them, and that led a folitary and quiet life, to pray them to come unto him. This Oneficritus the Philosopher, was Diogenes the Cynicks scholar. It is reported, that Calanus one of these wise men, very sharply and proudly bade him put off his clothes to hear his words naked : or otherwise that he would not speak to him, though he came from Tupiter himself. Yet Dandamis answered him more gently. For he having learned what manner of men Socrates. Pythagoras, and Diogenes were, faid: that they feemed to have been wife men, and well born, notwithstanding that they had reverenced the law too much in their life time. Others write notwithstanding, that Dandamis said nothing, but asked why Alexander had taken so painfull a journey in hand, as to come into INDIA. For Calanus (whose right name otherwise was Sphines) King Taxiles perswaded him to go unto Alexander : who because he saluted those he met in the INDIAN The findlitude tongue, faying, Cale, as much as to fay, God fave ye, the GRECIANS named him Calanus. It is reported, that this Calanus did shew Alexander a figure and similitude of his Kingdom, which was this. He threw down before him a dry fear piece of leather, and then put his foot upon one of piece of leather the ends of it. The leather being troden down on that fide, rose up in all parts else, and going up and down withall, still treading upon the sides of the leather, he made Alexander see, that the leather being troden down, on the one side did rise up of all sides else, untill such time as he put his soot in the midst of the leather, and then all the whole leather was plain alike, his meaning thereby, was to let Alexander understand, that the most part of his time he should keep in the middest of his Countrey, and not to go far from it. Alexander continued feven moneths travelling upon the Rivers, to go fee the great fea Oceanum. Then he took ship and failed into a little Island called Scyl-LUSTIS, howbeit others call it PSITULCIS. There he landed, made facrifices unto the gods, and viewed the greatness and nature of the Oceanum, and all the situation of the coasts upon that sea, as far as he could go. Then he made his prayers unto the gods, that no conqueror living after him thould go beyond the bounds of his journey and conquest, and so returned homeward. He commanded his Thips should setch a compals about, and leave INDIA on the right hand : and made Wearchin Admiral of all his Fleet, and Oneswritus chief Pilot. He himself in the mean time went by land through the Countrey of the ORITES, and there he found great scarcity of victuals, and loft many of his men: fo that he carried not out of India the fourth part of his men of war which he brought thither, which were in all fix score thousand footmen, and fifteen thousand horsemen. Some of them died of grievous diseases: others by ill diet: others by extream heat and drought, and the most part of them by hunger, travelling through this barren Countrey, where the poor men lived Sheep fed with hardly, and had onely a few sheep which they fed with sea fish, that made their flesh savour ill savour-At the length, when in threefcore days journey he had painfully travelled through his Countrey, he then entred into the Countrey called GEDROSIA, where he found great plenty of all kind of victuals, which the Governors, Kings and Princes, neighbours unto the same, did send unto him. The Country After that he had refreshed his Army there a little, he went through the Countrey of CARMANIA, where he continued seven days together banquetting, going ftill through the Country. For night and day he was feafting continually with his friends upon a scaffold, longer then broad, rising up of height and drawn with eight goodly horses. After that scaffold followed divers other Charets covered over with fome goodly rich Arras, and purple filk; others with trim fresh boughs; which they renewed at every fields end: and in those were Alexanders other friends and Captains with Garlands of flowers upon their heads, which drank and made merry together. In all his Army, there was neither Helmet, Pike, Dart, nor Target feen : but gold and filver bowls, cups, and flagons in the fouldiers hands, all the way as they went, drawing Wine out of great pipes and veffels, which they carried with them, one drinking to another, some marching in the fields going forward, and others also set at the table. About them were the minftrels playing and piping on their Flutes and Shalms, and women finging and dancing, and fooling by the way asthey went. In all this diffolute marching through the Countrey, and in the midft of their drunkennels, they mingled with it sport, that every man did strive to counterfeit all the infolencies of Bacchus, as if god Bacchus himself had been there in person, and had led the mummery. When he came unto the Kings Caftle of GEDROSIA, he staid there also certain days to refresh his Army with feafting and banquetting. It is faid, that one day when he drank hard, he went to fee the games for dancing, and amongst them, the games which a young man called Bagoss had let forth (with whom Alexander fell in liking) and bare the bell. This Bagoss being in his dancing garments, came through the Theatre, and fate him down by Alexander. The MACE-DONIANS were fo glad of it, that they shouted and clapped their hands for joy, crying out aloud to kifs him: fo that in fine he took him in his arms and kiffed him before them all. Thither came Wearchus his Admiral unto him, who made report what he had feen and done in his navigation. Alexander was so glad of that, as he was desirous to fail by sea himself: and so entring into the Oceanum by the mouth of Euphrates, with a great Fleet of flips, to compais in all the coafts of ARABIA and Africk, and thence into Mare Mediterraneum, by the straights of the pillars of Hercules. To this intent he built a great number of ships in the City of THAPSACUS, and fent for Mariners, shipmafters and Pilots of all parts. But now the difficulty of the journey which he took upon him for the conquest of India, the danger he was in when he fought with the Mallians and the number of

his men which he loft befides, which was very great: all these things confidered together making men believe that he should never return with safety, they made all the people (which he had conquered) bold to rife against him, and gave his Governours and Lieutenants of Provinces occasion to The Provinces commit great infolencies, robberies and exactions of people. To be short, it put all his Kingdom into conquered by broil and fedition. Infomuch as Olympias and Cleopatra rifing against Antipater, they divided his Alexander, re-Government between them: Olympias chusing for her the Kingdom of Epirus: and Cleopatra the billed against Kingdom of MACEDON. Which when Alexander had heard, he faid, his mother was the wifeft : for the Realm of MACEDON would never have fuffered a woman to reign over them. Thereupon he fent Nearchus back again to the fea, determining to fill all the fea coafts with War. As he travelled through the Countries far from the fea, he put his Captains and Governours to death which had re-

tomb (King of Persia) being found and broken up, he put him to death that did it, although he were a MACEDONIAN of the City of PELLA (and none of the meanest) called Polymachus. When he The death of read the infeription written upon it in the Persian tongue, he would need have it written in the Polymachus Greek tongue : and this it was : O man what fo thou art, and whence foever thou comest, for I know thou Cyrus Epitaph Shalt come : I am Cyrus that conquered the Empire of Persia : I pray thee envy me not for this little over his comb.

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down upon the woodstack, covered his face, nor never stirred hand nor foot, nor quitched when Galanusthe Inthe fire took him, but did facrifice himtelf in this fort, as the manner of his Country was, that the wife fice himfelf amen should so facrifice themselves. Another Indian also, who followed Julius Cafar, did the like live.

the INDIANS tomb. When Alexander came from feeing this facrifice of Calanus, he did bid di- Alexander vers of his friends and Captains to supper to him, and there did bring forth a Crown for a reward drink to win a unto him that drank best. He that drank most of all other, was one Promachus, that drank four game and prize Gallons of Wine, and won the Crown worth a talent : but he lived not above three days after. And

to their estate and birth) unto his best friends. He made also a solenun feast of common marriages a- The Macedonia mongst the MACEDONIANS, of them that had been married before. At which feast it is written, ans married monget the MACEDONIANS, of them that had been matrice before. At which learn is written, unto the Perthat nine thouland perfons fitting at the boards, he gave unto every one of them a cup of gold to offer $\frac{1}{hans}$. Wine in honour of the gods. And there also amongst other wonderfull gifts, he did pay all the debts The wonderful the MACEDONIANS ought unto their creditors, the which amounted unto the sum of ten giss of Alexthouland talents, saving an hundred and thirty less. Whereupon Antigenes with one eye, falfly put-ander. thouland talents, faving an hundred and thirty lets. Whereupon extragenes with one eye, family put-ding in his name amongst the number of the debtors, and bringing in one that said he had lent him the fouldiers money, Alexander caused him to be payed: but afterwards when it was proved to his face, that debts. there was no fuch matter, Alexander then was so offended, that he banished him his Court, and Antigenes with deprived him of his Captainship, notwithstanding that he had before shewed himself a valiant one eye, available that he had before shewed himself a valiant one eye, available that he had before shewed himself a valiant one eye, available that he had before shewed himself a valiant one eye, available that he had before shewed himself a valiant one eye, available that he had before shewed himself a valiant one eye, available that he had before shewed himself a valiant one eye, available that he had before shewed himself a valiant one eye, available that he had before shewed himself a valiant one eye, available that he had before shewed himself a valiant one eye, available that he had before shewed himself a valiant one eye, available that he had before shewed himself a valiant one eye, available that he had before shewed himself a valiant one eye, available that he had before shewed himself a valiant one eye, available that he had before the eye of the eye man in the Wars. For when he was but a young man he was shot into the eye, before the City of banished the PERINTE, which King Philip did besiege; and at that present time they would have pluckt the Court for ma-Arrow out of his eye, but he never fainted for it, neither would suffer them to pull it out, before king a lie.

he had first driven his enemies within the walls of their City. He took this infamy very inwardly and he was so forry for it, that every man might see he was like to die for forrow. Then Alexander fearing he should die, did pardon him, and bade him besides keep the money which was given him. Thirry shou-Now the thirty thousand young Boys which Alexander had left to the Government of Captains, fand boys of to train and exercise them in the discipline of War, they being grown strong men, and lusty the Perstant, youths, excellently well trained and ready in Arms, Alexander rejoyced when he faw them, raught the dif-This notwithstanding did much discourage the MACEDONIANS and made them greatly afraid by Alexanders because they thought that from thenceforth the King would make less account of them. For commandment

The City of Thapfacus.

ALEXANDER the Great. when Alexander would have fent the fick and impotent perfons, which had been maimed in the Wars, into the low Countrey to the sea side, they answered him, that so doing he should do them great wrong, to fend thefe poor men from him in that fort (after they had done him all the service they could) home to their Countrey and friends, in worse case then he took them from thence. And therefore they faid, if he would fend away fome, ler him fend them all away as men unferviceable, fpecially fithence he had now fuch goodly young dancers about him, with whom he might go conquer the world. Alexander was marvellously offended with their proud words, infomuch that in his anger he reviled them all, put away his ordinary guard, and took other Persians in their place, making fome the guard about his own perion; others, his Ushers, Heraulds, and Ministers to execute his will and commandment. The poor MACEDONIANS feeing Alexander thus waited on, and themselves to shamefully rejected, they let fall their stoutness, and after they had communed of the matter together, they were ready to tear themselves for spite and malice. In fine, when they had laid their heads together, they confented to go unto his Tent, and without weapons, naked in their shirts, to yield themselves unto him weeping and howling, befeething him to do with them what pleased him, and to use them like wretched unthankfull creatures. But Alexander, though his anger was now somewhat pacified, did not receive them the first time, neither did they also go their ways, but remained there two days and nights together in this grievous and pittifull state, before the doos of his Tent, lamenting unto him, and calling him their Soveraigne, and King; untill that he came himself out of his Tent the third day, and seeing the poor wretches in this pitifull state, he himself fell a weeping a long time. So, after he had a little rebuked them, he called them courteoufly, and gave the impotent and fick perions leave to depart home, rewarding them very honourably. Furthermore he wrote unto Antipater his Lieutenant, that he should give them always the highest place in all common sports and assemblies, and that they should be crowned with Garlands of Flowers. Moreover, he commanded that the Orphans whole parents were flain in the wars, should receive the pay of their fathers. After Alexander was come unto the City of ECBATAN, in the Kingdom of MEDIA, and that he had dispatched his weightiest causes, he gave himself again unto publick sports, feasts and pastimes; for that there were newly come unto him out of GREECE, three thousand excellent masters and devisers of such sports. About that time it chanced, that Hephastion fell fick of an Ague. But he being a young man of War, did not regard his mouth as he should have done, but having spied opportunity that his Physitian Glauens was gone unto the Theatre, to fee the sports and pastimes, he went to dinner, and eat a roasted Capon whole, and drank a great pot full of Wine, which he had caused to be set in water: whereupon his Feaver took him so forely, that he lived not long after. Alexander unwifely took the chance of his death, and commanded all the hairs of his Horse and Mules to be presently shorn, in token of mourning; and that all the battlements of the Walls of Cities also should be overthrown, and hung up poor Glaucus his Physitian upon a cross, and commanded that no minstrell should be heard play of any kind of instrument within his Camp: untill that there was brought him an Oracle from Jupiter Hammon, commanding that Hephastion should be worshipped and sacrificed unto, as a demy-god. In the end, to pass over this mourning and forrow, he went unto the Wars, as unto an hunting of men, and there subdued the people of the Cossaians, whom he pluckt up by the roots, and slewman, woman, and child. And this was called the facrifice of Hephestions Funerals. Alexander furthermore being defirous to bestow ten thousand talents cost upon his obsequies and Funerals, and also to exceed the charge by the rareness and excellency of workmanship, amongst all other excellent Work-masters, he defired one Staffcrates: for he had ever passing invention, and his work was always stately and fumptuous in any new thing he took in hand. For he talking one day with Alexander, told him, that of all mountains he knew in the world, he thought there was none more excellent to refemble the Statue or Image of a man, then was mount Atho in THRACIA: and that if it were his pleasure, he would make the nobleft and most durable Image, that should be in the world, which in the left hand should hold a City to contain ten thousand persons, and out of the right hand, there should run a great River into the Sea. Yet Alexander would not hearken to him, but then was talking with other Workmen of more strange inventions, and far greater cost. Now as he was ready to take his journey to go unto BABYLON, Nearchus his Admiral came again unto him from the great fea Oceanum, by the River of Euphrates: and told him, how certain CHALDEAN Sooth-Tayers came unto him, who did warn him that he should not go into BABYLON. Howbeit Alexander made no reckoning of it, but went on. But when he came hard to the Walls of BARYLON, he faw a great number of Crows fighting and killing one of another, and fome of them fell down dead hard by him. Afterwards being told him that Apollodor in the Governour of the City of BABYLON, having facrificed unto the gods, to know what should happen to him, he fent for the Soothsayer Pythagoras, to know of him if it were true. The Soothsayer denied it not. Then Alexander asked him, what figns he had in the Sacrifice. He answered that the liver of the beast had no head. O gods, faid Alexander then, this is an ill fign: notwithstanding he did Pythagoras no hurt, but yet before Alexan he repented him that he did not believe Wearchus words. For this respect therefore Alexander lay much abroad in the Countrey from BABYLON, and did take his pleafure rowing up and down the River of Euphrates. Yet had he many other ill figns and tokens one upon another, that made him afraid. For there was a tame Ass that killed one of the greatest and goodliest Lions in all BABY-

LON, with one of his feet. Another time when Alexander had put off his clothes, to be anointed

The clemency and liberality of Alexander unto his Soul-

The death of Hebbaltion. Alexanders torrow for the death of Hephastion.

Stafierates an excellent Image-maker.

to play at Tenis, when he should put on his Apparell again, the young Gentlemen that played with him, found a man fet in his Chair of estate, having the Kings Diademe on his head, and his Gown on his back, and faid never a word. Then they asked him what he was? It was long before he made them answer, but at the length coming to himself, he said, his name was Dionysius, born in MESSINA: and being accused for certain crimes committed, he was sent from the sea thither, where he had been a long time prisoner: and also that the god Seraps had appeared unto him, and undone his Irons, and that he commanded him to take the Kings Gown, and his Diademe, and to fit him down in his Chair of estate, and say never a word. When Alexander heard it, he put him to death according to the counfell of his Soothfayers: but then his mind was troubled, and feared that the gods had forfaken him, and also grew to suspect his friends. But first of all, Alexander feared Antipater and his sons above all other. For one of them called Iolas, was Alexander his first Cup-bearer: and his brother called Caffander, was newly come out of GREECE unto feared Antihim. The first time that Cassander saw some of the barbarous people reverencing Alexander, he paier. having been brought up with the liberty of GREECE, and had never feen the like before, tell into a loud laughing very unreverently. Therewith King Alexander was so offended, that he took him by the hair of his head with both his hands, and knocked his head and the wall together. Another time also when Caffander did answer some that accused his father Antipater, King Alexander took him up sharply, and said unto him: What sayest thou, said he? Doest thou think that these men would have gone fo long a journey as this, fallly to accuse thy father, if he had not done them wrong? Callander again replied unto Alexander, and faid, that that was a manifest proof of their false accusation, for that they did now accuse him being so far off, because they thought they could not fuddenly be disproved. Alexander thereat fell a laughing a good, and said, lo, these are Aristotles quiddities to argue pro & contra : but this will not save you from punishment, if I find that you have done these men wrong. In fine, they report that Cassander took such an inward fear and conceit upon it, that long time after when he was King of MACEDON and had all GREECE at his commandment, going up and down in the City of DELPHOS, and beholding the monuments and images that are there, he found one of Alexander; which put him into fuch a fudden fear, that the hairs of his head stood upright, and his body quaked in such fort, that it was a great time before he could come to himself again. Now after that Alexander had left his trust and confidence in the gods, his mind was so troubled and afraid, that no strange thing happened unto him (how little foever it was) but he took it ftraight for a fign and prediction from the gods: So that his Tent was always full of Priests and Soothsayers, that did nothing but sacrifice and purifie, and tend upon divinements. So horrible a thing is the miftrust and contempt of the gods, when it is begotten in the hearts of men; and superstition also so dreadfull, that it filled the guilty consciences and searfull hearts, like water distilling from above: as at that time it filled Alexander with all folly, after that fear had once possessed him. This notwithstanding, after he had received form a flwers touching Hephassition from the Oracle of Supiter Hammon, he left his forrow, and returned again to his banquets and feastings. For he did sumptuously feast Nearchus, and one day when he came out of his Bath according to his manner, being ready to go to bed, Medius one of his Captains belought him to come to a banquet to him to his lodging. Alexander went thither, and drank there all that night and the next day, so that he got an Ague by it. But that came not fick of an (as some write) by drinking up Hercules cup all at a draught; neither for the sudden pain he Ague. felt between his shoulders, as if he had been thrust into the back with a spear: for all these were thought to be written by some for lies and fables, because they would have made the end of this great Tragedy lamentable and pittiful. But Aristobulus writeth, that he had such an extream Aristobulus re-Feaver and thirst withall, that he drank Wine, and after that sell a raving, and at the length port of the died the thirtieth day of the moneth of June. In his houshold book of things passed daily, it is sickness and written, that his Feaver being upon him, he slept at his hot-house on the eighteenth day of June, death of Alex-The next morning after he was come out of his hot-house, he went into his Chamber, and passed ander. away all that day with Medius, playing at Dice: and at night very late, after he had bathed himself and facrificed unto the gods, he fell to meat, and had his Feaver that night. And the twentieth day alio, bathing himself again, and making his ordinary facrifice to the gods, he did fit down to cat within his stove, hearkning unto Nearchus that told him strange things he had seen in the great Sea Oceanum. The one and twentieth day also having done the like as before, he was much more inflamed then he had been, and felt himself very ill all night, and the next day following in a great Feaver: and on that day he made his bed to be removed, and to be fet up by the Fish-ponds, where he commanded his Captains touching certain rooms that were void in his Army, and commanded them not to place any man that were not of good experience. The three and twentieth day having an extream Feaver upon him, he was carried unto the facrifices, and commanded that his chiefest Captains onely should remain in his lodging, and that the other meaner fort, as Centurions and Lieutenants of Bands, that they should watch and ward without. The four and twentieth day, he was carried unto the other pallace of the Kings, which is on the other fide of the Lake, where he flept a little, but the Feaver never left him, and when his Captains and Noblemen came to do him humble reverence, and to fee him, he lay speechless. So did he the five and twentieth day also: infomuch as the MACEDONIANS thought be was dead. Then they came and knocked at the pallace gate, and cried out unto his friends and fa-

The death of Alexander the

death of Alexander.

Staffra flain by Roxane.

Arideus. Alexanders baftard brother.

miliars, and threatned them, so that they were compelled to open them the gate. Thereupon the gates were opened, and they coming in their Gowns, went unto his bed-fide to fee him. That felf day Python and Seleucus were appointed by the Kings friends to go to the Temple of the god Serapu, to know if they should bring King Alexander thinher. The god answered them, that they should not remove him from thence. The eight and twentieth day at night Alexander died. Thus it is written word for word in manner, in the houshold book of remembrance. At that prefent time, there was no suspinion that he was poiloned. Yet they say, that six years after, there appeared some proof that he was poisoned. Whereupon his mother Olympias put many men to death, and cast the ashes of Jo-Las into the wind, that was dead before, for it was faid he gave him poison in his drink. They think it was Aristotle that counselled Antipater to do it, by whose mean the poison was brought, they say that Agnothemis reported it, having heard it of King Antigonus own mouth. The poison (as some say) was cold as ice, and talleth from a rock in the territory of the City of Nonacris, and it is gathered as they would gather a dew into the horn of the foot of an Afs, for there is no other kind of thing that will keep it, it is lo extream cold and piercing. Others maintain, and fay, that the report of his poisoning is untrue: and for proof thereof they alledge this reason, which is of no small importance, that is: That the chiefest Captains fell at great variance after his death, so that the corps of Alexander remained many days naked without burial, in a hot dry Country, and yet there never appeared any fign or token upon his body, that he was poisoned, but was still a clean and fair corps as could be. Alexander left Roxane great with child, for the which the MACEDONIANS did her great honour, but she did malice Statira extreamly, and did finely deceive her by a counterfeit letter she sent, as if it had come from Alexander, willing her to come unto him. But when she was come, Roxane killed her and her sister, and then threw their bodies into 2 well, and filled it up with earth, by Perdiecas help and confent. Perdiccus came to be King immediately after Alexanders death by means of Aridaus, whom he kept above him for his guard and faiety: This Aridens, being born of a strumper and common woman, called Philinna, was half lunatick, not by nature nor by chance, but as it is reported, put out of his wits when he was a young towardly boy, by drinks which Olympias caufed to be given him, and thereby continued frantick.

The end of Alexanders Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF ULIUS CÆSAR.



Ann. Mund. 3901.

Ant . Christ .



T what time Sylla was made Lord of all, he would have had Casar put away his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna Dictator: but when he saw he could neither with any promife nor threat bring him to it, he took her joynter away from him. The cause of Casars ill will unto Sylla, was by means of marriage: for Marins the elder, married his fathers own fifter, by whom he had Marins the younger, whereby Cafar and he were Coufin-germans. Sylla being troubled with Cinnt and in weighty matters putting to death so many of his enemies, when he came to be Marius. conqueror, he made no reckoning of Cafar: and he was not contented to be hid-

den in fafety, but came and made fuit unto the people for the Priesthood that was void, when he had feant any hair on his face. Howbeit he was repulfed by Sylla's means, that fecretly was against him. Who, when he was determined to have killed him, some of his friends told him, that it was to no purpose to put so young a boy as he to death. But Syllatold them again, that they did not consider that there were many Marians in that young boy. Cafar understanding that, stole out of ROME, and hid himfelf a long time in the Country of the SABINES, wandring still from place to place. But one day being carried from house to house, he fell into the hands of Sylla's souldiers, who searched all those places, and took them whom they found hidden. Cafar bribed the Captain, whose name was Cornelius, with two talents which he gave him. After he had elcaped them thus, he went unto the fea fide and took Cafar took fea thip, and failed into BITHY NIA to go unto King Nicomedes. When he had been with him a while, he and went unto took fea again, and was taken by Pirats about the Isle of PHARMACUSA: for those Pirats kept all up- Nicomedes. on the sea coast, with a great Fleet of ships and boats. They asking him at the first twenty talents for his King of Bithiransom, Casar laughed them to scorn, as though they knew not what a man they had taken, and of him castar taken of felf promifed them fifty talents. Then he fent his menup and down to get him this money, fo that he was pirais. left in a manner alone among these thieves of the CILICIANS (which are the cruellest butchers in the world) with one of his friends and two of his flaves onely : and yet he made fo little reckoning of them, that when he was defirous to fleep, he fent unto them to command them to make no noise. Thus was he thirty eight days among them, not kept prifoner, but rather waited upon them as a Prince. All this time he would boldly exercise himself in any sport or pastime they would go to. And otherwhile also he would write verses, and make orations, and call them together to say them be ore them: and if any of them feemed as though they had not understood him, or passed not for them, he called them block heads and bruit beafts, and laughing, threatned them that he would hang them up. But they were as merry

Cafars Eloquence.

with the matter as could be, and took all in good part, thinking that this his bold speech came through the simplicity of his youth. So when his ransom was come from the City of MILETUM, they being paid their money, and he again fet at liberty; he then prefently armed and manned certain Ships out of the Haven of MILETUM, to follow those thieves, whom he found yet riding at Anchor in the fame Illand. So he took the most of them, and had the spoil of their goods; but for their bodies, he brought them into the City of Pergamus and there committed them to prison, whilest he Funius Prizer himself went to speak with Junius, who had the government of Asia, as unto whom the execution of Asia. tion of these Pirats did belong, for that he was Prator of that Countrey. But this Prator having a great fancy to be fingering of the money, because there was good store of it, answered that he would confider of these priloners at better leisure. Cefar leaving Junius there, returned again unto PERGAMUS, and there hung up all those thieves openly upon a cross, as he had oftentimes promifed them in the 1ste he would do, when they thought he did but jeft. Afterwards when Sylla's power began to decay, Cafars friends wrote unto him, to pray him to come home again. But he failed first unto Rhodes, to study there a time under Appollonism the Son of Meton, whose Scholar also Cierro was, for he was a very honest man, and an excellent good Rhetoritian. It is reported, that Cafar had an excellent natural gift to speak well before the people, and besides that rare gift, he was excellently well studied, so that doubtless he was counted the second man for eloquence in his time, and gave place to the first, because he would be the first and chiefest man of war and authority, being not yet come to the degree of perfection to speak well, which his nature could have performed in him, because he was given rather to follow wars, and to manage great matters, which in the end brought him to be Lord of all ROMB. And therefore in a book he wrote against that which Cicero made in the praise of Cato, he prayeth the Readers not to compare the stile of a Souldier, with the Eloquence of an excellent Orator, that had followed it the most part of his life. When he was returned again unto Rome, he accufed Dolabella for his ill behaviour in the Government of the Provinces, and he had divers Cities of GREECE that gave in evidence against him. Notwithstanding, Dolabella at the length was difmilled. Cafar to require the good will of the GRECIANS which they had shewed him in his acculation of Dolabella took their cause in hand, when they did accuse Publius Antonius before Marcus Lucalus, Prator of Macedon: and followed it to hard against him in their behalf, that Antonisus was driven to appeal before the Tribunes at ROME, alledging, to colour his appeal withall, that he could have no justice in GREECE against the GRECIANS. Now Cefar immediately wan many mens good wills at ROME, through his Eloquence, in pleading of their causes, and the people loved him marvellously also, because of the courteous manner he had to speak to every man, and to use them gently, being more ceremonious therein then was looked for in one of his years. Furthermore, he ever kept a good board, and fared well at his Table, and was very liberal besides: the which indeed did advance him forward, and brought him in estimation with the Cafar loved people. His enemies judging that this favour of the common people would foon quail, when he hospitality. Calaratollow could no longer hold out that charge and expence, suffered him to run on, till by little and little he was grown to be of great strength and power. But in fine, when they had thus given him the bridle to grow to this greatness, and that they could not then pull him back, though indeed in fight it would turn one day to the destruction of the whole state and Commonwealth of ROME: too late they found, that there is not so little a beginning of any thing, but continuance of time will soon make it strong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatness. Thereupon Gicero like a wife Shipmafter that feareth the calmness of the Sea, was the first man that mistrusting his manner of dealing in the Commonwealth found out his craft and malice, which he cunningly cloked under the habit of outward courtesse and familiarity. And yet, faid he, when I consider how finely he combeth his fair bush of hair, and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scratch his head ment of Cafar. with one finger onely, my mind gives me then, that fuch a kind of man should not have so wicked a thought in his head, as to overthrow the state of the Commonwealth. But this was long time after that. The first shew and proof of the love and good will which the people did bear unto Casar, was when he fued to be Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonel of a thousand footmen) standing against Caises Pompilises, at that time he was preferred and chosen before him. But the second and more manisest proof then the first, was at the death of his Aunt Julia, the wife of Marius the elder. For Cafar made the being her Nephew, he made a folema Oration in the Market-place in commendation of her, and at her burial did boldly venture to thew forth the images of Marius: the which was the first time that they were feen after Sylla's victory, because that Marins and all his confederates had been proclaimed Traitors and enemies of the commonwealth. For when there were fome that cryed out upon Cafar for doing of it, the people on the other fide kept slir, and rejoyced at it, clapping of their hands; and thanked him, for that he had brought as it were out of hell, the remembrance of Marius honour

again into ROME, which had so long time been obscured and buried. And where it had been an an-

cient cultome of long time, that the ROMANS used to make Funeral Orations in praise of old Ladies and Matrons when they died, but not of young women: Cafar was the first that praised his own

Wife with Funeral Oration when the was dead, the which also did encrease the peoples good wills the

more, feeing him of fo kind and gentle nature. After the burial of his Wife he was made Treafu-

rer under Antifius Vetus Prettor, whom he honoured ever after: fo that when himself came to be

Prætor, he made his Son to be chosen Treasurer. Afterwards, when he was come out of that

Office, he married his third Wife Pompeia, having a daughter by his first Wife, Cornelia, which was

married unto Pompey the Great. Now for that he was very liberal in expences, buying (as some

Cicero's judge-

The love of the people of Rome unto Ca-Cafar chofen

Funeral Oration at the death of his Aunt Julia.

that praised his wife in Funeral Oration. Gæfar made Quzitor.

thought) but a vain and thort glory of the favour of the people (where indeed he bought good cheap the greatest things that could be) some say, that before he bare any Office in the Commonwealth, he was grown in debt, to the fum of thirteen hundred talents. Furthermore, because he was made over-feer of the work for the high way called Appius way, he disburfed a great fum of his own money towards the charges of the fame. And on the other fide, when he was made Ædilis, for that he did shew the people the pastime of three hundred and twenty couple of Sword players, and did befides exceed all other in lumptuoulness in the sports and common feasts, which he made to delight them withall (and did as it were drown all the stately shews of others in the like, that had gone before him) he fo pleased the people, and wan their love therewith, that they devised daily to give him new Offices for to requite him. At that time there were two factions in ROME, to wit, the faction of Sylla, which was very ftrong and of great power: and the other of Marius, which was then under foot, and durst not shew it self. But Cafar because he would renew it again, even at that time when he being Ædilis, all the feafts and common sports were in their greatest ruffe, he secretly caused images of Marius to be made, and of victories that carried triumphs; and those he set up one night within the Capitol. The next morning when every man saw gliftering of these golden images excellently well wrought, shewing by the inscriptions, that they were the victories which Marius had won upon the CIMBRES, every one marvelled much at the boldness of him that durft set them up there, knowing well enough who it was. Hereupon it ran fraight through all the City, and every man came thither to fee them. Then some cryed out upon Casar accused Cafar, and faid, it was a tyranny which he meant to fet up, by renewing of fuch honours as before to make a rehad been trodden under foot and forgotten, by common decree and open proclamation: and that it bellion in the was no more but a bait to gage the peoples good wills, which he had fet out in the stately shews of state. his common plays, to fee if he had brought them to his lure, that they would abide fuch parts to be played and a new alteration of things to be made. They of Marius faction on the other fide incouraging one another, shewed themselves straight a great number gathered together, and made the mount of the Capitol ring again with their cries and Clapping of hands; infomuch as the tears ran down many of their cheeks, for very joy, when they faw the images of Marius, and they extolled Cafar to the skies, judging him the worthieft man of all the kindred of Marius. The Senate being affembled thereupon, Catulus Lucturius, one of the greatest authority at that time in ROME, role. and vehemently inveighed against Casar, and spake that then which ever since hath been noted much: that Cafar did not now covertly go to work, but by plain force fought to alter the ftate of the Commonwealth. Neverthelels, Cefar at that time did answer him fo, that the Senate was fatisfied. Thereupon they that had him in estimation did grow in better hope then before, and perswaded him, that hardly he should give place to no man, and that through the good will of the people, he should be better then all they, and come to be the chiefest man of the City. At that time the chief Bishop Me- The death of tellus died, and two of the notablest men of the City, and of the greatest authority (Isuricus and Metellus chief Catulus) contended for his room: Cafar notwithstanding their contention, would give neither of them both place, but presented himself to the people, and made suit for it as they did. The suit being equal betwixt either of them, Casulus, because he was a man of greater calling and dignity than the other, doubting the uncertainty of the election, sent unto Cafar a good sum of money, to make him leave off his fuit. But Casar fent him word again, that he would lend a greater fum then that, to maintain the fuit against him. When the day of the election came, his mother bringing him to the door of his house, Cefar weeping, kiffed her, and faid : Mother, this day thou shalt fee thy fon chief Bishop of ROME, or banished from ROME. In fine, when the voices of the people were gathered together, and the strife well debated, Cofar wan the victory, and made the Cofar made Senate and Noble men all afraid of him, for that they thought that thenceforth he would make the chief Bishop of people do what he thought good. Then Catulus and Tife feel flatly out with Cicero, and condemned Rome. him for that he did not bewray Cafar, when he knew that he was of conspiracy with Cataline, and Cafar suspected had opportunity to have done it. For when Cataline was bent and determined, not onely to overtate with Gaitthrow the flate of the Commonwealth, but nitrely to defroy the Empire of Rows be afond. throw the state of the Commonwealth, but utterly to destroy the Empire of Rome, he escaped line in his conof the hands of juffice for lack of fufficient proof, before his full treason and determination was spiracy. known. Notwithstanding he left Lentulus and Cethegus in the City, companions of his conspiracy: unto whom, whether Cafar did give any fecret help or comfort, it is not well known. Yet this is manifest, that when they were convinced in open Senate, Cicero being at that time Consul, asking every mans opinion in the Senate, what punishment they should have, and every one of them till it came to Cafar, gave fentence they fhould die: Cafar then rifing up to fpeak, made an oration (pen- Cafar went aned and premeditated before) and faid, that it was neither lawfull, nor yet their custome did bear it, bout to deliver to put men of fuch Nobility to death (but in an extreamity) without lawfull inditement and condemna- the confpiration. And therefore, that if they were put in prison in some City of ITALY, where Cicero thought tors. best untill that Catiline were overthrown, the Senate then might at their pleasure quickly take such order therein, as might appear best unto their wisdoms. This opinion was thought more gentle, and withall was uttered with fuch a passing good grace and eloquence, that not onely they which were to speak after him did approve it: but such also as had spoken to the contrary before, revoked their opinion, and stuck to his, untill it came to Cato and Catulus to speak. They both did sharply inveigh against him, but Cato chiefly: who in his oration made Cafar suspected to be of the confpi-Cato's oration racy, and stoutly spake against him, infomuch that the offenders were put into the hands of the Of- against Cafar.

ficers to be put to death. Cofar coming out of the Senate, a company of young men which guarded

ULIUS

Cicero for the fafety of his person, did set upon him with their swords drawn. But some say that Curio covered Cafar with his Gown, and took him out of their hands. And Cicero felf, when the young men looked upon him, beckened with his head that they should not kill him, either fearing the fury of the people, or elfe that he thought it too shamefull and wicked a part. But if that were true, I marvell why Cicero did not put it into his book he wrote of his Confulship. But certainly they blamed him afterwards, for that he took not the opportunity offered him against Casar, onely for overmuch fear of the people, that loved him very dearly. For shortly after, when Cafar went into the Senate, to clear himself of certain presumptions and false accusations objected against him, and being bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him longer, than they were wont: the people came about the Council-house, and called out aloud for him, bidding them let him out. Cato then fearing the infurrection of the poor needy persons, which were they that put all their hope in Cefar, and did also move the people to stir, did perswade the Senate to make a frank distribution of Corn unto them, for a moneth, This distribution did put the Common-wealth to a new charge of five hundred and fifty Myriades. This counfell quenched a prefent great fear, and did in happy time scatter and disperseabroad the best part of Casars force and power, at such time as he was made Prætor, and that for respect of his office he was most to be seared. Yet all the time he was officer, he never fought any alteration in the Commonwealth, but contrarily he himfelf had a great misfortune fell on his house, which was this. There was a young noble man of the order of the PATRICIANS, called Publiss Clodiss, who lacked neither wealth, nor eloquence, but otherwise as insolent and impudent a person, as any was else in Rome. He became in love with The love of P. Pompeia, Cafars wife, who milliked not withall: notwithflanding the was fo firaightly looked to, and Aurelia (Cafars mother) an honeft Gentlewoman had fuch an eye of her, that these two lovers could not meet as they would, without great peril and difficulty. The ROMANS do use to honour The good god a goddes, which they call the good goddes, as the GRECIANS have her whom they call Gynacia, Ine good gou to wit, the goddes of women. Her, the PHRYGIANS do claim to be peculiar unto them, faywas, and her ing: that the is King Mids mother. Howbeit the ROMANS hold opinion, that it is a Nymph of the Woods married unto the god Faunus. The GRECIANS, they also, that the was one of the mothers of the god Bacchin, whom they dare not name. And for proof hereof, on her feaft day, the women make certain Tabernacles of vine twigs, and leaves of vine branches; and also they make as the tale goeth, a holy Dragon for this goddels, and do fet it by her: besides, it is not lawfull for any man to be present at their sacrifices, no not within the house it self where they are made. Furthermore, they fay, that the women in these facrifices do many things among themselves, much like unto the Ceremonies of Orpheus. Now when the time of this feaft came, the husband (whether he were Prator or Conful) and all his men and the boys in the house, do come out of it, and leave it wholly to his wife, to order the house at her pleasure, and there the sacrifices and ceremonies are done the most part of the night, and they do besides pass the night away in songs and musick. Pompeia Cafars wife, being that year to celebrate this feaft, Clodius who had yet no hair on his face, and thereby thought he should not be bewrayed, disguised himself in a singing Wenches apparell, because his face was very like unto a young Wench. He finding the Gates open, being secretly brought in by her Chamber-maid that was made privy unto it, she left him, and ran to Pompeia her miftress, to tell her that he was come. The Chamber maid tarried long before she came again, infomuch as Clodius being weary waiting for her where she left him, he took his pleasure, and went from one place to another in the house, which had very large rooms in it, still shunning the light and was by chance met withall by one of Aurelia's maids, who taking him for a woman, prayed her to play. Clodim refusing to play, the maid pulled him forward, and asked him what he was: Clodius then answered her, that he tarried for Abra one of Pompeia's women. So Aurelia's maid knowing him by his voice, ran straight where the lights and Ladies were, and cryed out, that there was a man difguifed in womans apparell. The women therewith were fo amazed, that Aurelia caused them presently to leave off the Ceremonies of the Sacrifice, and to hide their secret things; and having feen the Gates fast locked, went immediately up and down the house with Torch-light to feek out this man : who at the last was found out in the Chamber of Pompeia's maid, with whom Clading taken he hid himself. Thus Cloding being found out, and known of the women, they thrust him out in the facrifices of the doors by the shoulders. The same night the women told their husbands of this chance as foon as they came home. The next morning, there ran a great runtour through the City, how goaders. Clodism had attempted a great villany, and that he deferved, not onely to be punished of them whom for prophoning he had flandered, but also of the Commonwealth and the gods. There was one of the Tribunes of the lacrifices of the people that did indite him, and accuse him of High Treason to the gods. Furthermore, there the good god- were also of the chiefest of the Nobility and Senate, that came to depose against him, and burthened him with many horrible and deteftable facts, and specially with incest committed with his own fifter, which was married unto Lucullus. Notwithstanding the people stoutly defended Clodius against their acculations: and this did help him much against the Judges, which were amazed, and afraid to stir the people. This notwithstanding, Cafar prefently put his wife away, and thereupon being brought by Clodius accuser to be a witness against him, he answered, he knew nothing of that they objected

against Clodius. This answer being clean contrary to their expectation that heard it, the accuser

asked Cafar, why then he had put away his wife: Because I will not, faid he, that my wife be so

much as suspected. And some say, that Cefar spake truly as he thought. But others think, that he did it to please the common people, who were very desirous to save Clodius. So Clodius was dis-

Cafar putterh away his wife Pompcia.

different of this Acculation, because the most part of the Judges gave a confused Judgement, for the fear they stood in one way, of the danger of the common People, if they condemned him, and Clodius quit by for the ill opinion on the other fide of the Nobility, if they did quit him. The government of the the Judges, for Provinces of Spain being faln unto Cafar, for that he was Prætor, his Creditors came and cried Sacrifices of our upon him, and were importunate of him to be payed. Cafar being unable to fatisfie them, was the good godcompelled to go unto Craffus, who was the richest man of all Rome, and that stood in need of dels. Cafars boldness and courage to withstand Pompeys greatness in the Commonwealth. Crassus be- Casar Prator Cafars boldness and courage to within a home of eight hundred and thirty Talents: where of spain, came his furety unto his greedieft Creditors for the fum of eight hundred and thirty Talents: where of spain, upon they suffered Casar to depart to the Government of his Province. In this Journey it is report for Casar to ed, that paffing over the Mountains of the Alpes, they came through a little poor Village that his Creditors had not many Housholds, and yet poor Cottages. There his friends that did accompany him, asked him merrily, if there were any contending for Offices in that Town, and whether there were any strife there amongst the Noblemen for honour. Cafar speaking in good earnest, answered: I cannot tell that, faid he, but for my part I had rather be the chiefest man here, then the second perfon in ROME. Another time also when he was in SPAIN, reading the History of Alexanders acts, when he had read it, he was forrowfull a good while after, and then burft out in weeping. His friends feeing that, marvelled what should be the cause of his forrow. He answered them. Do you not think, faid he, that I have good cause to be heavy, when King Alexander being no elder then my felf is now, had in old time won fo many Nations and Countries: and that I hitherunto have done nothing worthy of my felf? Therefore when he was come into Spain, he was very carefull of his business, and had in few days joyned ten new Ensigns more of Footmen, unto the other Spain, twenty which he had before. Then marching forward against the CALLESIANS and LUSITA-NIANS, he conquered all, and went as far as the great Sea Oceanum, fubduing all the People which before knew not the ROMANS for their Lords. There he took order for pacifying of the War, and did as wifely take order for the establishing of Peace. For he did reconcile the Cities together, and made them friends one with another, but specially he pacified all suits of Law, and strife betwixt the Debtors and Creditors, which grew by reason of usury. For he ordained that the Cre- Casars order ditors should take yearly two parts of the Revenue of their Debtors, untill such time as they had between the payed themselves: and that the Debtors should have the third part themselves to live withall. He Creditor and having won great estimation by this good order taken, returned from his Government very rich, and his Souldiers also full of rich Spoils, who called him Imperator, to fay, Soveraigne Captain. Cafara Souldi-Now the ROMANS having a cuftom, that fuch as demanded honour of Triumph, should remain ers called him a while without the City, and that they on the other fide which fued for the Confulship, should of Imperator. necessity be there in person: Casar coming unhappily at the very time when the Consuls were chofen, he fent to pray the Senate to do him that favour, that being ablent he might by his friends fue for the Confulfhip. Cato at the first did vehemently inveigh against it, vouching an express Law to the contrary. But afterwards, perceiving that notwithstanding the reasons he alledged, many of the Senators (being won by Cafar) favoured his request, yet he cunningly fought all he could to prevent them, prolonging time, in dilating his Oration untill night. Cafar thereupon determined rather to give over the fuit of his Triumph, and to make fuit for the Confulship : and so came into the City, and had fuch a device with him, as went beyond them all, but Cato onely. His device Cafur reconciwas this: Pompey and Craffin, two of the greatest personages of the City of Rome being at jar leth Pompey together, Cafar made them friends, and by that means got unto himself the power of them both, and Craffin tofor by colour of that gentle act and friendship of his, he subtilly (unawares to them all) did greatly alter and change the state of the Commonwealth. For it was not the private discord between Pompey and Cafar, as many men thought, that caused the Civil-War: but rather it was their agreement together, who joyned all their Powers first to overthrow the state of the Senate and Nobility, and afterwards they fell at jar one with mother. But Cato that then foresaw and prophecied ma- Cato's foreny times what would follow, was taken but for a vain man: but afterwards they found him a wifer fight and Pro man, then happy in his Counsell. Thus Cafar being brought unto the Affembly of the election, phecy. in the middeft of these two noble persons, whom he had before reconciled together, he was there Consultation chosen Consult with Calphurnius Bibulus, without gain-saying, or contradiction of any man. Now with Colphurwhen he was entred into his Office, he began to put forth Laws meeter for a feditious Tribune of nius Bibalus. the People, then for a Confull: because by them he preferred the division of Lands, and distributing Casars Laws. of Corn to every Citizen gratis, to please them withall. But when the Noblemen of the Senate were against his device, he desiring no better occasion, began to cry out, and to protest, that by the overhardness and austerity of the Senate, they drave him against his will to lean unto the People: and thereupon having Craffus on the one fide of him, and Pompey on the other, he asked them openly in the Affembly, if they did give their confent unto the Laws which he had put forth. They both answered, they did. Then he prayed them to stand by him against those that threatned him with force of Sword to let him. Craffus gave him his word, he would, Pompey also did the like, and added thereunto, that he would come with his Sword and Target both, against them that would withftand him with their Swords. These words offended much the Senate, being far unmeet for his gravity, and undecent for the Majesty and Honour he carried, and most of all uncomely for the prefence of the Senate, whom he should have reverenced: and were speeches fitter for a rash lightheaded youth, then for his Person. Howbeit the common People on the other side, they rejoyced.

Daughter of

Pompey by authorized Cx-

Then Cefar because he would be more assured of Pompey's power and frendship, he gave handis Cafer married Daughter Julia in Marriage, which was made fure before unto Servilius Cepio, and promifed him in exchange Pompey's Daughter, who was fure also unto Faustus the Son of Sylla. And shortly after allo, Cafari felf did marry Calphurnia, the Daughter of Pife, whom he caused to be made Con-Pompey.

Cafar matried full, to fucceed him the next year following. Cato then cried out with open mouth, and called the Calar married run, to increase min the man year community and not to be fuffered, that they should in that fort Calpburnis the gods to witness, that it was a shamefull matter, and not to be suffered, that they should in that fort make havock of the Empire of ROME, by fuch horrible bawdy matches, distributing among themfelves through those wicked marriages, the Governments of the Provinces, and of great Armies, Chalphurnius Bibulus, fellow-Confull with Cefar, perceiving that he did contend in vain, making all the reliftance he could to withftand this Law, and that oftentimes he was in danger to be flain with Cato, in the Market-place and Affembly; he kept close in his House all the reft of his Consulting.

When Pompey had married Julia, he filled all the Market-place with Souldiers, and by open force authorized the Laws which Cafar made in the behalf of the People. Furthermore, he procured that Cafur had Gaul on this fide and beyond the Alpes, and all ILLYRIA, with four Legions granted him for five years. Then Cato standing up to speak against it, Cafar bade his Officers lay hold on him, and carry him to prison, thinking he would have appealed unto the Tribunes. But Caso said never a word when he went his way. Cesar perceiving then, that not onely the Senators and Nonever a billity were offended, but that the common People also for the reverence they bare unto Cato's vertues, were ashamed, and went away with silence; he himself secretly did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take Cato from the Officers. But after he had played this part, there were few Senators that would be Prefident of the Senate under him, but left the City, because they could not away with his doings. And of them, there was an old man called Confidius, that on a time boldly told him, the rest durst not come to Council, because they were assaid of his Souldiers. Casar answered him again; and why then doeft not thou keep thee at home, for the same fear? Considers replied, becaule my age taketh away fear from me : for having to short a time to live, I have no care to prolong it turther. The shamefullest part that Cafar played while he was Conful, seemeth to be this: when he chofe P. Clodius Tribune of the People, that had offered his Wife fuch dilhonour, and pro-C.sfn by Clo- phaned the holy ancient Mysteries of the Women, which were celebrated in his own House. Clodicaptr by Cic- primited to be Tribune to no other end, but to destroy Cicero: and Cafars self also departed not from cero out of Italy ROME to his Army before he had fet them together by the ears, and driven Cicero out of ITALY. All these things they say he did, before the Wars with the Gauls. But the time of the great Armies and Conquests he made afterwards, and of the War in which he subdued all the Gauls (entring into another course of life far contrary unto the first) made him to be known for as valiant a Souldier, and as excellent a Captain to lead them, as those that afore him had been counted the wifelt and most valiant Generals that ever were, and that by their valiant deeds had atchieved great honour. For whosoever would compare the House of the Fabians, of the Scipiocs, of the Metellians. yea those also of his own time, or long before him, as Sylla, Marius, the two Lucullians, and Pompey's felf:

Whose fame ascendeth up unto the Heavens.

It will appear that Cefars prowefs, and deeds of Arms, did excell them all together. The one, in the hard Countreys where he made Wars: another, in enlarging the Realms and Countreys which he joyned unto the Empire of ROME: another, in the multitude and power of his Enemies whom he overcame: another in the rudenels and auftere nature of men with whom he had to do, whose manners afterwards he foftned and made civil: another, in courtefie and clemency which he used unto them whom he had conquered: another, in great bounty and liberality bestowed unto them that ferved under him in those Wars: and in fine, he excelled them all in the number of Battles he had fought, and in the Cesurs Con-multitude of his Enemies he had slain in Battle. For in less then ten years War in GAUL, he took by quelts in Gaul. force and affault above eight hundred Towns, he conquered three hundred feveral Nations : and having before him in Battle thirty hundred thousand Souldiers, at fundry times, he slew ten hundred thousand The love and of them, and took as many more Prifoners. Furthermore, he was fo entirely beloved of his Souldi-The love and refpect of Caeers, that to do him fervice (where otherwise they were no more then other men in any private quarters found in the control of the felves, and with fuch fury, that no man was able to abide them. And this appeareth plainly by the The wonderfull example of Acilius: who in a Battle by Sea before the City of MARSEILLES, boarding one of ane wondernul his Enemies Ships, one cut off his right hand with a Sword; but yet he forfook not his Target valiance so of the start of valuances or the License Suips, one case on the argue made and a sworter, our yet he actions not the larget Acilius, Cassus which he had in his left hand, but thrust it in his Enemies faces, and made them fly, so that he Scava, and di- wan their Ship from them. And Cassius Scava also, in a Conflict before the City of Dyrrachivers other of um, having one of his eyes put out with an Arrow, his shoulder stricken through with a Dart, and his shioh with another and having received thirty Arrows toog his Chiald his shioh with another and having received thirty Arrows toog his Chiald has called a his received thirty Arrows toog his Chiald has called a his received thirty Arrows toog his Chiald has called a his received thirty Arrows toog his Chiald has called a his received thirty Arrows toog his Chiald has called a his received thirty Arrows toog his Chiald has called a his received thirty Arrows toog his Chiald has called a his received thirty Arrows toog his Chiald has called a his received thirty Arrows toog his Chiald has called a his received thirty Arrows toog his Chiald has called a his received thirty Arrows toog his Chiald has called a his received thirty Arrows toog his Chiald has called a his received thirty Arrows toog his Chiald has called a his chief the called a his chief thirty Arrows toog his Chiald has called a his chief thirty Arrows toog his Chiald his chief thirty Arrows toog his Chiald his chief the called a his chief thirty Arrows toog his Chiald his chief thirty Arrows toog his Chiald his chief thirty Arrows toog his Chiald his chief thirty Arrows toog his chief the chief thirty Arrows to chief thirty Arrows to chief the chief thirty Arrows to chief the chief thirty Arrows to his thigh with another, and having received thirty Arrows upon his Shield, he called to his Enemies, and made as though he would yield unto them. But when two of them came running to him, he clave one of their shoulders from his body with his Sword, and hurt the other in the face: so that he made him turn his back, and at the length faved himself, by means of his Companions that came to help him. And in BRITAIN also, when the Captains of the Bands were driven into a Marsh or Bogge full of mire and dirt, and that the Enemies did fiercely affail them there, Cafar then standing to view the Battle, he saw a private Souldier of his thrust in among the Captains, and fought fo valiantly in their defence, that at the length he drave the barbarous People to fly, and by his means faved the Captains, which otherwise were in great danger to have been cast away. Then this Souldier being the hindmost man of all the Captains, marching with great pain through the mire and dirt, half swimming, and half on foot, in the end got to the other fide, but left his Shield behind him. Cafar wondering at his noble courage, ran to him with joy to embrace him. But the poor Souldier hanging down his head, the water standing in his eyes, fell down at Cafar's feet, and befought him to pardon him, for that he had left his Target behind him. And in Africk also, Scipio having taken one of Cafar's Ships, and Granius Petronius Granius Peaboard on her amongst other, not long before chosen Treasurer; he put all the rest to the Sword stronius. but him, and faid he would give him his life. But Petronius answered him again, that Cafars Souldiers did not use to have their lives given them, but to give others their lives : and with these words he drew his Sword, and thruft himself through. Now Cafars self did breed this noble courage and life in them. First, for that he gave them bountifully, and did honour them also, shewing thereby, that he did not heap up Riches in the Wars, to maintain his life afterwards in wantonnels and pleasure, but that he did keep it in store, honourably to reward their valiant service; and that by fo much he thought himself rich, by how much he was liberal in rewarding of them that had deserved it. Furthermore, they did not wonder so much at his valiantness, in putting himself at every instant in such manifest danger, and in taking so extream pains as he did, knowing that it was his greedy defire of honour that fet him on fire, and pricked him forward to do it : but that he always continued all labour and hardness, more then his body could bear, that filled them all with admiration. For, concerning the constitution of his body, he was lean, white, and lost skinned, and often subject to head-ach, and other while to the falling-fickness (the which took him castar had the the first time, as it is reported, in CORDUBA , a City of SPAIN :) but yet therefore yielded falling fickness not to the disease of his body, to make it a cloak to cherish him withall, but contrarily, took the pains of War, as a Medicine to cure his fick body, fighting alwaies with his difease, travelling continually, living foberly, and commonly lying abroad in the Field. For the most nights he slept in his Coach or Litter, and thereby bestowed his rest, to make him alwaies able to do something: and in the day time, he would travell up and down the Countrey to fee Towns, Caftles, and ftrong places. He had alwaies a Secretary with him in the Coach, who did ftill write as he went by the way, and a Souldier behind him that carried his Sword. He made such speed the first time he came from Rome, when he had his Office, that in eight days he came to the River of Rhone. He was so excellent a rider of Horse from his youth, that holding his hands behind him, he would gallop his Horse upon the spur. In his Wars in GAUL, he did surther exercise himself to indite Letters as he rode by the way; and did occupy two Secretaries at once with as much as they could write : and as Oppius writeth, more then two at a time. And it is reported, that Cafar was the first that devised friends might talk together by writing Cyphers in Letters, when he had no leifure to speak with them for his urgent business, and for the great distance besides from ROME. How little account Cafar made of his Diet, this example doth prove it. Cafar supping one night The tempein MILLAIN with his friend Valerim Leo, there was served Sperage to his Board, and oyl of rance of Cafar Perfume put into it, instead of Saller-oyl. He simply eat it, and found no fault, blaming his in his diet. friends that were offended: and told them, that it had been enough for them to have abstained to Castars civility eat of that they milliked, and not to shame their friend, and how that he lacked good manners not to blame that found fault with his friend. Another time as he travelled through the Countrey, he was dri- his friend. ven by foul weather on the fudden to take a poor mans Cottage, that had but one little Cabin in it, and that was so narrow, that one man could but scarce lie in it. Then he said to his friends that were about him, Greatest rooms are meetest for greatest men, and the most necessary rooms for the fickest persons. And thereupon he caused Oppins that was fick to lie there all night: and he himself, with the rest of his friends, lay without doors, under the easing of the House. The first War that Cafar made with the GAULS, was with the HELVETIANS and TIGURI-NIANS, who having fet fire on all their good Cities, to the number of twelve, and four hundred Villages befides, came to invade that part of GAUL which was subject to the ROMANS, as the CIMBRI and TEUTONS had done before, unto whom for valiantness they gave no place: and they were also a great number of them (for they were three hundred thousand souls in all) whereof there were an hundred fourfcore and ten thouland fighting men. Of those, it was not Cafar The Tigurinihimself that overcame the TIGURINIANS, but Labienus his Lieutenant, that overthrew them and flain by by the River of Arax. But the HELVETIANS themselves came suddenly with their Army to Laboratory fet upon him, as he was going towards a City of his Confederates. Cafar perceiving that, made haft to get him some place of ftrength, and there did set his men in Battle-ray. When one brought him his Horfe to get upon, which he used in Battle, he said unto them : When I have overcome Cofur refused mine Enemies, I will then get upon him to follow the chase, but now let us give them Charge. his Horsewhen Therewith he marched forward on foot, and gave charge: and there fought it out a long time, be he fought a fore he could make them fly that were in Bartle. But the greatest trouble he had, was to distress Battle. their Camp, and to break their strength which they had made with their Carts. For there, they The Heloviia as that before had fled from the Battle, did not onely put themselves in force, and valiantly fought flain by Cafar. it out : but their Wives and Children also fighting for their lives to the death, were all slain, and

the Battle was scant ended at midnight. Now if the act of this Victory was famous, unto that

four hundred Gentlemen and Counsellors of the ROMANS, but three faved. The Senate under-

he also added another as notable, or exceeding it. For of all the barbarous People that had escaped from this Battle, he gathered together again above an hundred thousand of them, and compelled them to return home into their Countrey which they had forfaken, and unto their Towns also which they had burnt : because he feared the GERMANS would come over the River of Rheyne, and occupy that Countrey lying void. The fecond War he made, was in defence of the Gauss War with King against the GERMANS: although before, he himself had caused Ariovistus their King, to be received for a Confederate of the ROMANS. Notwithstanding, they were grown very unquiet Neighbours, and it appeared plainly, that having any occasion offered them to enlarge their Territories, they would not content them with their own, but meant to invade and poffels the rest of GAUL. Cefar perceiving that some of his Captains trembled for fear, but specially the young Gentlemen of noble Houses of Rome, who thought to have gone to the Warswith him, as onely for their pleasure and gain, he called them to Council, and commanded them that were afraid. that they should depart home, and not put themselves in danger against their wills, sith they had fuch womanish faint hearts, to shrink when he had need of them. And for himself, he said, he would fet upon the barbarous People, though he had left him but the tenth Legion onely, faying that the Enemies were no valianter then the CIMBRI had been, nor that he was a Captain inferiour unto Marius. This Oration being made, the Souldiers of the tenth Legion fent their Lieutenants unto him, to thank him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other Legions also fell our with their Captains, and all of them together followed him many days Journey with good will to ferve him, untill they came within two hundred furlongs of the Camp of the Enemies. Ariovistus courage was well cooled, when he saw Casar was come, and that the ROMANS came to leck out the GERMANS; where they thought, and made account, that they durst not have abidden them: and therefore nothing miftrusting it would have come so to pass, he wondered The wife we- much at Cefars courage, and the more when he faw his own Army in a maze withall. But much men of Germa more did their courage tall, by reason of the soolish Womens Prophesies they had amongst them, my, how they which did foretell things to come : who confidering the waves and trouble of the Rivers, and did foretell things to come : who confidering the waves and trouble of the Rivers, and did foretell things to come : who confidering the waves and trouble of the Rivers, and did foretell things to come : who confidering the waves and trouble of the Rivers, and and torctell things to come the terrible notife they made running down the stream, did fore-warn them not to fight untill things to come the stream of the fight untill things to come the stream of t the new Moon. Cafar having intelligence thereof, and perceiving that the barbarous People thereupon stirred not, thought it best then to set upon them, being discouraged with the superstitious fear, rather then losing time, he should tarry their leisure. So he did skirmish with them even to their Forts, and little Hills where they lay, and by this means provoked them so, that with great fury they came down to fight. There he overcame them in Battle, and followed King Ariovi- he filled all the Fields thitherto with dead Bodies and Spoils. Howbeit Arioviftus flying with thrown by Ca-were flain fourscore thouland persons at this Battle. After this Exploit, Casar left his Army

The Belga o. vercome by Cafar.

Nervii the ftourest Warriers of all the

them in chase, with great slaughter, three hundred furlongs, even unto the River of Rheyne : and speed, got over the River of Rheyne, and escaped with a few of his men. It is said that there amongst the Sequanes to winter there: and he himself in the mean time, thinking of the affairs at ROME, went over the Mountains into GAUL about the River of Po, being part of his Province which he had in charge. For there the River called Rubicon, divideth the reft of IT A-LY from GAUL on this side of the Alpes. Cafar lying there, did practise to make friends in Rome, because many came thither to fee him: unto whom he granted their fuits they demanded, and fent them home also, partly with liberall rewards, and partly with large promises and hope. Now during all this Conquett of the GAULS, Pompey did not consider how Cafar enterchangeably did conquer the GAULS with the Weapons of the ROMANS, and wan the ROMANS again with the Money of the GAULS. Cefar being advertised that the BELG& (which were the warlikest men of all the GAULS, and that occupied the third part of GAUL) were all up in Arms, and had raifed a great power of men together : he straight made towards them with all possible speed, and found them spoiling and over-running the Countrey of the GAULS, their Neighbours and Confederates of the ROMANS. So he gave them Battle, and they fighting cowardly, he overthrew the most part of them, which were in a Troop together; and slew such a number of them, that the ROMANS passed over deep Rivers and Lakes on foot, upon their dead bodies, the Rivers were fo full of them. After this overthrow, they that dwelt nearest unto the Sea side, and were next neighbours unto the Ocean, did yield themselves without any compulsion or fight: whereupon, he led his Army against the NERVIANS, the stoutest Warriers of all the Belge. They dwelling in the Wood-Countrey, had conveyed their Wives, Children, and Goods, into a marvellous great Forest, as far from their Enemies as they could; and being about the number of fixfcore thousand fighting men and more, they came one day and let upon Cafer, when his Army was out of order, and fortifying of his Camp, little looking to have fought that day. At the first Charge, they brake the Horsemen of the ROMANS, and compassing in the twelfth and seventh Legion, they slew all the Centurions and Captains of the Bands. And had not Cefars felf taken his Shield on his arm, and flying in amongst the barbarous People, made a lane through them that fought before him: and the tenth Legion also feeing him in danger, run unto him from the top of the Hill where they flood in Battle, and broken the Ranks of their Enemies, there had not a ROMAN escaped alive that day. But taking example of Cafars valiantness, they fought desperately beyond their power, and yet could not make the NERthe exercise of the state of the fought it out to the death, till they were all in a manner flain in the Field. It standing it at Rome, ordained that they should do Sacrifice unto the gods, and keep Feasts and solemn Proceffions fifteen days together without intermission, having never made the like Ordinance at Rome, for any Victory that ever was obtained. Because they saw the danger had been marvellous great, fo many Nations rifing as they did in Arms together against him : and further; the love of the People unto him made his Victory much more famous. For when Cefar had fet his affairs at a flay in GAUL, on the other fide of the Alpes, he alwaies used to lie about the River of Po in the Winter time, to give direction for the establishing of things at ROME, at his pleasure. For, not onely they that made fuit for Offices at ROME, were cholen Magistrates by means of Cofars Money which he gave them, with the which, bribing the People, they bought their voices, and when they were in Office, did all that they could to increase Casars power and greatness: but the greatest and chiefest men also of the Nobility, went into Luca unto him. As Pompey, Crassim, Appins, The great Prator of SARDINIA, and Nepos Proconful in Spain. Infomuch as there were at one time, Lords of Rome fixfcore Serjeants carrying Rods and Axes before the Magistrates: and above two hundred Senators befides. There they fell in Confultation, and determined that Pompey and Crassiu should again be chosen Consuls the next year following. Furthermore they did appoint, that Casar should have Money again delivered him to pay his Army; and befides, did prorogue the time of his Government hive years further. This was thought a very strange and an unreasonable matter unto unwise men. For they themselves that had taken so much Money of Cofar, perswaded the Senate tolet him have Money of the common Treasure, as though he had had none before: yea to speak more plainly, they compelled the Senate unto it, fighing and lamenting to fee the Decrees they paffed. Cato was not there then, for they had purposely sent him before into Cyprus. Howbeit Faonius that followed Cato's steps, when he saw that he could not prevail, nor withstand them, he went out of the Senate in choler, and cried out amongst the People, that it was a horrible shame. But no man did hearken to him: fome for the reverence they bare unto Pompey and Craffue; and others favouring Cafars proceedings, did put all their hope and trust in him: and therefore did quiet themselves, and ftirred not. Then Cafar returning into GAUL beyond the Alpes unto his Army, found there a great War in the Countrey. For two great Nations of GERMANY had not long before paffed over the River of RHEYNE, to conquer new Lands : and the one of these People were called 1 PES, Iper and Tenteand the other TENTERIDES. Now touching the Battle which Cefar fought with them, he him- rides, People felf doth describe it in his Commentaries, in this fort. That the barbarous People having sent Am- of Germany. bassadors unto him, to require peace for a certain time; they notwithstanding, against the Law of Arms, came and fet upon him as he travelled by the way, infomuch as eight hundred of their men of Arms, overthrew five thousand of his Horsemen; who nothing at all mistrusted their coming. Again, that they fent him other Ambassadors to mock him once more: but that he kept Gasars Horsethem, and therewith caused his whole Army to march against them, thinking it a folly and madnels, flight. to keep faith with such traiterous barbarous breakers of Leagues. Canutius writeth, that the Senate appointing again to do new Sacrifices, Frocessions and Featts, to give thanks to the gods for this Victory, Cato was of contrary opinion, that Casar should be delivered into the hands of the barbarous People, for to purge their City and Commonweal of this breach of faith, and to turn the curse upon him that was the Authour of it. Of these barbarous People, which came over the the curse upon him that was the Authour of it. Of these parparous reopic, which came over the RHEYNE (being about the number of four hundred thousand persons) they were all in a manner slain, the speraral saving a very sew of them, that slying from the Battle got over the River of RHEYNE again, who by Costar. were received by the SICAMBRIANS, another People of the GERMANS. Cafar taking this Sycambri, occasion against them, lacking no good will of himself besides, to have the honour to be counted People of the the first ROMAN that ever passed the River of RHEYNE with an Army, he built a Bridge over it. Germans. the first Roman that ever passed the River of RHEYNE with an Army, the boat a bridge of the River is marvellous broad, and runneth with great fury; and in that place specially where he Bridge overthe built his Bridge, for there it is of a great breadth from one fide to the other: and it hath fo ftrong River of and swift a stream belides, that men casting down great bodies of Trees into the River (which the Rhepne. ftream bringeth down with it) did with the great blows and force thereof marvellously shake the posts of the Bridge he had set up. But to prevent the blows of those Trees, and also to break the fury of the stream, he made a pile of great Wood above the Bridge a good way, and did forcibly ram them into the bottom of the River; fo that in ten days space he had set up and finisht his Bridge, of the goodlieft Carpenters work, and most excellent invention to see to, that could be possibly thought or devised, Then passing over his Army upon it, he found none that durst any more fight with him. For the Swevians, which were the warlikest People of all GERMANY, had gotten themselves with their Goods into wonderfull great Valleys and Boggs, full of Woods and Forests. Now when he had burnt all the Countrey of his Enemies, and confirmed a League with the Confederates of the ROMANS, he returned back again into GAUL after he had tarried eighteen days at the most in GERMANY, on the other side of the RHEYNE. The Journey he made also into England was a noble Enterprize, and very commendable. For he was the Cafars Journey first that sailed the West Ocean with an Army by Sea, and that passed through the Sea Atlanticum into England. with his Army, to make War in that fo great and famous Island (which many ancient Writers would not believe that it was so indeed, and did make them vary about it, saying it was but a sable

and a lie) and was the first that enlarged the ROMAN Empire, beyond the Earth inhabitable.

The death of Fulius Cafars

The rebellion of the Gauls.

Army flain.

Gails led by Ambiorix.

Vercingentorix Captain of the Rebels against Cafar. * Some fay, that in this place is to be read in the Greck, Teòs TOV APRZIV. which is to fay, the River

Romans.

For twice he passed over the narrow Sea against the firm Land of Gaul, and fighting many But tles there, did hurt his Enemies more then inrich his own men : because of men hardly brought up, and poor, there was nothing to be gotten. Whereupon the War had no fuch fucces as he looked for, and therefore taking pledges onely of the King, and impoling a yearly Tribute upon him, to be payed unto the People of Rome, he returned again into Gaul. There he was no fooner landed, but he found Letters ready to be fent over the Sea unto him: in the which he was advertifed from ROME, of the death of his Daughter, that she was dead with child by Pompey. For the which Pompey, and Cefar both, were marvellous forrowfull: and their friends mourned allo, thinking that this alliance which maintained the Commonwealth (that otherwife was very tickle) in good peace and concord, was now fevered, and broken afunder; and the rather likely, because the child lived not long after the Mother. So the common People at Rome took the Corps of Julia, in despight of the Tribunes, and buried it in the Field of Mars. Now Celar being driven to divide his Army (that wasvery great) in fundry Garrisons for the Winter time, and returning again into ITALY as he was wont, all GAUL rebelled again, and had raifed great Armies in every Quarter to fet upon the ROMANS, and to affay if they could distress their Forts where they lay in Garrison. The greatest number and most warlick men of these GAULS, that entred into action of rebellion, were led by one Ambiorix: and first did set upon the Garrisons of Cotta and Titurius, whom they Cottaind Tim. flew, and all the Souldiers they had about them. Then they went with threefcore thousand fight-COSTAGNO 1 1011.

THE WHITHHER THE METERS THE CONTROL OF THE WHITH CIOCTO had in his charge, and had almost taken the control of the control them by force, because all the Souldiers were every man of them hurt: but they were so valiant and couragious, that they did more then men (as they fay) in defending of themselves. These news being come to Cafar, who was far from thence at that time, he returned with all possible speed, and leavying feven thousand Souldiers, made haste to help Cicero, that was in such diffress. The Gauss that did befiege Cicero, understanding of Cesars coming, raised their Siege incontinently, to go and meet him: making account that he was but a handfull in their hands, they were so lew. Cafar to deceive them, ftill drew back, and made as though he fled from them, lodging in places meet for a Captain that had but a few, to fight with a great number of his Enemies: and commanded his men in no wife to ftir out to skirmish with them, but compelled them to raise up the Rampiers of his Camp, and to fortifie the Gates, as men that were afraid, because the Enemies should the lefs effect of them: untill at the length he took opportunity, by their diforderly coming to affail the Trenches of his Camp, (they were grown to fuch a prefumptu-Cefar flew the ous boldness and bravery) and then fallying out upon them, he put them all to flight, with llaughter of a great number of them. This did suppress all the rebellions of the GAULS in thote parts, and furthermore he himself in person went in the middest of Winter thither, where he heard they did rebell, for that there was come a new supply out of ITALY of three whole Legions, in their room which he had loft : of the which, two of them Pompey lent him, and the other Legion he himself had levyed in Gaul about the River Po. During these stirs, brake forth The second re- the beginning of the greatest and most dangerous War that he had in GAUL, the which had bellion of the been fecretly practifed of long time by the chiefest and most Warlike People of that Coun-Guilt reginit trey, who had levied a wonderfull great Power. For every where they levied multitudes of nien, and great Riches befides, to fortifie their ftrong Holds. Furthermore, the Countrey where they rofe, was very ill to come unto, and specially ar that time, being Winter, when the Rivers were frozen, the Woods and Forests covered with Snow, the Meadows drowned with Flouds, and the Fields fo deep of Snow, that no ways were to be found, neither the Marthes nor Rivers to be differned, all was fo overflown and drowned with water: all which troubles together were enough (as they thought) to keep Cefar from fetting upon the Rebels. Many Nations of the Gauls were of this Confpiracy, but two of the chiefest were the ARVERNIANS and CAR-NUTES : who had chosen Vereingentorix for their Lieutenant-General, whose Father the GAULS before had put to death, because they thought he aspired to make himself King. This Vereingentorix dividing his Army into divers parts, and appointing divers Captains over them, had gotten to take his part, all the People and Countreys thereabouts, even as far as they that dwell towards the Sea * Adriatick, having further determined (understanding that Rome did conspire against Cafar) to make all GAUL rife in Arms against him. So that if he had but tarried a little longer, untill Cafar had entred into his Civil Wars, he had put all ITALY in as great fear and danger, as it was when the CIMBRI did come and invade them. But Cafar, that was valiant in all affayes and dangers of War, and that was very skilfull to take time and opportunity, so soon as he understood the news of this Rebellion, he departed with speed, and returned back the selffame way which he had gone, making the barbarous People know, that they should deal with an Army invincible, and which they could not possibly withstand, considering the great speed he had made with the same, in so sharp and hard a Winter. For where they would not possibly have believed, that a Post or Currier could have come in so short a time from the place where he was, unto them, they wondred when they faw him burning and deftroying the Countrey, the Towns and strong Forts where he came with his Army, taking all to mercy, that yielded unto him: untill The Helai re- fuch time as the Heddu took Arms against him, who before were wont to be called the brethren bel against the of the ROMANS, and were greatly honoured of them. Wherefore Cafur men, when they understood that they had joined with the Rebels, they were marvellongly forry, and half discouraged

thereupon. Cafar departing from those parts, went through the Countrey of the LINGONES. to enter the Countrey of the * Burgonians, who were Confederates of the Romans, and * Sequani. the nearest unto ITALY on that fide, in respect of all the rest of GAUL. Thither the Enemies came to fet upon him, and to environ him on all fides, with an infinite number of thousands of fighting men. Cafar on the other fide tarried their coming, and fighting with them a long time, he made them so afraid of him, that at length he overcame the barbarous People. But at the first, it Vertingentoris. feemeth notwithstanding, that he had received some overthrow: for the ARVERNIANS shewed overthrown by a Sword hanging up in one of their Temples, which they faid they had won from Cafar. Info- Cafar. much as Celars felf coming that way by occasion, saw it, and fell a laughing at it. But some of his friends going about to take it away, he would not fuffer them, but bad them let it alone, and touch it not, for it was an holy thing. Notwithstanding, such as at the first had saved themselves by flying, the most part of them were gotten with their King into the City of ALEXIA, the which Cefar went and befieged, although it feemed inexpugnable, both for the height of the Walls, as also The Siege of for the multitude of Souldiers they had to defend it. But now during this Siege, he fell into a marvellous great danger without, almost incredible. For an Army of three hundred thousand fighting Casars danger, men, of the best men that were among all the Nations of the GAULS, came against him being at and wife policy the Siege of ALEXIA, besides them that were within the City, which amounted to the number of threefcore and ten thousand fighting men at the least: so that perceiving he was shut in betwixt two fo great Armies, he was driven to fortifie himfelf with two Walls, the one against them of the City, and the other against them without. For if those two Armies had joyned together, Casar had been Casars great unterly undone. And therefore this Siege of ALEXIA, and the Battle he wan before it, did de-lexia. fervedly win him more Honour and Fame then any other. For there, in that inftant and extream danger, he shewed more valiantness and wildom then he did in any Battle he fought before. But what a wonderfull thing was this? that they of the City never heard any thing of them that came to aid them, untill Cefar had overthrown them: and furthermore, that the ROMANS themselves which kept Watch upon the Wall that was built against the City, knew also no more of it then they. untill it was done, and that they heard the cries and lamentations of men and women in ALEXIA. when they perceived on the other fide of the City, such a number of glittering Shields of Gold and Silver, such store of bloody Corsless and Armours, such a deal of Plate and Moveables, and such a number of Tents and Pavillions after the fashion of the Gauls, which the Romans had gotten of their Spoils in their Camp. Thus suddenly was this great Army vanished, as a Dream or Vision: where the most part of them were slain that day in Battle. Furthermore, after that they within the City of ALEXIA had done great hurt to Cafar and themselves also, in the end they all Alexis yielded vielded themselves. And Vereingentoria (he that was their King and Captain in all this War) up to Cafur. went out of the Gates excellently well armed, and his Horse furn thed with a rich Caparison accordingly, and rode round about Cafar, who fate in his Chair of State. Then lighting from his Horse, he took off his Caparison and Furniture, and unarmed himself, and laid all on the ground, and went and fare down at Cafars feet, and faid never a word. So Cafar at length committed him as a Prisoner taken in the Wars, to sead him afterwards in the Triumph of Rome. Now Casar had of long time determined to destroy Pompey, and Pompey him also. For Crassus being killed amongst the PARTHIANS, who onely did fee, that one of them two must needs fall, nothing kept Casar from being the greatest person, but because he destroyed not Pompey, that was the greater : neither from being the greatest person, but because he dettroyed not rompey, that was the greater: netter the discord did any thing let Pompey to withstand that it should not come to pass, but because he did not first betwitt Casin overcome Cafar, whom onely he feared. For till then, Pompey had not long feared him, but al- and Pompey waies before let light by him, thinking it an easie matter for him to put him down when he would, and the cause fut he had brought him to that greatness he was come unto. But Cafar contrarily, having had that of the Civil drift in his head from the beginning, like a Wreftler that studieth for tricks to overthrow his Ad-Wars. versary, he went far from Rome, to exercise himself in the Wars of Gaul, where he did ness. train his Army, and presently by his valiant deeds did encrease his Fame and Honour, by these means became Cafar as famous as Pompey in his doings, and lacked no more to put his enterprile in execution, but some occasions of colour, which Pompey partly gave him, and partly also the time delivered him, but chiefly the hard fortune and ill Government at that time of the Common-wealth at ROME. For they that made fuit for Honour and Offices, bought the voices of the People with The Peoples ready Money, which they gave out openly to usury, without shame or fear. Thereupon the com- voices bought mon People, that had fold their voices for Money, came to the Market-place at the day of election, at Rome for to fight for him that had hired them: not with their voices, but with their Bows, Slings and Money. Swords. So that the Affembly seldom times brake up, but the Pulpit for Orations was defiled and sprinkled with the blood of them that were slain in the Market-place, the City remaining all that time without Government of Magistrate, like a Ship left without a Pilot. Infomuch as men of deep judgement and discretion, seeing such sury and madness of the People, thought themselves happy if the Commonwealth were no worse troubled then with the absolute state of a Monarchy and soveraign Lord to govern them. Furthermore, there were many that were not afraid to speak it openly; that there was no other help to remedy the troubles of the Commonwealth, but by the Authority of one man onely, that should command them all: and that this Medicine

must be ministred by the hands of him, that was the gentlest Physician, meaning covertly Pompey. Now Pompey used many fine speeches, making semblance as though he would none of it,

and yet cunningly under-hand did lay all the irons in the fire he could, to bring it to pass, that he might be chosen Dictator. Cato finding the mark he shot at, and fearing left in the end the People should be compelled to make him Dictator, he perswaded the Senate rather to make him sole Confull, that contenting himfelf with that more just and lawfull Government, he should not cover the other unlawfull. The Senate following his counfell, did not onely make him Confull, but further did prorogue his Government of the Provinces he had. For he had two Provinces, all Pomper gover- Spain and Africk, the which he governed by his Lieutenants: and further, he received yearly of the common Treasure to pay his Souldiers, a thousand Talents. Hereupon Casar took Africe. occasion also to fend his men to make suit in his name for the Consulfhip, and also to have the Cosegur menture vernment of his Provinces prorogued. Pompey at the first held his peace, but Marcellus and Lenbe Conful, and tulus (that otherwise hated Cefar) withstood them; and to shame and dishonour him, had much tohave his Go-needlels speech in matters of weight. Furthermore, they took away the freedom from the Colonies which Cefar had lately brought unto the City of Novumcomium in Gaul towards Ita-LY, where Cafar not long before had lodged them. And moreover, when Marcellus was Conful, he made one of the Senators in that City to be whipped with rods, who came to Rome about those matters: and faid, he gave him those marks, that he should know that he was no ROMAN Citizen, and bade him go his way, and tell Cefar of it. After Marcellus Confulthip, Cefar fetting open his Coffers of the Treasure he had gotten among the GAULS, did frankly give it our amongst the Ma-Cafar bribeth giftrates at Rome, without reftraint or spare. First, he set Carro the Tribune clean out of debt: the Magistrates and gave also unto Paul the Consult a thousand five hundred Talents; with which Money he built that notable Palace by the Market-place, called Pauls Bafilick, in the place of Fulvius Bafilick. Then Pon pey being atraid of this practice, began openly to procure, both by himself and his friends, that they should fend Cafar a Successor: and moreover, he sent unto Cafar for his two Legions of men of War which he had lent him, for the conquest of Gaul. Cefar fent him them again, and gave every private Souldier two hundred and faity filver Drachma's. Now, they that brought thele two Legionsback from Cafar, gave out ill and feditious words against him among the People, and did also abuse Pompey with false perswassons and vain hopes, informing him that he was marvellouly desired and wished for in Cesars Camp: and though in Rome, for the malice and fecret spight which the Governours there did bear him, he could hardly obtain that he desired, yet in GAUL he might affure himfelf, that all the Army was at his commandment. They added further also, that if the Souldiers there did once return over the Mountains again into ITALY, they would all straight come to him, they did so hate Cefar, because he wearied them with too much labour, and continual fight: and withall, for that they suspected he aspired to be King. These words breeding security in Pompey, and a vain conceit of himself, made him negligent in his doings, so that he made no preparation of War, as though he had no occasion to be alraid: but onely studied to thwart Cafar in speech, and to cross the suits he made. Howbeit Cafar passed not of all this, For the report went, that one of Cafars Captains which was fent to Rome to profecute his Suit, being at the Senate door, and hearing that they denied to prorogue Cefars time of Government which he fued for, clapping his hand upon his Sword, he faid: Sith he will not grant it him, this shall give it him. Notwithstanding, the requests that Cafar propounded, carried great semblance of rea-Cafars request ion with them. For he said, that he was contented to lay down Arms, so that Pompey did the like: and that both of them as private persons should come and make suit of their Citizens to obtain honourable recompence : declaring unto them, that taking Arms from him, and granting them unto Pompey, they did wrongfully accuse him in going about to make himself a Tyrant, and in the mean time to grant the other means to be a Tyrant. Curio making these offers and perswasions openiy before the People, in the name of Cefar, he was heard with great rejoycing and clapping of hands, and there was fome that caft Flowers and Nofegays upon him when he went his way, as they commonly use to do unto any man, when he hath obtained victory, and wan the Games. Then Antonius one of the Tribunes, brought a Letter fent from Cefar, and made it openly to be read in despight of the Consuls. But Scipio in the Senare, Pompeys Father-in-law, made this motion: that if Cefar did not dismisshis Army by a certain day appointed him, the ROMANS should proclaim him an enemy unto ROME. Then the Consuls openly asked him in the presence of the Senators, if they thought it good that Pompey should dismiss his Army: but sew agreed to that demand. After that again they asked, if they liked that Cofar should dismis his Army: thereto they all in manner and wered yea, yea. But when Antoniss requested again that both of them should lay down Arms, then they were all indifferently of his mind. Notwithstanding, because Scipio did infolently behave himself, and Marcellus also, who cried, that they must use force of Arms, and not mens opinion against a Thief, the Senate rose straight upon it, without further determination; and men changed Apparell through the City because of this diffention, as they use to do in a common calamity. After that, there came other Letters from Cafar, which feemed much more reasonable: in the which he requested that they would grant him GAUL, that lieth between the Mountains of the Alpes and ITALY and ILLIBIA, with two Legions onely, and then that he would request nothing elfe, untill he made fuit for the second Consulship. Cicero the Orator, that was newlycome from the Government of CILICIA, travelled to reconcile them together, and pacified Pompey the best he could: who told him he would yield to any thing he would have him, so he did let him alone with his Army. So Cicero perswaded Casars friends to be contented, to take those two Provinces, and

LIUSCÆSAR. fix thousand men onely, that they might be at friends and at peace together. Fampey very willingly

vielded unto it, and granted them. But Lentulus the Conful would not agree to it, but thamefully

drave Curio and Antonius out of the Senate: whereby they themselves gave Cafar a happy occasion

ers Cart. For they were driven for fear to steal out of ROME, disguised in that manner. Now at Carto Tribunes that time, Cafar had not in all about him above five thousand Footmen, and three thousand Horse fly from Rome men: for the rest of his Army, he lest on the other side of the Mountains, to be brought after him to Costir. by his Lieutenants. So confidering that for the execution of his Enterprize, he should not need so many men of War at the first, but rather suddenly stealing upon them, to make them afraid with valiantness, taking benefit of the opportunity of time; because he should more easily make his Enemies afraid of him, coming fo fuddenly when they looked not for him, then he should otherwise distress them, affailing them with his whole Army, in giving them leifure to provide further for him: he commanded his Captains and Lieutenants to go before, without any other Armour then their Swords, to take the City of ARIMINUM (a great City of GAUL, being the first City mencome to, when they come out of GAUL) with as little bloodfled and tumult, as they could possible. Then committing that Force and Army he had with him, unto Hortenfine one of his friends, he remained a whole day together, openly in the fight of every man, to fee the Sword-players handle their Weapons before him. At night he went into his Lodging, and bathing his body a little, came afterwardsinto the Hall amongst them, and made merry a while with them, whom he had bidden to Supper. Then when it was well forward night, and very dark, he rose from the Table, and prayed his company to be merry, and no man to ftir, for he would straight come to them again: howbeit he had fecretly before commanded a few of his trustiest friends to follow him, not all together, but fome one way, and fome another way. He himself in the mean time took a Coach he had hired, and made as though he would have gone fome other way at the first, but suddenly he turned back again towards the City of ARIMINUM. When he was come unto the little Ri- Cafars doubtver of RUBICON, which divided GAUL on this fide the Alpes from ITALY, he stayed upon a fud-full thoughts den. For, the nearer he came to execute his purpose, the more remorse he had in his conscience, at the River of to think what an Enterprize he took in hand : and his thoughts also fell out more doubtfull. Rubicon. when he entred into confideration of the desperateness of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with himself, and spake never a word, waving sometime one way, sometime another way, and oftentimes changed his determination, contrary to himself. So did he talk much also with his friends he had with him, amongst whom was Alinius Pollio, telling him what mischiefs the beginning of this paffage over that River would breed in the World, and how much their Pofterity and they that lived after them, would speak of it in time to come, but at length casting from him with a noble courage all those perillous thoughts to come, and speaking these words which valiant men commonly say, that attempt dangerous and desperate Enterprizes: A man can be but The Greeke once undone, come on, he passed over the River; and when he was come over, he ran with his use this phrase Coach, and never stayed, so that before day-light he was within the City of ARIMINUM, and took of speech: Cast

neither by any perswasion of reason bridle such a confused and disorderly multitude : so that Rome

had in manner destroyed it self for lack of rule and order. For in all places, men were of contrary

opinions, and there were dangerous stirs and tumults every where, because they that were glad of this trouble, could keep in no certain place, but running up and down the City, when they

met with others in divers places, that feemed either to be afraid or angry with this tumult (as o-

therwise it is impossible in so great a City) they flatly fell out with them, and boldly threatned

them with that that was to come. Pompey himself, who at that time was not a little amazed, was

yet much more troubled with the ill words fome gave him on the one fide, and some on the other.

For some of them reproved him, and said, that he had done wisely, and had paid for his folly

because he had made Cesar fo great and strong against him and the Commonwealth. And other again did blame him, because he had resuled the honest offers and reasonable conditions of peace,

which Cafar had offered him, fuffering Lentulus the Confull to abuse him too much. On the

other fide, Phaonius fpake unto him, and bade him ftamp on the ground with his foot : for

Pompey being one day in a bravery in the Senate, faid openly: Let no man take thought for pre-

paration of War, for when he lifted, with one stamp of his foot on the ground, he would fill

all ITALY with Souldiers. This notwithstanding, Pompey at that time had a greater number of

Souldiers then Cafar: but they would never let him follow his own determination. For they

brought him fo many lies, and put fo many examples of fear before him, as if Cafar had been

at other times, but whole Cities themselves leaving their Habitations, fled from one place to another through all ITALY. And ROME it felf also was immed ately filled with the flowing repair of all Rome in uprote the People their neighbours thereabouts, which came thither from all parts like droves of Cattle, with Cafars

and colour as could be, ftirring up his Souldiers the more against them, when he shewed them these two Noblemen and Tribunes of the People that were driven to fly, difguifed like Slaves in a Carri- Antonius and

it. It is faid, that the night before he passed over this liver, he dreamed a damnable Dream, that Castar took the he carnally knew his Mother. The City of ARIMINUM being taken, and the rumour thereof dif- City of Arimiperfed through all ITALY, even as if it had been open War both by Sea and Land, and as if all num. the Laws of Rome, together with the extream Bounds and Confines of the same had been bro- Casars damnaken up : a man would have said, that not onely the men and women for fear, as experience proved ble Dream.

that there was neither Officer nor Magistrate that could any more command them by Authority, coming.

Pompcy flieth from Rome.

already at their heels, and had won all: so that in the end he yielded unto them, and gave place to their fury and madness, determining (feeing all things in such tumult and garboil) that there was no way but to forfake the City, and thereupon commanded the Senate to follow him, and not a man to tarry there, unless he loved. Tyranny more then his own Liberty and the Commonwealth. Thus the Confuls themselves, before they had done their common Sacrifices accustomed at their going out of the City, fledevery man of them. So did likewise the most part of the Senators, taking their own things in half, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another own things in half, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another own things in half, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another own things in half, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another own things in half, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another own things in half, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another own things in half, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another own things in half, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another own things in half, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another own the stealth they had taken them from another own things in half, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another own the stealth they had taken them from another own the stealth they had taken them from another own the stealth they had taken the stealth the st ther. And there were some of them also that always loved Cefar, whose wits were then so troubled, and besides themselves with the sear they had conceived, that they also sled, and followed the stream of this tumult, without manifest cause or necessity. But above all things, it was a lamentable fight to see the City it selt, that in this fear and trouble was left at all adventure, as a Ship toffed in storm of Sea, for faken of her Pilots, and despairing of her safety. This their departure being thus miserable, yet men esteemed their banishment (for the love they bare unto Pompey) to be their natural Countrey, and reckoned Rome no better then Casar's Camp. At that time also Labienus, who was fook C-[47, and one of Cafar's greatest friends, and had been alwaies used as his Lieutenant in the Wars of GAUL, fled to Pompey, and had valiantly fought in his cause, he likewise for fook him then, and fled unto Pompey. But Cafur fent his Money and Carriage after him, and then went and encamped before the City of CORFI-NIUM, the which Domitius kept with thirty Cohorts or Enfigns. When Domitius faw he was befieged, he straight thought himself but undone; and despairing of his success, he bade a Physician, a Slave of his, give him poylon. The Physician gave him a drink which he drank, thinking to have died. But shortly after, Domitius hearing them report what elemency and wonderfull courtesse Ca-

far used unto them he took, repented him then that he had drunk this drink, and began to lament

went straight where he thought to find Pompey himself. But Pompey tarried not his coming, but

fled into the City of BRUNDUSIUM, from whence he had sent the two Consuls before with that

Army he had, unto Dyrrachium: and he himself also went thither afterwards, when he un-

derstood that Casar was come, as you shall hear more amply hereaster in his Life. Casar lacked

no good will to follow him, but wanting Ships to take the Seas, he returned forthwith to ROME:

fo that in less then threescore days he was Lord of all ITALY, without any bloodshed. Who

when he was come to ROME, and found it much quieter then he looked for, and many Senators,

and bewail his desperate resolution taken to die. The Physician did comfort him again, and told Domitius elea- him that he had taken a drink, onely to make him fleep, but not to destroy him. Then Domitius Domittal cica min that he had careful units, onesy to make thin heep, but not to definely him. Then Domittal ped from Carrejoyced, and went flraight and yielded himself unto \(\int_{\text{e}} \) far, who gave him his life, but the notwithped form Carrejoyced, and went flraight and yielded himself unto \(\int_{\text{e}} \) far, who gave him his life, but the notwithped form Carrejoyced, and went flraight and yielded himself unto \(\int_{\text{e}} \) more per. When thele news were brought to Rome, for they did marvelloully rejoyce and comfort them that fill remained there; and moreover there were they did marvelloully rejoyce and comfort them that fill remained there; and moreover there were of them that had fortaken ROME, which returned thither again. In the mean time Cefar did put all Domitisus men in pay, and he did the like through all the Cities, where he had taken any Captains that levied men for Pompey. Now Cafar having affembled a great and dreadfull Power together,

into Egirus.

ter arm1.

there also, he courteoully entreated them, and prayed them to send unto Pompey, to pacific all matters between them, upon reasonable Conditions. But no man did attempt it, either because they feared Pompey, for that they had forfaken him, or elfe for that they thought Cafar meant not as he spake, but that they were words of course, to colour his purpose withall. And when Merellus also, one of the Tribunes, would not suffer him to take any of the common Treasure out of the Temple of Saturn, but told him that it was against the Law; Tush, said he, time of War and Law, are two things. If this that I do, quoth he, do offend thee, then get thee hence for this time: for War cannot abide this frank and bold speech. But when Wars are done, and that we are all quiet again, then thou shalt speak in the Pulpit what thou wilt : and yet I do tell thee this of favour, impairing fo much my right, for thou art mine, both thou, and all them that have rifen against me, and whom I have in my hands. When he had spoken thus unto Merellus, he went to the Temple door where the Treasure lay, and finding no keys there, he caused Smiths to be sent for, and made them break open the locks. Metellus thereupon began again to withfrand him, and certain men the Temple of that stood by, praised him in his doing: but Casar at length speaking bigly to him, threatned him, he would kill him prefently, if he troubled him anymore: and told him furthermore, Young man, quoth he, thou knowest it is harder for me to tell it thee, then to do it. That word made Metellus quake for fear, that he got him away roundly; and ever after that, Cefar had all at his commandment for the Wars. From thence he went into Spain, to make War with Petreius and Var-Cofurs Journy 10, Pompey's Lieutenants: first to get their Armies and Provinces into his hands which they governed, anto spain, 2 gaing Pampey that afterwardshe might follow Pompey the better, leaving never an Enemy behind him. In this Lieutenants. Journey he was oftentimes himself in danger, through the Ambushes that were laid for him in di-Cofar Dictator vers strange sorts and places, and likely also to have lost his Army for lack of Victuals. All this notwithstanding, he never left following of Pompey's Lieutenants, provoking them to Battle, and intrenching them in, untill he had gotten their Camp, and Armies into his hands, albeit that the Lieutenants themselves fled unto Pompey. When Casar returned again to Rome, Piso his Father-in-law gave him counsell to fend Ambassadors unto Pompey, to treat for peace. But Ifauricus, to flatter (esar, was against it. Cesar being then created Dictator by the Senate, called home again all the banished men, and restored their children to honour, whose fathers before had been flain in Sylla's time : and did somewhat cut off the usuries that did oppress them; and besides, did

make to me fuch other Ordinances as those, but very few. For he was Dictator but eleven days onely, and then did yield it up of himself, and made himself Consul with Servilius Isauricus, and Casarand Island after that determined to follow the Wars. All the reft of his Army he left coming on the way, riens Confuls, behind him, and went himself before with fix bundred Horse, and five Legions onely of Footmen, in the Winter-Quarter, about the Moneth of January, which after the ATHENIANS is called Posidion. Then having past over the Sea IONIUM, and landed his men, he wan the Cities of ORI-CUM and APOLLONIA. Then he fent his Ships back again unto BRUNDUSIUM to transport the rest of his Souldiers that could not come with that speed he did. They as they came by the way, Casar goeth into the Kine (like men whose strength of body and lusty youth was decayed) being wearied with so many sun almost extreme. dry Battles as they had fought with their Enemies, complained of Cafar in this fort. To what end Complaints of and purpose doth this man hale us after him, up and down the World, using us like Slaves and the old Souldi-Drudges? It is not our Armour, but our bodies that bear the blows away: and what, shall we ers against never be without our Harness on our backs, and our Shields on our arms? should not Cafar think, at the least when he feeth our blood and wounds, that we are all mortal men, and that we feel the mifery and pains that other men do feel? and now even in the dead of Winter, he putteth us unto the mercy of the Sea and tempest, yea which the gods themselves cannot withstand, as if he fled before his Enemies, and purfued them not. Thus spending time with this talk; the Souldiers still marching on, by small Journeys came at length unto the City of BRUNDUSIUM. But when they were come, and found that Cafar had already passed over the Sea, then they straight changed their complaints and minds. For they blamed themselves, and took on also with their Captains, because they had not made them make more haste in marching; and sitting upon the Rocks and Cliffs of the Sea, they looked over the main Sea, towards the Realm of Epirus, to fee if they could discern the Ships returning back, to transport them over. Casar in the mean time being in the City of APOLLONIA, having but a small Army to fight with Pompey, it grieved him for that the rest of his Army was so long in coming, not knowing what way to take. In the end he followed a A great advendangerous determination, to imbarque unknown in a little Pinnace of twelve Oars onely to pass ture of Casiar. over the Sea again unto BRUNDUSIUM, the which he could not do without great danger, confidering that all the Sea was full of Pompey's Ships and Armies. So he took Ship in the night, apparelled like a Slave, and went aboard upon this little Pinnace, and faid never a word, as if he had been some poor man of mean condition. The Pinnace lay in the mouth of the River of Anius, Anius st. the which commonly was wont to be very calm and quier, by reason of a little wind that came from the shore, which every morning drave back the waves far into the main Sea. But that night (by ill fortune) there came a great wind from the Sea, that overcame the Land-wind, infomuch as the force and strength of the River fighting against the violence of the rage and waves of the Sea, the encounter was marvellous dangerous, the water of the River being driven back, and rebounding upward, with great noise and danger in turning of the water. Thereupon the Master of the Pinnace feeing he could not possibly get out of the mouth of this River, bade the Mariners to cast about again, and to return against the stream. Cafar hearing that, straight discovered himself unto the Master of the Pinnace, who at the first was amazed when he saw him; but Casar then taking him by the hand, said unto him, Good sellow, be of good chear, and forwards heartily, sear not, for thou hast Cafar and his fortune with thee. Then the Mariners forgetting the danger of the storm they were in, laid on load with Oars, and laboured for life what they could against the wind, to get out of the mouth of this River. But at length, perceiving they laboured in vain, and that the Pinnace took in abundance of water, and was ready to fink, Cafar then to his great grief was driven to return back again: who when he was returned into his Camp, his Souldiers came in great companies unto him, and were very forry, that he miftrufted he was not able with them alone to overcome his Enemies, but would put his person in danger to go fetch them that were absent, putting no trust in them that were present. In the mean time Antonius arrived, and brought with him the Casus dangers rest of his Army from BRUNDUSIUM. Then Cefar finding himself strong enough, went and of fered Pompey Battle, who was passingly well lodged, for victualling of his Camp both by Sea and Epirus. Land. Cofar on the other fide, who had no great plenty of Victuals at the first, was in a very hard case: insomuch as his men gathered roots, and mingled them with milk, and eat them. Furthermore, they did make bread of it also, and sometime when they skirmished with the Enemies, and came along by them that watched and warded, they caft of their bread into their Trenches, and faid: that as long as the earth brought forth such fruits, they would never leave besieging of Pompey. But Pompey straightly commanded them, that they should neither carry those words nor bread into their Camp, fearing left his mens hearts would fail them, and that they would be afraid when they should think of their Enemies hardness, with whom they had to fight, sith they were weary with no pains, no more then bruite Beafts. Cafars men did daily skirmilh hard to the Trenches of Pompey's Camp, Gafars Army fled from Ponty in the which Cafar had ever the better, faving once onely, at which time his men fled with fuch fear, that all his Camp that day was in great hazard to have been cast away. For Pompey came on with his Battle upon them, and they were not able to abide it, but were fought with, and driven into their Camp, and their Trenches were filled with dead bodies, which were flain within the very Gate and

Bulwarks of their Camp, they were so valiantly pursued. Cafar stood before them that fled, to

make them to turn head again, but he could not prevail. For when he would have taken the En-

figns to have flayed them, the Enfign-bearers threw them down on the ground: fo that the Enemies

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FULIUS

in mind after his lofs.

the War.

Pompey called and King of

The City of Gomphes in Theffuly.

Pompeys Dream in Pharfalia. The lecurity of the Pompeians.

took two and thirty of them, and Cafars felf also cleaped hardly with the For the great big Souldier that fled by him, commanding him to flay, and turn his face to his Enemy: the Souldier being afraid, lift up his Sword to strike at Cefar. But one of Cefars Pages preventing him, gave him fuch a blow with his Sword, that he strake off his shoulder. Cafar that day was brought unto fo great extremity, that (if Pompey had not either for fear, or spightfull fortune, lest off to follow his Victory, and retired into his Camp, being contented to have driven his Enemies into their Camp) returning to his Camp with his friends, he faid unto them: The Victory this day had been our Enemies, if they had had a Captain that could have told how to have overcome. So when he was come to his Lodging, he went to bed, and that night troubled him more then any night that ever he croy.

Coffee troubled had. For still his mind ran with great forrow of the foul fault he had committed, in leading of his Army, of self-will to remain there so long by the Sea side, his Enemies being the stronger by Sea, confidering that he had before him a goodly Countrey, rich and plentifull of all things, and goodly Cities of MACEDON and THESSALY: and had not the wit to bring the War from thence, but to lose his time in a place, where he was rather besieged of his Enemies, for lack of Victuals, then that he did beliege them by force of Arms. Thus fretting and chafing to fee himself so straightned with Victuals, and to think of his ill luck, he raifed his Camp, intending to go fet upon scipio, making account that either he should draw Pompey to Battle against his will, when he had not the Sea at his back to surnish him with plenty of Victuals; or else that he should easily overcome Pompeys deter- Scipio, finding him alone, unless he were aided. This remove of Cefars Camp, did much encourage Pompey's Army, and his Captains, who would needs in any case have followed after him, as though he had been overcome, and had fled. But for Pompey himself, he would in no respect hazard Battle, which was a matter of so great importance. For finding himself so well provided of all things necessary to tarry time, he thought it better to draw this War out in length, by tract of time, the rather to confume this little Arength that remained in Cafars Army : of the which, the best men were marvellous well trained, and good Souldiers, and for valiantness at one days Battle, were incomparable. But on the other fide again, to remove here and there so oft, and to fortifie their Camp where they came, and to befiege any Wall, or to keep watch all night in their Armour: the most part of them could not do it, by reason of their age, being then unable to away with their pains; so that the weakness of their bodies did also take away the life and courage of their hearts. Furthermore, there fell a pestilent disease among them, that came by ill meats hunger drave them to eat. Yet was not this the worst : for besides, he had no store of Money, neither could tell how to come by Victuals; fo that it feemed in all likelihood, that in very short time he would come to nothing. For these respects, Pompey would in no case fight, and yet had he but Cato onely of his mind in that, who stuck in it the rather, because he would avoid shedding of his Countreymens blood. For when Cato had viewed the dead bodies slain in the Camp of his Enemies, at the last Skirmish that was between them, the which were no less then a thousand persons, he covered his face, and went away weeping. All other but he, contrarily fell out with him, and blamed him, because he folong retrained from Battle: and some prickt him forward, and called him Agamemnon, and King of Kings, saying that he delayed this War in this fort, because he would not leave his Authority to command them all, and that he was glad alwaies to fee many Captains round about him, which came to his Lodgings to honour him, and wait upon him. And Faonim also a hair-brain'd fellow, frankly counterfeiting the round and plain speech of Cato, made as though he was marvellous angry, and faid : Is it not great piry, that we shall not eat this year of THUS CULIUM Figs, and all for Pompey's ambitious mind to reignalone? and Africanus, who not long before was but lately come out of SPAIN (where because he had but ill success, he was acculed of Treason, that for Money he had fold his Army unto Casar) he went bufily asking, why they fought not with that Merchant, unto whom they faid he had fold the Province of SPAIN? So that Pompey with these kind of speeches, against his will, was driven to follow Cesar to fight with him. Then was Cafar at the first, marvellously perplexed and troubled by the way, because he found none that would give him any Victuals, being despited of every man, for the late loss and overthrow he had received. But after he had taken the City of GOMPHES in THESSALY, he did not onely meet with plenty of Victuals to relieve his Army with, but he ftrangely also did rid them of their Difease. For the Souldiers meeting with plenty of Wine, drinking hard, and making merry, drave away the infection of the Peftilence. For they disposed themselves unto dancing, masking, and playing the BACCHERIANS by the way, infomuch that drinking drunk they overcame their discase, and made their bodies new again. When they both came into the Countrey of PHARSA-LIA, and both Camps lay before each other, Pompey returned again to his former determination, and the rather, because he had ill signs and tokens of missortune in his sleep. For he thought in his sleep, that when he entred into the Theatre, all the ROMANS received him with great clapping of hands. Whereupon they that were about him grew to fuch boldness and fecurity, affuring themselves of Victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, in a bravery contended between themselves for the chief Bishoprick which Cesar had. Furthermore, there were divers that sent unto ROME to hire the nearest Houses unto the Market-place, as being the fittest places for Prætors, and Confuls: making their account already, that those Offices could not scape them, incontinently after the Wars. But besides those, the young Gentlemen, and ROMAN Knights were marvellous desirous to fight, that were bravely mounted, and armed with glistering gilt Armours,

their Horses fat and very finely kept, and themselves goodly young men, to the number of seven thousand, where the Gentlemen of Cafars fide were but one thousand onely. The number of his Footmen also were much after the fame reckoning. For he had five and fourty thousand a- Pompeys Army gainst two and twenty thousand. Wherefore Cofar called his Souldiers together, and told them as great again how Cornificius was at hand who brought two whole Legions, and that he had fifteen +ntigens as Cafari. led by Calenm, the which he made to stay about MEGARA and ATHENS. Then he asked them, if they would tarry for that aid or not, or whether they would rather themselves alone venture Battell. The Souldiers cried out to him, and prayed him not to deler Battell, but rather to devise fome fetch to make the Enemy fight as foon as he could. Then as he facrificed unto the gods, for the purifying of his Army, the first Beast was no sooner facrificed, but his Soothsayer affured him that he should fight within three dayes. Cefar asked him again, if he saw in the Sacrifices, any lucky fign or token of good luck. The Soothfayer answered: for that, thou shalt answer thy self, better then I can do: for the gods do promife us a marvellous great change and alteration of things that are now, unto another clean contrary. For if thou beeft well now, doeft thou think to have worfe fortune hereafter? and if thou be ill, affure thy felt thou shalt have better. The night before A wonder seen the Battell, as he went about midnight to visit the Watch, men saw a great Fire brand in the Ele- in the Element, all of a light fire, that came over Cafars Camp, and fell down in Pompeys. In the morning ment, before also when they relieved the Watch, they heard a false Alarm in the Enemies Camp, with the Butel in out any apparent cause: which they commonly call a suddain fear, that makes men besides themfelves. This notwithstanding, Cafar thought not to fight that day, but was determined to have raifed his Camp from thence, and to have gone towards the City of Scotusa; and his Tents in his Camp were already overthrown when his Scouts came in with great speed, to bring him news that his Enemies were preparing themselves to fight. Then was he very glad, and after he had made his prayers unto the gods to help him that day, he fet his men in Battell-ray, and divided them into three Squadrons, giving the middle Battell unto Domitius Calvinus, and the left Wing unto Cafirs Army Antenism, and placed himself in the right Wing, chusing h s place to fight in the tenth Legion. But and his order feeing that against that , his Enemies had set all their Horsemen , he was half afraid when he saw the of Bartell , in great number of them, and so brave besides. Wherefore he closely made six Ensigns to come Phanfalia. from the rereward of his Battell, whom he had laid as an ambush behind his right Wing, having first appointed his Souldiers what they should do, when the Horsemen of the Enemies came to give them charge. On the other fide, Pompey placed himself in the right Wing of his Battell, gave Pompey Army the left Wing unto Domitiu, and the middle Battell unto Scipio his Father-in-law. Now all the and his order ROMAN Knights (as we have told you before) were placed in the left Wing of purpose to environ Cafars right Wing behind, and to give their hottest Charge there, where the Generall of their Enemies was: making their account, that there was no Squadron of Footmen, how thick foever they were, that could receive the charge of fo great a Troop of Horiemen, and that at the first onset they should overthrow them all, and march upon their Bellies. When the Trumpets on either fide did found the Alarm to the Battell', Pompey commanded his Footmen that they should stand still without stirring, to receive the charge of their Enemies, untill they came to throwing of their Darts. Wherefore Casar afterwards faid, that Pompey had committed a foul fault, not to confider that the charge which is given running with fury, belides that it giveth the more ftrength also unto their An ill counsell blowes, doth fet mens hearts also on fire: for the common hurling of all the Souldiers that run and foul fault together, is unto them as a box on the ear that fets men on fire. Then Cafar making his Battell of Pompey. march forward to give the onfet, saw one of his Captains (a valiant man , and very skilfull in War, in whom he had also great confidence) speaking to his souldiers that he had under his charge encouraging them to fight like men that day. So he called him aloud by his Name, and faid unto him: Well, Cassim Crassinus, what hope shall we have to day? how are we determined. to fight it out manfully? Then Craffinius casting up his hand, answered him aloud: This day O Cafar, we shall have a Noble Victory, and I promise theeere night thou shalt praise me alive or dead. When he had told him fo, he Was himself the foremost man that gave charge upon his Enemies, with his Band following of him, being about fix-score men; and making a lane through the foremost Rank, with great slaughter he entred far into the Battell of his Enemies, untill that valiantly fighting in this fort, he was thrust in at length into the mouth with a Sword, that the point of it came out again at his Neck. Now the Footmen of both Battels be- The Batell in ing come to the Sword, the Horsemen of the left Wing of Pompey did march as fiercely also, sprea- the Fields of ding out their Troops to compass in the right Wing of Calary Battell. But before they began to Phusfatts. give charge, the fix Enfigns of Footmen which Cafar had laid in ambush behind him; they began to run full upon them, not throwing away their Darts far off, as they were wont to do, neither striking their Enemies on the thighes nor on the Legs, but to feek to hit them full in the eyes, and to hurt them in the face, as Cafar had taught them. For he hoped that these lusty young Cafari Strata-Gentlemen that had not been often in the Wars , nor were used to see themselves hurt , and the which, being in the prime of their youth and beauty, would be afraid of those hurts, as well for the fear of the present danger to be slain, as also for that their faces should not for ever be deformed. As indeed it came to pass, for they could never abide that they should come so near their faces with the points of their Darts, but hung down their heads for fear to be hit with them in their eyes, and turned their backs, covering their face, because they should not be hurt. Then, breaking of themselves, they began at length cowardly to slie, and were occasion also

FULIUS CÆSAR. of the loss of all the rest of Pompeys Army. For they that had broken them, ran immediatly

to fet upon the Squadron of the Footmen behind, and flew them. Then Pompey feeing his Horfe-

cometh Pom-

Victory.

men from the other Wing of his Battell, fo scattered and dispersed, flying away, forgatthat he was any more Pompey the Great, which he had been before, but was rather like a man whose wits the gods had taken from him, being afraid and amazed with the flaughter fent from above, and so retired into his Tent, speaking never a word, and sate there to see the end of this Battell; untill at the length all his Army being overthrown and put to flight, the Enemies came, and got up upon the Rampiers and defence of his Camp, and fought hand to hand with them that flood to defend the same. Then as a man come to himself again, he spake but this onely word: What, even in our Camp? So in haft, cafting off his Coat-Armour and Apparell of a Generall, he shitted him, and put on such as became his miserable Fortune, and so stole out of his Camp. Pompey: Bight. Furthermore, what he did after this overthrow, and how he had put himself into the hands of the ÆGYPTIANS, by whom he was miferably slain, we have set it forth at large in his Life. Then Calar entring into Pompeys Camp, and feeing the bodies layed on the ground that were flain, and others also that were a killing, faid, feeching a great figh: It was their own doing, and against my will. For Cuim Cafar, after he had won to many famous Conquests, and overcome to many great Battels, had been utterly condemned notwithstanding, if he had departed from his Army. Afinim Pollio writeth, that he spake these words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greek; and faith furthermore, that the most part of them which were put to the Sword in Brutarthattlew the Camp, were Slaves and Bondmen, and that there were not flain in all this Battell above fix Cafer taken thouland Souldiers. As for them that were taken Priloners, Cafar did put many of them amongst millioners at the transfer of the camp of them amongst millioners. priloner at the his Legions, and did pardon also many men of estimation, among whom Brutu was one, that afterwards flew Casar himself: and it is reported, that Casar was very forry for him, when he could not immediatly be found after the Battell, and that he rejoyced again when he knew he was signs and tobefore this Battell, but the notablest of all other that happened to him, was in the City of TRAL-LES. For in the Temple of Victory, within the same City, there was an Image of Casar, and the Earth all about it very hard of it self, and was paved besides with very hard Stone: and yet some control of the self of the sel fay that there sprang up a Palm hard by the Base of the same Image. In the City of PADUA, Cains A firinge tale Correlins an excellent Soothfayer, (a Countreyman and Friend of Tim Livius the Historiographer) A strange tale was by chance at that time fet to behold the slying of Birds. He (as Livie reporteth) knew the veor cornering on ry time when the Battell began, and told them that were prefent, Even now they give the onfet on both sides, and both Armies do meet at this instant. Then sitting down again to consider of the Birds, after he had bethought him of the Signs, he fuddainly rose upon histeet, and cried out as a man possessed with some Spirit: O Casar the Victory is thine. Every man wondering to see him, he took the Crown he had on his head, and made an Oath that he would never put it on again, till the event of his Prediction had proved his art true. Livie testifieth, that it came so to pals. Cefar afterwards giving freedom unto the THESSALIANS, in respect of the Victory which he wan in their Countrey, he followed after Pompey. When he came into Asia, he gave freedom alfo unto the Guidians for Theopompas fake, who had gathered the Fables together. He did release Asia also, the third part of the Tribute which the Inhabitants paid unto the Romans. Then he came into ALEXANDRIA after Pompey was slain : and deterted Theodorus that prefented him Pompeys head, and turned his head aside because he would not see it. Notwithstanding, he took Cofars clemen his Seal and beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he courteously used all Pompeys friends and familia cy in Victory ars, who wandring up and down the Countrey, were taken of the King of EGYPT, and wan them all to be at his Commandment. Continuing these courtes; he wrote unto his friends at The cause of Roma, that the greatest pleasure he took of his Victory, was, that he daily faved the lives of some of his Countreymen that bore armes against him. And for the War he made in ALEXANDRIA, or ms Countrymen that bute arms against the willingly did it for the love of Cleopatra: wherein Alexandria.

The standard of Publinus the the King of EGYPTS Ministers but specially on Pathinus the Eunuch, who bearing the greatest Eunuen caused from the Kings Servants, after he had caused Pompey to be slain, and driven Cleopatra from the Court, secretly laid wait all the ways he could, how he might likewise kill Casar. Wherefore Casar hearing an inkling of it, began thenceforth to spend all the night long in featting and banqueting, that his person might be in the better safety. But besides all this, Pathinus the Eunuch spake many things openly not to be born, onely to shame Cesar, and to stir up the People to envie him. For he made his Souldiers have the worft and oldest Wheat that could be gotten: then if they did complain of it, he rold them they must be contented, seeing they ear at another mans cost. And he would ferve them also at the Table in treen and Earthen-dishes, saying that Casar had alway all their Gold and Silver, for a debt that the Kings Father (that then reigned) did owe unto him: which was, a thousand seven hundred and firty Myriades, whereof Casar had before forgiven seven hundred and fitty thousand unto his Children. Howbeit then he asked a Million to pay his Souldiers withall. Thereto Pothinua answered him, that at that time he should do better to follow his other causes of greater importance, and afterwards that he should at more leafure recover his debt with the Kings go od will and favour. Cafar replied unto him, and faid, that he would not ask counsell of the ÆGYPTIANS for his Affairs, but would be paid : and thereupon fecretly fent for Cleopaira, which was in the Countrey, to come unto him. She onely taking Apollodorus SICILIAN of all her friends,

a little Boat , and went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foot of the Caftle. Then having no other mean to come into the Court without being known, she laid her Cleopatra came felf down upon a Mattress or Flock-bed, which Apollodorus her friend tied and bound up together to Cafar. like a bundle with a great Leather-thong, and so took her upon his back and brought her thus Cleopatra true like a bungle with a great Leaunce mong, and to specify the state of t that made Calar to love her: but afterwards, when he faw her fweet convertation and pleasant enter- fo brought to trainment, he fell then in further liking with her, and did reconcileher again unto her Brother the Galar, upon King, with condition, that they two joyntly should reign together. Upon this new reconciliation, Apollodorus a great Feast being prepared, a Slave of Casars that was his Barber, the fearfullest wretch that lived fill bufily preying and liftening abroad in every corner, being miftruftfull by nature, found that Poshinus and Achillas did lie in wait to kill his Mafter Cafar. This being proved unto Cafar, he did fet fuch fure warch about the Hall, where the Feaft was made, that in fine, he flew the Eunuch Puthinus himself. Achillus on the other side, saved himself, and fled unto the Kings Camp . where he raifed a marvellous dangerous and difficult War for Cefar; because he having then but a few men about him, was to fight against a great and strong City. The first danger he fell into, was the want of Water: for that his Enemies had ftopped the mouth of the Pipes, the which conveyed the Water into the Castle. The second danger he had, was, that seeing his Fnemies came to take his Ships from him, he was driven to repulse that danger with fire, the which The great Liburnt the Arlenall where the Ships lay, and that notable Library of ALEXANDRIA withall. The brary of Alexthird danger was in the Battell by Sea, that was fought by the Tower of PHAR: where meaning to andria bunn. help his men that fought by Sea, he leapt from the Peer into a Boat. Then the ÆGYPTIANS made towards him with their Oars on every fide but he leaping into the Sea, with great hazard faved Casture twimmany towards thin with their oals on every new divers Books in his hand, he did never let them mine with go, but kept them always upon his head above water, and fwam with the other hand, notwith-Books in his standing that they shot marvellously at him, and was driven sometime to duck into the water: hand, howbeit the Boat was drowned prefently. In fine, the King coming to his men that made War with Cafar, he went against him, and gave him Battell, and wan it with great slaughter, and effufion of bloud. But for the King, no man could ever tell what became of him after. Thereupon Cafar made Cleopatra his Sifter, Queen of EGYPT, who being great with Chlid by him, was short- Cafar made Cafar made Cleopatra his Shrer, Queen of ALEXANDRIANS named Cafarion. From thence he went Queen of . Einto SYRIA, and fo going into Asia, there it was told him that Domitiu was overthrown in Bat-gipt. tell , by Pharnaces the Son of King Mithridates , and was fled out of the Realm of PONT with a Cafarion , Cafew men with him: and that this King Pharmaces greedily following his Victory, was not contented far Son, bewith the winning of BITHYNIA and CAPPADOCIA, but further would needs attempt to win AR-MENTA the lefs, procuring all those Kings, Princes, and Governours of the Provinces thereabours to rebell against the ROMANS. Thereupon Cafar went thither straight with three Legions and Casars Victor fought a great Battell with King Pharnaces by the City of ZELA, where he flew his Army, and drave ry of King him out of all the Realm of PONT. And because he would advertise one of his friends of the sud- Pharnaces. dainels of this Victory , he onely wrote three words unto Anitim at ROME : Veni , Vidi , Vici : to Cafarwineth gainers of this victory, he onerly whole three words ending all with like found and letter in the Latin, three words to wit, I came, I faw, I overcame. These three words ending all with like found have a certain thort grace more pleasant to the ear, then can be well expressed in any other Tongue. Victory. After this he returned again into ITALY, and came to ROME, ending his year for the which he was made Dictator the second time, which Office before was never granted for one whole year, but unto him. Then was he chosen Consull for the year following. Alterwards he was very ill spoken of, for that his Souldiers in a mutiny having flain two Prators, Cofconius and Galba; he gave them no other punishment for it, but instead of calling them Souldiers, he named them Citizens, and gave unto every one of them a thousand Drachma's a man, and great Possessions in ITALY. He was much milliked also for the desperate parts and madness of Dolabella, for the covetousness of Anitius, for the drunkenness of Antonius and Cornificus, which made Pompeys house be pulled down and builded up again, as a thing not big enough for him, wherewith the ROMAN'S were marvelloully offended. Cafar knew all this well enough, and would have been contented to have redressed them: but to bring this matter to pals, he pretended he was driven to serve his turn by fuch Instruments. After the Battell of PHARSALIA, Cato and Scipio being fled into AFRICK, C. fare journey King Juba joyned with them, and leavied a great puissant Army. Wherefore Cafar determined to into Africk amake War with them : and in the middeft of Winter, he took his journey into SICILE. There, gaint care and because he would take all hope from his Captains and Souldiers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged upon the very Sands by the Sea fide, and with the next gale of wind that came, he took the Sea with three thousand Footmen, and a few Horsemen. Then having put them aland, unawares to them he hoifed fail again to fetch the rest of his Army, being afraid lest they should meet with fome danger in passing over, and meeting them mid-way, he brought them all into his Camp. Where, when it was told him, that his Enemies trufted in an Ancient Oracle, which faid, that it was predestined unto the Family of Scipio's to be Conquerours in Africk : either of purpose to mock Scipio the Generall of his Enemies, or otherwise in good earnest to take the benefit of this Name (given by the Oracle) unto himself, in all the Skirmishes and Battels fought, he gave the charge of his Army unto a man of mean quality and account, called Scipio Salutius, who came of the Race of Scipio AFRICAN, and made him always Generall when he fought. For he was effloors

compelled to weary and harry his Enemies: for that neither his men in his Camp had Corn enough,

nor the Beafts Forrage, but the Souldiers were driven to take Sea-weeds, called Alga Fan washing Cafar troubles away the brackishness thereof with fresh Water, putting to it a little Herb called Dogs-tooth) to cast it to to their Horseto eat. For the Numidians (which are light Horsemen, and very ready of Alga and dog- fervice) being a great number together, would be on a suddain in every place, and spread all the took given to Fields over thereabout, fo that no man durst peep out of the Camp to go for Forrage. And one day as the men of Arms were staying to behold an AFRICAN doing notable things in dancing and eat.

Cafarr dangers playing with the Flute (they being fet down quietly to take their pleafure of the view thereof , having in the mean time given their Slaves their Horses to hold) the Enemies stealing studdenly upon them, compassed them in round about, and slew a number of them in the Field, and chasing the other also that fled, followed them pell mell into their Camp. Furthermore, had not Cesar himself in perfon, and Africa Polic with him, gone out of the Camp to the refere, and staid them that sled, the War that day had been ended. There was also another skirmish where his Enemies had the upper hand, in the which it is reported, that Cafar taking the Enlign-Bearer by the collar that carried the Eagle in his hand, flaid him by force, and turning his face, told him: fee, there be thy Enemies. These advantages did lift up Scipio's heart alost, and gave him courage to hazard Battell: and leaving Afranism on the one hand of him, and King Juba on the other hand, both their Camps lying near together, he did fortifie himself by the City of THAPSACUS, above the lake, to be a fafe refuge for them all in this Battell. But whileft he was busie intrenching of himself, Casar having marvellous speedily passed through a great Countrey full of Wood, by by-paths which men would never have miftrufted : he stole upon some behind , and suddainly assailed the other before, so that he overthrew them all , and made them flie. Then following the first good hap he had , he went forthwith to fet upon the Camp of Afranius, the which he took at the first onset, and the Camp of the NUMIDIANS also, King Juba being fied. Thus in a little piece of the day onely, he took three Camps, and flew fifty thousand of his Enemies, and lost but fifty of his Souldiers. In this fort is Cafars great fet down the effect of this Battell by some Writers. Yet others do write also, that Cefar feli was Victory and not there in person at the execution of this Battell. For as he did set his men in Battell-ray the falling-Sickness took him, whereunto he was given; and therefore feeling it coming, before he was over-Cafar troubled come withall, he was carried into a Castle not far from thence where the Battell was fought, and there took his reft till the extremity of his difease had left him. Now for the Prztor and Confuls ling Sickness. that feaped from this Battell, many of them being taken Prifoners, did kill themselves, and others also Cafor did put to death: but he being specially defirous of all men else to have Cato alive in his hands, he went with all possible speed unto the City of UTICA, whereof Cate was Governour, by many whereof he was not at the Battell. Notwithstanding being certified by the way, that Cate had slain himself with his own hands, he then made open show that he was very forry for it, but why or Cafar was forty wherefore, no man could tell. But this is true, that Cafar faid at that prefent time : O Cato, I envy thy death, because thou didst envy my glory to save thy life. This notwithstanding, the Book that he wrote afterwards against Caro being dead, did shew no very great affection nor pitifull heart towards him. For how could he have pardoned him, if living he had had him in his hands, that being dead did speak so vehemently against him? Notwithstanding, men suppose he would have pardoned him, if he had taken him alive, by the elemency he shewed unto Cicero, Brutsu, and divers others that had born Arms against him. Some report, that he wrote that Book, not fo much for any Cierro wrote a private malice he had to his death, as for civill ambition, upon this occasion. Cieero had written a Book in praife Book in praife of Cato, which he intituled Cato. This Book in likelihood was very well liked of, of Gato being by reason of the Eloquence of the Orator that made it, and of the excellent subject thereof. Cefar

Cafar wrote 2being dead.

fmall lofs.

Roriographer.

Romans.

therewith was marvelloully offended, thinking that to praise him, of whose death be was Author, was even so much as to accuse himself: and therefore he wrote a Letter against him, and heaped up a number of Acculations against Cato, and intituled the Book Anticaton. Both these Books have favourers unto this day, some defending the one for the love they bear to Cafar, and others allowing the other for Cato's lake. Cafar being now returned out of AFRICK, first of all made an Oration to the People wherein he greatly praifed and commended this his last Victory, declaring unto them, that he had conquered to many Countries unto the Empire of ROME, that he could furnish the Common-wealth yearly with two hundred thousand bushels of Wheat, and twenty hundred Fabs, the Son thousand Pound weight of Oyl. Then he made three Triumphs, the one for Ægypt, the other for of King Jubs, the Kingdom of Pont, and the third for AFRICK: not because he had overcome Scipio there, but a famous His. King Juba. Whole Son being likewife called Juba, being then a young Boy, was led captive in the shew of this Triumph. But this his imprisonment fell out happily for him : for where he was but a barbar-OUS NUMIDIAN, by the fludy he fell unto when he was prisoner, he came afterwards to be reckoned one of the wifeft Historiographers of the GRECIANS. After thefe three Triumphs ended, he very liberally rewarded his Souldiers: and to curry favour with the People, he made great Feafts and com-Cofars feating mon Sports. For he feated all the ROMANS at one time, at two and twenty thousand Tables, and gave of the Rossams them the pleasure to see divers Sword-players to fight at the Sharp, and Battels also by Sea, for the remembrance of his Daughter Julia, which was dead long before. Then after all these Sports, he made the People (as the manner was) to be mustered: and where there were at the last musters before, three hundred and twenty thousand Citizens, at this muster there were onely but a hundred and fifty thouland. Such mifery and destruction had this civill War wrought unto the Common-wealth of ROME, and had confumed fuch a number of ROMANS, not speaking at all of the mischiefs and calamities it had brought unto all the reft of ITALY, and to the other Provinces pertaining to

ROME. After all these things were ended, he was chosen Confull the fourth time, and went into Spain to make War with the Sons of Pompry: who were yet but very young, but had not Cafar Conful withflanding raifed a marvellous great Army together, and shewed they had manhood and courage the fourth worthy to command fuch an Army, infomuch as they put Cefar himself in great danger of his lite. worthy to command their air Arthry, another them in all this War, was by the City of Munda. Battell fought For then Calar feeing his men fore diffressed, and having their hands full of their Enemies, he ran betwitt Calar note the press among his men that fought, and cried out unto them: What, are ye not ashamed to and the young be beaten and taken Prisoners, yeelding your selves with your own hands to these young Boys? Pompey by the And so, with all the force he could make, having with much ado put his Enemies to flight, he flew a. City of Manda. bove thirty thousand of them in the Field, and lost of his own mena thousand of the best he had. Casar Victorial bove thirty thousand of the best he had. After this Battell he went into his Tent and told his friends; that he had often before fought for of Pamper, Victory, but this last time now, that he had fought for the safety of his own life. He wan this Battell on the very Feaft day of the BACCHANALIANS, in the which men fay, that Pompin the Great Went out of ROME, about four years before, to begin this civil War. For his Sons, the younger scaped from the Battell; but within few days after, Diddim brought the Head of the elder. This was the last War that Cafar made. But the Triumph he made into Rome for the same, did as Cafars Trimuch offend the ROMANS, and more, then any thing that ever he had done before : because he umph of Pomhad not overcome Captains that were strangers, nor barbarous King, but had destroyed the Sons 1991 Sons. of the noblest man of ROME, whom fortune had overthrown. And because he had plucked up his Race by the roots, men did not think it meet for him to Triumph fo for the Calamities of his Countrey, rejoycing at a thing for the which he had but one excuse to alledge in his defence, unto the gods and men, that he was compelled to do that he did. And the rather they thought it not meet , because he had never before fent Letters nor Messengers unto the Common-wealth at ROME, for any Victory that he had ever won in all the civil Wars: but did always for shame reinse the Glory . it. This notwithstanding the ROMANS inclining to Cofars prosperity, and taking the bit in the mouth, supposing that to be ruled by one man alone, it would be a good mean for them to take breath a little, after fo many troubles and miferies as they had abidden in these civill Wars, they chose him perpetual Dictator. This was a plain Tyranny for to have this Calar Dictator absolute power of Dictator, they added this, never to be afraid to be deposed: Cicero pronounced perpetuall, before the Senate, that they should give him such honours as were meet for a man: howbeit others afterwards added too, honours beyond all reason. For men striving who should most honour him, they made him hatefull and troublefom to themselves that most favoured him, by reason of the unmeasurable greatness and honours which they gave him. Thereupon it is reported, that even they that most hated him, were no less favourers and furtherers of his honours, then they that most flattered him, because they might have greater occasions to rise, and that it might appear they had just tause and colour to attempt that they did against him. And now for himself, after he had ended his civill Wars, he did to honourably behave himself, that there was no fault to be found in him : and therefore me thinks amongst other honours they gave him , he rightly deserved this, that they should build him a Temple of clemency, to thank him for his courtefie he had used unto them The Temple they mound mun a rempire of clemency, to them that had born Arms againft him, and furthermore, of clemency in his Victory. For he pardoned many of them that had born Arms againft him, and furthermore, of clemency in his Victory. did prefer iome of them to Honour and Office in the Common-wealth: as amongst others, Cassian for his and Braim, both the which were made Prators. And where Pompeys Intages had been thrown courtefie. down, he caused them to be set up again : whereupon Cicero said then , that Casar setting up Cassius and Pompeys Images again, he made his own to stand the surer. And when some of his friends did Brutus Pracounsell him to have a Guard for the safety of his person, and some also did offer themselves to serve tors. him, he would never confent to it, but faid: It was better to die once, then always to be afraid of death. But to win himself the love and good will of the People, as the honourablest Guard and best safety he could have, he made common Feasts again, and generall distributions of Corn. Fur- Good will of thermore, to gratifie the Souldiers also he replenished many Cities again with Inhabitants, which Subjects the before had been destroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repair unto: of the which beffguard and the noblest and chiefest (ities were these two, CARTHAGE and CORINTH: and it chanced also, sakey for that like as aforetime they had been both taken and destroyed together, even so were they both set on foot again, and replenished with People, at one self time. And as for great Personages, he wan themalfo, promifing some of them, to make them Prætors and Confuls in time to come: and unto others, Honours and Preferments: but to all men generally good Hope, feeking all the ways he could to make every man contented with his Reign. Infomuch as one of his Confuls called Maximu, chancing to die a day before his Confulfhip ended, he declared Caninius Rebilius Confull onely for the day that remained. So, divers going to his House (as the manner was) to falute for one day. him, and to congratulate with him of his calling and preferment, being newly chosen Officer, Cicero pleasantly faid : Come, let us make haste, and be gone thither before his Consulthip come out. Furthermore, Casar being born to attempt all great enterprises, and having an ambitious defire besides to cover great Honours, the prosperous good success he had of his former Conquests, bred no desire in him quietly to enjoy the fruits of his labours, but rather gave him the hope of things to come, fill kindling more and more in him; thoughts of greater Enterprises, and defire of

new Glory, as if that which he had present were stale and nothing worth. This humor of his was no

other but an emulation with himself as with another man, and a certain contention to over-

come the things he prepared to attempt. For he was determined, and made preparation also, to

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Capitoll. After that , there was fet up Images of Cafar in the City, with Diademes upon their

ted to be Confull the fourth year after that, having through Cafars friendship obtained it before

Cassiu, who likewise made suit for the same : and Casar also, as it is reported, said in this contention, indeed Caffin hath alledged best reason, but yet shall he not be chosen before Brutm. Some

Prince and Governour above all other, they durst not come to him themselves to tell him what

they would have him to do, but in the night did cast fundry Papers into the Prætors seat, where

he gave Audience, and the most of them to this effect : Thou sleepest Brutus, and art not Brutus

jealousie, and suspected him much: whereupon he said on a time to his friends, what will Cashins do.

think ye ? I like not his pale looks. Another time when Cafars friends complained unto him of

Antonius and Dolabella, that they pretended some mischief towards him : he answered them again,

As for those fat men and smooth combed heads, quoth he, I never reckon of them; but these pale

vilaged and carrion lean People, I fear them most, meaning Bruem and Caffim. Certainly, desti-

ny may easter be foreseen then avoided, considering the strange and wonderfull Signs that were

as happened? But Strabo the Philosopher writeth, that divers men were feen going up and down in fire : and furthermore, that there was a Slave of the Souldiers, that did cast a marvellous burning

flame out of his hand, infomuch as they that faw it, thought he had been burnt; when the Fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. Cafar felf also doing Sacrifice unto the gods, found that one

of the Beafts which was facrificed had no Heart : and that was a strange thing in nature : how a Beaft

could live without a Heart. Furthermore there was a certain Soothsayer, that had given Casar

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FULIUS CESAR. make War with the PERSIANS. Then when he had overcome them, to pass through HYRCA-NIA (compassing in the Sea Caspiam, and Mount Caucasus) in the Realm of PONTUS, and so to invade SCYTHIA: and overrunning all the Countries, and People adjoyning unto high GER-MANIE, and GERMANIE it felf, at length to return by GAULE into ITALY, and fo to enlarge the ROMAN Empire round, that it might be every way compassed in with the great Sea Oceanum, But whileft he was preparing for this Voyage, he attempted to cut the bar of the straight of PE-LOPONNESUS, in the Market-place where the City of CORINTH Standeth. Then he was minded

Why Cafat was hated.

Assents, Tiber to bring the Rivers of Anienes and Tiber, ftraight from Rome, unto the City of Circles with a deep Channell and high Banks cast up on either fide, and so to fall into the Sea at TERRACINA, for the better fafety and commodity of the Merchants that came to ROME to traffick there. Furthermore, he determined to drain and feaw all the Water of the Marifhes betwirt the Cities of NOMENTUM and SETIUM, to make firm land, for the benefit of many thousands of People : and on the Sea Coast next unto ROME, to cast great high Banks, and to cleanse all the Haven about OSTIA, of Rocks and Stones hidden under the Water, and to take away all other impediments that made the harbour dangerous for Ships , and to make new Havens and Arfenals meet to har-, bour fuch Ships as did continually traffick thither. All these things were purposed to be done, but took no effect. But the ordinance of the Kalendar, and reformation of the year, to take away all confusion of time, being exactly calculated by the Mathematicians, and brought to equality of the perfection, was a great commodity unto all men. For the ROMANS using then the ancient computation of the year, had not onely fuch incertainty and alteration of the Moneth and times, that the Sacrifices and yearly Feafts came, by little and little, to feafons contrary for the purpose they were ordained: but also in the revolution of the Sun (which is called Annu Solaru) no other Nation agreed with them in account : and of the ROMANS themselves, onely the Priests understood it. And therefore when they listed, they suddainly (no man being able to controll them) did thruft in a Moneth above their ordinary number which they salled in old time, *Mercedonius. Some say, that Numa Pompilius was the first that devised this way, to put a Moneth mensis interest between : but it was a weak remedy, and did little help the correction of the errours that were made in the account of the year, to frame them to perfection. But Cefar committing this matter unto the Philosophers, and best expert Mathematicians at that time; did fee forth an excellent and perfect Kalendar, more exactly calculated, then any other that was before : the which the Ro-MANS do use untill this present day, and do nothing err as others, in the difference of time. But his Enemies notwithstanding that envied his greatness, did not stick to find fault withall. As Cicero the Orator, when one faid, to morrow the Star Lyra will rife : Yea, faid he, at the commandment of Cefar, as if men were compelled to to fay and think , by Cefars Edict. But the chiefest cause that made him mortally hated, was the covetous desire he had to be called King: which first gave the People just cause, and next his secret Enemies, honest colour to bear him ill will. This notwithftanding, they that procured him this Honour and Dignity, gave it out among the People, that it was written in the Sybilline Prophefies , how the ROMANS might overcome the PARTHIANS, if they made War with them, and were led by a King, but otherwise that they were unconquerable. And furthermore they were so bold besides, that Cefar returning to ROME from the City of Alba, when they came to fature him, they called him King. But the People being offended, and Cafar also angry, he said, he was not called King, but Cafar. Then every man keeping filence, he went his way heavy and forrowfull. When they had decreed divers honours for him in the Senate, the Confuls and Prætors accompanied with the whole Assembly of the Senate, went unto him in the Market-place, where he was fet by the Pulpit for Orations, to tell him what honours they had decreed for him in his ablence. But he fitting fill in his Majefty, disdaining to rise up unto them when they camein, as if they had been private men, answered them: that his honours had more need to be cut off then enlarged. This did not onely offend the Senate, but the common People also, to fee that he should folightly esteem of the Magistrates of the Commonwealth: infomuch as every man that might lawfully go his way, departed thence very forrowfully. Thereupon also Cefarrifing, departed home to his house, and tearing open his Doublet Coller, making his neck bare, he cried out aloud to his Friends, that his Throat was ready to offer to any man that would come and cut it. Notwithstanding, it is reported, that afterwards to excele his folly, he imputed it to his difease, saying, that their wits are not perfect which have this difease of the falling-Evill, when standing on their feet they speak to the common People, but are soon troubled with a trembling of their Body, and a suddain dimness and giddiness. But that was not true , for he would have rifen up to the Senate, but Cornelius Balbus one of his friends (or rather a flatterer) would not let him, faying : what, do you not remember that you are (efar, and will you not let them reverence you, and do their duties? Besides these occasions and offences, there followed also his shame and reproach, abusing the Tribunes of the People in this fort. At that time the Feaft Lupercalia was celebrated, the which in old time, men fay was the Feaft of Shepheards or Herdmen, and is much like unto the Feaft of the LYCEIANS in ARCADIA. But how foewer it is, that day there are divers noble mens Sons, young men, (and fome of them Magistrates themselves that govern them) which run naked through the City, striking in sport them they meet in their way, with Leather thongs, hair and all on, to make them give place. And many noble Women and Gentlewomen alfo, go of purpole to fland in their way, and do put forth their hands to be flricken, as Scholars hold them out to their School-mafter, to be stricken with the ferula : perswading themfelves that being with Child, they shall have good delivery; and so being barren, that it will make them to conceive with Child, Cafar fate to behold that sport upon the Pulpit for Orations, in a Chain of Gold, apparelled in triumphant manner. Antonius who was Confull at that time, was Antonius being

one of them that ran this holy course. So when he came into the Market-place, the People Consul, was made a lane for him to run at liberty, and he came to Cafar, and prefented him a Diademe one of the Luwreathed about with Lawrell. Whereupon there rose a certain cry and rejoycing, not very great, Amonius predone onely by a few appointed for the purpole. But when Cafar refuled the Diademe, then all fented the Dithe people together made an outery of joy. Then Antonian offering it him again, there was a fe- ademe to Cacond shout of joy, but yet of a few. But when Cafar refused it again the second time, then all far.

the whole People shouted. Cafar having made this proof, found that the People did not like of it. and thereupon role out of his Chair, and commanded the Crown to be carried unto Jupiter in the

heads like Kings. Those, the two Tribunes, Flavim and Marallus, went and pulled down, and furthermore, meeting with them that first faluted Cafar as King, they committed them to Prison. The People followed them rejoycing at it, and called them Brutes, because of Brutus, who had in old time driven the Kings out of ROME, and that brought the Kingdom of one person, unto the Government of the Senate and People. Cafar was so offended withall, that he deprived Marullus and Flavius of their Tribuneships, and accusing them, he spake also against the People, and called them Bruti and Cumani, to wit, beafts and fools. Hereupon the Peope went straight unto Marcus Brutus, who from his Father came of the first Brutus, and by his Mother of the house of the Servilians a noble house as any was in ROME, and was also Nephew and Son in Law of Marcus

Cato. Notwithstanding, the great honours and favour Cafar shewed unto him, kept him back that Cafar saved of himself alone he did not conspire nor consent to depose him of his Kingdom. For Casar did Marcus Brutus not onely fave his life, after the Battell of PHARSALIA when Pompey fled, and did at his request Battell of Pharsalia also save many more of his friends besides: but furthermore, he put a marvellous confidence in him. satia. For he had already preferred him to the Prætorship for that year, and furthermore was appoin-

one day acculing Brusus while he practifed this confipracy, Lefar would not hear of it, but clapping his hand on his body, told them, Brusus will look for this skin; meaning thereby, that Brusus confipracy for his Vertue deferved to rule after him, but yet, that for ambitions sake, he would not shew him. Tech against felf unthankfull or dishonourable. Now they that defired change, and wished Brutus onely their Cafar.

indeed. Cassium finding Brutus ambition stirred up the more by these seditious Bills, did prick him Cassius stirred forward, and edge him on the more, for a private quarrell he had conceived against Cafar: the cir- up Brutus :cumstance whereof, we have set down at large in Brutus life. Cafar also had Cassius in great gainst Casar,

faid to be feen before Cafars death. For , touching the Fires in the Element , and Spirits run- Predictions and ning up and down in the night, and also the solitary Birds to be seen at noon days sitting in the foreshews of great Market-place, are not all these Signs perhaps worth the noting, in such a wonderfull chance Casars death,

warning long time afore, to take heed of the day of the Ides of March, (which is the fifteenth of Casar day of the Moneth) for on that day he should be in great danger. That day being come, Ca/ar going unto his death Prothe Senate-House, and speaking merrily unto the Soothsayer, told him the Ides of March be come : gnosticated by

So they be, foftly answered the Soothsayer, but yet are they not past. And the very day before, Cafar supping with Marcu Lepidu, fealed certain Letters as he was wont to do at the Board : fo talk falling out amongst them, reasoning what death was best, he preventing their opinions, cried out aloud, Death unlooked for. Then going to bed the fame night, as his manner was, and lying with his Wife Calpurnia, all the Windows and Doors of his Chamber flying open, the noise awoke

him, and made him afraid when he faw such light : but more, when he heard his Wife Culpurnia, being fast asleep, weep and figh, and put forth many sumbling lamentable speeches: for she The Dresm dreamed that Cafar was flain, and that the had him in her Arms. Others also do deny that the of Caparnia, had any fuch dream, as amongst other, Titu Liviu writeth, that it was in this fort : The Senate Coffair Wife. having fer upon the top of Cefars House for an Ornament and setting forth of the same, a certain

The Feast Lupercalia.

Pinnacle, Calpurnia dreamed that the faw it broken down, and that the thought the lamented and wept for it. Infomuch that Cafar rifing in the morning, the prayed him if it were possible, not to go out of the doors that day, but to adjourn the Seltion of the Senate untill another day.

And if that he made no reckoning of her Dream, yet that he would fearch further of the Soothfayers by their Sacrifices, to know what should happen him that day. Thereby it seemed that Casar likewise did sear or suspect somewhat, because his Wise Calpurnia until that time was never given to any fear and superstition : and that then he saw her so troubled in mind with this Dream she had. But much more afterwards, when the Soothfayers having facrificed many Beafts one after Decisis Britis another, told him that none did like them : then he determined to fend Antonius to adjourn the Session of the Senate. But in the mean time came Decisis Bruiss, sirnamed Albinis, in whom Cefer put such considence, that in his last Will and Testament he had appointed him to be his next Meir , and yet was of the conspiracy with Coffin and Brutus ; he fearing that if Cofar did adjourn the Session that day, the conspiracy would be betrayed, laughed at the Soothsayers, and reproved Cafar, faying, that he gave the Senate occasion to millike with him, and that they might think he mocked them, confidering that by his commandment they were affembled, and that they were ready willingly to grant him all things, and to proclaim him King of all his Provinces of the Empire of ROME out of ITALY, and that he should wear his Diadem in all other places both by Sea and Land. And furthermore, that if any man should tell them from him, they should depart for that present time, and return again when Calpurnia should have better Dreams, what would his Enemies and ill-willers fay, and how could they like of his Friends words? And who could perswade them otherwife, but that they would think his Dominion a flavery unto them, and tyrannicall in himself? And yet if it be so, said he, that you utterly missike of this day, it is better that you go your felf in person, and saluting the Senate, to distuits them till another time. Therewithall he took Cafar by the hand, and brought him out of his House. Cafar was not gone far from his House, but brought Cafer a bondman, a stranger, did what he could to speak with him; and when he saw he was put back into the Senate. by the great preis and multitude of People that followed him, he went straight into his House, and put himself into Calpurnia's hands, to be kept till Casar came back again, telling her that he had greater matters to impart unto him. And one Artemider wallo born in the Isle of GN105 a
Doctor of Rhetorick in the Greek Tongue, who by means of his Profession was very familiar with certain of Brutus Confederates; and therefore knew the most part of all their practifes against Cafur, came and brought him a little Bill written with his own hand, of all that he meant to tell him. He marking how Casar received all the Supplications that were offered him, and that he gave them ftraight to his men that were about him pressed nearer to him, and said: Cesar, read this Memoriall to your felf, and that quickly, for they be matters of great weight, and touch you nearly. Cafar took it of him, but could never read it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of People that did salure him: but holding it still in his hand, keeping it to himself, went on withall into the Senate-House. Howbeit other are of opinion, that it was some man else that gave

The place was flain.

Antonius Ca-

Cafes the first Cafar.

him that Memoriall, and not Artemidorus, who did what he could all theway as he went to give it Cafar, but he was always repulfed by the People. For these things, they may seem to come by chance; but the place where the murther was prepared, and where the tenate were affembled, and where also there stood up an Image of Pompey dedicated by himself amongst other Ornaments which he gave unto the Theater, all these were manifest proofs, that it was the ordinance of fome god, that made this treaton to be executed, specially in that very place. It is also reported, that Cassim (though otherwise he did favour the doctrine of Epicurus) beholding the Image of Pompey, before they entred into the Action of their traiterous enterprise, he did foftly call upon it, to aid him : but the instant danger of the present time, taking away his former reason, did suddainly pur him into a surious passion, and made him like a man half besides himself. Now Autonisse that was a faithfull friend to Cafar, and a valiant man besides of his hands, him Dieisse Brutus Albinus entertained out of the Senate-House, having begun a long Tale of set purpose, So Cafar coming into the House, all the Senate stood up on their feet to do him honour. Then part of Bruim company and Confederate frood round about Cafars Chair, and part of them also came towards him, as though they made suit with Metellus Cinber, to call homehis Prother again from banishment : and thus profecuting still their fuite, they followed Cafar till he was fer in his Chair. Who denying their Petitions, and being offended with them one after another, because the more they were denied, the more they pressed upon him, and were the earnester with him, Metellin at length, taking his Gown with both his hands, pulled it over his neck, which was the fign given the Confederates to fet upon him. Then Casea behind him, strake him in the neck with his Sword; howbeit the wound was not great nor mortall, because it seemed, the sear of such a divellish attempt did amaze him, and take his strength from him, that he killed him not at the first blow. But Cesar turning straight unto him, caught hold of his word, and held it hard, and they both cried out, Cefar in Latin: O vile Traitor Cafca, what doeft thou? And Casca in Greek to his Brother, Brother, help me. At the beginning of his stir, they that were prefent, not knowing of the conspiracy, were so amazed with the horrible fight they faw, they had no power to flie, neither to help him, nor fo much as once to make an outcry. They on the other fide that had conspired his death, compassed him in on every side with their Swords drawn in their hands, that Cafar turned him no where, but he was stricken at by some, and still had naked Swords in his face, and was hackled and mangled among them, as a wild beaft taken of Hunters.

magiced among them, that every man should give him a wound, because all their parts should be in this murther; and then Bruspe himself gave him one wound about his Privities. Men report also, that Cefar did ftill defend himself against the rest, running every way with his Body : but when he faw Brutss with his Sword drawn in his hand, then he pulled his Gown over his head, and made no more relistance, and was driven either casually or purposedly, by the counsell of the confoirators, against the bale, whereupon Pompeys Image stood which ran all of a goar bloud till he was flain. Thus it feemed that the Image took just revenge of Pompeys Enemy, being thrown down on the ground at his feet, and yeelding up the ghost there, for the number of wounds he had Casarliain and upon him. For it is reported, that he had three and twenty wounds upon his body: and divers of had three and the confpirators did hurt themselves, striking one body with so many blows. When Cafar was twenty wounds flain, the Senate (though Brusse stood in the middest amongst them, as though he would have upon him. faid fomething touching this Fast) prefently ran out of the house, and flying, filled all the (ity with marvellous fear and tumult. Infomuch as some did thut to the doors, others for look their Shops and Ware-houses, and others ran to the place to see what the matter was: and others also that had seen it , ran home to their Houses again. But Antonius and Lepidus, which were two of Cafars chiefest friends, secretly conveying themselves away, fled into other mens Houses, and forfook their own. Bratus and his Confederates on the other fide, being yet hot with this mur- The Murtherther they had committed, having their Swords drawn in their hands, came all in a Troop toge- ers of Cefar do ther they had committed, naving their sweets grawn in their hands, came an in a Troop roge-ther out of the Senate, and went into the Market-place, not as men that made countenance to file, ket place, but otherwise, boldly holding up their heads like men of courage, and called to the People to defend their liberry, and stayed to ipeak with every great Personage, whom they met in their way. Of them, fome followed this Troop, and went amongst them, as if they had been of the conspiracy, and fallly challenged part of the honour with them : amongst them was Caius Oft avius and Lentulus Spinther. But both of them were afterwards put to death for their vain covetousness of honour, by Antonius, and Official Cafar the younger; and yet had no part of that honour for the which they were both put to death, neither did any man believe that they were any of the Confederates or of counfell with them. For they that did put them to death, took revenge rather of the will they had to offend, then of any Fact they had committed. The next morning, Brutss and his Confederates came into the Market-place to speak unto the People, who gave them such Audience, that it feemed they neither greatly reproved nor allowed the Fact . for by their great filence they shewed that they were forry for Cafars death , and also that they did reverence Brutus. Now the Senate granted generall pardon for all that was past, and to pacific every man, ordained besides, that Casars Fund. Cefars Funerals should be honoured as a god, and established all things that he had done, and gave rais. certain Provinces alfo, and convenient honours unto Brut m and his Confederates, whereby every man thought all things were brought to good peace and quietness again. But when they had opened Casarz Testament, and found a liberall Legacy of Money bequeathed unto every Citizen of ROME, and that they faw his body (which was brought into the Market-place) all bemangled with gashes of Swords, then there was no Order to keep the multitude and common People quiet, but they plucked up Forms, Tables and Stools, and laid them all about the body, and fetting them afire, burnt the Corps. Then when the fire was well kindled, they took the Fire-brands, and went unto their Houses that had flain Cefar, to fet them afire. Other also ran up and down the City to fee if they could meet with any of them, to cut them in pieces: howbeit they could meet with never a man of them, because they had locked themselves up fastely in their Houses. There was one of Casars friends called Cinna that had a marvellous strange and terrible Dream the night before. He dreamed that Cafar bad him to Supper, and that he refused and would not go : then that Cafar took him by of Cafar, the hand, and led him against his will. Now Cinna hearing at that time, that they burnt Cafars body in the Market-place, notwithstanding that he feared his Dream, and had an Ague on him besides, he went into the Market-place to honour his Funerals. When he came thither, one of the mean fort asked him what his Name was? He was straight called by his Name. The first man told it to another, and that other unto another, fo that it ran straight through them all, that he was one of them that murthered Cafar: (for indeed one of the Traitors to Cafar , was also called The Murther Cinna as himself) wherefore taking him for Cinna the Murtherer, they fell upon him with the of Cinna. fury, that they prefently disparched him in the Market-place. This fitr and sury made Brown. and Callius more afraid then of all that was past, and therefore within few days after they departed out of ROME: and touching their doings afterwards , and what calamity they suffered till their deaths, we have written it at large in the life of Brutus. Cefar died at fix and fifty years of age, cefar fix and and Pompey also lived not passing sour years more then he. So he reaped no other fruit of all fifty years old his Reign and Dominion, which he had so vehemently destred all his life, and pursued with such achieved the series death. extream danger, but a vain Name onely, and a superficial Glory, that procured him the envy and The revenge hatred of his Countrey. But his great prosperity and good fortune that favoured him all his life of Gardeath. hatred of his Countrey. But his great prosperity and good fortune that ravoured that as his life deflut being time, did continue afterwards in the revenge of his death, purfuing the Murtherers both by Sea and overthown at Land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, for all them that were Actors or Countree the Battell of fellers in the conspiracy of his death. Furthermore, of all the chances that happen unto men upon Philipper, flew the Earth, that which came to Cassim above all other, is most to be wondered at : for he being over- hinself with

come in Battell at the journey of PHILIPPES, flew himfelf with the same Sword with the which be the fell-same

ftrake Cafar. Again, of figns in the Element, the great Comet, which seven nights together with he strake

was feen very bright after Cafarsdeath, the eight night after was never feen more. Also the bright- Cafar.

after Cafars A Spirit appeared unto Spirit unto

nefs of the Sun was darkned, the which all that year through role very page ind. Wooders seen out, whereby it gave but small heat: therefore the Ayr being very cloudy and dark, by the weak in the Element nels of the heat that could not come forth, did cause the Earth to bring forth but raw and unripe Fruit, which rotted before it could ripe. But above all, the ghoft that appeared into Bruttu thewed plainly, that the gods were offended with the murther of Cefar. The Vision was thus: Agreet comet. Bratas being ready to pals over his Army from the City of ARYDOS to the other Coast lying directly against it, slept every night (as fris manner was) in his Tent; and being yet awake, thinking of his Affairs, (for by report he was a carefull a Captain, and lived with as little fleep as ever man did) he thought he heard a noile at his Tent door, and looking towards the light of the Lamp that waxed very dim, he faw a horrible Vision of a man, of a wonderfull greatness, and dreadfull look, which at the first made him may ellouly a fraid. But when he saw that it did him to hurt, but stood by his bed-side, and said nothing; at length he asked him what he was. The Image answered him: I am thy ill Angell, Brutsu, and thou shalt see me by the City of Philippe answered him: I am thy ill Angell, Brutsu, and thou shalt see me by the City of Philippe answered him: Therewithall, the Spirit presented again, and faid; Well, I shall see thee then. Therewithall, the Spirit presented him to be a spirit presented again. ly vanished from him. After that time, Bratm being in Battell near into the City of Philip-PES, against Antonius and Ottavius Cafar, at the first Battellhe wan the Victory, and overthrowing all them that withftood him, he drave them into young Cefars Camp, which he took. The fecond ap. The fecond Battell being at hand, this Spirit appeared again unto him, but spake never a word. Thereupon Brutss knowing that he should die, did put himself to all hazard in Battell, but yet fighting could not be flain. So feeing his men put to flight and overthrown, he ran unto a little Rock not far off, and there fetting his Swords point to his breaft, fell upon it, and flew himfelf; but yet , as it is reported, with the help of his Friend that dispatched him.

The end of the Life of Julius Cafar.

THE COMPARISON OF ALEXANDER the Great with FULIUS (ÆSAR.





ering into Confideration of Alexander and Cafar, it is an easie matter to speak, and much easier to prove, that they are two of the bravest Chieftains of War, that are to be noted in his Histories: that their Vertues out of War are excellent, and gave great resemblance together: that both of them were Nobly born, Learned, Eloquent, Liberall, Moderate, very loving to their Friends and Servants, and wonderfull much made of , and obeyed of Captains and Souldiers of their Armies, and mercifull even to their Enemies : that even from their youth they made good proof of the future greatness of their courages : that their exploits are altogether admirable: that they be two Miracles for

Military Discipline, whether a man doth look into the shortness of the time of their Wars, and the Countries which they have passed through , as it were with the turning of a hand : or that they behold the Enemies they have overcome, the Towns and Provinces they have conquered; their Wildom, Valour, and Happinels, having never received repulse, but always carrying Victory in their hands , and making Valour their advantage with an affured good direction. Both of them were in marvellous danger of their Persons, the one in the City of the MALLIANS, the other in SPAIN , against the Son of Pompeims. Both of them were by Soothsayers expresly told of their

death, whom they loved and respected. Both of them in the mean space (as it were blind-fold') did throw themselves into danger, from the which men would have withdrawn them. But he than meerly confiders the Life of either of them , shall find himself in a Field , whereof the eye cannot fee the end, nor the divers ways object unto it, but remaineth dazled, not knowing whether to point it, he feeth fo many things at once before him. If he come to prefer the Life of the one before the other, he entreth into an Ocean of discourse, and cannot tell which of the two he should chuse, nor to what port to go to discharge himself of this man here, before the other there; vet to encourage some body to fail in this Sea, let us row to the Shoar; and (to speak plainly without figure) let us see wherein the one doth pass the other, to leave the Reader his free judgement of that we will fay. At this prefent I will in few words shew what may be observed most memorable. in the Adolescency of the one and of the other, of their Exploits of War, of their Vices and Vertues, of their Death, and what followed after. I plead first for Alexander, not mentioning his Race, his Beauty, nor the fweetness of his Body, which they speak of so much; all that being nothing worth in respect of Vertue: his continency unto Women, and for that he did moderately use the exercises of his Body, doth so much the more condemn Cafars excess and frailty of his youth, doing and suffering filthy things, not to be ripped up any further. The ambition of Alexander came of a noble mind, as witneffeth that he spake of the running at the Games Olympicall, his difcourse with the Ambassadours of Persia, and the complaint he made to his Companions, that his Father would leave him nothing to conquer. Whereas Calar after he had remained fometime in NI-COMEDIA and in GREECE, he cast himself into the arms of the common People at ROME. being bountifull, and making Orations to gain their hearts, fuing for petty Offices finely to attain to the greater. To conclude, he took a quite contrary course unto Alexander, who traced the great Royall broad way to Vertue, to become one day the Honour of the World: and also to his School-mafter the learnedst man of all men, and shewed himself indeed a most worthy Disciple of Aristotle. But Cefar pricked forward by his natural wit, and tyrannical manners of his time. was possessed (in an unlucky hour for him and his Countrey) with the incollerable Vice of selfwill and ambition, which was cause of his death. The love that Alexander bore from his Infancy unto Learning and Learned-men, makes him far excell other Princes. The Honour that he did unto Homer the Poet, returned again to himself: how praise-worthy are his courtestes and liberality unto Diogenes, Xenocrates, and others? To the contrary, Cofar never feemed to care for any man, but for himself; or if he have regarded some, or given Gold and Silver by handfuls, it was but to gain men, and by degrees to ferve his turn to raife him to that greatness he aimed at, rather then for any other confideration. Now as may be faid of the one and the other, he was,

XANDER& (ÆSAR.

In Counsell wife: and valorous in Fight. And to speak truly, it is their true and right Title of Honour, and the advantage they have of all those that have gone before them: let us see if we can a little in particular qualifie Alexander.

A stardy Waterour, never fearing harms, And dreadfull to his Enemies in Arms:

As faith Afahilus: for what was all his War in As 1 A after the death of Philippus, but Tempefts, extream Heats, wonderfull deep Rivers, marvellous high Mountains, monstrous Beasts for greatnels to behold, wild lavage fashions of life, change and alteration of Governours upon every occasion, yea Treasons and Rebellions of some? At the beginning of his Voyage, GREECE did yet lay their heads together, for remembrance of the Wars that Philippus made upon them, the Towns gathered together, MACEDONIA inclined to some change and alteration, divers People far and near lay in wait to fee what their neighbours would do, the Gold and Silver of Persia Howing in the Orators Purses and Governours of the People in every Town did raise up Peloponnese: Philippus Treasure and Coffers were empty, and the debts were great. In despite of all these troubles, and in the middest of his poverty, a young man, but newly come to mans estate, durst in his mind think of the Conquest of Asia, yea of the Empire of the whole World, with thirty thousand Footmen, and five thouland Horse, or (as some other think) with five and forty thousand Footmen, and five thousand and five hundred Horie; having to entertain this War in ready Money but two and forty thousand Crowns, or (as Duris writeth) provision of Victuals and Money but for thirty days: howbeit he was furnished with Magnanimity, with Temperance, with Wildom and Valour, being more holpen in this Martiall Enterprise, with that he had learned of his Tutor Aristotle, then with that which his Father Philippus had left him : he was armed with a just quarrell against the PERSIANS, fworn Enemies unto GREECE, unto whom they had done infinite wrongs and injuries, his Magnanimity and Valiantness appeared in all Fights, were it in a pitched Field, or in Affaults taking of Towns; never sparing his person, having been grievously wounded in sundry Fights. What Valour shewed he in the City of the MALLIANS, he himself alone against so many barbarous People? With what conftancy did he encourage his Surgeons to pluck out a dart that fluck faft in his Breaft? Let no man, faith he, be so faint-hearted nor cowardly; no, not if my life were in question, I could not think that a man would beleeve I seared death, if he had any feeling or fear in my behalf. Now for a man in twelve years space and less, to have done these things, and to have travelled a Conquerour the most part of the World, is a commendation passing mens understanding. Cafar on the contrary part, having made his preparations long before, happily found Craffe to pay his debts he ought, to the end to corrupt the City of ROME : and happily having practifed a dangerous League with Pompeins, he taketh Arms, and entreth into FRANCE, where his fubrilities did him as good fervice as his Arms: in the mean space, he had his means, through whose aid, in theend he overthrew the whole state of the Common-wealth of ROME. Now Alexander is not fo admirable, for that by his Prowels he overcame his Enemies, as he was by the wonderfull wife and vertuous behaviour in the middeft of his Armes, where indeed he shewed himself a perfect Philosopher; whereof it is good to alleadge some examples that shall bring us to the goodly discourse of the Vertues of this Prince, surpassing Casar in that respect. Therefore we may fee his Prowels accompanied with great Justice, a fweet Temperance, an excellent Bounty, a good order and exquifite Wifdom: directing all things-by good differetion and ripe Judgement. In all his doings you shall hardly differene, that is a deed of Valour, that of Humanity, that of Patience: but all his Exploits seemed to be mingled and compounded of all the Vertues together. Yet it is true, that always in every Action, there is a Vertue eminent above the others : but that pointeth them all to one end. In Alexanders Actions they fee, that his Valiantness is gentle, and his gentleness Valiant: his Liberality, Husbandry, his choler foon down, his loves Temperate, his Pattines not idle, and his Travels gracious. What is he that hath mingled Feating with Wars, and military Expeditions with Sports? Who hath intermingled in the middet of his belieging of Towns, and in the middeft of Skirmithes and Fights, Sports, Banquets, and Wedding-Songs? Who was ever more Enemy to those that did wrong, or more gracious to the afficted? Who was ever more cruell to those that fought, or more just unto Suppliants? Let us bring forth Porsis witty sayings who being brought prisoner before Alex ander, and by him asked how he would be used the answer ed: Like a King. So Alexander following on still, asked him if he would say any thing more: No, faid he, for all is contained in that word onely. And so may they in all Alexanders deeds, to his Friends and Enemies, at the beginning and end of his Life add too this Verfe:

How lived he? Like a wife man. How carried he himself in all his exploits of War? Like a wife man. How hath he converfed amongst men openly and privatly? Like a wife main. He hath some faults in his behaviour, and we will not forget to speak of them. But as all rules have their exceptions, and yet therefore not to be taken away: and a pimple or wart shall not stain the perfections of the Face otherwise very fair : so Alexanders follies and imperfections cannot take away this Honour from him, which wife men give him. If we would here help our felves with Examples, we should write that which Plutarch hath so learnedly and briefly gathered out of so many good Authors, who took pleafure to do that in the Life of Alexander, which they judge Xenophon did in Cyrus: to wit, to fet before all menthe pattern of a Prince compleat in all Vertues. And whereas Cefar diffained his Life with a continuall violent defire to subdue his Countrey, committing a greater fault in the laft Wars, and towards the end of his Life, then if he had laien with his own Mother: as also this damnable illusion did torment him the night before he entred into ITALIE to violate the Liberty of ROME, Alexander was not pricked forward but by Vertue it felf, to begin a just War worthy of a great King, not of purpose to set his seet upon the throats of the GREEKS, but to bring all the World to a peaceable and happy Government. His Wars made the Greek's flied no tears. Cafar filled all his Countrey with fire and tears, Alexander keeping his Souldiers under obedience, suffering none of them that followed him to commit any diforders, he brought the barbarous People through the help of his Friends to be civill, Cefar undid some of his Friends, others for fook him, he filled ROME with the insolency of his Souldiers, and fowed there the grains of infinite confusions that came out of his Bloud. But what hath been the continency of Alexander, to whom all things succeeded as he wished? He would not fee the Ladies that were prisoners, and through his Temperance was as much Conquerour of their beauties, (notwithstanding, he was in the flower of his age, and of a lusty complexion) as of the Prowess of men by his Valiantness: yea he made less account of those Women they shewed him, then of those that he never faw. And where he was gracious to all fort of People, he shewed himself as untoward to them that were fair. How did he threaten Philoxenus, that would have bought him two Boys of a Merchant of TARENTUM? And if he did love Roxane and Statica, it was because he would lawfully marry them, and for the good of his affairs: and not as Casar, that forgat himfelf too much in those matters. But furthermore, what praise deserveth Alexander, that will not fteal a Victory? O how noble is his courage, that would not accept Darins offers: but would needs have GREECE command ASIA, as it was requifite! What diligence used he in following of his Enemie? and otherwise what compassion took he of the unworthy death of him? how did he punish Bessu ? All his former behaviour sheweth that he had a good and a true Kingly mind in him: that he loved not Traitours, nor Treason, and would not overcome but with honour. Cafar indeed did pursue Pompey, but he did not punish the murderers, till he had discovered that they conspired against him. Now to make an end of that we have to say for Alexander: we may gather out of the discourse of his Life, that the divine Providence made a Present unto this Prince of the Vertues most apparent in all the other Noble Greeks and ROMANS: who befides his Piety, Juftice, and Equity, in his adverfity he strengthened himself with hope : in prosperity, environed with flatterers, he was not drunk with his greatness, he did acknowledge he was mortall, and humbled himfelf many wayes : he is wonderfull patient, beareth the hard words of his familiars: he neither taketh Pen nor Sword in hand to be revenged of those that of fended him, thinking it a worthy thing in a King to fuffer himself to be blamed, and to hear ill

te to good : thewing a hearty affection and great honour to his friends, even for their fakes to forbear his own necessary commodities, to write unto them familiarly, and to have a speciall care of their persons and of their affairs. He provided his servants pay of creditors fix millions of gold due for his fouldiers. He fent out of ASIA into GREECE the like fum to build Temples again to their gods, in place of those which the Persians had overthrown. To conclude, in the midft of his affairs he shewed an aspiring and invincible valour, not being saint-hearted for any danger whatsoever. It is true that Calar in this case had many things common with him, as we will tell you hereaster. This notwithstanding Alexander always kept himself constant, and after such a manner, that he followed not vice, neither feemed he fo much to blemith goodly vertues as the other. Among other Alexanders vivices, they blame Alexander for drunkenness and choler. I will neither excuse the one nor the o-choler and ther in him: but as for his last, there was never Prince that would sooner confess his faults after he drunkenness. had done them through this vehemency of his, whereunto he was somewhat given by nature: it may be faid also that Cliss, Califthenes, and some others that selt the force of his anger, were the chief cause and motive of it, and had brought the mischief upon themselves. And to speak the troth, there is no reason that a servant much made of by his master, should stand so highly upon himself, that he will bear nothing, but willfully run his head against a stone which he might easily have avoided, if he could but have kept his tongue, and given place to his fury that could prefently undo him. Every man will condemn Alexander for his ill ulage of the INDIAN fouldiers, coming out of a Town uponhis word given them. And as for the Philosophers, it is a matter whereof somewhat may be faid, wherein they should have been more spare in their practises, to have done longer service to their Country, and not to have provoked fo much a puilfant and victorious enemy. And as for the Nation of the Cosseians, in that he utterly destroyed them for facrifice of the funerals of Haphestion, it is an unexcufable fault, what excufe soever may be made for it. But the gracious entertainments he gave Taxiles, and Porus, to so many Nations subdued, to so many Townstaken: the divers and great honours he gave unto the Captains of his Army, and the ordinary course of his life wonderfull mercitull, do somewhat salve the wounds of his unpremeditated choler, and his exceeding grief and forrow for his favourites and familiars. The which we much diftinguish from the strange hatred that Cafar hid in his heart, against all those that hindred his doings, without regard to any man. And where he pardoned some before and after victory, it was but for his advancement, not for any good will he bare them: for in AFRICK he put many of them to death whom he suspected, nay he spared nor Cato himself after his death. As for the tears he shed taking Pompeys seal, refusing to see the head of him, nor Theodotsus that brought it him: and contrariwife, favouring the fervants and friends of the dead, and writing goodly letters to ROME, which they call, Kiffing of his dead enemy: his acts that went before, and followed after, may plainly shew, that all that was but a Tragi-comedy ceremonioully ended, although otherwise they had had so many matters to deal in together, that it was not possible but that some remainder of the ancient knowledge meeting then in the heart, should ftir up iomeinward contrariety within: as also it happeneth to men of great courage, that contrary passions meeting together, do shew more without, then remaineth within. The wicked Theodorus deserved no lefs then Beffiu : but Cafar was not Alexander , neither went he into ÆGYPT but for the advancement of his affairs, which could not well be compassed but by the destruction of Pompey: the which when he had obtained, made him forget his duty openly. For Alexanders drunkennels, fome defirous to excuse it, alledge that he drank not much, but was long at the Table, and spent the time talking with his friends. As they tell of Cato UTICAN, that he fate at the table with his friends all night long, untill the morning, whereof fome faid that his bufiness in the Common-wealth was cause, which he followed all the day: his hindering him that he had no leafure to go to his book when night came; he took great delight to confer with learned men at his table. If Alexander after he had travelled about fo many affairs of the Common-wealth, the which he would never leave undone to follow his own pleasures, drank somewhat liberally among his Captains, yea suppose that he exceeded measure more then once : yet will I not conclude that he made use of it, and that he deserved the name of a drunkard. I will not excuse the fault he committed at the instance of Lais the Curtisan, nor the promife that he made of a prize of fix hundred Crowns to his Captains, unto him that could drink most: for it is not in glasses and goblets that men should show their strength. But there died at this quaffing and carroufing, one and fourty of his Captains. And as for himself, truly he was too lightly led by Medium , to go drink with him all night , and the next morning : whereupon he fell fick, and would not forbear to drink Wine for all that, which cast him into a Feaver that left him not. For whereas they fay he was poyloned, it had no likelihood of reason in it. Be it that this Prince did exceed in drinking, yet that not withfranding, Wine must not drown nor bury so many excellent ver- Alexanders tues that do shine in him in time of peace and war. Cesars intemperancy in his pleasures, and hisun-death and sucfatiable ambition, is an extremity without all comparison more vehement and dangerous then Alex- cessours. anders choler or cup. And as for his death, as the continuance and greatness of his glory was pure and unspotted, free from envy, during the ftrength of his Age, whileft he lived in this world : fo after his death this glory held out still in the wonted manner, he being lamented of all his Army, of all GREECE and EUROPE; many royall branches having forung from his fouldiers, leaving the world in division to four simple Captains, whose issue after them have continued many years in possessian on in their parts. Whereas Cafar to the contrary, having with fo great labour and travel by many obscure and obliqueways, attained to the height of a shamefull glory, and which wan him the ha tred of the chiefest members of the Common-wealth, was immediatly cast down, little lamented

good mafter, not of fo many petty Lords. His wonderful forefight ferved

di occurrences, being never prevented in any thing he went about, but always he he defired. His magnanimity weighed more then any other vertue they could

note in him . which is as much as one would fay , that Cafar outweighed all the other Captains of

the GREEKS and ROMANS. He was almost at all the battels: in the wars where he com-

manded he was never beaten but in his Lieutenants. For the skirmish in the which Pompey on a

time had the better, it is not worth the speaking of it; because he could not tell how to follow his victo-

ry. And it is a fingular direction, favoured with a most rare happiness, that amongst so many blows

given, Cafar never had one given him. If he found favour of Craffus before he went to the wars,

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of those that loved good laws and the good of the state, the which he lest turmoited was about wars; and which began to make some shew again under his Nephew, whom the divine providence (having regard to things much more excellent then either heaven or earth) had in his counfell desermined to make him Monarch of the world. As to the contrary, Alexander was happily stayed in BABYLON, where he was told by the divines, the wicked spirit having (according to the knowledge it pleased the just Judge to give him) conjectured and foretold formething of that which God had long time before revealed unto his by his faithfull Prophet. But yet after Augustus, the Empire of ROME fell again into new misfortunes, and was never but unconstant from that time forward, till in the end it lunk under her own weight. The like chanced to Alexanders successors, but not through his fault:

Cafars youth.

Cafars great skill in Arms.

and that makes the memory of him more famous. Thus have you all I can fay of him. Let us fpeak something of Julius Casar also, not that I pretend to attain to that which may be said of Wherein Cafar him: for it would require a more fufficient man then my felf to perform that. But to make some feemed to excl comparison with Alexander, whose deeds he chancing one day to read of in a book, he fell a weeping, envying the brave exploits of the other. Let us therefore consider if he have done things that came near, or did excell the other. First of all, unto all the noble Acts that may be written of Alexander in his youth, I do object the worthy Act of Cafar against the Pirates, which were more his prisoners then he theirs, unto whom he paid randsom in such fort, that he made them repent their folly that they ever meddled with him. So that upon land they found he was very round with them, as also their Judge at Sea, though he were but a young man in their hands. That is but an example of the reft of his life, who could abide no companion, and much lefs a mafter, as being born to all great things, and delighting innothing but to be excellent in all the rareft and higheft things of the world: as his deeds did winnels, after he came to bear office in the common-wealth, even to the end of his days. Now albeit his eloquence is no small thing to be spoken of, which did him notable fervice in many troublefome encounters, though it was a wonder to fee the excellency of his file and grace, lively to express all things in so fine and goodly terms, that the smoothest Muses neither would , nor could speak more sweetly then he : yet fince we had rather stand upon good deeds then fair words , let us pass over this matter , so much to support Alexander , and let us see whether it may be received for truth of all men of understanding : that Cafar is the most excellent Captain that ever was in the world. Albeit that Alexander had but a small means, yet he was Lord of a great Kingdom, he had men and credit. But Cofar without patrimony of fuch worth without money and with few men, performed the greatest things that may be thought of. Alexander had to do with women and children, if one compare the people he fought with, to those whom Cefar overthrew : not in five or fix battells , but in more then fifty , very well ordered , where he was ever the weaker in number of men, but the greater in valour : never vanquished, but ever victor: and was never hurt that I can tell of, though he would venture even to his laft, and let his flesh go as freely as the meanest fouldier of his Legions. And yet in the mean time they shall find he was better stayed in his enterprises then Alexander, that like a swift running stream would run into any dangers, which indifferently joyneth with all that cometh against it. So he was in the heat of his age, and Cafar entred into doings being a man of ripe judgement, and well onwards in years. To say it is a great commendation for a Generall in the field, headlong to put himself into all dangers, making no difference betwirt himfelf and a common fouldier, that is fomewhat too forward; and therefore therein I find Cefar to be preferred before Alexander, onely for that he was not fo forward without great necessity. So that his happiness defended him in all parts, as also for that Alexander seemed to have sought to be beaten. Shall I tell you that Casar killed a million of enemies, hath triumphed for a million of others, and hath made an innumerable number to flie? That in lefs then ten years while the war in GAULE endured, he wan eight hundred Towns, and subdued three hundred Nations? If I should mention the wars he made in sisteen years space, it would make a whole book to speak onely but of the praises he deserved. The SWITZERS, GERMANS, GAULS, ROMANS, EGYPTIANS, AFRICANS, the ASIANS, and his five triumphs of fo many enemies, fo mighty, and in flew fo invincible, do approve his valour and fufficiency in all the parts requifite in a Chieftain of war. His vertues and happinels being his Tutors, he got about him a world of good wills of certain valiant Captains and fouldiers together, whom he ordered fo well, that he made them ready to perform what he commanded, and having such an unmatchable carriage towards them, he made them invincible with him; and in the middeft of his continuall troubles, he did read, meditate, speake, wrote, and left behind him the goodlieft book that a Martial man, and one that entertaineth the Muses, can devise to take in his hands. His Orations were a long time held in great reputation among the ROMANS. And for his respect unto men learned, valiant, and vertuous, Cafar had renounced himself, if he had shut his Gare against such men. The dangers Alexander passed through were great , but what were they in respect of Calars dangers, environed with 60 brave enemies, and in 60 great a number, as were the GAULS, and Pompey's followers? What foul parts have been played him by fome of his own people, and yet he weighed them not? But to the contrary, he futtered some of them to run what course they liked beft : he fent the carriage and goods to other : he always respected and honoured his enemies, when they made no head against him. And by his friends he fent reasonable conditions unto Pompey, before he would fight with him. Furthermore, when he entred into wars, being greatly in debt, and raifed up with hope, having the chiefest in ROMS his adversaries, he took upon him to fight with all the enemies abroad, and to make his way in despite of the world, to the soveraignity of ROME, the

that cannot be imputed any blame to him, fince he always payed his friends well, and brought his enemies to reason, though they set against him. If justice accompanied the prowess of Alexander. if he have used moderation, gentleness, and humility in his victories, if he shewed himself wise and The vermes circumfpect in his purposes: what shall be faid of Ca/ar then? Whose gentleness is so much spo-and perfections ken of that men judge that was one of the occasions of his death. His pastimes were very of Casiar both ferious: and after he began to deal in affairs, he never played but in good earnest, and yet would in war and he never lose his time of recreation, and his pleasant talk and communication with his friends and I cace. familiars. But in the middest of his victories, how did he use his enemies, and those that set themfelves against him? He was a lightening of war, that did overthrow all that durst withstand him: and he never meddled with any that yeelded without refiftance. He was Faithfull, Wife, Valiant, and Couragious, and did not allow all kind of means to obtain victory: although more then once he might have fewed (as they fay) the case of the Fox, with the skin of the Lyon. But yet he followed in good time his predeceffors, although he did finely affault the most part of his enemies, and destroyed the one by the other. Cafars ambition was very extream, but he covered it in another manner of fort then Alexander did : who passing over a River , let fall certain words . plain enough, that he fought the praise of the ATHENIANS. And the false inventions to make the glory of his name to continue for ever amongst the INDIANS, do not they discover a most grofs vanity, which did but labour after that which it could not attain? But Cafar defired earnestly, and touched the end of his intentions. His prowefs is wonderfull gracious, and his gentlenefs grave and valiant; his liberality fo great, that to think what he should give, was more then the gift it felf, how great foever. Also he gathered no riches together in the wars, to live afterwards in deliciousness at his pleasure : it was a reward of vertue that he locked up, to recompence men of valour, and to leave good fouldiers a mean to live by honeftly at home, when age and their wounds did constrain them to leave wars. He was never weary of any travell more then Alexander: and gave not himself to so much ease, though he was elder, slenderer, and thinner of body, and subject to the Falling-sickness: but he hardened himself against it by continual exercise of his body, and mind, accompanied with an incredible quickness and diligence. He having left FRANCE, and running after Pompeius to BRUNDUSIUM, he subdued all IT A LIE in less then three weeks, returned again from BRUNDUSIUM to ROME; from whence he went to the heart of SPAIN, where he overcame extream hardness in the war against Afranius and Petreius, and at the long siege of MARSEILLES. From thence he returned into MACEDONIA, wan the battell of PHARSALIA, and followed Pompeius into EGYPT, which he subdued also. After that he came into SYRIA, and into the Kingdom of PONT; where he fought with Pharmaces: and from thence into AF-RICK, where he overcame Scipio and Juba. Afterwards he returned again through ITALIE and SPAIN, and there overcame the fon of Pompeius. Now weigh therewithall the travels, fights, conquefts and expeditions of Alexander: then fay plainly, what you think of it: Cafar carried it by much. The onely wars of the GAULS have been more sharp and dangerous then all the conquests of ASIA and the INDIANS. For it is not in passing over mountains and Rivers ill guarded, that shews the deeds of men: it is to overcome a subtill and puissant enemie. But I pray you, these words of Cafar to the Masters of the Brigantine (who unless they had known him , would have passed him from APOLLONIA to BRUNDUSIUM) were they not more swelling then the sea it self: Courage my friend, faid he, fail hardly: for thou carriest Cafar and his fortune. And that which he faid passing over the River of Rubicon, to enter into ITALIE: A man can be but once undene : what a courage did he shew in that? Truely a mind, that from thence did behold death, and cared for no more, but for the execution of his counsels. If a man observe the directions of Alexander in his ex-

ploits, what is that in the respect of the wildom of Casar? being wont to say, he loved victory gotten by counsell more then by force. I know that Alexander was adorned with most excellent vertues, and hurt with very few known vices. For therein it seemeth he hath lattised up Casar, and many others of the chiefest in the GREEK and ROMAN History : although I cannot diffemble also, that he was led by flatterers and women too: witness that which he did at the instigation of Law and of his minions. As also that his deeds were but wind: dangerous vices in all men, but especially in Princes: from which Cafar kept himself with better understanding. But if we bring in shew

the good understanding, the spirit, the judgement, the conduct, the profound knowledge, the eloquence, the hardiness, the greatness of courage, the more then humane boldness in the middest of the greatest dangers : the travels, the pains, the bounty, the gentleness, the courtesie, the liberality, and the good fortune of Cafar: we shall have enough to speak of. They object this against him, that among the Senators and others which took Pompeius part, he spared them that could not much hart him : and others whom he thought he could not gain, he overcame them in AFRICK:

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But Brutm, Cassim, and his adherents shew, that Casar sought as graciously, if his ill-willers would have let him alone. And sure it is very with him but a while longer, matters had not gone on with such a violent court with this but a write longer, matters had not gone on with luch a violent court, his death: but the efface of Rome had been governed with better Policy, and the ambust of this great person having attained his desire, had been satisfied, and would have fallen of himself. For whereas he did lean to the flatteries of Balbus and Antonius, to difdain the Senate, and to cover whereas he and figns of Royall dignity, these were but the blasts of this wicked wind, which such dangerous bellows entertained and kept in his heart. Now in this he cannot be excused. On the contrary fide, they cannot too much condemn this passion of his, which sufficiently appeared in the first voyage he made into SPAIN: when passing by a pelting Village, he preferred the first place in that to the second in ROME. This passion increased in him ever after, so mightily over-ruling all the reft, and fo absolutely possessing his mind, that it carried him whither it would, and made him that without respect of his Country or of himself he never left running, untill that his fierce horse cast him on the ground, and brake his neck. Yea, so many victories and triumphs drew horse cast him not for all that to seek rest: but (as Alexander failed up and down the Ocean, during his last fickness, and fome hours before his death) he embraced greater wars and conquest then before. For that he did in reforming the Kalender, and the enterprise of fo many buildings and works for the Commonwealth, fleweth, that that mind was a bow ever bent. For his voluptuousness, peradventure it will not become us to speak of it; and we were better with silence and shame lament mans impersection, then in deferying of noble persons, content those that are never merry, but when one seedeth on, then in deterging of mode periods, content those that are never metry, but when one recuent their malice. The ambition wherewith he was infinitely wounded, coming to fight with this wickednels after women, made him quickly leave the haunt, utterly to subdue it afterwards; to the end that his pleafures should never make him steal a minute of an hour, nor to remove one foot from the occasions offered him to raise him to greatnes. As for his death, it was violent indeed, but practi-

Augustus, and afterwards.

Cajarr death, occasions onered into to take that to whom he had given life, and who continued not long after him. It is of Rome unter the true, his high carriage of himself was cause of his death: for nothing wanted to his happines, but true, his high carriage of himself was cause of his death: for nothing wanted to his happines, but to love his City, and to continue to be more carefull then he was to pleafe the Senare and people, as to love in the common after his five triumphs, pardoning all, raifing one and other to Offices in the Commonne nau begun autri ins nive training. Paradaman and selecting up again the statues of Pompey. Now being fallen again into this desperate dewealth, and setting up again the statues of Pompey. weatti, and return up against the made for many offended with him, that diverse put in execution, which one man alone could not easily have brought to pass. But yet he hath that more then 'Alexan's man alone could not easily have brought to pass. But yet he hath that more then 'Alexan's mother, wives, and children that his death was revenged. To the contrary Alexanders mother, wives, and children that his death was revenged. dren made a poor end; his Army remaining as a body without a head, and he had a good grace that compared it to Cyclope Polypheme, when Ulyste had put out his eye. His Captains and fuccessours devoured one another by long wars. As for Casar, he lived fill inthe person of his fuccessour Augustus, who having overcome a world of hard adventures, established a Monarchy: the which in delpite of a million of tempefts, hath continued many hundreds of years. And specially the name of Calar, by excellent priviledge hath remained unto those that after him reigned in the of precedency any the name of Capital, 37 actions particles was, and yet is to this day defired of all men, that by valourous betwith Alex. Empire of ROME; and his valiantness was, and yet is to this day defired of all men, that by valourous which of the two I should give the precedency : but fince the world hath been too little for the one and which of the other, I should go too far if I plainly spake what I thought. Now that I have spoken for the

other, I cease, and leave you to your judgement.

Reader.

THE LIFE OF



Ann. Mund.

Ant. Christ.



HE Orator Demades on a time flourished in Athens, because in all his doings and fayings in the administration and government of the Commonwealth , he always favoured the MACEDONIANS and Antipater: in refpect whereof he was eftfoons compelled, both in his counfell and laws, to prefer many things to the dishonour of his City, saying, that they must pardon him, because he governed the shipwracks of his Countrey. This Demades arewas an arrogant speech : but yet referring it to the government of Phocion gant saying. he said truely. For indeed Demades self was the shipwrack of the Common-wealth, because he lived so insolently, and governed so lewdly. Inso-

much as Antipater faid of him, after he was very old : that there was nothing left of him, no more then of a beaft facrificed, but the tongue and belly. But the vertues of Phocion which had to fight against the cruel and bitter enemy of the time, were so obscured by the calamities of GREECE, that his same was nothing so great as he deserved. For we must not credit Sophocles words, making vertue of it felf but weak, in these verses:

When storms of sore adversities (O King) do men assail, It dannts their courage, cuts their combs, and makes their hearts to quail.

But we must onely give place to fortune, who when she frowneth upon any good and vertuous man. her force is fo great, that where they deserve honour and favour, she violently heapeth falle and malicious accufations against them, which maketh their vertue lame, and not of that credit which indeed The power of it deserveth. And yet it seemeth to many, that free Cities are most cruell unto their good Citizens in vertue and fortime of prosperity: because they flow in wealth and live at ease, which maketh them of haughty tune. minds. But it is clean contrary. For advertity commonly maketh mens manners fowre, cholerick, and very hafty: befides, flow to hear, churlish, and offended with every little sharp word. For he that Advertity macorrected them that offend, feemeth to cast their adversity in their teeth : and he that telleth them kethmenhasty plainly of their faults, seemethalso to despise them. For like as honey sweet by nature, applied unto wounds, doth bring both fmart and pain : even fo, fharp words, though profitable, do bite the unfortunate man, it they be not tempered with discretion and courtese. And therefore Homer the Poet calleth sweet and pleafant things persons, as yeelding, and not striving with contrariety, against that part of the mind, whereby we be angry and froward. For even as fore eyes do like to look on black and dark colours, and cannot abide the bright and glaring : fo in a City, where for want of forefight and government, things go not well, men be fo divers and unwilling to hear of their own faults and estate, that they had rather continue in their folly and danger, then by sharpness of words be rebuked and reftored. So that it being unpossible to amend one fault with a greater, that Com-

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Commonwealth of Rome. and fubtile

laughed.

ved directly contrary; but fetching a compals a little overthwart; maketh an oblique circle, and by variety of approaching and departing prefervethall things, and keepeth the world in good temperature : even fo, too severe government, contrarying the peoples minds in all things, is not good : as also it is marvellous dangerous not to correct offendors when they offend, for fear of the peoples difpleasure. But the mean, sometime to yeeld unto the people to make them the more willing to obey, and to grant them things of pleasure, to demand of them again things profitable, that is a good way to govern men the better by. For , by gentle means they are brought to do many profitable things, when they feek it not of them by rigor and authority. Indeed this mean is very hard to be observed, because authority is hardly tempered with lenity. But when they meet together, there is no harmony more mulical, nor concordance more perfect then that : and therefore it is faid that thereby God doth govern the world, working rather a voluntary then a forced obedience in men. But this fault of severeness was in Cato the younger, for be could not fashion himself to the peoples manners, nor did they like his : neither did he win his ethination in the Common-wealth by flattering of them : Citero's faying and therefore Citero faid, that he was put by the Confulthip, for that he behaved himfelf as though of Caro and the he lived in the Common-wealth devited by Plato, and not among the difordered and corrupt posterity of Romulus. Methinketh I can liken him properly unto timely fruit : the which though men do take pleasure to see and wonder at, yet they eat them not. Even so, the ancientest simplicity of Cato's manner (having so long a time been out of use, and coming then to shew it self in that cormanneroceame not the corresper rupt time and ill manners of the City) was indeed much praise worthy; but yet not the convenientest, nor the fitteft for him, because it answered nor respected not the use and manners of the time. For he found not his Countrey (as Phocion did) utterly destroyed, but to fled in a dangerous tempest : and being not of authority like the Pilot to take the stern in hand, and govern the ship, he took himself to tricking the fails, and preparing the tackle, so to affift men of greater power. And yet being in no greater place, he fo thwarted fortune (which feemed to have form the overthrow of the flate of ROME) that with much ado, with great difficulty, and a long time after, she executed her malice. And yet the Common-wealth had almost gotten the victory of her, by means of Caro and his vertue: with whom I do compare the vertue of Phacian, who yet in my opinion were not in all things alike, neither in their honesty, nor policy of government. For there is difference betwixt manhood and manhood, as there was betwixt that of Alcibiades and that of Epaminondas: betwixt wildom and wisdom, as betwirt that of Aristides, and that of Themissocles : and betwirt justice and justice, as betwixt that of Numa, and that of Agefilam. But the vertues of these men (to him that shall superficially regard, and lightly confider them) feem all one in quality, in manner, and use, both alike in temperance of courtefie with feverity, and manhood with wildom: a valiant care for other, with prefence of courage and fecurity of mind for themselves, abhorring all filthiness and corruption, and imbracing constancy and love of justice: that for any man to discern the difference between them, it requireth an excellent good wit and judgement. Now touching Cato, every man knoweth that he was of a noble house, as we will shew you hereafter in his life: but for Phocion, I guess he came of no base The paramage parentage. For if he had been the fon of a Spoon-maker, as Idomeness teffifieth, Glaucippus the fon of Hyperides, having in an invective he wrote against him, reheared all the mischiefs he could of him, he would not have forgotten to have upbraided him with his base parentage; neither himselfalso (if that had been true) had been fo well brought up as he was. For when he was a young man, he was Plato's Scholer, and afterwards Xemerater Scholer, in the School of Academia : and fo, even from his first beginning, he gave himself to follow them that were learned. For as Duris writeth: never ATHENI-AN faw him weep nor laugh, nor wash himself in any common bath, nor his hands out of his sleeves Phocion never when he wore a long Gown. For when he went to the wars, he would always go on foot, and never wore Gown, unless it were extream cold and then the fouldiers to mock him withall, would fay it was a fign of a sharp Winter, when they saw Phoeien in his Gown. Now though indeed he was very courteous and gentle of nature, yet he had fuch a grim look withall, that no man had Phocions manany defire to talk with him, but fuch as were of his familiar acquaintance. And therefore when Chares the Orator, one day mocking bim for the bending of his brows, and that the ATHENIANS fell in a laughing withall: My Mafters, quoth Phocion, the bending of my brows hath done no hurr, but the loolery and laughing of thefe flatterers have made ye oftentimes weep. Furthermore, his manner of speech was very profitable, for the good sentences and counsels he uttered; but it was mixed with an imperious, auftere, and bitter shortness. For as Zeno the Philosopher faith, that the wife man should temper his words with wit and reason, before he utter them : even so was Phociens speech, the which in few words comprehended much matter. And thereupon it seemeth that Polyentlus Spaettian faid, that Demosthenes was an exellent Orator, but in speech Phocion was very witty. For like as coins of Gold or Silver, the lighter they weigh, the finer they be of good-Wherein ex- nefs : even to the excellency of speech confisheth in signifying much by few words. And touching cellency of this matter, it is reported that the Theater being full of people, Phoesion walked all alone upon the Scatspeech confidence of this matter, it is reported that the Theater being full of people, Phoesion walked all alone upon the Scatfold where the Players played, and was in a great mule with himfelf: whereupon, one of his friends feeing him to in his mules, faid unto him. Surely Phocion, thy mind is occupied about fornewhat. Indeed it is so, said he: for I am thinking with my self, if I could abridge any thing of that I have to

fay to the people. For Demosthenes self little efteeming all other Orators , when Phocion role up to

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monwealth must be in great danger, that when it hath most need of help,

and he also hazardeth himself, thar plainly telleth them their faults. Like as it

tican faith, that the Sun doth not altogether follow the motion of the highest be

and his friends in the ears; and told them : See, the cutter of my words rifeth ; nt it by his manners also. For when a good man speaketh, a wink of the eye, or how of his head, doth countervail many artificiall words and speeches of Rhetoricians. Eura thermore, when he was a young man, he went to the wars under Captain Chabrias, and foli- Photions first lowed him : of whom he learned to be a perfect fouldier , and in recompence thereof , he reformed fouldier-lare. many of his Captains imperfections, and made him wifer than he was. For Chabria otherwife being very dull and flortifull of himfelf, when he came to fight, he was to hot and couragious, that he would thrust himself into danger with the desperarest perions; and therefore for his rashnels it afterwards coft him his life in the City of CHIO, where lanching out with his Galley before the reft he preffed to land in despite of his enemies. But Photion being wate to look to himself, and very quick to execute on the one fide quickened Chabrias flownels, and on the other fide also, by wildom cooled his hear and fury. Chatrias therefore, being a good man and courteous, loved Photion very well, and did prefer him in matters of service, making him samous among the GRECIANS, and employed him in his hardeft enterprifes. For by his means he atchieved great fame and honour in a battell by fea, which he won by the Isle of Naxos, giving him the left Wing of his Army, on which fide the fight was sharpest of all the battell, and there he soonest put the enemies to flight. This battell being the first which the City of ATHENS wan with their own men onely, after it The victory of had been taken, gave the people cause to love Chabrias, and made them also make account of Phocion Phocion in the as of a noble Souldier, and worthy to have charge. This victory was gotten on the Feaft day of Ifle of Naxot. the great mysteries, in memory whereof Chabrilas did yearly in the fixteenth day of the moneth Badromion (now called Angult) make all the people of ATHENS drink. After that time Chabrias fending Photion to receive the tribute of the Islanders their confederates, and the Ships which they should fend him, he gave them twenty Gallies to bring him thither. But Phocion then (it is reported) faid unto him : If he fent him to fight with his enemies , he had need to have more thips: but if he fent him as an Ambaffadour unto his friends, that one ship would serve his turn. So went with one Galley onely; and after he had spoken with the Cities, and courteously dealt with the Governours of every one of them, he returned back, furnished of their confederates, with a great Fleet of Ships and money, to carry unto ATHENS. So Phocion did not onely reverence Chabrias while he lived, but after his death also he took great care of his friends and kinsmen, and sought to make his fon Ctefippus an honest man, whom though he saw very wild and untoward, yet he never left to reform him, and hide his fault. It is faid also, that when this young man did trouble him much with vaine frivolous questions, serving then under him, he being Captain, and taking upon him to give him counsell, to reprove him, and to teach him she duty of a Captain, he could not but fay : 0 Chabrias, Chabrias, now do I pay for the love thou diddeft bear me when thou wert alive . in bearing with the folly of thy fon. But when he saw that the heads of the City of ATHENS had (as it were) by lot divided among themselves the Offices of war and peace : and that some of them, as Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus and Hyperides were common speakers and preferrers of matters in Councils and Senate : and that others , as Diophites, Menesthem, Leosthenes and Chares became great men by the wars, and had charge of Armies: he determined rather to follow the manner of government of Pericles, Ariftides and Solon, as being mingled of both. For either of them feemed (as the Poet Archilocus faith ,)

> To the both Champions front , of Mars's warlike band , And of the Mules eke, the Arts to understand.

He knew also that Pallas the goddess and Protector of ATHENS, was called Polemica, and Politica, to wit, skilfull to rule both in war and peace. So, having thus disposed of himself in Government, he always perswaded peace and quietness, and yet was often chosen Captain, and had charge of Armies, being the onely man that of all the Captains afore him, and in his time, did never fue for charge, neither yet refused it at any time, when he was called to serve the Commonwealth. It is certain that he was chosen five and fourty times Prætor, and was always absent at the Elections, but yet fent for. Whereupon all the wifemen wondered to fee the manner of the people towards him , confidering that Phocion had never done nor faid anything to flatter them withall , but commonly had been against their defires: and how they used other Governours notwithstanding. that there were more pleasant and delightfull in their Orations, like men to sport at; as it is faid of Kings, who after they have washed their hands to go to their meat, do use to have jesters and statterers to make them merry: but on the other fide, when they had occasion of wars indeed, how then like wife men they would bethink themselves, and chuse the wifest and stoutest man of the City, and that most would withstand their minds and desires. For on a time an Oracle of Apollo Delphias, being openly read before them, which faid, that all the other ATHENIANS being agreed, yet there was one among them that was contrary to all the rest of the City: Phocion stepping forth before them all, bad them never feek further for the man, for it was he that liked none of their doings. Another time he chanced to fay his people before all the people, the which they all praised and approved: but when he faw they were so suddenly become of his mind, he returned back to his phocions nofriends, and asked them: alas, had not fome evil thing flipped my mouth unwares? Another time able fayings. a generall collection being gathered of the people at ATHENS, towards the folemnifing of a fa-crifice; other men of his state having payed their part, he was often called upon to pay his:

and brought their wives, flaves, and cattell, and all their goods into

good.

but he answered them again, Ask them that be rich, for it were a shame thing, being yet in this mans debt, pointing to Callicles the usurer, who had when they left him not for all this, to cry out upon him for the contribution, he is when they tert min not for all times a coward preparing to go to the wars, and as he was ready, to depart, he heard the Ravens what a crying they made, and taking it for an ill figne, he put off his harnels, and kept him at home. After that he put on his harnels again, and went on his way toward the Camp, the Ravens began again to make a goodlier cry behind him : but thereupon he flayed flraight, and at length faid: Ye shall croak as loud as ye lift, before ye feed on my carcals, Another time the ATHENIANS being in war under his charge would needs have him to lead them to give charge upon their enemies , but he would not. Thereupon they called him coward, and faid, he durft not. Well faid he again, It is not you can make me valiant, no more then my felf can make you cowards; and yet one of us know another. Another time in a marvellous dangerous time, the people handled him very churliffly, and would needs have him prefently deliver account of his the people nandiculum very comming, and would need that preceding common associated account of the people becharge: but he aniwered them, O my friends, first fave your felves. Furthermore, the people becharge: ing very lowly and humble, for fear, in time of wars, and prefently in peace again waxing brave in words against Photion, charging him that he had taken the victory out of their hands, he onely faid thus to them: You are happy that have a Captain that knows you, elfe you would fing a new long. Another time there was a quarrell betwint the BOEOTIANS and them, about their bounds and Fronounce time there was a quality of the work of the which they would not try by law, but by battell: But Phocion told them, they did they wife not what, and counfelled them rather to fight it out in words, in which they were the ftronger, and not with weapons, where they were the weaker. Another time they fo much milliked his opinion in the affembly, that they would not abide to hear him, nor fuffer him to speak. Well, my Mafters, quoth he then, you may make me do that which is not to be done: but you shall never compell me against my mind, to say that which is not to be spoken. He would as gallantly also gird the Orators his adverfaries, when they were busic with him. As on a time he aniwered Demossiumes, that faid unto him: The people, Phocion, will kill thee one day, and if it take them in the heads: Yea thee, quoth he, if they be wife. Again, when Polyentin Spaettian, in a hot day perfeadrea tnee, quotin ne, it they be write. Dean, when two problems, wearing, and with much ado fetching ed the people of ATHENS to make war with king Philip, swearing, and with much ado fetching his breath, being a far man, that he was driven oftentimes to drink water, to end his Oration: Surely faid Phoeton, ye shall do marvellous wifely, to make war at such a mans motion. Why, what think ye will he do, when he had his Curaces and his Target upon him, and that the enemies be ready to fight: that now in making an Oration onely before you, which he hath studied long before, is almost stifled? Another time also when Lycurgus in his Oration had openly reproved him for many things before the people, and among the reft, for that Alexander demanding ten Citizens of ATHENSIO do with them what he thought good, that he had counfelled them to deliver them: Phocion answered him, I have oftentimes countelled them for the best, but they would never follow my counsell. There was one Archibiades at that time in ATHENS, that counterfeited the LACE-D.EMONIAN, with a marvellous long beard, a beggarly cloak, and a fowr look. Photon being chekt one day before the people, appealed unto Archibiades for a witness, to confirm that he fpake. But he rifing up, counfelled the people contrarily, to flatter them withall. Phocion perceiving it, took him by the beard, and faid unto him: Alas Archibiades, why diddeft thou not then clip Ariflogiton, 2 thy beard, feeing thou wouldest needs flatter? There was another great pleader, one Ariflogiton, that Sycophan, and in all the Affemblies of the City, did nothing but buzze wars continually in their ears. Afterwards Coward when men were to be leavied and mustered, and their names entred that should go to the wars, Aristogiven came halting into the Market-place with a staff in his hand, and both his legs bound up, to make the people believe that he was fick and difeased. Phocion spying Ariflogiston far off, cried out to the Cleark that wrote the bills: Put in Ariftogiton, lame, and impudent. So that oftentimes it makes me Photion called mufe, how, or wherefore fo sharp and fevere aman (as by these examples it appeareth he was) could come to the furname of good. Norwithstanding, in the end I find it a hard thing, but not impossible, that a man should be like wine, both sweet and sharp together: as there are others to the contrary, that at the first fight, feem very courteous and gentle of conversation, and upon better acquaintance, by furname, prove churlish and dogged. It is reported also, that Hyperides the Orator one day should say to the ATHENIANS : I gray you (my Lords) note me not for my fharpness, but confider if my fharpnels be without profit. As who should fay, men are not troublesome, but for coverousnels onely, and as if the people did not rather fear and hate them, that of infolency and malice, did abuse and contemn their authority. Phocios on the other side, never did Citizen hurt, for any psivate malice he bare him: but was ever fharp and cruell to them which were against any matter he preferred for the benefit of the Commonwealth. For in all other things he shewed himself marvellous lowly and courteous to every body, and would be familiar with his adverfacies, and help them, if they wanted, or were otherwise in danger of displeasure with the state. Insomuch as his friends therefore reproved him on a time, when he tpake in the behalf of a naughry man, an Offender: O faid he, honeft men need no help. Another time, Arifogiton the Sycophant, being clapped up in prison, sent unto Phocion to pray him to come and speak with him, after he was condemned. Phoesion went into the prison to him, and when his friends perfwaded him to the contrary, he answered them: O let me alone, faid he, for where could I fee Ariftogiton more gladly than in prifon? Furthermore, when there went any Army to Sea out of ATHENS, if there were any other chosen Generall but Phocion, the Towns and Islands all along the Sea coast (which were friends and consederates of the ATHENIANS) fortified

The fadey had been enemies, and open war proclaimed. Contrarily alfo, or war proclaimed. Contrarily alfo, or with and General, they would fend out their Ships to the Sea to meet him to their Ships to the Sea to meet him to their Caries. Colored with Curriands in token of common joy, and to would bring him to their Cities. and marifed the Towns by Tyrants to rebell : whereupon Plutark ERETRIAN prayed aid of the ATHENIANS, to take this Mand from the MACEDONIANS, which they daily won more and more, if they came not presently to aid them. So Phocion was fent General thirther, but with a few men onely, because they made account the men of that Country would straight joyn with him, for Phacions jourthe good will they bare him. But when he came thither, he found them all Traytors and Rebels, and ney into Euless. bribed with King Philips money, which he lavished out amongst them: fo that he was brought into great danger. Thereupon he retired to a little hill fevered from the plain of TAMINES with a great large valley, and therefortified himself with that little Army he had. Then he perswaded his great large valley, and there forthed minich with that fittle string it had. Then he pertwated his Photion per-Captains not to care for all those rebels, pratters, and cowards which fled out of their Tents, swadenh his and forfook their Enfigns and Captains, but that they should let them go out of the Camp where Captains, to they would. For, faid he, fuch disobedient fouldiers here will do us no service, and moreover will suffer the muhinder them that have good will to ferve well : and at home also, knowing themselves in fault, for tinous soulthat they forfook the Camp with licence, they dare not complain upon us. Afterwards when diers and cothe enemits came to fer upon him, he commanded his men to Arm, and put themselves in readiness when wards to de-and not to firr untill he had done facrifice: but he stayed long before he came, either because he could have no lucky figns of the facrifices, or elfe for that he would draw his enemies nearer. Thereupon Plutark ERETRIAN supposing he deferred to march for fear, went himself first into the field. with certain light horsemen he had in pay. Then the men of Arms seeing them give charge, could hold no longer, but followed him also, stragling out of the Camp one after another disorderly, and so did set upon their enemies. The first being overthrown, all the other dispersed themselves, and Plutark himself fled. Then certain bands of the enemies thinking all had been theirs, followed them even into their Camp, and came to throw down their Rampiers. In the mean time, Phocion having ended his facrifice, the ATHENIANS came out of their Camp, and fet upon them, and Photions vimade part of them flie immediately, and part of them also they flew hard by the Trenches of their Gory in Eules. Camp. Then Phocion commanded that the battell should fland still, to receive their men that were feattered up and down the fields: in the mean space he himself, with the choisest men of his Army, gave charge upon the enemies. The fight was cruell between them. For the ATHENIANS fought very valiantly, venturing their persons: but of them all, two young men fighting by their General (Glancus the fon of Polymedes, and Thallus the fon of Cineas) carried the praise away. And to did Cleophines that day also shew himself very valiant. For he crying out still upon the horsemen that fled, and perswading them to come and help their General that was in danger, brought them back again, and thereby got the footmen the victory. After this battell, he drave Plutark out of ERETRIA, and took the Castell of ZARETRA, standing in a very commodious place for this war, where the life draweth to a straightness, environed on either fide with the sea : and would not fuffer his men to sake any GRECIANS prisoners, fearing lest the Orators at ATHENS might move the people, suddenly in a rage, to put them to death. After all these things were done, Phocion returned back to ATHENS. But that did the confederates of the ATHENIANS straight wish for his justice and courtefie; and the ATHENTANS themselves also knew his skillfulness and manhood. For his fucceffor Mobiffins, that was General for the reft of the war, dealt fo undifcreetly, that he himself was taken prisoner there. Then King Philip being put in marvellous great hope, went with all his Army into HELLESPONT, perfivading himfelf, that he should straight take all CHERRONESUS, the Cities of PERINTH and BIZANTIUM. The ATHENIANS thereupon determining to fend aid, to prevent King Philips coming, the Orators made great fuite, that Chares might be chosen Captain: but he being sent thither with a good number of ships, did no service worthy commendation, neither would the Cities receive his Navy into their havens : but being suspected of every man, and despised of his enemies, he was driven to fail up and down, and to get money of the Allies. The people being incenfed by the Orators, were marvelloufly offended, and repented themselves that they had fent aid unto the BIZANTINES. Then Phocion rising up, spake unto the people, and told them, that it was no reason that mistrusting their consederates, they should be offended with them : but to be angry with their Captains that deferved to be miftrufted. For they, faid he, do make your confederates airaid of you, who without you notwithstanding cannot save themfelves. The people changing their minds by his Oration, made Phocion again their Captain, and fent him with an Army into HELLES PONT to help the confederates there, which was of great importance to fave the City of BIZANTIUM. Furthermore, Phocions fame was fo great, that (lon, the Phocion faved greatest man of vertue and authority in BIZANTIUM, having before been Phocions companion and the City of familiar in the Academy, made fute for him unto the City. Then the BIZANTINES would not Byzantium. fuffer him (though he defired it) to Camp without the walls of their City, but opening their gates, received him in , and mingled the ATHENIAN's amongst them. Who , perceiving how much the Photion drave Crizens trufted them, did to honeftly behave themselves in their conversation amongst them, that Philipout of they gave them no manner of cause to complain of them : and shewed themselves so valiant befides in all battells and conflicts, that Philip (which before was thought dreadful and invincible, every man being afraid to fight any battell with him) returned out of HELLESPONT without any thing

Athens.

done, and to his great discredit: where Phocion wan some of his the strong holds, in the which he had placed his Garrisons. Furthermore into his Countries, he destroyed his borders: till that at length he was for Photion joyned to return home again, by mean of a great Army that came against him to detect Shortly after, the MEGARIANS fecretly fent unto him, to deliver their City into his himself cion fearing if the BEOTIANS understood it, that they would prevent him, he called a common affembly early in the morning, and told the people what message the Megarians had fent unto him. The people upon this motion being determined to aid them, Phocios straight founding the Trumpet at the breaking up of the affembly, gave them no further leifure, but to take their weapons; and so led them instantly incontinently to MEGARIA. The MEGARIANS receiving him, Phocion thut up the haven of Nis & A, and brought two long walls from the City unto it, and to joyned it unto the fea : whereby he stood not greatly in fear of his enemies by land ; and for the sea, the ATHENIANS were Lords of it. Now when the ATHENIAN'S had proclaimed open war against King Philip, and had chose other Captains in his absence, and that he was returned from the Isles, above all things, he perfusaded the people (King Philip requiring peace, and greatly fearing the danger) to accept the conditions of peace. Then one of their buffe Orators that was ftill acculing one or other, faid unto him: Why Photion, how darest thou attempt to turn the ATHENIANS from war, having now their fwords in their hands? Yes truely, faid Phoeien: though in war I know I shall command thee, and in peace thou wilt command me. But when the people would not hearken to him, and that Demoss hine, carried them away with his perswassons, who counselled them to fight with King Philip, as far from ATTICA as they could: I pray the friend, quoth Phosion unto him, let us not dispute where we shall fight, but consider how we shall overcome; the which if we can so bring to pals, be fure we shall put the war far enough from us : for men that are overcome, be ever in fear and danger, wherefoever they be. When the ATHENIANS had loft a battel against Philip, the feditious Orators, that hunted after innovation, preferred Charidenna to be chosen Generall of the ATHENIANS: whereupon the Magistrates and Senators being afraid, and taking with them all the Court and Senate of the AREOPAGITES, they made such earnest sute to the people, with the tears in their eyes, that at last (but with much ado) they obtained, that the affairs of the City might be put into Phocions hands and government. He thought good to accept the Articles and gentle conditions of peace which Philip offered them. But after that the Orator Demades moved, that the City of ATHENS would enter into the common Treaty of peace, and common affembly of , the flate of GREECE, procured at King Philips request, Phocies would not agree to it, untill they might understand what demands Philip would make at the assembly of the GRECIANS. When his opinion through the perverfenels of time could not be liked of them, and that he law the ATHENIANS foon after repented them that they did not follow his counfell, when they heard they should furnish King Philip with ships and horsemen : then he told them; the fear whereof ye now complain, made me to withftand that, which now ye have confented unto. But fithence it is fo that you have now past your confents, you must be contented, and not be discouraged at it: remembring that your Ancestors in time past have sometime commanded, and otherwhile obeyed others; and yet have fo wifely and difcreetly governed themselves in both fortunes, that they have not onely faved their City, but all GREECE besides. When news came of King Philips death, the people for joy would ftraight have made Bonfires and Sacrifices to the gods for the To rejoyce at good news : but Photien would not fuffer them, and faid, that it was a token of a bale mind, to any mans but rejoyce at any mans death; and befides that, the Army which overthrew you at CHERONEA, hath fleweth a bale not yet look but one man. And when Demalthrent also would commonly social ill of Alexander and theweth a bale not yet loft but one man. And when Demosthenes also would commonly speak ill of Alexander, and mind, and vile not yet loft but one man. specially when he was near THEBES with his Army , Phoeins rehearled unto him these veries of

How great a folly is it to stand Against a cruell King , Which being arm'd, and having sword in hand,

What , when there is such a great fire kindled , wilt thou cash the City into it? For my part there-Seeks fame of every thing? fore, though they were willing, yet will I not fuffer them to cast themselves away; for to that end have I taken upon me this charge and government. And afterwards also, when Alexander had razed the City of THEBES, and had required the ATHENIANS to deliver him Demostheres, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Charidemus; and that the whole affembly and councell not knowing what an liver to make, did caft their eyes upon Phocion, and cried unto him to fay his opinion: he then rofe up, and taking one of his friends unto him called Nicotles, whom he loved and trufted above all man also he field they carried unto him to fay his opinion. men elfe, he faid thus openly unto them: These men whom Alexander requireth, have brought this City to this extremity, that if he required Nicocles here, I would give my confent to deliver him: for I would think my felf happy to lofe, for all your fafety. Furthermore, though I am right heartily forry (faid he') for the poor afflicted THEBANS, that are come unto the City for fuccour: yet I affure you, it is better one City mourn, then two. And therefore I think it is best to intreat the conquerour for both, rather then to our certain destruction to fight with him that is the stronger. It is faid also that Alexander refused the first decree which the people offered him upon Phoesions requeft, and fent away the Ambassadours, and would not speak with them. But the second which Photion himself brought, he took, being told by his fathers old fervants, that King Philip made.

countell. For Photion perswaded him, if he loved quietnels, to leave war: if Alexander padites fame, then that he should make war with the barbarous people, but not with the GRE- cified with the So Photien feeding Alexanders humor with such talk and discourse as he thought would Athenians by like him beft, he so altered and softned Alexanders disposition, that when he went from him, he Photions mean, willed him that the ATHENIANS should look to their affairs, for if he should die , he knew no people fitter to command then they. Furthermore, because he would be better acquainted with Phocion, and make him his friend, he made so much of him, that he more honoured him then all the rest of his friends. To this effect, Duris the Historiographer writeth, that when Alexander was grown very great, and had overcome King Darius, he left out of his letters this word Cheerin (to wit, joy and health) which he used commonly in all the letters he wrote; and would no more honour any other with that manner of falutation, but Phocion and Antipater. Chares also writeth the fame. And they all do confess, that Alexander fent Phocion a great gilt out of Asia, of a hundred filver talents. This money being brought to ATHENS, Phocion asked them that brought it, why Alexander gave him such a great reward, above all the other Citizens of ATHENS. Because faid they. he onely efteemed thee to be a good and honest man. Phoeion replied again, then let him give me leave to be that I feem, and am whileft I live. The messengers would not so leave him, but followed him home to his house, where they saw his great husbandry and thriftiness. For they found his wife her felt baking, and he himfelt drew water before them out of the well to wash his feet. But when they were more earnestly in hand with him then before, and prayed him to take the Kings present, and were offended with him, faying, it was a shame for Alexanders friend to live so milerably and beggarly as he did. Then Phocion feeing a poor old man go by, in a thread bare Gown, asked them whether they thought him worse then he? No, God sorbid, answered they again. Then replied he again . he lives with less then I do , and yet is contented , and hath enough. To be short, faidhe, Phocions verme if I should take this sum of money and occupy it not, it is as much as I had it not; on the other and intregrity fide, if I occupy it, I shall make all the City speak ill of the King and me both. So this great pre- intesusing of fent was fent back from ATHENS: whereby he shewed the GRECIANS, that he was richer that Alexanders needed not fuch gold and filver, then he that gave it him. But when Alexander wrote again to Phocion, that he did not reckon them for his friends, that he would take nothing of him . Phocion notwithstanding would not take the money, but onely requested him for his fake, that he would fet these men at liberty which were kept prisoners in the City SARDIS for certain accusations laved against them : Echecratides the Rhetoricion, Athenodorus born in the City of IMBROS, and two CORINTHIANS, Demaratus and Spartus. Alexander prefently fet them at liberty, and fent Crateriu into MACEDON, commanding him to give Phocion the choice of one of these four Cities of ASIA which he liked best: CIOS, GERGITHA, MYLASSIS, ELEA: fending him word. that he would be much more angry with him now if he did refuse his offer than he was at first But Pho- Photion, house cion would never accept one of them : and Alexander shortly after died. Phocions house is seen yet and Wives. at this day in the Village of MILITA, fet forth with plates of Copper, but otherwise very mean, and without curiofity. For the wives he married, there is no mention made of the first, faving that Cephilodotius the Image Graver was her brother. But for his fecond wife she was no less famous at ATHENS, for her honesty and good huswifery, then Phocian for his justice and equity. And for proof thereof, it is reported that the ATHENIANS being one day affembled in the Theater, to fee new Tragedies played, one of the Players when he should have come upon the Scaffold to have played his part, asked the fetter forth of the Playes the apparell of a Queen, and certain Ladies to wait upon her, because he was to play the part of a Queen. The setter forth of the playes denying him, the Player went away in a rage, and left the people staring one at another, and would not come out upon the Stage. But Melanthius the fetter forth of the Playes , compelling him ; brought him by force on the Stage, and cried out unto him : Doest not thou fee Phocions wife that goeth up and down the City with one maid onely waiting upon her? and wilt thou play the fool and mar the modesty of the women of ATHENS? The people hearing his words, filled all the Theater with joy and clapping of hands. The same Lady, when a certain Gentlewoman of IONIA came at ATHENS to fee her, and shewed her all the rich Jewels and precious Stones she had she anfwered her again: All my riches and Jewels, is my husband Phocion, who these twenty years toge- Phocus Phother hath continually been chosen Generall for the ATHENIANS. Phocions fon telling his father cions fon what on a time, that he was defirous to contend with other young men for the victory, who should cunninglieft leap out, and get up again into the Chariots or Coaches, running full course at the feafts Panathenaa at ATHENS: his father was contented he should; not that he was desirous his fon should have the honour of the victory, but because by this honest exercise he should grow to better manners, for that he was a diffolute young man, and much given to Wine. Yet he wan the victory at that time, and there were divers of his fathers friends, that prayed him to do them that honour, that they might keep the feaft of this victory in their houses. Phocion denied them all but one man, and him he suffered to shew his good will unto his house, and went thither himself to supper to him. Where amongst many fine and superstuous things prepared, he sound passing Bathes of Wine and sweet smelling Spices to wash the seet of the bidden guests as they came to the feast.

Whereupon he called his fon to him, and asked him, how canst thou abide Phoens, that our friend should thus disgrace thy victory with excess: But because he would withdraw his son from that licen-

tious life, he brought him to SPARTA, and placed him there among young boyes brought up after the

LACONIAN discipline. The ATHENIANS were much offended at it, to see that Phocion did so

PHOCION.

much despite his own Countrey manners and fashions. Also when Da faid unto Phocion : Why do we not perswade the ATHENIAN'S to live and ner? As forme, faid he, if thou wilt make one to fet it forward, I am ready move the matter. Indeed quoth Phocion, thou art a meet man to perswade the Artistics to move the matter. Indeed quoting 100,000, mode at a meet man to praite Lycurgus traight law, that live LACONIAN-like in common together at their meals, and to praite Lycurgus traight law, that art thy felf commonly fo perfumed, and fine in thy apparell. Another time when Alexander wrote letters unto ATHENS to fend him fome ships, and the Orators perswaded them not to grant him, the people called upon Phocion chierly to fay his opinion: then Phocion told them plainly, methinks ye must either make your selves the strongest in wars, or being the weaker, procure to be friends unto the stronger. Pithin a new come Orator, being full of tongue, and impudent, would still make one to speak in every matter: wherefore Phosius said to him, Good gods I will this Novice never leave babling? And when Harpalm King Alexanders Lieutenant of the Province of Babylon, fled out of Asia, and came to Attica with a great fum of gold and filver, ftraight these men that fold their tongues to the people for money, flocked about him like a fight of Swallows. And that four tient tongues to the property and piece of money to baffe them with: for it was a trifle to him, confidering the great fums of money he brought. But to Photion himself he fent seven hundred talents, and offered himself and all that he had into his hands of trust. But Photion gave him a sharp answer, and told him that he would make him repent it, if he corrupted the City of ATHENS in that Phiclos despitements. So Harpalus being amazed therewith, left him at that time, and went unto them that the the Harpalus taken money of him. But thortly after, when the ATHENIANS sate in councell about him, he perceived that those which had taken his money were shrunk from him, and that they did accuse him, where they should have excused him, to blear world, that men should not suspect them they had been corrupted : and that Phocios on the other fide which had refuted his morey, having respect to the Common-wealth, had also some regard to save his life: he once more attempted all the ways he could to win him. Howbeit he found him so constant, that no money could carry the man Then Harpalus falling in friendship with Charites (Plocions fon in Law) he made him to be ill fpoken of, and greatly suspected, because men saw that he trusted him in all things, and imployaportion, and greatly impected, octain find any time to the making of a sumptious Tomb for Ty-ed him in all his affairs: as in committing to his trust the making of a sumptious Tomb for Tythouse the famous Curtifan that was dead, whom he loved, and by whom he had a daughter: the taking upon him whereof was no less shame unto Charites, then the sinishing thereof was difgrace unto him. This Tomb is feen unto this day in a place called Hermism, in the high way from Athens to Eleusine: the workmanship thereof being nothing like near the charge of thirty talents, which was reported to be given by Ha. palsu unto Chariles, for the finishing of the fame. Furthermore, after Harpalsa death, Chariks and Photos took his daughter, and carefully brought her up. Afterwards also, Chariles being accused for the money he had taken of Harpalm, he belought his father in law Phocian, to help to ease him in his judgement. But Phocian flatly Photiss refuted denied him, and faid: Chariles I took thee for my fon in law, in all honeft and just causes onely. Furthermore, when Asclepiades the son of Hisparchus, brought the first news of the death of Alexander, Demades the Orator would not believe him: for faid he, if it were true, all the earth would finell of the favor of his Corps. Phoesen then perceiving the people began to be high minded, to defend his and fought innovation, he went about to bridle and pacific them. But when many of the Orators got up to the Pulpit for Orations, and cried out, that Afelepiades news was true of Alexan ill caufe. anders death: well then quoth Phocion, if it be true to day, it shall be true also to morrow, and the next day after. And therefore my mafters, benot too hafty, but think of it at better leifure, and fer your affairs at a fure ftay. When Leofthener also by his practife had brought the City of ATHENS into the war called the GREEKS war, and in foorn asked Phocies that was offended at it, what good he had done unto the Common-wealth fo many years together, as he had been Generall over the ATHENIANS: Placion answered him, No imal good saidhe, for all my Countrey men have been buried at home in their own graves. Another time also, Leosthems speaking proudly and insolently unto the people, Photion one day had faid unto him: Young man my friend, thy words are like unto the Cypress Tree, which is high and great, but beareth no fruit. Then Hyperides rifing up, asked Phocion: When wilt thou then counfell the ATHENIANS to make war? When I shall see young men, said he, not to for sake their ranks, rich men liberal, and Orators leave to rob the Common-wealth. When the ATHENIANS wondred to fee fuch a goodly great Army as Leoshbenes had leavied, and that they asked Phocion how he liked it: It is a goodly Army, quoth he for a furlong, but I fear their return, and the continuance of this war: for I do not fee the City able to make any more money, nor more ships, neither yet any more fouldiers then these. The which proved true as it fell out afterwards: for at the first, Leaftheres did many notable exploits. He overcame the BOEDITANS in battell, and drave Astipater into the City of LAMIA: the which did put the ATHENIANS in fuch a hope and jollity, that they made continuall feafts and factifices through the City, to thank the gods for their good news. And there were fome among them, that they made the city is to thank the gods for their good news. And there were fome among them, that to the state of the state o among them, that to take Phocion in a trip, asked him if he did not with that he had done all those things? Yes indeed, answered he, I would I had done them, but yet I would not have given the counsell to have done them. Another time also when letters came daily, one after another, bringing good news, Good gods, faid he, when shall we leave off to over-

come? But when Leofthenes was dead in this voyage, they that feared Phocion should be appointed

Captain, in his place, and that he would pacifie the war, did thrust in a man of mean behaviour,

The following the People that they would spare Phocion, because they had not such and that they would make Antiphalus Generall of the Army. The People were well contented withall. But then Phocion stood up, and faid, that this man was never Scholar with him, neither did he ever know him before that time : but now, faid he, from henceforth I will take thee for my friend, for thou haft given the People the best counsel for me. The People notwithfranding determining to make War with the BOEOTIANS, Phocion spake against it all he could. Therefore his friends bidding him beware of fuch speeches, how he did offend the People, left they killed him, he answered them : They shall wrongfully sut me to death. quoth he, speaking for the benefit of my Countrey, but otherwise they shall have reason for to do it, if I fpeak to the contrary. But when he faw nothing would pacifie them, and that they went on still with their intent, then he commanded the Herauld to proclaim by found of Trumpet, that all Citizens from fourteen years unto threefcore, able to carry Weapon, should prefently upon the breaking up of the Affembly, arm themselves, and follow him with five days Provision for Victuals; then was there great ftir amongst them in the City, and the old men came and complained unto him, for his overstraight commandment. He told them again, I do you no wrong; for I am fourscore my felf, and yet will go with you. By this means he pacified them at that time, and quenched their fond defire of War. But when all the Sea-coaft was full of Souldiers, both of the MACEDONIANS, and other strangers which were led by Micion their Captain, that landed in the Territory of the Village RHAMNUS, and spoiled the Countrey thereabouts, then Photion led the ATHENIANS thither. But when he was there, divers taking upon them the Office of a Lieutenant, and going about to councell him, fome to lodge his Camp upon fuch a Hill, and others to fend his Horfemen to fuch a place, and others to camp here: O Hercules, quoth he, how many Captains do I fee, and how few Souldiers! Afterwards when he had fet his Footmen in Battle ray, there was one among them that left his rank, and stepped out before them all. Thereupon one of his Enemies also made towards him to fight with him; but the ATHENIANS heart failed, and he went back again to his place. Then faid Phocion unto him: Art thou not ashamed, young lout, to have forsaken thy rank twice? the one, where thy Captain had placed thee; and the other, in the which thou hadft placed thy felf? So Phocion giving Charge upon the Enemies, he overthrew them, and flew Micion their Captain, and divers others. Furthermore, the Army of the GRECIANS being at that time in THESSAand divers of the Battle of Antipater, and Leonatus that joyned with him, with the MACEDONI- Physicians Vi-Ans which he brought out of Asia: where Leonatus was flain in the Field, Antiphilus being story of the Generall of the Footmen, and Menon Thessalian Colonell of the Horsemen. Shortly after Macedonians. Craterus coming out of Asia into Europe with a great Army, they fought a Battle by the City The Greeting of CRANON, where the GRECIANS were overthrown: yet was not the overthrow nor flaughter overcome be Antipater. great, although it came through the disobedience of the Souldiers to their Captains, which were but young men, and used them over-gently. Moreover, when Amipater practifed to make the Cities revolt, they betrayed them, and shamefully forfook to defend their common liberty: whereupon Antipater marched forthwith with his Army to the City of ATHENS. Demosthenes and Hyperides understanding that, forsook the City. Then Demades, that was in disgrace and defamed for lack of payment of fuch fines as were fet upon his head (being feven feveral times condemned, because he had so many times moved matters contrary to the Law) and could not therefore be suffered any more to speak in the Assembly, was then dispensed withall, and licensed to speak : whereupon he moved the People to fend Ambassadors unto Antipater, with full Commission and Authority to treat with him of Peace. The Feople fearing to put to any mans truft this absolute Authority to treat of Peace, they called for Phocion, faying, that he onely was to be trufted with the Ambaffade. Then Phocion answered them: If you had believed my former counsels I always gave you, such weighty matters should not now have troubled you at all. So the Decree being confirmed by the People, Pho- Phocion Amcion was fent Ambaffador unto Antipater, that lay at the Caftle of Cadmea, being ready at that baffador unto time to invade the Countrey of ATTICA. Phocion first requested him, that before he removed Antipater. from thence, he would make Peace with the ATHENIANS. Graterin presently answered him: Phocion thy request is unreasonable, that lying here we should eat our friends, and destroy their Countrey, when we may live of our Enemies, and enrich our felves with their spoil. But Antipater taking Craterus by the hand, told him: we must needs do Phocion this pleasure. And for the rest, touching the Capitulations of Peace, he willed that the ATHENIANS should fend them a blank, and refer the Conditions of Peace to them: like as himself being befieged in the City LAMIA, had referred all Capitulations and Articles of Peace, unto the discretion of Leosthenes their Generall. So when Phocion was come back to ATHENS, the ATHENIANS feeing there was no temedy, were compelled to be contented with fuch offer of Peace, as the Enemy made them. Then Phocion was fent back Xonocrates auagain to Antipater at THEBES, with other Ambassadors joyned in Commission with him: amongst thority. whom also was that famous Philosopher, Xenocrates. The estimation of his vertue was so great with all men, that it was thought there was no living man fo proud, cruel, disdainfull, nor hasty of nature, but that the onely look of Xenocrates would foften and qualifie him, and make him to reverence him: but yet with Antipater it fellout contrary, by his perverse nature, which hated all ver- spiled of Antue: for he embraced all the reft, and would not once falute Xenocrates. Whereupon fome fay, that tipuer.

Hhh

Xenocrates

Xenocrates said then, Antipater doth well to be assamed, to see me a wants of an and evil he meaneth unto the Athenians. So when Xenocrates began to pet and evil he meaneth unto the Athenians. would not abide to hear him, but interrupted him, and checked him, and in the him tohold his peace. When Phocion had spoken, Amipater answered them, that he would make peace with the Athenians, fo they delivered him Demofthenes and Hyperides: that they flould keep their ancient Laws and Government; that they should receive a Garrison into the Haven of Munychia, that they should defray the charges of this War, and also pay a ransom besides. All the other Amballadors but Xenocrates, willingly accepted these Conditions of Peace, as very reasonable and savourable: but he said, that for Slaves Antipater did handle them savourably, but for Free-men, he dealt too hardly with them. Then Photion belought him that he would yet releafe them of their Garrison. But Antipater (as it is said) answered him: Phocion we would gladly grant thee any thing, faving that which would undo thee, and us both. Some other write notwithstanding, that Antipater laid not so, but asked him if he would become surery for the ATHENIANS, that they should attempt no alteration, but faithfully keep the Articles and Conditions of this Peace, if he did release them of this Garrison. Phoeion then holding his peace, and delaying answer, there was one Callimedon firnamed Carobin (a bold man, and hated the liberty of the People) that brake forth in these words: If Photion were so fond to give his word for the ATHENIANS, wouldest thou Amipater believe him therefore, and leave to do that thou haft determined ? Thus were the ATHENIANS driven to receive the Garrison of the MACEDO-NIANS, of the which Menylliu was Captain, an honest man, and Phocion's friend. This commandment to receive the Garrison within the Haven of Munychia, was found very stately, and done by Antipater gather of a vain glory to boaft of his Power, then for any profit could otherwise come of it. For not long after, on that day when he took possession of the Castle, he further encreased their grief: because the Garrison entred the twentieth day of Bredromion (to wir, the Moneth of August) on the which the Feast day of their Mysteries was celebrated, at what time they make their Procession called Iacchus, from the City of ATHENS, unto ELEUSIN. Therefore the folemnity of this holy Feaft being thus confused, many began to confider, that in Prelages of the old time when their Realm did flourish, there were heard and seen Voices and Images of the receives of the gods on that day, which made the Enemies both afraid and amazed : and now in the contrary manner in the very felf-fame folemnity of the gods, they faw the greatest calamity that could have happened unto GREECE. And the holiest Feast which was kept all the year through before, became then to be profaned with the Title of the greatest misfortune and event that ever happened unto the Grecians, which was, the lofs of their liberty. For not many years before, there was brought an Oracle from DODONE unto ATHENS: that they should look well to the Rocks of Diana, that strangers should not possess them. And about that time also, the Coverings with the which they do adorn the holy Beds of the Mysteries, being wet with water, became from a purple colour which they had before, to look yellow and pale, as if it had been the covering of a dead body. Yea, and that which was most to be wondered at of all other, was this: that taking other Coverings which were not holy, and putting them in the same water, they did without changing keep their colour they had before. When one of the Ministers of the Temple also did wash a white Pig in the Sea, in a clear place by the Wharfe, there suddenly came a great Fish that bit at it, and carried the hinder parts of the Pig clean away with it. Whereby men conjectured that the gods did fignifie unto them , that they should lose the lowest part of their City, nearest unto the Sea, and should keep the highest parts thereof. This notwithstanding, the Garrison did not offend nor trouble the ATHENIANS, because of the honesty of their Captain Menyllus. Now there were above twelve thouland Citizens , that for their poverty loft the benefit of their Freedom, of the which, part of them remained at ATHENS, unto whom it feemed that they offered great wrong and injury: and part of them also went into THRACIA, where Antipater affigned them Towns and Lands to inhabit. They feemed to be men like unto them, that had been taken by affault, or by fiege within a City, which had been compelled to forfake their Countrey. Furthermore, the shamefull death of Demosthenes in the Isle of CALAURIA, and of Hyperides by the City of CLEONES, whereof we have written heretofore) were almost occasion given them to lament the times of the reign of King Philip and Alexander. As it is reported, that when Anigonus was flain, they that had overcome him, were fo cruel unto their Subjects, that a labourer in the Countrey of PHRYGIA digging the Earth, being asked what he fought for, answered fighing: I feek for Antigonus. Then many men began to fay as much, when they remembred the noble minds of those two Princes, how mercifull they were to pardon in their anger, forgetting their displeasure: not like unto Antipater, who crastily cloaked his ryrannical Power, which he usurped, by being familiar, going fimply apparelled, and faring meanly, and yet shewed himself notwithstanding a more cruel Lord and Tyrant unto them whom he had overcome. Nevertheles, Phacion obtained of him the reftoring again of divers men, whom he had banished : and those whom he could not get to be restored, yet he procured that they should not be banished into so far Countreys, as others which had been sent beyond the Mountains Acroceraunians, and the head of Tanarus out of GREECE, but that they had liberry to remain within the Countrey of Peloponnesus: among the which was one Agnonides a Sycophant, and false accuser. Furthermore, he governed them that remained in ATHENS,

mide, and lenity, and fuch as he knew to be good men and quiet, them he alwaies preferred of ome; Office: but such as he saw were fantastical People, and desirous of change, he kept them from Office, and took all occasion from them, so that they vanished away of themselves, and learned in time to love the Countrey, and to follow Tillage. When he saw Xenocrates also pay a certain Pension or Tribute to the Commonwealth, which all strangers dwelling in A-THENS did use yearly to pay, he would have made him a Free-man, and offered to put his name amongst the number of the free Citizens. But Xenocrates refused it, faying, he would have no part of that freedome, for the hinderance whereof he had been fent Ambaffador. And when Photion refu-Menyllus had fent Photion Money, he made him answer, that Menyllus was no greater Lord then feth Menyllus Alexander had been, neither had he at that time any greater occasion to receive his Present, gifts. then when he had refuled King Alexanders Gift. Menyllus replying again, faid, that if he had no need of it for himself, yet he might let his Son Phocus have it. But Phocion answered: If my Son Phocus will leave his naughty life, and become an honest man, that which I will leave him, shall serve his turn very well; but it it be so, that he will still hold on the course he hath taken, there is no riches then that can suffice him. Another time also he answered Antipater more roundly, when he would have had him done an unhonest thing: Antipater (said he) cannot have me to be his friend and flatterer both. Antiparers felf was wont to fay, that he had two friends at ATHENS, Phocion and Demades: of the which he could never make the one to take any thing at ATHERS, Amount and the other he could never fatisfie. And truly Phocions Poverty was a great glory Phocion loved unto his Vertue, fithence he was grown old, continuing in the fame, after he had been fo many poverty, times Generall of the Athenians, and had received such friendship and courteste of so many Kings and Princes. Where Demades to the contrary delighted to shew his riches, in things that The infolency were contrary to the Laws of the City. For a Decree being made at ATHENS, commanding of Donates that no stranger, upon forfeiture of a thousand Drachma's to be payed to the defrayer of the Dances of the City, should be any of the Dancers that Danced at any common Plays or Sports: Demades one day making certain Games and Sports at his own charges, brought a hundred Dancers of strangers at one time, and withall brought also a hundred thousand Drachma's to pay the forseiture thereof. Another time when he married his Son Demas, he said unto him: Son. when I married thy Mother, there was fo fmall roft, that my next Neighbour knew not of it; where now at thy Marriage, Kings and Princes are at the charge of the Feaft. Furthermore, when the ATHENIANS were importunate with Phocion to go unto Amipater, to entreat him to take his Garrison out of their City, he still refused the Ambassade, either because he had no hope to obtain it, or for that he faw the People more obedient unto reason, for fear of the Garrison. Howbeit he obtained of Antipater, that he should not be too hasty in the demanding of his Money, but should defer it untill a further time. So the ATHENIANS perceiving they could do no good with Phocion, they entreated Demades, who willingly took the matter upon him, and went with his Son into MACEDON; whither doubtless his deftiny carried him to his utter destruction, even at that very time when Antipater was faln sick of a disease whereof he died: whereby the affairs of the Realm went through the hands of Cassander his Son, who had intercepted a Letter of this Demades, which he had fent unto Antigonus in ASIA, willing him to come in all possible speed to win GREECE and MACEDON, which hung but of an old rot. Cassander King ten thread, mocking Antipater in this manner. Wherefore Caffander being advertised of his ar- Antipaters on rivall, he made him prefently to be apprehended; and fetting his Son hard by him, slew him before his Father, fo near him, that the blood of his Son sprang upon him, so that the Father was all bloodied with the murder of his Son. Then Caffander cafting in Demades teeth his ingratitude, and treacherous Treason against his Father, giving him all the reproachfull words he could devise, at the length he flew him with his own hands. Now Antipater before his death had established Poly- The unfortuperchon Generall of the Army of the MACEDONIANS, and Cassander his Son onely Colonell nate end of of a thouland Footmen. He notwithstanding, after his Fathers decease, taking upon him the go- Donader. vernment of the Realm, fent Wicanor with speed to succeed Menyllus in the Captainship of the Posperchon Garrison of ATHENS, before his death should be revealed, commanding him first in any case to the Army of take the Castle of Munychia, which he did. Shortly after the Athenians understanding of the Macchant the death of Antipater, they accused Photion, for that he had known of his death long before, and ant. yet kept it fecret to please Nicanor. But Phocion regarded not his accusation, but fell in acquaintance notwithstanding with Nicanor; whom he handled fo wifely, that he made him not onely friendly unto the ATHENIANS, but furthermore perswaded him to be at some charge to give the People the pastime of common Plays, which he made to be done at his cost. In the mean time, Polyperchon, who had the Government of the Kings person, meaning to give Cassander a slampant and blurt, he fent Letters Patents unto the People at ATHENS, declaring how the young King did reftore unto them their popular state again, and commanded that all the ATHENIANS should use their former ancient Laws of their City. This was a wife and crafty fetch against Phocion. For Polyperchon devifing this practife to get the City of ATHENS into his hands (as it fell out afterwards by proof) confinered a had no hope to obtain his purpose, unless he found means first to banish Photion: and thought gainst Photion. that he should easily bring that to pals, when such as had before been put off their freedom by his means, should come again to have voices in the Assembly, and that the seditious Orators and Accufers might be turned at liberty again, to fay what they would. The ATHENIANS having heard

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to death.

the Contents of these Letters Patents, began to be somewhat quickened and movement upon Nicanor desiring to speak with the ATHENIANS in their Senate, which in the Haven of PIREA, he went and hazarded his person amongst them, upon Mostons faith and word. Dercyllus Captain for the King, being fecretly advertised thereof, and in the Field not far from the City, did what he could to take Nicanor: but Nicanor having warning of it in time, faved himself. Then it appeared that Nicanor would presently be revenged of the City, and they accused Phocion because he kept him not, but did let him go. Whereunto he answered, That he trufted Nicanors word, and that he did not think he would offer the City any hurt; but if it offer an injury. should fall out otherwise, he had rather the World should know, that he had no wrong offered him, then that he should offer any. This truly appeared to be nobly spoken; in respect of himfelf: but considering that he being then Generall, did thereby hazard the safety of his Countrey, I cannot tell whether he did not break a greater faith which he ought to have had to the fafety of his Countreymen. Neither could he also alledge for his excuse, that he did not lay hands on Nicanor, for fear to bring the City into manifest War: but that for a colour he did prefer the faith which he had fworn and promifed unto him, and the justice that he would observe in his behalf, that for his fake, Nicanor should afterwards keep himself in peace, and do no hurtto the ATHENI-ANS. Howbeit in truth it feemed, that nothing deceived Phocion, but the over-trust he had in this Nicanor. The which feemeth to be fo, because when divers came to him to complain of Nicanor, that he fought all the fecret means he could to furprize the Haven of PIREA, and that he daily passed over Souldiers in the Isle of SALAMINA, and practised to bribe certain of the Inhabitants within the precincts of the Haven, he would never hear of it, and much less believe it. Furthermore, when Philomedes LAMERIAN made a motion, that the ATHENIANS should prepare to be in readiness to wait upon their Captain Phocion, to do as he commanded them : he made no account of it, until he faw Nicanor come out with his Souldiers from the Fort of Muny-CHIA, and that he began to cast Trenches to compass in the Haven of PIREA. But then, when Phocion thought to lead out the People to prevent him, he found they mutined against him, and no man would obey his commandment. In the mean time Alexander the Son of Polyperchon Alexander the came with an Army, pretending to aid them of the City against Nicanor, where indeed he meant Son of Poly-(if he could) to get the reft of the City into his hands, then especially, when they were in greatest chiled Treason broil one against another; and the rather, because the banished men entred hand over head with him, and divers ftrangers also, and other defamed men: fo that there was a confused Council and Affembly of Omnigatherum kept within the City, without any order: in the which Phocion was deprived of his Office of Generall, and others were also chosen Captains in his place. And had they not feen this Alexander talking alone with Nicanor, and returning many times hard to the Walls of the City, which made the ATHENIANS afraid and miftruftfull, they had never faved it from ta-Procion accu- king. At that time Procion was prefently accused of Treason by the Orator Agnonides: the which fed of Treason. Callimedon and Pericles searing, got them out of the City betimes. And Phocion also with his friends that were not fled, went unto Polyperchon: with whom also Solon PLAT.EIAN and Dinarchus Co-RINTHIAN went for company, who thought to have found friendship and familiarity with Polyperchon. Howbeit Dinarchus falling fick by the way in the City of ELATIA, they stayed there many days, hoping of his recovery. But in the mean time, the People at the perswasion of the Orator Agnonides, and at the request of Archestratus, stablished a Decree, to fend Ambassadors unto Polyperchon, to accuse Phosion: infomuch as both parties met at one self-time, and found him in the Field with the King about a Village of the Countrey of PHOCIDE, called PHARYGES, standing at the foot of the Mountain Acrorion, which they firname also Galaten. There Polyperchon commanded a Cloth of Gold to be fet up, and caused the King to be set under the same, and all his chief-Polyperchon did eff friends about him. But to begin withall, he made Dinarchus to be taken, and commanded them to put him to death, after they had racked him: then he willed the ATHENIANS to tell what they had to fay. Then they began to quarrel, and to be loud one with another, accusing one another in put Dinarchus the presence of the King and his Council, untill Agnonides at length stepped forth, and said: My Lords of Macedon, put us all in Prison, and then send us bound hands and feet to ATHENS, to give account of our doings. The King laughed to hear him fay fo. But the Noblemen of MACE-DON that were present then, and divers strangers besides to hear their complaints, made sign to the Ambassadors to utter their acculations before the King, rather then to refer them to the hearing of the People at ATHENS. Howbeit both parties had not a like indifferent hearing: for Polyperchon checked up Phocion oftentimes, and did ftill cut off his tale as he thought to purge himfelf; infomuch as in an anger he beat his staff he had in his hand against the ground, and commanded him at length to hold his peace, and to get him thence. And when Hegemon also told Polyperchon, that he himself could best witness, how Phocion had alwaies faithfully served and loved the People, he angrily answered him: Come not hither to lie fallly upon me in the presence of the King. Therewith the King role out of his feat, and took a Spear in his hand, thinking to have killed Hesemon, had not Polyperchon suddenly embraced him behind, and staid him. So the Council rose, and brake up, but prefently Phocion was apprehended, and they that stood by him. Certain of his friends feeing that, which stood farther off, muffled their faces, and straight conveyed themselves away. The rest were sent Prisonersto Athens by Clitus, not so much to have their causes heard there, as to have them executed for condemned men. Furthermore, the manner of the carrying of

PHOCION.

Phocion fent thens to be conthem to ATHENS was shamefull. For they were carried upon Carts through the great street Ceramicum unso the Theatre, where Citim kept them untill the Senate had affembled the People, excepting no Bondman, no stranger, nor defamed person out of this Assembly, but left the Theatre wide open to all comers in, whatfoever they were, and the Pulpit for Orations free for every man that would speak against him. So first of all the Kings Letters were read openly, by the which he did advertise the People, that he had found these offenders convicted of Treason: notwithstanding, that he referred the sentence of their condemnation unto them, for that they were Free-men. Then Clitus brought his Prisoners before the People, where the Noblemen when they saw Phocion. were ashamed, and hiding their faces, wept to fee him. Howbeit, there was one that rose up, and faid : My Lords, fith the King referreth the judgement of fo great persons unto the People, it were great reason all the Bondmen and strangers which are no free Citizens of ATHENS, should be taken out of this Assembly. The People would not agree to it, but cryed out, that such Traitors Thefury of the should be stoned to death, that favor the Authority of a few, and are enemies of the People: Athenians awhereupon filence was made, and no man durft speak any more for Phocion. Nevertheless when gainst Phocion. Phocion with much ado had obtained audience, he asked them : My Lords, will ye justly or wrongfully put us to death? Some answered him, justly. How then can you do it, quoth he, that will not hear our justification? Yet could they not be heard for all this. Then Phocion coming nearer, faid unto them: For my felf, my Lords, I confess I have done you wrong, and have in Government committed faults deferving death; but for these Prisoners with me, what have they done why you should put them to death? The common People answered him, Because they are thy friends. With this answer Phocion departed, and spake never a word more. Then the Orator Agnonides holding a Decree in his hand ready written, read it openly to the People, declaring how they should be judged by voices, whether the offenders had deserved death or not; and if it were found they had, then that they (hould all be put to death. And there were, that when this Decree The crucky of was read, cryed out, that they should add further unto the Decree, that before Phocion should be the Athenians put to death, they should first torment him: and therewithall commandment was given, that the unto Photion. Wheel should be set up to break his joints upon it, and also that the Hangman should be sent for. But then Agnonides perceiving that Clitus was offended with it, and thinking besides it were too beaftly and barbarous a part touse him in that fort, he faid openly: My Lords, when you shall have fuch a Varlet in your hands as Callimedon, then you may cast him on the Wheele; but against Phocion, I would not wish such cruelty. Then roseup a Nobleman among them, and added to his words: Thou hast reason to say so, Agnonides, for if Phocion should be laid on the Wheel, Phocion conwhat should we then do with thee? The Decree being confirmed according to the Contents there-demned to of, judgement was given by voices of the People, no man fitting, but all standing up, and most death. of them with Garlands on their heads, for the joy they had to condemn these Pritoners to death, With Phocion there were condemned Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pithocles : but Demetrius PHALERIAN, Callimedon and Charicles, were also in their absence condemned to die. Now when the Assembly was broken up, and that the persons condemned were carried back to Prison, from thence to be conveyed to execution: others embracing their friends, and taking their laft leave of them as they went, wept, and lamented their curfed fortune. But Phocion looking as chearfully of it as he was wont to do being Generall, when they honourably waited on him to his House from the Assembly, he made many of them pity him in their hearts, to consider his constancy and noble courage. On the other fide also, there were many of his Enemies that came as near unto him as they could, to revilehim, amongst whom there was one that stepped before him, and did spit in his face. Then Phocion turning him unto the Magistrates, said: Will ye not cause this impudent fellow to leave his railing? When they were in Prison, Thudippus seeing the Hemlock which they brayed in a Mortar to give them drink, he began desperately to curse and ban. faying, that they wrongfully put him to death with Phocion. Why, faid Phocion again, and doeff The confiance thou not rather rejoyce to die with me? When one that ftood by, asked Phocion if he would any and courage of thing to his Son Phocus: Yes, quoth he, that I will: bid him never revenge the wrong the A. Phocion, being thing to his son rnoem: 1es, quote he, that will be him friends, prayed him to let him drink die. the poyfon before him. Phocion answered him, Thy request is grievous to me, Nicocles: but because I never denied thee any thing in my life, I will also grant thee this at my death. When all the rest had drunk, there was no more poison left, and the Hangman faid he would make no more, unless they gave him twelve Drachma's, for so much the pound did cost him: Phocion perceiving then that the Hangman delayed time, he called one of his friends unto him, and prayed him to give the Hangman that little Money he demanded, fith a man cannot die at ATHENS for nothing, Photion gare without coft. It was the nineteenth day of the Moneth of Munichion, (to wit, March) on which Money to be day the Knights were wont to make a folemn Procession in the honour of Jupiter: howbeit some put to death. of them left off the Garlands of Flowers which they should have worn on their heads, and others also looking towards the Prilon door as they went by, burst out a weeping. For they whose hearts were not altogether hardened with cruelty, and whose judgements were not wholly suppreffed with envy, thought it a grievous Sacriledge against the gods, that they did not let that day pass, but that they did defile so solemn a Feast with the violent death of a man. His Enemies notwithstanding, continuing still their anger against him, made the People pass a Decree, that his body (hould be banished, and carried out of the bounds of the Countrey of ATTICA,

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forbidding the ATHENIANS that no fire should be made for the solemnizing of his Penerals. For this respect no friend of his did once touch his body. Howbeir a poor man called Conopion, that was wont to get his living that way, being hired for Money to burn mens bodies, he took his Corle, and was wont to go in a transfer and serving fire out of a Womans House of MEGARA, carried it beyond the City of ELEUSIN; and getting fire out of a Womans House of MEGARA, Photions Fune- he folemnized his Funerals. Furthermore, there was a Gentlewoman of MEGARA, who coming by chance that way, with her Gentlewoman, where his body was but newly burnt, the caused the Earth to be cast up a little where the body was burnt, and made it like to a hollow Tomb, whereupon the did use such sprinklings and effusions, as are commonly done at the Funerals of the dead : and then taking up his bones in her lap in the night, the brought them home, and buried them in her hearth, faying: O dear hearth, to thee I bequeath the Relicks of this noble and good man, and pray thee to keep them faithfully, to bring him one day to the Grave of his Ancestors, when the ATHENIANS to neep unturanting, final come to confels the fault and wrong they have done unto him. And truly it was not long after, that the ATHENIANS found by the untowardness of their Affairs, that they had put him to death, who onely maintained Justice and Honefty at ATHENS. Whereupon they made his Image to be fet up in Brais, and gave honourable burial to his Bones, at the charges of the City. And for his Accufers, they condemned Agnonides of Treason, and put him to death themselves. The other two, Epicarin and Demophilm being fled out of the City, were afterwards met with by his Son Phocus, who was revenged of them. This Phoem, as men report, was otherwise no great good man, who fancying a young Maid, which a Bawd kept, coming by chance one day into the School of Lyczum, he heard Theodorus the Atheist (to wit, that believed not there were any gods) make this Argument: If it be no fhame, faid he, to deliver a mans friend from bondage, no more shame is it to redeem his Lemman which he loveth: even fo it is all one to redeem a mans Lemman, as his friend. This young man tawinest the tortain a ferve his turn, believing that he might lawfully do it, got the young Maid he loved from the Bawd. Furthermore, this death of Phocion did also revive the lamentable death of Socrates unto the GRECIANS: formen thought that was a like hainous offence, and calamity unto the City of ATHENS.

The end of the Life of Phocion.

THE

THE LIFE OF CATO UTICAN.



Ann. Mund. 389 .

Ant . Christ.

57.

He Family and House of Cato took his first Glory and Name of his great Grand- The Parentage father Cato the Cenfor : who for his vertue (as we have declared in his Life) of Cato. was one of the famouseft and worthiest men of ROME in his time. This Cato whom we now write of, was left an Orphan by his Father and Mother, with his Brother Capio, and Porcia his Sifter. Servilia was also Cato's half Sifter by his Mothers fide. All these were brought up with their Uncle Livius Drusus, Livius Drusus at that time the greatest man of the City : for he was passing eloquent, and very Cato's Uncle. honeft, and of as great a courage befides, as any other Roman. Men report,

that Cato from his childhood shewed himself both in word and countenance, and also in all his Pastimes and Recreations, very constant and stable. For he would go through with that he took upon him Cato's manto do, and would force himself above his strength; and as he could not away with flatterers, fo was ners. he rough with them that went about to threaten him. He would hardly laugh; and yet had ever a pleasant countenance. He was not cholerick, nor easie to be angered; but when the blood was up, he was hardly pacified. When he was first pur to School, he was very dull of understanding, and flow to learn: but when he had once learned it, he would never forget it, as all men elfe commonly do. For fuch as are quick of conceit, have commonly the worft memories: and contrarily, they why quick that are hard to learn, do keep that better which they have learned. For every kind of learning with have no motion and quickening of the mind. He feemed befides not to be light of credit, and that may ver good mebe some cause of his slowness in conceit. For truly he suffereth somewhat that learneth, and there-moy. of it cometh, that they that have leaft reason to resist, are those which do give lightest credit. For young men are easilier perswaded then old men, and the sick then the whole. And where a man hath least reason for his doubts, there he is soonest brought to believe any thing. This notwithstanding, it is reported, that Cato was obedient unto his School-mafter, and would do what he commanded him: howbeit he would ask him ftill the cause and reason of every thing. Indeed his Schoolmafter was very gentle, and readier to teach him, then to strike him with his fift. His name was Sar- Surpedo Cato's pedo Furthermore, when Cato was but a young boy, the People of IT ALY which were Confede- School-mafter rates of the ROMANS, fued to be made free Citizens of Rome. At that time it chanced one Fampedius Silo, a valiant Souldier, and of great estimation among the Consederates of the Ro-MANS, and a great friend besides of Drusus, to be lodged many daies at his House. He in the time falling acquainted with these young Boys, faid one day unto them: Good Boys, entreat your Uncle to speak for us, that we may be made free Citizens of Rome. Capio smiling, nodded with his head that he would. But Cato making no answer, tooked very wifely upon the strangers that lay in the House. Then Pompedius taking him aside, asked him: And thou, my pretty Boy, what fayeft thou to it? Wilt thou not pray thine Uncle, as well as thy Brother, to be good to his Guefts?

Boyes, that when Sylla made the Game of young Boys running on Horse-back, which the Ro-MANS call Troia; to appoint them before that they might be ready at the day of the Show, are

having gotten all the young Boys of Noble-houses together, appointed them two Captains. Of

them, the Boys took the one, because of his Mother Merella, which was the Wife of Sylla : but

they would note of the other called Sexius, who was Nephew to Pompey the Great, neither would they be exercifed under him, nor follow him. Wherefore Sylla asked them, which of them they

thither, and put to death. Cato being then but fourteen years of age, and perceiving that there were many heads brought which were faid to be of great men, and that every Lody fighed and mour-

ned to feethem, he asked his Schoolmafter, how it was possible the Tyrant scaped, that some one

eyes on fire with choler, he marvelled much at it, and afterwards had a very good eye unto him, left

rashly he should attempt something against Sylla. When he was but a little Boy, some asked him whom he loved beft? My Brother, faid he. Then the other continuing ftill to ask him, and who

length he that asked him, was weary with asking him to oft. Yea and when he was come of age alfo,

Caso's sufferity hear their request. Then Pompedim taking him up in his arms, did put him out of the window, as

of Care when child.

if he would have let him have gone, and speaking more sharply to him then he did before, he cast him many times out of his arms without the window, and faid, Promife us then, or elfe I will let thee fall. But Cate did abid it a long time, and never quinched for it, nor shewed countenance of sear. Thereupon Pompedim fetting him down again, told his friends that stood by him: O what good lous constancy hap doth this Child promise one day unto ITALY, if he live? Sure if he were a man, I believe we should not have one voice of all the People on our side. Another time there were some of Cato's near Kinimen, that keeping the Feaft day of his birth, had many young Boys to supper, and amongst others this Cato. The Boys to occupy themselves till Supper was ready, gathered themselves to-gether great and small, into some private place of the House. Their play was, counterseiting pleadings before the Judges, accusing one another, and carrying them that were condemned to Prison. Amongst them a goodly young Boy was carried by a bigger Boy into a little Chamber, bound and a condemned person. The Boy perceiving he was locked up, cryed out unto Cato: who mistrusting what it was, went straight to the Chamber door, and putting them by by force that with stood him to come unto it, he took out the young Boy, and carried him very angerly with him to his own House, and all the other young Boys followed him also. So Cato had such a name among the young

would have they all cryed then, Cato, and Sextus himself did willingly give him the honour, as the 5ylla's love un-worthier of both. Sylla wastheir Fathers friend, and therefore did fend for them many times to come to Gato being unto him, and he would ralk with them: the which kindness he shewed to few men, for the Majestv and great Authority he had. Sarpedo also (Cato's Schoolmaster) thinking it a great preferment and fafety for his Scholars, did commonly bring Cate unto Sylla's House, to wait upon him : the which was rather like unto a Goal or Prison, for the great number of Prisoners which were daily brought

Caso's hate be- or other killed him not ? Because, quoth Sarpedo, that all men fear him more then they hate him. ing a boy, a- Why then, replyed Cato again, didft thou not give me a Sword, that I might kill him, to deliver gainst a Tyrant my Countrey of this slavish bondage ? Sarpedo hearing the Boy say so, and seeing his countenance and

Cato's love to next? he answered likewise his Brother. Then the third time again, likewise his Brother. Till at his Brother.

he then confirmed the love he bare to his Brother in his deeds. For twenty years together he never Supped without his Brother Capio, neither went he ever out of his House into the Market-place, nor into the Fields without him : but when his Brother did anoint himself with sweet oyles of perfume, he would none of that, and in all things elfe, he led a straight and hard life. So that his Brother Capio being commended of every man for his temperance, honefty, and fober life, he granted indeed, that in respect of others, he led a sober and temperate life : but when I do (faid he) compare my life with my Brother Cato's, methinks then there is no difference betwirt me and Scippim. This Scippi-111 was at that time noted and pointed at, for his fine and curious effeminate life. After that Cato was once chosen Apollo's Prieft, he went from his Brother, and took his portion of the Goods of his Father, which amounted to the fum of an hundred and twenty Talents. Then he lived more Antipater the hardly then he did before. For he fell in acquaintance with Antip ter Tyrian, a Stoick Philoso-Scolet, Gain's pher, and gave himself chiefly unto the study of Moral and Civil Philosophy, imbracing all exercise Schoolmaster. of vertue with such an earnest desire, that it seemed he was pluckt forward by some god : but above all other vertues, he loved the feverity of justice, which he would not wreft for any gift nor favour. He studied also to be eloquent, that he might speak openly before the People, because he would there should be certain warlike Forces entertained in civil Philosophy, as also in a great City. Notwithflanding, he would not exercise it before any body, neither would he ever have any man to hear him speak when he did learn to speak. For when one of his friends told him one day, that men did millike he spake so little in company : It skilleth no matter, quoth he, so they cannot reprove my life, for I will begin to speak, when I can say something worthy to be spoken. Hard by the Marketplace there was the common Palace or Town-house of the City, called Basilica Porcia, the which Porcius Cato the elder had built, in the time of his Cenforship. There the Tribunes were wont to keep their audience, and because there was a Pillar that troubled their seats, they would either have taken it away, or else have set it in some other place. That was the first cause that made Cato against his will to go into the Market-place, and to get up into the Pulpit for Orations, to speak against Bahlica Porcia them, where having given this first proof of his eloquence and noble mind, he was marvellously efteemed of. For his Oration was not like a young man, counterfeiting fineness of speech

and affectation, but flout, and full of wit and vehemency: and yet in his shortness of his sentences. had fuch an excellent grace withall, that he marvelloufly delighted the hearers; and furthermore. shewing in nature a certain gravity besides, it did so please them, that he made them laugh. He had a very full and laudible voice, that might be heard of a marvellous number of People, and fuch a strong nature besides, that he never fainted, nor brake his speech : for many times he would speak a whole day together, and was never weary. So when he had obtained his Cause against the Tribunes, he returned again to keep his former great filence, and to harden his body with painfull Exercises, as to abide heat, frost and show bare-headed, and alwaies to go on foot in the Field, where his friends fee. that did accompany him rode on horseback; and sometime he would come and talk with one, sometime with another, as he went on foot by them. He had a wonderfull patience also in his sickness: for when he had any ague, he would be alone all day long, and fuffer no man to come to fee him. untill he perceived his fit was off him, and that he found he was better. When he supped with his friends and familiars, they drew lots who should choose their parts. If he chanced not to choose, his friends notwithstanding gave him the preferment to choose: but he refused it, saying, it was no reafon, fith the goddes. Vensu was against him. At the first he did not use to fit at the Table : but after he had drank one draught onely, he would straight rife. But when he came to be elder, he fate Cato's drinklong at the Table: fo that often times he would fit it out all night with his friends, till the next mor- ing. ning. But they feeking to excuse it, said, that his great business and affairs in the Commonwealth was the cause of it; for following that all the day long, having no leifure nor time to study, when night came he delighted to talk with learned men, and Philosophers at the Board. Wherefore when Memmius on a time being in company, faid, that Cato did nothing but drink all night; Gicero taking Cicero's faying his tale out of his mouth, answered him: Thou doest not add this unto it, that all the day he doth nothing but play at dice. To be short, Cato thinking that the manners and fashions of mens lives in his time were fo corrupt, and required fuch great change and alteration, that to go uprightly, he was to take a contrary course in all things: therefore when he saw the purple, red, and the lightest colours were best elteemed of, he in contrary manner desired to wear black. And many times also after dinner, he would go abroad bare-footed without shooes, and without any gown: not because he would be wondered at for any fuch strangeness, but to acquaint himself to be assamed onely of shameless and dishonest things: and to despise those which were not reproved, but by mens opinions. Furthermore, Land being left him to the value of an hundred Talents by the death of a Coufin of his that likewife was called Cato, he put it into ready Money, to lend to his friends that lacked; and without usury. And there were some of his friends also that would morgage his Land, or his Slaves. to the Chamber of the City, for their own private business: the which he himself would either give them to morgage, or else asterwards confirm the Morgage of them. Furthermore, when he was come of age to marry, having never known Woman before, he was made sure to Lepida. This Lepida had been pre-contracted unto Metellus Scipio: but afterwards the pro-contract being broken, he forfook her, fo that she was free when Cato was contracted to her. Notwithstanding, be- Cato's Matriafore Cato married her, Scipio repenting him that he had refused her, made all the means he could to ges. have her again : and so he had. Cato took it so grievously, that he thought to go to Law for her, but his friends diffwaded him from it. Then feeing no other remedy, to fatisfie his angry mind, he wrote Verses against Scipio, in the which he reviled him all he could : using the bitter taunts of Archilorus Verses, but not such impudent, lewd, and childish reproaches as be there. After that he Attilia, Cato's married Attilia, Soranus Daughter, being the first Woman he ever knew : yet not the onely Wo- Wife. man whom he did know, as is reported of Lalius, Scipio's friend, who therein was counted the hap- Lalius Marripier, because all that long time wherein he lived, he never knew other Woman but his first Wife. age. Furthermore, in the War of the Bond-men (otherwise called Spartacus War) one Gellius was chosen Prator of the Army, under whom Cato served of his own good will, for the love he bare Cato's first unto his Brother Capio, who in that Army had charge of a thousand Footmen. Now Cato could Souldier fare not as he wished, shew his valiantness and good service, because of the insufficiency of the Practor, the Bondmen. that gave ill direction. This notwithstanding, in the midst of all the riot and insolency of them in the Camp, he shewing himself a stayed man in all his doings, valiant where need was, and very wife also, all men esteemed him to be nothing inferiour unto Cato the elder. Whereupon Gellius the Prætor gave him many honours in token of his valiantness, which are given in reward of mens good fervice: howbeit Cato refused them, and faid, that he was nothing worthy of those honours. These things made him to be thought a marvellous strange man. Furthermore, when there was a Law made, forbidding all men that fued for any Office in the Commonwealth, that they should have no prompters in any of the Affemblies to blow into their ears the names of private Citizens: he alone making fuit to be Colonel of a thousand Footmen, was obedient to the Law, and committed all the private Citizens names to memory, to speak unto every one of them, and to call them by their names: fo that he was envyed even of them that did commend him. For, by how much they knew his deeds praife-worthy, by fo much more were they grieved, for that they could not follow them. So Cato being chosen Colonell of a thousand Footmen, he was sent into MA CEDON, unto Rubrim, Prætor there. Some say, that at his departure from thence, his Wife lamenting and weeping to fee him go, one Munation a friend of his faid unto her: take no thought Attilia, and leave tum.

weeping, for I promise thee I will keep thy Husband for thee. It is well said, answered Cato.

Then when they were a days Journey from Rome, Cato after Supper said unto this Munatius: Thou must look well to thy promise thou hast made Attilia, that thou wouldest keep me for her,

How Cate trained his men, and made

> The love of vertue, from whence it fro-Athenodorus the Stoick, Cato's friend.

> > The death of Capio, Cato's

> > > Cafar, which Book called

Cato's Journey into Afia.

and therefore forfake me not night nor day. Thereupon he commanded his men that from thenceforth they should prepare two beds in his Chamber, that Munatim also might lie there : who was rather pleafantly himself looked unto by Cato, then Cato by him. He had fifteen Slaves with him, two Freemen, and four of his friends which rode, and he himself went on foot fometime talling, two freemen, and four of his friends which rode, and he himself went on foot fometime talling two freemen, and four of his friends which rode, and he himself went on foot fometime talling two freemen, and four of his friends which rode, and he himself went on the Camp, where there were with one, other while with another as he went. When he came to the Camp, where there were many Legions of the ROMANS, the Prator immediately gave him charge of one of them : who thinking it small honour to him for himself onely to be valiant, sith he was but one man, he practifed to make all his Souldiers under him, like unto himfelf. The which he did not by fear and terrour, but by lenity and gentle perswasions, training and instructing them in every point what they should do: adding to his gentle instruction and perswassions, reward to those that did well, and punifament to them that offended. Whereby it was hard to judge, whether he had made them more quiet then warlike, more valiant, then just. So dreadfull they shewed themselves to their Enemies, and courteous to their friends : fearfull to do evil, and ready to win honour. Whereof followed that which Cate leaft accounted of, that is, he wan fame and good will: for his Souldiers did greatly honour and love hins, because he himself would ever first set his hand to any thing he commanded them; and because also both in his diet, in his apparel, and in any journey or pains, he was rather like unto the meanest Souldier, then any of the other Captains. In contrary manner also, in good nature, noble courage, and eloquence, he far exceeded all the other Colonels and Captains, for the true love of vertue (to wit, the defire to follow it) taketh no roots in mens minds, unless they have a fingular love and reverence unto the person, whom they desire to sollow. When Cato understood that Athenodorm, firnamed Cordylion, a Stoick Philosopher, excellently well learned, dwelt at that time in the City of PERGAMUS, being a very old man, and one that fliffy refused the friendship of Kings, Princes, and Noblemen, desirous to have him about them: to write to him, he thought it was lost labour. Wherefore having two moneths liberty by the Laws of the ROMANS, to follow his own affairs, he took Sea, and went into Asia to him, hoping he should not lose his Journey, for the great vertues he knew in him. So when he had spoken with him, and talked of divers matters together, at length he brought him from his first determination, and carried him to the Camp with him; esteeming this Victory more then all the Conquests of Lucullus or Pompey, who had conquered the most part of all the Provinces and Realms of the East parts of the World. In the mean time, whileft he lay at his charge in the Camp, being Colonel of a thousand Footmen, his Brother preparing to go into Asia, fell fick in the City of Enus, in the Countrey of THRACIA. Cato having specdy intelligence thereof, took Sea prefendly, when it was marvellous rough and boilterous, and imbarked in a little Crayer of a Merchants of THESSALY, with two of his friends, and three Bondmen onely, and did escape drowning very narrowly: and yet by good fortune arrived fafely, a little after his Brother Capio's death. He took his death more forrowfully then became a Philosopher, not onely mourning and lamenting for him, embracing the dead Corps of his Brother: but also for the exceeding charge and fumptuous Funerals which he bestowed upon him, in perfumes, sweet favours, and fumptuous filks that were burnt with his body: and furthermore, in the stately Tomb ing for his Brother Ceptio's of THRACIAN Marble which he made for him, and fer up in the Market-place of the ENIANS, Brother Ceptio's of THRACIAN Marble which he made for him, and fer up in the Market-place of the ENIANS, that coft eight Talents. Some did millike this vain charge that Cato bestowed, considering the modefty and temperance he used in all thingselse, not regarding with judgement his tender love and affection towards his Kinfmen, which was mingled in him with his feverity, and hardness, against all voluptuouinels, fear, and shamelels requests. Divers Cities, Princes and Noblemen, sent him many fundry Prefents, to honour the Funerals of his Brother Capio: howbeit he took no Money of all them, faving onely spices, and sweet savours, and such other ornaments as honoured the obsequies of the dead, and yet payed for them, unto those that brought them, as much as they were worth. Furthermore, in the Land that fell unto him, and a little Daughter of his, by the death of his Brother, notwithstanding the charge he had been at his Funerals, he did not reckon it in the partition of the Land betwirt him and his Brother Capio's Daughter. All the which things when they were folemnized, some * write notwithstanding, that he did cleanse the embers where his Brothers body had been to be meant of burnt, through a fieve or riddle, where-through they cleanse Corn, and all to get out the Gold and Silver that was molten there: but such think that their Writings should be as far from controllment as their doings. So when Cato's time of his charge was expired, they did accompany him at his departure, not onely with ordinary praifes, vows, and prayers to the gods for his health; but with embracings, tears, and marvellous lamentations of the Souldiers, which spread their garments on the ground as he went, and killing of his hands, which honour the ROMANS did but to very few of their Generals. Furthermore, Cato being determined before he returned to ROME to deal in the affairs there, to go and fee Asia, partly to be an eye witness of the manners, customes, and power of every Province as he went: and partly also to satisfie King Deiotarm request, who having been his Fathers friend, had earneftly entreated him to come and fee him, he went the journey, and uled it in this fort, First, by peep of day, he fent his Baker and Cook before, where he meant to lie that night. They coming foberly into the City or Village, inquired if there were none of Caro's friends and acquaintance there, and if they found none, then they prepared his supper in an Inne, and troubled no man; but if there were no Inne, then they went to the Governours of the Town, and prayed them to help them to lodging, and did content themselves with the first that was offered them. Oftentimes the Townsmen did not believe they were Cato's men, and made no account of them, because they rook all things fo quietly, and made no ado with the Officers. Infomuch as Cato sometime came himself, and found

nothing ready for him; and when he was come, they made as small account of him, seeing him fer upon his Carriages, and speak never a word : for they took him for some mean man, and a timerous perfon. Notwithstanding, fometime he called them unto him, and told them: O poor men, learn to be more courteous to receive travelling Romans that pass by you, and look not alwaies to have Cato's to come unto you: and therefore fee that you use them with such courteste and entertainment. that they may bridle the authority they have over you: for you shall find many that will defire no better colour nor occasion by force to take from you that they would have: because you unwillingly also do When he came to Antioch, he found a great number of People divided on either fide of the ftreet, matter happed standing a row one by another very decently, the young men by themselves in fair cloaks, boys by unto Cato. themselves in seemly array, and Priests and other Officers of the City also, all in white garments, crowned with garlands. Cato thought straight they had made this folemn Procession to honour him, and fell out with his men he had fent before, because they did suffer them to make such preparation for his coming, So he made his friends light from their Horses, and go on foot to accompany him. But when they came near to the Gate of the City, the Mafter of the Ceremonies that had affembled all that company (an old man, having a rod in his hand, and a Crown on his head) came to Cato without faluting of him, and asked him onely, where they had left Demetrius, and when he would come. This Demetrius a Demetrius had been one of Pompey's Slaves, and because Pompey's fame was great with all men, his fer- Slave, great vant Demetrisus also was much honoured and made of above his defert, for that he was in great credit with Pompos with Pompey. Cato's friends hearing what question the old man asked him, burst out a laughing as they went through this Procession. Cato being ashamed of it, faid no more then, but : O unfortunate City! Afterwards notwithstanding, when he told it to any body, he would laugh at it himself. But Pompey rebuked them that through ignorance had failed to honour Cato. When Cato came to the City of EPHESUS, and was coming towards Pompey to falute him, being the elder man, and of greater dignity and estimation then he, who at that time also was General of a great and puissant Army. Pompey feeing him come towards him afar off, would not tarry till he came to him, fitting in his Chair of estate, but rising up went to meet him, as one of the greatest and noblest persons of Cato honoured ROME; and taking him by the hand, after he had embraced and welcomed him, he presently fell in Asia. praise of his vertue before his face, and afterwards also commended him in his absence, when he was gone from him. Whereupon every man after that had him in great veneration for those things which before they despised him in, when they considered better of his noble and courteous mind. For men that faw Pompey's entertainment towards him, knew well enough that Cato was a man which he rather reverenced, and for a kind of duty observed, more then for any love he bare him: and they noted further, that he honoured him greatly while he was with him, but yet that he was glad when Cato went from him. For he fought to keep back all the young Gentlemen of ROME that went to fee Pompey rather him, and defired them to remain with him: but for Cato, he was nothing defirous of his company, then loved him, for that in his presence he thought he could not command as he would, and therefore was willing to let him go, recommending his Wife and his Children to him, the which he never did before unto any other ROMAN that returned to ROME: howbeit indeed Cato was partly allied unto him. After that time, all the Cities whereby he paffed, devifed (in emulation one of the other) which of them should honour him most, and made him great Feasts and Banquets : in the which he prayed his friends to have an eye to him, left unawares he should prove Curio's words true. For Curio sometime being his friend, and a familiar of his, milliking notwithstanding his severity, asked Cato if he would go fee Asia, when his charge were expired. Cato answered again, that it was his full determination. O well faid, quoth Curio, I hope then thou wilt return more pleasant and civill. And these were Curio's words. Furthermore, Deiotarus King of GALATIA, being a very old man, fent for Cato to come into his Countrey, to recommend his Sons and House unto him: who when he arrived Cato's Tourney there, had great rich Prefents of all forts offered him by the King, entreating him all he could to take unto King them. This to much milliked and angred Cato, that he coming thither in the evening, (after he had Deiotarus, and tarried there one whole day onely) the next morning he went his way from thence at the third hour. his abitine from gifts. Howbeit he had not gone one days journey, but he found greater gifts that tarried him, with Deiotarm Letters, at the City of PESSINUNTA: in the which he instantly requested him to take them, or at the leaft if he would refuse them himself, that then he would let them be divided amongst his

friends, fith every way they did deserve it, but specially for his lake, for that his goods also were not

fo great, as could content all his friends. But Cato would not fuffer them to take any jot of it

more then before, although he faw well enough, that there were fome of them fo tender-

hearted, that they complained of him, for that he would not suffer them to take any of it. For he

told them, that otherwise corruption and bribery could lack no honest colour to take: and for his friends,

they should alwaies have part with him of that which was his own justly. So he returned King Deio-

tarm Presents back again. Now when he was ready to imbark, to pass over the Sea again unto

BRUNDUSTUM, some of his friends perswaded him, that it was better to put the ashes of his Brother

Capio's bones into another Ship. But he answered them, that he would rather lose his own life, then

to leave his Brothers reliques. Thereupon he prefently hoised fail, and it is reported that he paffed

over in great danger, where other Ships arrived very fafely. When he was returned unto ROME,

he was always either talking Philosophy with Athenodorus the Philosopher, or else in the Market-

place, to pleasure his friends. When his turn came that he was to make suit to be Quartor, he

would never fue for it, before he had first diligently perused all the Ordinances touching the Office

Cato made Quzitor.

of Quartor, and that he had particularly made enquiry of men of greatest experience, to know what the Authority of the Office was. So he no fooner came to his Office, but he prefently made great alteration amongst the Clearks and Officers of the Treasury: who having the Laws and Records in their hands, and exercifing the Office commonly under young men which were choien Treasurers (who for their ignorance and lack of experience, stood rather in need of Masters to teach them, then that they were able to correct others) they themselves were the Officers and controlled them. But Caso not contenting himself with the name and honour of the thing, did throughly understand what the Clearks and Registers should be, and therefore would have them to be as they ought to be, Ministers under the Quzitors onely ; telling them of their bribery and corruption which they committed, and reformed them also that faultred through ignorance. And when he saw some insolent and impudent persons, that curried savour with other Treasurers to be against him, he caused the chiefest of them to be condemned for falshood, in making division betwirt two co-heirs; and conse-Catalar Luits quently turned him clear out of his Office, for ever doing any thing there any more. He accused another allo for forging of a Will, whom Catulus Lustratius defending, being then Cenfor, and a man of great honour for the dignity of his Office, but chiefly for his vertue, being counted the justest man one of them in his time at ROME, and of those also that highly commended Cato, was conversant with him for his honest life; when he perceived that he could not defend this man by no reason, he prayed him at his request that they would pardon him. But Cato would in no wife grant it. But Catulus carneftly entreating still for him, then Cato plainly faid unto him: It is shame for thee (Catalus) thou that art Centor, and should reform all our lives, thus to forget the duty of thine Office, to please our Ministers. Catulus looking at Cato when he had spoken, as though he would answer him: whether it were for shame or anger, he went his way, and faid never a word more. Yet was not the party condemned, though there was one voice more that did condean then clear him, because of the absence of one of the Judges. For Marcus Lollius, one of Cato's Colleagues in the Quartorship, being sick at that time, and absent, Catalus sent unto him, to pray him to come and help the poor man. Thereupon Lollius being brought thither in a Litter, after judgement given, gave his last voice, which absolutely cleared him. Cato, this notwithstanding, would never use him as a Cleark, nor pay him his Wages, nor would count of Lolling voice among others. Thus having pulled down the pride and stomach of the Clearks, and brought them unto reason, in short time he had all the Tables and Records at his commandment, and made the Treasure-Chamber as honourable as the Senate it felf: fo that every man thought, and said, that Cate made the Cate had added unto the Quartership the dignity of the Consulfhip. For finding divers men indebted before unto the Commonwealth, and the Commonwealth also unto divers men, he set down such an order, that neither the Commonwealth should be deceived by any man, nor that any man also should have wrong of it. For being rough with them that were indebted to the Chamber, he compelled them to pay their debt, and willingly and quickly also paid them to whom the Chamber ought any thing: fo that the People were ashamed to fee some pay which never thought to have paid any thing, and on the contrary part also others paid, which never looked to have hid any part of their debts paid them. Furthermore, divers men did before make false Bills of their debts, and brought them to to be put into the Coffer of the Quartors; and many times also his Predecessors were wont of favour and friendship to receive false Messages. But whilst he was Quastor, he never did pass any matter to lightly. For one day, he being doubtfull of a Meffage that was fent unto him, to know whether it was true or no: albeit divers men did witness it was true, yet would he not believe it, untill fuch time as the Confuls themselves came in their own persons to justifie it was true, and to swear, that it was so ordained. Now there were many unto whom Lucius Sylla (being Dictator) had appointed in his fecond Proscription twelve thousand filver Drachma's for every Citizen and Out-law which they had flain with their own hands. These men, though every man did hate venged of Syl- them, and knew them to be wicked People and cruell murderers, yet no man durft offer to be revenged of them. Cato called these men in suit, as those that did wrongfully detain the Money of the common Treasure, and compelled them to repay it back again: sharply reproving (and justly) the wicked devillish fact they had committed. So when they had repayed the Money, they were straight accused by others for murder; and as if they had been wrongfully condemned by one judgement, they were brought into another, to the great joy of all the ROMANS, who then thought they faw all the Tyranny of that time rooted out, and Sylla himself punished. Besides all this, Cato's continual pains and care of the Treasure, was so well thought of and liked of the People as could be. For he was always the first that came to the Cossers of the Treasurers, and also the last that went from thence, and was never weary of any pains. Furthermore, he never missed to be at any Affembly of the People, or Senate, fearing and being always carefull, left lightly by fayour, any Money due to the Commonwealth should be forgiven, or else that they should abare the Rent of the Farmers, or that they should give no Money but to them that had justly deserved it. Thus having rid all Acculers, and also filled the Coffers with Treasure, he made men see that the

Commonwealth might be rich without oppreffing of any man. Indeed at his first coming into the Office, his Colleagues and Companions found him marvellous troublesome and tedious, for that

they thought him too rough and fevere: howbeit they all loved him in the end; because he onely

withflood the complaints and cryes of all men against them (which complained that they would not for any mans respect or favour let go the Money of the common Treasure) and was contented his Companions should excuse themselves unto their friends that were importunate, and lay

ta's bloody murder.

the fault upon him, faying, that it was impossible for them to bring Cato unto it. The last day that he went out of his Office, being very honourably brought home to his house by the People. it was told him that Marcellus being in the Treasure-chamber, was attempted and environed with many of his friends, and men of great authority, that were earneftly in hand with him to record a certain fum of Money, as a thing that had been due by the Common-wealth. This Marcellus had been Cato's friend even from their Child-hood, and whileft Cato was in Office, he did orderly execute his Office with him : but when he was left alone, he was of fogentle a nature, that he would easily be entreated, and was as much ashamed to deny any man, as he was also over-ready to grant every man that he required. Cato straight returned back upon it, and finding that Marcellus had yielded unto their importunacy, and recorded the Gift, he caused the Books to be brought unto him, and did raze it out before his face, Marcellus speaking never a word to the contrary. After that, Marcellus brought Cato home, and never once repined against that he had done, neither then, nor at any time after, but continued still in friendship with him, as he had done before. But now though Cato was out of his Office of Quæftor, he was not without Spials of his men in the Treafure- Cato's care and chamber, who marked alwaies, and wrote what was done and paffed in the Treasury. And Cato integrity to himfeli, having bought the Books of Accompt for the fum of five Talents, containing the re-the Commonvenew of the whole State of the Common-wealth, from Sylla's time untill the very year of his Qua-wealth. storship: he ever had them about him, and was the first man that came to the Senate, and the lastthat went out of it. There many times the Senators tarrying long before they came, he went and fate down in a corner by himfelf, and read closely the Book he had under his Gown, clapping his Gown before it, and would never be out of the City on that day when he knew the Senate should affemble. After that, Pompey and his Conforts perceiving that it was unpossible to compell Cato. and much less to win or corrupt him, to favour their unjust doings, they fought what means they could to keep him from coming to the Senate, and defending certain of his friends Caules, and to occupits him some other ways about matters of Arbitrement. But Cato finding their wiles and crast, to encounter them, he told his friends once for all, whom he would pleasure, that when the Senate did fit, no mans Caufe could make him be absent from thence. For he came not to serve the Com- Cato's mind mon-wealth to enrich himself as many did, neither for any glory or reputation, nor yet at all ad- and determiwenture ; but that he had advisedly cholen to serve the Common-wealth; like a just and honest man, nation to take wenture; but that he had advitedly choich to let've the Common waters, line a just and thought himself bound to be as carefull of his duty, as the Bee working her Wax in the Common-Honey comb. For this respect therefore, to perform his duty the better, by the means of his wealth. friends which he had in every Province belonging to the Empire of Rome, he got into his hands the Copies of all the chiefest Acts, Edicks, Decrees, Sentences, and the notablest Judgements of the Governours that remained in record. Once Cato perceiving that Publius Clodius a feditious Ora- Catodiave Clotour amongst the People, did make great stir., and accused divers unto the Assembly, as the Priests diasout of and Vestall Nuns, among the which Fabia Terentia, Cicero's Wives Sister was accused; he ta- Rome. king their Cause in liand, did so disgrace Clodius their Accuser, that he was driven to flie the City. Cocero therefore giving Cato thanks, Cato told him, that he must thank the Common-wealth, not him, for whose sake onely he both said and did that he had done. Hereby Cato wan him great The Authorifame. For when a certain Oratour or Common-Counsellour preferred one Witness unto the ty and credit of Judges, the Counfellour on the other fide told them, that one Witness was not to be credited, Cato. though it were Cate himself. Infomuch as the People took it up for a Proverb among them, that when any man spake any strange and unlikely maner; they would say : Nay, though Care himself faid it, yeuwere it not to be believed. When on a time a certain Prodigal man had made a long Oration in the Senate, in praise and commendation of Sobriety, Temperance, and Thriftiness, one Amnaus a Senatour rifing upy faid unto him - Alas friend, what thinkeft thou havbo can abide to hear thee any longer with patience; that fareft at thy Table like Craffus, buildeft like Lucullus, and speakeft to us like Caro to So then commonly (in Sport) called them Caro's, which were grave and severe in their words and diffolite in their deeds ... When divers of his friends were in hand with him to fue to be Tribund of the People, he rold them be thought it not meet at that time : for fuch an Office & quoth he) of fo great authority as that, is not to be imployed; but like a fitrong Medicine in time of need. So, the Term and manters of Law ceafing for that earner Cate went into the Countrey of Luca to take his pleasure there; where he had pleasure Holisey and rook with him both his Books and Phi- Cato took Philolophers to keep him company. But meeting as he went, with divers bumpters and great Carriage, lolophers with and a great train of men belides, he asked them whole Carriage tiwas : they told him, it was Metel- him when he and a great train of men beindes, he asked them whole Carriage towas a tray out mut, it was exerci
lus Neporthan returned to Rossis; to make fuit to be Tribune. Thereupon Carriage fuddenly, and Country. berhinking himself, commanded his men to remin back again. His friends marvelling at it, he answered them, Do not you know that Abriellar is to be feared of himself, for his raffines and foldy? and now that he contech infracted by Pompey, like a lightning he would fet all the Commonwealthin fire? for this cause therefore we must incrow go take our pleasure in the Countrey, but overcome his folly, or otherwise die benourably in deferice of our Liberty. Yet at his Friends perfusitors hie went field unto his House in the Country, and tarried northing there, but returned traight again to Ross si When he came thither over night, the next morning betimes he went The Office en manger again to acome min exame minne over right, in a removing permits it with a dament into the Market-place; and authority into the Market-place; and authority into the Market-place; and authority into the Market power; and authority in of the Triberer confilleth more in hindring then doing any bune, what it thing attorist all men elle were agrend of a matter, and that he onely were against it, the Tribune was would carry it from them all . Case at the first had not many of his friends about him, but when

Cato's Tribunefhip.

Cicero defend-

cy of Caviline

ed Murana a-

gainst his Ac-

cufer Cato.

Cicero taught them how to write briefly. by Notes and Figures.

they heard of his intent, why he made fuit for the Tribuneship, all his friends and Noble-men straight took part with him, confirmed his determination, and encouraged him to go on withall, for that he did it rather to ferve the Common-wealth then his own turn; confidering that where many times before he might (without refiftance or deniall) have obtained the fame, the State being toward no trouble, he then would never fue for it, but now that he faw it in danger, where he was to fight for the Common-wealth, and the Protection of her liberty. It is reported that there were fuch a number of People about him to favour his fuit, that he was like to have been stifled among them, and thought he should never have come to the Market-place, for the press of People that fwarmed about him. Thus when he was chosen Tribune with Metelliss and others, he perceived how they bought and fold the voices of the People when the Confuls were chosen : whereupon he made an Oration, and sharply took them up for this detestable Merchandize; and after his Oration ended, folemnly protested by Oath, that he would accuse him, and bewray his Name which had given money to be chofen Confull. Howbeit he spake nothing of Syllansus, whose Sifter Servilia he had married: but he flatly accused Lucina Murana, that had obtained to be Confull with Syllansa, by means of his Money. Now a Law being provided, that the party accused might have a Keeper or Spiall to follow the Accuser, to see what he would accuse the party with, that he might the better be able to defend himself, knowing what should be objected against him : Murana baving one for him to wait upon Cato, to confider throughly what course he took, when he saw that he went not maliciously to work, but took a plain common way of a just Accuser, he had so great confidence in Cato's upright mind and integrity, that not regarding the narrow fifting of him otherwise, he did one day ask him himself in the Market-place (or at home in his own house) if that day he were determined to profecute any matter against him touching his Accusation. If Cato answered that he did not, then he went his way, and simply believed him. When the day came indeed that his Cause was to be heard and pleaded unto, Cicero being Confull that year, defending Murana, played to pleasantly with the Stoick Philosophers, and their strange Opinions, that he made all the Judges laugh: infomuch as Cato himfelf fmiling at him, told them that were by him : See, we have a pleatant Confull that makes men laugh thus, So Murana being discharged by this judgement, did never after malice Cato for that, but so long as he remained Confull, he was alwaies ruled by his Counsell in all his Affairs, and continued ever to lionour him, following his Counfell in all things touching his Office. Hereof Cato himself was cause, who was never rough nor terrible, but in matters of Counsell, and in his Orations before the People, for the maintenance onely of equity and justice : for otherwife he was very civill and courteous to all men. But before he entred into his Tribunethip, Cicero being yet Confull, he did help him in many things touching his Office, but specially in bringing Casilines conspiracy to good end which was a noble Act done of him. For Catiline did practife a generall commotion and stirr in the Common-wealth, to overthrow the whole State of Roma, by civil discord within Rome, and open Wars abroad : who being discovered and overcome by Cicero, be was driven in the end to flie ROME. But Lemulus, Cethegus, and many other of the accomplices of this conspiracy; blamed Catiline for his faint and cowardly proceeding in it. For their parts, they had determined to burn the whole City of ROME, and to put all the Empire thereof in aproar, by strange Wars, and rebellious forrein Nations and Provinces. Howbeit this Treason being discovered, as appeareth more largely in the life of Cicero, the matter was referred unto the judgement of the Seriate, to determine what was to be done therein. Syllania being the first who was asked his Opinion therein faid, that he thought it good they should fuffer cruell pains, and afterbim alfo, all thought faid the like untill, it came to Cufar. Cefar being an excellent spoken man, and that rather defined to nourith then to quench any fuch fittrs or feditions in the Common-wealth, being fit for his purpole Cate's Oration long determined of, made an Oration full of fweet pleafant words declaring unvertient, that so put fuch men as they to death without lawfull condemnation, be thought it altogether unreasonable, and coucaing cartrather that they should do better to keep them in Prison. This Oration of Geler to altered all the rest of the Senators minds, for that they were afraid of the People, that Syllas w felf mended his Opinion again, and faid, that he meant not they thould put them to death, but keep them fait in Prifon; because that to be a Prisoner, welche greatestipain a RONAN Catizen dould shide... Thus the Sanators minds being fo fuddenly changed, and bena to a more favourable fentences, Gasorising up to fay his Opinion, began very angenty with marvellous Eloquence, gricontilly to reprove Syllenae for changing his mind, and, that ply to take up Cafar, that sinder a popular femblance, and mask of dweet fugred words, he fought under-hand to defirry the Continuon-wealth, and also to terraine and make the Schate afraid : where he himself (hould have been sized, and think himself happy of the could scape from being suspected, giving fauch apparent cause of suspinion as he did, going about so openly to take the Enemies and Traitors of the Common wealth our of the hards of inflice, feating to have no sury nor compassion of his natural City, of such Nobility, and Fame, being esca brough in manner to urter deftruction; buil emben to lamenwebe fortime of whole swicked men, that it was pitty they were ever born, and whole death professed Roses infrant a thouland Murches, and Mitchel Of all the Orations that ever Care made, that colely was kepe is for Cicerosthe Confulk, that they had differend divers Pen-men in fundry places of the Senate-house, which baddnarvellous (withhouse and had further taughs thom how to make busef blittes and in Bridgements, implicibit few Lines the wed many words. For untillabantime, Aliritons were not known that could by Figures and Ciphers expreis a whole fentence and word, as inflammands they could theing then the first time that ever they were found out. So Caro that simeoprevalled against Cofer, and made ahem all change aheir

CATO VTICAN.

CATO UTICAN. minds again, that these men were put to death. But that we may not leave out a jot of man-

ners, as the very pattern and impression of his mind: it is reported, that when Caso that day was

fo hot and vehement against Cefar, that all the Senate could but look at them, to hear them both, a Letter was delivered Cefar, fent him into the House. Cate began presently to suspect it. and so earneftly misliked of it, that many of the Senators being offended, commanded his Letter should be seen and read openly. Casar thereupon reached his Letter unto Cato, that sate not far from him. When Cate had read it, and found that it was a Love-letter, which his Sifter Servilla. had written unto Cafar, whom she loved, and had known, he cast it again to Cafar, and faid. There drunkard. After that he went on again with his matter, which he had begun before. In Caso unfortufine, it feemeth that Cato was very unfortunate in his Wives : for this Servilia, as we have faid, nate in his had an ill Name by Cefar. And the other Servilia also, which was his Sister, was worse defamed: for the being married unto Lucullin, one of the greatest men of ROME, by whom the had a Son, was in the end put away from him, for her naughty life. But worft of all, his own Wife Attilia also was not altogether clear without suspition : for though he had two Sons by her, yet he was driven to be divorced from her, she was so naught and common. After that, he married Martia, the Daughter of Philip, which by report feemed to be a very honest Gentlewoman. It is she that is so Maria Care's famous among the ROMANES. For in the life of Caro, this place (as a Fable or Comedy) is dif-Wife. putable, and hard to be judged. For thus it was, as Thrafeas writeth, who referreth all to the report and credit of one Munatius, Cato's very familiar friend. Among many that loved Cato's Vertues and had them in admiration, some of them did shew more what he was, then other some did : amonest the which was 2. Horsensim a man of great honesty and authority. He desiring not onely to be Caro's friend and familiar, but also joyn with him in alliance, and by affinity to make both their Houses one, was not abashed to move him to let him have his Daughter Porcia in marriage (which was Bibulus Wife, and had brought him two Children) that he might also cast abroad the Seed of goodly Children, in that pleafant tertile ground. And though to men this might feem a strange mind and defire, yet that in respect of nature, it was both honest and profitable to the Commonwealth, not to fuffer a young Woman in the prime of her youth to lose the fruit of her Womb, being apt to bear Children : nor also that he should impoverish the Son-in-law with more Children then one house needed. And further, that communicating Women in this fort from one to another, specially being bestowed upon worthy and vertuous men, that Vertue thereby should be in- Platoes sellowcreased the more, being so dispersed in divers Families; and the City likewise should be the stronger, ship and comby making alliances in this fort together. And if it be fo, quoth he, that Bibulus do love his Wife munity of Wo-To dearly, that he will not depart from her altogether, then that he would restore her to him again men. when he had a Child by her, that thereby he might be the more bound in friendship to him, by means of this communication of Children with Bibulus felf, and with him. Cate answered him. that he loved Hortenfus well, and liked of his alliance, howbeit that he marvelled he would speak to him to let him have his Daughter to get Children of, fith he knew that she was married to another. Then Hortenfius altering his tale, stuck not to tell him his mind plainly, and to defire his Wife of him, the which was yet a young Woman, and Cato had Children enough. But a man cannot tell whether Hortensius made his suite, because he saw (ato made no reckoning of Martia, for that she was then with Child by him. In fine, Caro feeing the earnest desire of Hortensius he did not deny him her, but told him, that he must also get Philips good will, the Father of Martia. He knowing that Cato had granted his good will, would not therefore let him have his Daughter before that Cato himself by his presence did confirm the contract and marriage with him. Though these things were done long after, yet having occasion to talk of Cato's Wives, I thought it not amis to anticipate the time. Now Lentulus and his Conforts of Catilines conspiracy being put to death, Celar to cloak the Accufations wherewith Cato charged him in open Senate, did put himself into the Peo-

ples hands; and gathering the rake-hels and feditious persons together, which sought to set all at fix Cato personaded and feven, he did further encourage them in their mischievous intent and practiles. Whereupon, Corn to be Cato fearing leaft such a rabble of People should put all the Common-wealth in uproar and danger, distributed unhe perswaded the Senate to win the poor needy People that had nothing, by distributing Corn to the People. amongst them, the which was done : and the charge thereof amounted yearly unto twelve hundred and fifty Talents. This liberality did manifeftly drink up and quench all those troubles which they stood in fear of. But on the other side, Metellus entring into his Tribuneship, made certain feditious Orations and Affemblies, and preferred a Law to the People, that Pompey the Great should presently be called into ITALY with his Army, that he should keep the City by his coming from the present danger of Carilines conspiracy. These were but words spoken for fashions sake,

into Pompeys hands. Hereupon the Senate affembled, wherein Cato at his first coming spake somewhat gently, and not too vehemently against Metellus, as his manner was to be strarp unto them that were against him : but modestly perswaded him, and sell to intreat him in the end, and highly to extoll his house, for that they had alwaies taken part with the Senate and Nobility. But Mezellus therewith took such pride and conceit of himself, that he began to despise Caro, thinking he had used that mildness, as though he had been afraid of him : informech as he gave out Cato refilteth

but indeed the Law had a fecret meaning, to put the whole Common-wealth and Empire of ROME

proud speeches against him, and cruell threats, that in despite of the Senate he would do that bune of the which he had undertaken. Then Cate changing his counterance, his vouce and speech after he which he had undertaken. Then Cato changing his countenance, his voyce and speech, after he People. had spoken very sharply against him, in the end he roughly protested, that while he lived, he

Fulius Cafar

Cato's noble

courage and

constancy.

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would never fuffer Pompey to come into ROME with his Army. The Senate hearing them both, thought neither of both well in their wits, but that Metellus doings was a fury, which proceeding of a cancred stomach and extreme malice, would put all in hazard : and that which Cato did, was a ravishment and extaste of his Vertue, that made him beside himself, contending for justice and equity. When the day came that this Law should pass by voyces of the People, Metellus failed not to be in the Market-place with a world of Strangers, Slaves, and Fencers, armed, and fet in Battell-ray, besides a number of the common People that were desirous to see Pompeys return, hopeing after change. Besides all those, Cefar then being Prætor, gave aid likewise with his men, in the behalf of Metellus. On the contrary part also, the Noble-men and Senators of the City were as angry as Caro, and faid, it was a horrible shame : howbeit they were his friends, rather in millikeing the matter, then in defending the Common-wealth. Whereupon, all his friends at home, and his whole Family, were marvellously perplexed and forrowfull, that they both refused their Meat, and also could take no rest in the night for sear of Cato. But he, as one without sear, having a good heart with him, did comfort his People, and bade them not forrow for him : and after he had supped (as he commonly used to do) he went to bed, and slept foundly all night, till the morning that Minutius Thermus, his Colleague and fellow Tribune, came and called him. So they both went together into the Market-place, accompanied with a very few after them. Whereupon divers of their friends came and met them by the way, and bade them take heed unto themselves. When they were come into the Market-place, and that Cato saw the Temple of Cassor and Pollux full of armed men, and the degrees or fteps kept by Sword-players and Fencers, and Metellus on the top of them fet by Cofar: turning to his friends, he faid, See I pray you the Coward there, what a number of armed men he hath gotten together, against one man naked and unarmed. Therewithall he straight went forward with his Companion Thermus unto that place, and they that kept the degrees, opened of themselves to let him pass, but they would let no other go up but himself; but Cato with much ado, taking Minutius by the hand, got him up with him; and when he was come up, he fet him down betwixt Metellus and Cafar, to keep them afunder, that they should not whifper one in anothers ear. Neither of them both could tell what to fay to him : whereupon the Noble-men that confidered Caro's countenance and boldness, wondering to see it, drew near, and by their cries willed him not to be afraid, but encouraged one another to flick by him that flood for defence of their liberty. So, there was a Servant that took the written Law in his hand, and would have read it to the People, but Cate would not let him. Then Metellus took it himself in his hands to read it, but Cato also snatched it out of his hands. Metellus notwithstanding, having it perfect without book, would needs declare the effect of it by heart. But Thermus clapped his hand before his mouth to keep him that he should not speak. Metellus feeing these two men bent by all means to keep this Law from passing, and that the People did lean to their fide, he beckned to his men to go for the armed men which were at home in his house, that they should come with terrour and cries to make them afraid, and so they did. The People thereupon were dispersed here and there for fear, that Cato was left alone in the Market-place, and they threw Stones at him from beneath. But then Murana, who had before accused Cato for buying of the Consulship, forsook him not in that danger, but holding his long Gown before him, cried out unto them beneath that threw at Cato, to,leave. So fhewing him the danger he had brought himself into, holding him still by the Armes, he brought him into the Temple of Cafter and Pollux. Then Metellus feeing the Pulpit for Orations voided, and his Enemies flying out of the Market-place, he thought he had won the Goal : whereupon commanding his Souldiers to depart, then proceeding gently, he attempted to pass this Law. But his Enemies that fled for fear, being gathered again together in the Market-place, began afresh to cry out against Metellus, with greater boldness and courage then before. Then Metellus and his Adherents being afraid and amazed, doubting that their Enemies had gotten. Weapons, and were provided, and therefore were the bolder, they fled, and all of them left the Pulpit for Orations. So when Metellus and his Company were gone, Cato came again to the Pulpit for Orations, and greatly commended the People for the good will they had shewed, and perswaded them to continue in their well-doing. Whereupon the common people were then against Metellus; and the Senate also being affembled gave order, that Caro should have better aid then he had before, and that by all means possible they should result Metellus Law, which onely tended to move Sedition and civill War in ROME. For Merellus felf, he was yet vehemently bent to follow his attempt and Enterprize; but perceiving that his friends were marvelloufly afraid of Cato, as a man whom they thought invinfible, he fuddainly came into the Market-place, and affembling the People, told them many reasons in his Oration, supposing to bring Caroin difference with the People : and amongst other things he faid, that he would withdraw himself out of this tyrannical power of Cato's, and his configuracy against Pompey, the which peradventure the City before it were long should repent, for that they had shamed and defaced so Noble a man. After that he prefently departed ROME, and went into ASIA to inform Pampey of all this matter. Cats on the other fide, was greatly effected for his doings, for that he had freed the Common-wealth from the great trouble of such a foolish Tribune, and by overthrowing. Metellus, he had also supprefied the power of Pompey. But yet he was much more commended, when he was against the Senate, who would have noted Metellus of Infamy, and deprived him of his Office, the which be would not fuffer them to do. The common People thought him of a courteous and gentle

nature, because he would not tread his Enemy under his foot when he had the upper hand of him. nor be revenged of him when he had overcome him; but wife men judged it otherwife, that it was wisely done of him not to provoke Pompey. About this time returned Lucultus from the War of the which it seemed that Pompey had taken the honour and glory from him for the ending of it, and was likely allo to have been put from his honour of Triumph, for that Caisa Memmis was his Adversary, who laid many Accusations against him before the People, rather to please Pompey, then for any malice he had towards him. But Cato, both for that Lucullus was his Brother-in-law. and Gato's doings had married his own Sifter Servilia, as also for that he saw they did him wrong, refifted this Memmius, and defended many Acculations against him. So that in the end, though Memmins had laboured that Cato should be deprived of his Office, as from a tyrannical power, yet Cato compelled Memmius at the last to leave off his Acculations, and to profeture Law no more against him. Thus Lucullus having obtained honour of Triumph, did embrace Cate's friendship more then before, taking him for a fure Bulwark and defence against the power of Pompey the Great. But Pompey shortly after returning home again, with great honour from his Conquetts, trufting that for respect of his welcom he should be denied nothing at the Peoples hands when he came home, sent before unto the Senate; to pray them for his fake to defer the Election of the Confuls, until he came to ROME, that being prefent he might favour Pifees fuit, fuing to be Conful. Thereunto the most part of the Senate gave their confent, but Caro on the other fide was against it, not that the deferring of time was a matter of Caro relisted fuch Importance, but to cut all hope from Pompey to go about to attempt any new devices : infomuch Pompey. that he made the Senate change opinion again, and Pompey's Request was denied. Pompey being mar-velloully troubled withall, and perceiving that Cato would be against him in all things, if he found not some device to win him, he sent for his friend Munatius, by his means to demand Cato's two Neeces of him which were marriagable; the eldeft for himself, and the youngest for his Son. Others say also, that they were not his Neeces, but his own Daughters, Munatius did Pompey's Melfage, and brake the matter unto him, his Wife, and his Sifters, who marvellously defired Pompey's alliance, for the greatnels and dignity of his Person. But Cato making no further delay, without other deliberation, as not Cato refuseth greatly pleased with the motion, answered him presently: Munasius, go thy way unto Pompey again, alliance with and tell him that Cato is not to be won by Women, though otherwise I millike not of his friendship: and withall, that to long as he shall deal uprightly in all Causes, and none otherwise, he shall find him more affuredly his friend, then by any alliance of marriage : and yet, that to fatisfie Pompey's pleafure and will against his Countrey, he will never give him such Pledges. The Women and his friends at that time were angry with his answer and refulal, faying it was too stately and uncourreous. Burafterwards it chanced, that Pompey fuing to have one of his friends made Conful, he fent a great Sum of Money to bribe the Voyces of the people, which liberality was noted, and spoken of, becambe the Money was told in Pompey's Garden. Then did Cato tell the Women of his house, That if he had now been bound by alliance of Marriage unto Pompey, he should then have been driven to have been partaker of Pompey's shamefull Acts. When they heard what he had told them, they all confessed then that he was wifer to refuse such Alliance, then they were that wished and defired it. And yet, if men should judge of Wildom, by the success and event of things: I must needs say, that Caro was in great fault for refuting of this Alliance. For thereby he was the cause of Pompey's marching with Cafar, who joyning both their powers together, was the whole destruction of the Empire of Rome : whereas peradventure it had not fallen out fo, if Caro fearing Pompey's light faults, had not caused him by increasing his power with another, to commit far greater faults. Howbeit those things were yet to come. Furthermore, Pompey being at jar with Lucullus, touching certain Ordinances which he had made in the Realm of PONTUS, because both the one and the other would have their Ordinances to take place: Caro favoured Lucullus, who had open wrong. Pompey therefore feeing that he was the weaker in the Senate, took part with the people, and put forth the Law for dividing of the Lands a- Lex Agraries mongst the Souldiers. But Caro stouty resisting that Law again, the put it by, and made Pompey thereby in a rage to acquaint himself with Publins Clodins, the most sedimus and boldest person of all the Tribunes, and besides that, made alliance even at that time with Cafar, whereof Cato himself was the onely Authour. Cafar returning out of SPAIN from his Pretorfhip, required the honour of Triumph, and withall made fuit to be Conful. But being a Law to the contrary, that they that fued to be Confuls should be present themselves in the City, and such also as defired honour of Triumph. should be without the City: he earnestly required the Senate, that he might sue for the Confulship by his friends. The most part of the Senate were willing unto it, but Cate was flatly against it. He perceiving that the other Senatours were willing to gratifie Cafar, when it came to him to deliver his opinion, he spent all the whole day in his Oration, and by his policy prevented the Senate; that they could not it controlled any thing. Then Cafar letting fall his Triumph, made fuit to be Coisful; and entring the City, joyned friendship with Pompey. Hereupon he was chosen Consul; and immediately after married his Daughter Julia unto Pompey : and to having made in manner a confpiracy against the Com- The alliance mon-wealth between shemiclyes, Cefar preferred the Law Agraria, for diffributing the Lands unto and friendfully the Cuizens, and Primprisms preferr to maintain the publication thereof: Linealist and Cicero on the beautiful and Primer. other lide taking part with Bibalus the other Conful, did what they could against it, but specially and Pompey. Cato: who fearing much this alliance of Cafar and Pompey, that it was apact and confpiracy to overthrow the Common wealth, faid, That he cared not fo much for this Law Agraria, as he feared the toward they looked for, who by fuch means did entice and please the common people. There-

withall, the Senate were wholly of his opinion, and so were many other housest men of

keep Cato far enough from Rome, whileft he continued Tribune. Cato being driven by necessity o

obey, he counselled Cicero (whom Clodins purfued) to beware that he made no ftir against him. For

fear of bringing Rome into Civil War and Murther for his fake : But rather to abfent himself, that

he might another time preferve his Countrey. After that, he fent his friend Candius belore into

Cyprus, unto Prolomy, to perswade him to be quiet without War: declaring unto him, That lie should neither lack Honour nor Riches, for the Romans would grant him the Priesthood of Ve-

dom again. He being desirous to fee Cato, sent unto him, supposing he would come at his sending

for. Cato by chance was occupied at that time about fome business, and bade the Messenger will Pto-

long to come to him, if he would fee him. So when Ptolomy came, he neither went to meet him, nor

role up unto him, but onely welcomed him, and bade him fit down. It amazed the King at the first, to

fee under so simple and mean a Train, such a statelines and majesty in Cato's Behaviour. But he

heard him boldly talk with him of his Affairs, and fuch grave talk came from him, reproving his

folly he had committed, to forfake fuch Princely Pleasure and Wealth, to go and subject himself unto

the People befides, that were none of the Senate, and took his parts: martelling much, and also being offended with Cofart great unreasonablenes and importunity, who by the Authority of his Confulfhip did prefer such things, as the most feditious Tribunes of the People were wont commonly to do, to curry favour with the People, and by such vile means sought to make them at his commandment. Wherefore, Cafar and his frends fearing fo great Enemies, fell to open force. For to begin withall, as the Conful Bibulus was going to the Market-place, there was a Basket of Dung poured upon his head : and furthermore , the Officers Rods were broken in their hands, which they carried before him. In fine, Darts were thrown at them out of every corner, and many of them being hurr, they all at length were driven to fly, and leave the Market-place. But Cato he came laft of all, keeping his wonted place, and often cast back his head, and cursed such Citizens. So, they did not onely pass this Law Agraria by voyces of the People, but furthermore they added to it: that the Senate should be sworn to stablish that Law, and be bound to defend the same (if any attempted the alteration thereof) upon great Penalties and Fines to be fet on his head, that should refuse the Oath, All the other Senators swore against their wills, remembring the example of the mischief that chanced unto the old Metellu, who was banished out of ITALY, because he would not swear to such a like Law. Whereupon, the Women that were in Cato's house, befought him with the tears in their eyes, that he would yeeld and take the Oath : and fo did also divers of his friends besides. Howbett, he that most inforced and brought Cato to swear, was sicero the Oratour : who perswaded him, that Cherr by his or man more into the would be thought unreasonable, that being but one man, he should seem to mislike Oration brake personnel in which all other had thought meet and reasonable : and that it were a sond part of him wilfully to put himfelf in fo great a danger, thinking to hinder a matter already past remedy. But yet that befides all this, a great inconvenience would happen, if he forfook his Countrey (for whofe fakehedid all thefe things) and left it a Prey unto them, which fought the utter subversion of the same, as if he were glad to be rid from the trouble of detending the Common-wealth. For (faid he) though Cato have no need of ROME, yet ROME hath need of Cato, and so have all his friends: of the which, Cicero faid he was the chief, and was most maliced of Publim Clodim the Tribune, who fought to drive him out of the Countrey. It is faid that Cato, being won by these like words and perswasions at home, and openly in the Market-place, they fo loftened him, that he came to take his Oath last of all men, but one Phaonim, a very friend of his. Cafar,'s heart being then lifted up, for that he had brought his purpose to gas : he began now to prefer another Law, to divide all CAMPANIA, and the Countryy called TERRA DI LAVORO (the Land of Labour) unto the poor needy People of ROME, and no man stood against him but Cato. Whereupon Cafar made his Officers to take him from the Pulpit for Orations, to carry him to Prifon. All this made not Cato ftoop, nor leave his frank speech, but as he went he still spake against this Edict, and perswaded the People to beware of them that preferred Cato commitfuch Laws. All the Senate, and the best fort of Citizens followed Cato with heavy hearts, shewing ted to Prifon by their filence that they were offended and angry for the Injury they did unto him, being fo worthy a man. Infomuch as Cafar's felf perceived that the People were offended with it, and yet of ambition and fromach, he looked always when Cato would have appealed unto the People. So when he faw that Cato meant no such matter, at length overcome with shame and dishonour, he himself procured one of the Tribunes to take Cato from the Sergeants. In fine, all Cafar's practile rended to this end, that when he had won the Peoples favour by fuch Laws: they should then grant him the Government of all the GAULS (as well on this fide, as beyond the Mountains) and all ILLYRIA, with an Army of four Legions, for the space of five years, notwithstanding that Caso told the People before, that they themselves with their own voyces did set up a Tyrant, that one day would cut P. Clodius Tritheir throats. They did also choose Publisu Cloding Tribune of the People, which was of a noble house: a thing directly contrary to the Law. But this Glodisu had promifed them, so that they would bune of the help him to banish Cicero out of Rome, to do all that he could for them. Furthermore, they made The crafty Calphorniu Pife (Cafar's Wives Father) and Galbiniu Paulus (aman wholly as Pompey's comjuggling be-twixt Cafar mandment, as they write which knew his Life and Manners) Confuls the next year following. Now, and Pompey notwithflanding they had the Rule of the Common-wealth in their own hands, and that they had won with P. Clopart of the City with Bribes, and the other part also with fear : yet they were both afraid of Cato. when they confidered what trouble they had to overcome him which they did very hardly nowife flanding, and to their great fhame, being driven one force, and yet thought they should never have done it. Furthermore, Clodism unerly despaired that the could possibly bandh Cicera is long as Catowis there. So devising wayshow to do it, when he had taken possession of his Office, the fehr for Care, and began to tell him, That he thought him the boneficth and justest man of ROM B, and this the was ready to perform it to him by deed. For, where many made fuit unto him to be fent into Ovienus, to make War with King Realowy: he thought none fo wouthy as himielf, and therefore for the good will be bore him, he was very willing to offer him that pleafure. Cate firnight cryed out with open mouth that this was a device to intrap him, not to pleafure him. Then Clodius proudly and feetely uniwered him.

Well, feeing thou wile not go with good will, thou shalego then against thy will a and so he did. For

ther ; but he neither appointed him Ships, nor Souldiers, nor Ministers to go with him, faving rive

against Prohony, he made them command him after that, to go and reftore the Outlaws and banished

men of the Cary of By ZANITIUM, unto their Countrey and Goods again, of purpose onely to

at the first affembly of the City, he caused the People to grant his Commission for this his Journey this

nus in the City of Paphos. Cito in the mean time remained in the Isle of Rhodes, preparing himself there, and abiding his Answer. In the time of these string, Prolony King of Egypt, for Prolony King nimiest there, and adding in Advice. In the thine of the thine of Alexandria, failed towards of #zyprgo-a certain Offence and Discord with his Subjects, departed out of Alexandria, failed towards ethumo Caro. ROME hoping that Cafar and Pompey with a great Army would restore him to his Crown and King-

fuch dishonour, such extream pains, and such passing great Gifts and Presents, as he should throw away, to satisfie the covetousness of the Rulers at Rome, the which was so unsatiable, that if all the Realm of ÆGYPT were converted into Silver to give among them, it would scarce suffice them: in respect whereof, he counselled him to return back with his Navy, and to reconcile himself again with his Subjects, offering himfelf also to go with him, to help to make this Peace. Then Prolomy coming to himself, and repenting him of his folly, knowing that Case told him truly, and wisely, he determined to follow his counsel, had not his friends turned his mind to the contrary. So when Ptolomy came to ROME, and was driven to wait at the Gates of the Magistrates that were in Authority, he fighed then, and repented his folly, for that he had not onely despited the counsel of a wife man, but rather the Oracle of a god. Furthermore, the other Ptolomy that was in Cy-PRUS, (a happy turn for Cato) poyfoned himfelf. Cato being also informed that he left a wonderfull fum of Money behind him, he determined to go himself unto BYZANTIUM, and sent his Nephew Brutus into Cyprus, because he durft not trust Canidius so far. Then having restored the banished menunto the Peoples favour again, setting agreement betwixt them, he returned into CYPRUS. Therehe found a marvellous great Treasure, and Plate both of Gold and Silver, Tables, precious Stones, Hangings, and Purple Silks, all the which he was to make ready Money of. There Gaso's diligence he took great care and pains to raife all things to the utmost and dearest prices that could be, and he in Cyprus. himself was present at all, to keep the reckoning of the last Peny. Wherefore, to bring this to pass, he would not stand to the common use of the sale of the Cryer, but suspected them all, both Criers, Praisers, and his own Friends, and therefore talked himself with the Praisers, and made them fet high Prifes upon every thing that was to be fold. And thus were the most part of their Goods fold and carried away, at the dearest Prises. This did marvellously offend the most part of his Friends, when they saw that he did mistrust them : but Munatim specially, his dearest Friend, took it so inwardly, that he thought never to be friends with him again. Insomuch as in the Book Cafar wrote against Cato, in this place he forceth most the acculation against him. Munatius The envy benotwithstanding writeth, That he was not angry fo much with Caro for that hemistrusted him, but twist Caso and for a certain difdain he had himself of Cato, and for the emutation betwirt him, and Canidius. Munatius. For Munating wrote a Book of Caro's Deeds and Sayings, whom Thrafeas in his History chiefly followed. In this Book he sheweth that he came late into Cypkus, and wasvery ill lodged. And furthermore also, that when he would have come into Cato's House, they kept him out of the Gates, for that Catowas busic, doing fomething with Canidius. He modeftly complaining of it unto Cato, had this churlith answer: Over-much love (faith Theophraftus) offentimes causeth hate. So fareth Too much love it with thee, who over-loving me, doest think that I esteem thee not as thou deservest, and there-oftentimes fore art angry with me. And for Canidias, I must tell thee truly, I do rather imploy him for his causeth have skill and faithfulness in things, then any man else: for that he hath been with me from the beginning, and as far as I learn, was never bribed, but clean handed ftill. These words Cato told Munatius fecretly betwirt them two, but afterwards he knew that he had also reported them unto Canidius. When he saw that, he would no more go and Sup with Cato as he was wont; and when he was also called to Counfel, he would not come there neither. Whereupon Caro threatned him, that he would

Care fent Am- Secretaries onely, of the which, the one of them was a very Villain and an arrant Third, and the other bestadour into egg of Clodibece followers. Befider allthis, as of they had appointed bien but little ed do it Cy puts

by Cafar.

feize upon all his Goods and Carriage, as they use to handle them that are disobedient unto Justice. This notwithstanding, Municius cared not for it, but took Sea, and returned again to ROME, bearing Caro grudge along time. Then Martia, being at that time Caro's Wife, spake with him, and were both bidden to Supper together unto a friend of theirs called Barca. Thereupon Cato also arrived', and carte thither when they were all fet at Supper, and asked where he should fit : Barca told him again, where it pleafed him. Then caffing his eyes about, he faid, He would fit by Munatime: and for fetching a compals about the Board, he went and fare by him, but offered him no

friendship and familiarity all Supper-time. Afterwards notwithstanding, at the request of Martia, that was earnestly in hand with Cato for him, he wrote unto him, and willed him to come and speak

with him. Munatins went to Cato's house in the morning, where Martia stayed him, and kept him company, until all the reft that came to fainte Caro were departed. Then Cato coming to him,

embraced him in his Arms, and made very much of him. We have the willingtier dilated this matter at length, because mens Natures and Manners might be discerned even in these small matters of Money gotten friendship privately, as otherwise in the greatest publick Causes. Now touching Cato's Commission, together by he got together little less then Seven thousand Silver Talents. Furthermore, fearing the farness of Cate in Cyprus, the journey he had to go by Sea, he made divers little Coffers, and put into every one of them two Talents, and five hundred Drachmaes, and tyed unto each of them a long Rope, and a great piece of Cork; because that if the Ship should fortune to miscarry those Corks might shew where the Chefts with Money lay in the bottom of the Sea. Thus was all the Money faved, faving a little, and brought fafely to ROME. Cate having made two Books, wherein he had Noted all things done in his Journey, he could neither fave the one nor the other of them. For one of his Bond-men made free, called *Philargyrus*, took the one way; who taking Ship at the Haven of CENCHREES, was himfelf drowned, and the Book he had also, loft with him. The other Book which he himself had kept until he came to Corrou, he lying in the Market-place of the City in his Tents which he caufed to be fet up; the Mariners being very cold in the Night, made fo great a Fire, that it burnt the Tents, be fet up; the Mariners being very cold in the Night, made fo great a Fire, that it burnt the Tents, Stuff, Book and all. Notwithstanding, be brought certain of the late King *Prolomy's* Slaves with him, who while he lived, had the charge and custody of all his Treasures and Riches, the which he brought as Witnesses to stop the mouths of his malicious Enemies, that would have accused him in any thing. But yet the loss of them did grieve him, not fo much for the great care and pains be had taken in fetting down the account of his charge, for the juftification and proof of his fidelity and good fervice; but also for that they might have served for a good Memorial and Example unto all o-Case received by and by all the Magistrates, the Priests, the Senate, and the most part of the People also went out to

thers, to have been alike carefull in their charge, as himself. But the gods denied him this good hap. News being brought that he was come to ROME by Water; when they understood he was at hand, into Rome with meet him by the Rivers-fide: so that both fides of the River of Tyber were full of People, and the great honour of receiving of him in, feemed not inferiour to the entry of a Triumph. Notwithstanding, fome thought him very prefumptuous, that the Confuls and Pretours coming out to meet him, he did not ftay his Galley, but rowed still up the Stream (being in a Kings Galley of fix Oars to every Bank) and never flayed until all his Fleet arrived in the Haven. This notwithftanding, when the Coffers with Money were carried through the Market-place into the Treasure-chamber, the People wondred to see so great a quantity of it. And thereupon the Senate being affembled with great and honourable words they gave Cato an extraordinary Pretorship, and Priviledge also, at any common Sports to wear a Purple Gown. Cato refused all these Honours, and onely belought the Senate to make Nicias a Freeman, Steward of the late deceafed King Ptolomy, being a Witnels of his faith and great pains he had taken in this Service. Philip the Father of Martia, was that year Conful, fo that after a fort, the Authority of the Conful was in Cato: because Lemulus, Colleague and fellow Conful with Philip, did no less reverence Cato for his Vertues, then Philip did for his Alliance with him. Furthermore, when Cicero was reftored again from his Banishment, the which Publins Clodius (being then Tribune of the People) had put upon him, and being again grown to great credit, he went one day into the Capitol, in the ablence of Clodius, by force to take away the Tables which Clodius had confectated there, in the which were comprised all his doings during the time he was Tribune. Thereupon the Senate being affembled, Clodins did accuse Cicero of this violent Fact. Cicero answered him again, That because Clodius was chosen Tribune, directly against the Law, therefore all his doings were void, and of no validity. Then flood up Cato, and faid, He knew that all that which Clodins did when he was Tribune, was fcantly good and allowable, but yet if generally any man should undo all that he had paffed by that Authority, then all that he himself had done likewise in Cyprus, must of necessity be revoked. For the Commission that was granted unto him, (by vertue whereof he had done many things) should be unlawfull: because the Tribune also that did grant it him, was not lawfully chofen. And therefore that Publius Clodius was not made Tribune against the Law, who by content of the Law was taken out from a Noble House, and made a Popular Person: howbeit, if he had behaved himself undutifully in his Office, as other men happily had offended, then he was to be accused to make him mend his fault, and not to deftroy the Authority of the Officer, which in it felf was lawfull. After that, there fell misliking betwixt Cicero and Cato, for this Counterbuff be had given him: and Cicero continued along time after, before he did shew him any countenance of Friendship as he had at other times done. But afterwards they were reconciled together again, by this occasion. Pompey and Craffus having been with Cafar to talk with him (who for that purpole came out of GAUL beyond the ALPES) made an agreement there betwirt them, to demand the second Consulfhip together, and when they had it, then to prorogue Cafar's Government for five years more, and also they would have the best Provinces and greatest for themselves, with great Armies and Money enough to pay them with. This was indeed a plain Confpiracy, to divide the Empire of ROME between them, and utterly to overthrow the State of the Common-wealth. At that time there were many Noble men, wich came to make fuit for the Confulship. But when they saw Pompey and Crassus offer to make fuit for it, all the reft gave over , but Lucius Domitius that had married Porcia, Cato's Sifter : through whose perswasion he would not relinquish his suit, considering that it was not the Office onely of the Consulship that was the chiefest matter of Importance, but the liberty of the Senate and People. Straight there ran a Rumour through the most part of the People, that they were not to fuffer Pompeys power to be joyned with Craffus, by means of this Office: for then his Authority would be too great and firong, and therefore, that of necessity one of these two were to be denied. ATO UTICAN.

For this cause therefore, the good men took Domitim part, and did encourage him to go on with his fuit, affuring him of aid under-hand of divers, which durft not be feen openly for fear of those two great men, who at the day of the Election would procure him voyces in his favour. Pompey and Graffus mistrusting this, made Domitius be set upon, going with Torch-light before day into the Field of Mars, where the Election was alwaies made : and first striking the Torch-bearer that went before him, they hurt him fo fore, that he fell down dead at his feet. Then they laid at the rest in like case, who finding themselves cruelly hurt, ran away every man of them, and left Domitim and Cato postalone. But Cato, notwithstanding he was hurt in one of his Arms, still held Domitius fast. and prayed him to tarry, and not to leave to detend the liberty of their Country, against Tyrants. which plainly shewed after what manner they would govern, fith by such wicked means they aspired to tyrannical Government. All this notwithstanding, Domities would tarry no longer, but betook him to his leggs, and ran home. Thus were Craffus and Pompey without denial proclaimed Confuls. Why Cato fued Cato never yielded therefore, but came and fued to be Prætor, because that thereby he might yet make to be Prætor. it some strength and countenance to him against their Consulship, that being no private person, he should have some better Authority to result them that were the chiefest persons. But they rearing, that the Pratorship by the estimation of Cato, would come to equal their Authority of the Consulthip : first affembled the Senate (the most part of the Senators not hearing of it) and in that affembly caused the Senate to decree : that all such as were chosen Prætors, should presently go to their charge not attending the time and liberty appointed by the Law, during which time men might accuse those which had bought the voyces of the People with Money. Then having by this colour and Decree fet ill-doers at liberty, without fear of punishment, they pretending to use corruption, did prefer some of their own Ministers to make suite for the Prætorship, themselves giving Money to corrupt the People, and being prefent at the Election. But notwithstanding all these practises, the Vertue and reputation of Cato overcame them. For the People had him in fo great reverence, that they thought it too shamefull a part to fell Cato by voyces, who deserved rather to be hired to take the Pratorship upon him. Then the first Tribe being called to give their voyces, declared him Prator. Pompey seeing that, straight brake off the affembly, making a shamefull lye, telling that he heard it thunder: the which the ROMANES do marvellously detest, and will conclude nothing when it thundreth. Howbeit af- Cato put from terwards they gave more Money then they had done before, and thereby drave away the chiefest men the Pratorship out of the Field of Mars, and by practile obtained, that Vatinius was chosen Prator for Cato. And the report went, that they that had so wickedly given their voyces, feeling themselves pricked in confcience, fled immediately out of the Field : and the honest menthat remained, were both very forry and angry, for the injury they had offered Cato. At that time one of the Tribunes keeping an affembly of the City, Cato stood up, and told (as if he had prophecied) before them all, what would happen to the Common-wealth by these practises, and stirred up the People against Pompey and Celar, saying that they were guilty of those things, and therefore procured them to be done, because they were afraid that if Cato had been Prætor, he would too narrowly have fifted out their devices. In fine, Cato going home to his house, had more company to wait upon him alone, then all the other Prators that had been chosen. When Caim Trebonius. Tribune of the People, had preferred a Law for the diyiding of the Provinces unto the new Confuls, SPAIN and AFRICK unto the one, and ÆGYPT and SYRIA unto the other, with full power to make War as they thought good both by Sea and Land : all other men having no hope to keep it back, did let it alone, and spake nothing to contrary it. Then Cate getting up into the Pulpit for Orations, before the People began to give their voyces, could Cate was a bardly have two houres fpace to fpeak: but at length, they perceiving that he delayed time by foregainit the Law telling things to come, would fuffer him to speak no longer, but sent a Sergeant to him, and plucked for the Provinthim by force out of the Pulpit. But when he was beneath, and cried out notwithstanding, and divers ces of Pompey gave good ear unto him: the Sergeant went to him again, and took him, and carried him out of the and Grassian.

Market-place. Howbeit the Officer had no sooner left him, but he went straight towards the Pulpit for Orations and there cried out more vehemently then before, and willed the People to have an eye to aid the liberty of their Common-wealth, which went to ruine. When he oftentimes together did this, iTrebonius the Tribune being mad withall, commanded his Sergeant to carry him to Prilon. The Peo--ple followed him hard notwithstanding to hear what he said unto them. Whereupon Trebonius fearing iftir, was forced to command his Sergeant to let Cato go, So Cato drave off all that day without any matter concluded. The next morning notwithstanding, the contrary Faction having partly put 2 the ROMANES in fear, and won the other part also by fair words and money, and by force of Arms likewise kept: Aquilius, one of the Tribunes, from coming out of the Senate, and after they had also wiolently driven Cato out of the Market-place, for faying that it thundred, and having hurt many men, and also slain some out of hand in the Market-place : in the end they forcibly passed the Decree by -vayces of the People. Many being offended therewith, went a company of them together to pluck down Rompeys: Images : but Caro would not fuffer them. And afterwards also, when they preferred amother Law for the prorogation of the Provinces and Armies which Cafar demanded, Cato would Cato foreshew. speak no more to the People to hinder it, but protested unto Pompey himself, that he saw not how he ed Pompey the a plucked. Cefar: upon him, and that he should feel the weight of his force before he looked for it: and happened up then, when he could neither fuffer nor remedy it, he would even case his burthen and himself upon the him by Cafar. Common-wealth; and too late would remember Cato's warnings, which were privately as profitable for Pompey, as openly just and reasonable for the Common-weakh. Caro used many of these perswafions fundry times unto him, but Pompey never made account of them : for he would not be per-

Cato chofen Prator.

and prosperity. Furthermore, Cato was chosen Prator for the next year following, in the which it appeared (though he ministred justice uprightly) that he rather defaced and impared the majesty and dignity of his Office, then that he gave it grace and countenance by his doings: for he would oftentimes go a foot bare-legged, and without any Coat, unto his Prators Chaire, and there give fentence of life and death, otherwhiles of men of great account. And some report, that he would give Audience when he Case preferred had dined, and drunk Wine, but that is untrue. Now Case perceiving that the Citizens of ROME a Law for un
a Law for unan Art and faculty to gain by : to root this Vice altogether out of the Common-wealth, he perfusaded the Senate to make a Law, that fuch as hereafter should be chosen Confuls or Prætors, should (if there were no man to accuse them) come and offer themselves before the Judges, and taking their Oath, fhould truly declare what means they had used to attain to their Office. This offended the Suiters for the Offices, but much more the mercenary multitude. Whereupon, a great number of them went in a morning together where he kept his Audience, and all cried out upon him, reviled him and threw Stones at him: inlomuch as they that were there, forced to flie thence, and himfelf also was driven our of the place by the press of the People, and had much ado to get to the Pulpir for Orations, where standing on his feet, he prefently pacified the tumult of the People, by the boldness and constancy of his countenance onely. Then when all was pacified by the present perswasions he used, aprly spoken to purpose for the instant, they giving attentive ear, without stir or uproar. The Senate giving him great commendation therefore he told them roundly and plainly : but I have no cause to praise you, to leave a Prator in fuch darger of his life, offering no aid to help him. But the Suiters for the Offices, they were in a marvellous cate: for one way, they were airaid to give Money to buy the Peoples voyces; and on the other fide, they were afraid also if any other did it, that they fhould go without their fuite. So they were all agreed together, every man to put down twelve Myriades and a half a piece, and then they should make their suite justly and uprightly; and whosoever were taken faulty, and that had otherwise made his way by corruption, that he should lose the money he had laid down. This agreement being concluded between them, they choic Cato (as it is reported) for their Arbitrator, and Keeper of all the same Money. This match was made in Cato's house, where they all did put in caution or fureties to answer the Money: the which he took, but would not meddle with the Money. The day being come, Cate affilting the Tribune that governed the Election, and carefully marking how they did give their voyces : he spixed one of the Shitters for the Office break the Accord agreed upon, and condenned him to pay the forresture unto the reft. But they greatly commending his juffice and integrity, forgave the forfeiture, thinking it punithment enough unto him that had forfeited, to be condemned by Caro But thereby Caro procured himielf the displeasure of the other Senators, for that he feemed therein to take upon him the power and authority over the whole Court and Election. For there is no Vertue, whereof the honour and credit doth procure more envy, then justice doth : because the People do commonly respect and reverence that more then any other. For they do not honour them as they do valiant men, nor have them in admiration, as they do wife men : but they love and trust them better. As for the two first, the one they are arraid of, and the other they distrust: beside, they suppose that valiancy and wildom cometh rather by the benefit of nature, then of our intent and choice, efteening wildom as a readiness of conceit; and fortitude, a presence and courage of the mind. For every man may be just that will, and therefore injustice is of all other Vices most shameful : for it is a wilfull and malicious default, and therefore cannot be excused. Lo, this was the cause why all the Noble men in manner were against Cato, as though he onely had overcome them. Pompey, he thought that the effimation of Caro was altogether the discountenance of his power and greatness, and therefore did daily raifeup many Railers against him. Of them Publius (lodius that seditions Tribune, who was again fallen in friendihip with Pompey, he accused ato and cried out upon him, how he had robbed the Commonwealth of a wonderfull Treasure, by his Commission in CY PRUS : and that he was Entmy unto Pompry because he did refuse to marry his Daughter. Caro thereto made answer, that he had brought more Gold and Silver out of Cyprus, into the Treasure of ROME, without the allowance of either Horse or Souldier, then Pompey had done with all his Triumphs and Wars, with the which he had troubled all the world. And moreover, that he did never feek alliance with Pompey, not that he ibought him un-

CATO UTICAN.

fwaded that Cefar would ever change in that fort, and befides he trufted too much to his own power

men and horfes by common pleafures of our private Citizens, given and lent at our charge : and Pompey himfelf referving onely the Name of Emperour, and Lieutenant-Generall, affigneth over his Armies and Provinces to the government of others, whilest he himself besiegeth here the Walles of the City, with feditious and tumultuous Election of Officers, craftily undermining thereby the State of the Common-wealth, to bring all to confusion, that he himself might be absolute Prince, and rule alone. Marcus Janius Thus was he revenged of Pompey. Among Cate's friends, he had one called Marcus Faonius such a one as Apolledorus PHALERIAN was faid to be in old time, unto Socrates, who did counterfeit to be another himself, in doing all things as he did. This man would be far out of reafon, and passionate in his talk, ftorming like a drunkard. He one year made suite to be Ædilis, but he was rejected. Howbeit Cate furthered his fuit, marked, that the Tables wherein the voyces were written, were all one

worthy of it, but because he saw he dealt not as uprightly in the Common-wealth as he himself did. 1, said

he, have refuled a Province offered me when I came out of my Prætorfhip: but Pompey hath taken fonce

by force, and given away unto others. And to conclude, he fent Cafar not long fince, an Army of fix

thouland men to ferve him in the Wars of GAULE : the which he never required of us, nor Pompey

granted them him by our confent. But we fee, that fo many Armies, Armours and Weapons, fo many

hand. So he finding out the falshood, appealed thereupon unto the Tribunes, and made the Election void for that time. After that Faoniss was created Edilis, Cato did help him forth in all the other Cato doth let charges of his Office, and specially in setting forth plays in the Theater, which are customably done forth the Plays at the coming in of every fuch new Officer, to give the People pastime : and gave unto the common for Faorius Plays and Dancers in those Plays, no golden Crowns, as other Ædilis did, but Crowns of Wild-olive Ædilis. Twigs, as they commonly used in GREECE at the Olympian Games. And where others gave unto the poor rich Gitts, he gave the GRECIANS Leeks, Lettices, Redilhes, and Pears : and unto the Ro-MANES, they had Earthen Pots full of Wine, Porke, Figs, Cucumbers, and Fagots of Wood of

fmall value. Infomuch as some thought fcorn of them they were so mean, others were very glad of them, feeing that Cate which was fevere and hard of nature, had a doing in them, and by little and little they turned this aufterity of his into pleasure. In fine, Faoniss himself sitting down amongst the People, which looked upon the Players, clapped his hands for joy at Cato: and cried out to him, that he Cato's wife

should give them good rewards that played well, alluring them also about to do the like, and told them Counsels for that he had made Cato the whole Ruler of those Sports. At the felf-same time, Curio, Faonius Colleague Plays. and Companion in the Office of Ædilis, had likewise goodly Plays in another Theater : but all the People for fook his, and went to fee Faoniss Plays, who fate among them like a private man, and Cato as the Master of the Plays. Cato did this in scorn and mockery of vain charge and expences, which men are wont to bestow in such trisles, shewing thereby, that whosoever will make any Plays, he Should make the charge but a sport also, furnishing it onely with a convenient grace, but with no vain expence or charge about such a trifle. Shortly after, when Scipio, Hypfem, and Milo, sued all three together to be Confuls, not onely by bribery of Money (a common fault then in fuing for any of the Offices in the Common-wealth) but by plain force of Arms, flaying and killing as in a civill War, they were fo desperate and insolent : some preferred a Law, that they should make Pompey President in these Elections, because men should move their suit after a lawfull fort. But Cato straight was against it faying, that the Law could have no fafety by Pompey, but Pompey might have fafety by the Law Notwithstanding, when he saw this trouble continue of a long time, without any Consuls in ROME, and that daily there were three Camps in the Market-place, that it was almost impossible to prevent the mifchief at hand, and to flay that it should go no further : then he thought it better, that the Senate of their own good wills, rather then by cumpulfion, should put the Government of the State into Pombeys hands alone, chuling the leffer evil, to withfland the greater, and so to yield to the absolute Government without constraint, which the sedition would bring it unto. Therefore Bibalan, Cato's friend and kiniman, made a motion to the Senate, that they would chuse Pompey Sole-Conful For. faid he, either the Common-wealth shall be well governed by him, or else Rome shall serve an ill Lord. Care then rifing up, beyond all mens expectation confirmed Bibulus opinion, and faid : that the City were better to have one Soveraign Magistrate then none, and that he hoped Pompey could give prefent order for the pacifying of this confusion, and that he would be carefull to preserve the City, when he faw that they trusted him with the Government thereof. Thus was Pompey by Cato's means chosen Pompey created Sole-Confull. Then he fent for Cato to come to his Gardens to him, which were in the Suburbs of the Sole Confull, City. Care went thinker, and was received with as greathonour and courtefie of Pompey as could be by Gate's feadevised: and in the end, after he had given him great thanks for the honours he had done him, he praved him to afford him his advice and counfell in his Government. Cato answered him thus, That he had not spoken any thing before that time in respect of any ill will be bare him, whither that he delivered this last opinion of his in respect of his friendship, but wholly for the Common-wealths sake : howbeit otherwise, that for his own private Affairs, if he thought good to tile his advice, whensoever it pleased him to ask his opinion, he would tell him the best he could. But for common Causes, that he would

alwaies tell what he thought, though he never asked him : and in fine, he performed all he faid. For, first of all, when Pompey did fet grievous Penalties and new fines upon their heads, which had bought the Peoples voyces for Money : Caro counfelled him to provide for things to come, and to let that alone which was already part. For, faid the, it is a hard thing to determine any certain time, in the which a man should feek to reform the faults that are past: and furthermore, if the punishments appointed

cufed, to punish them by a new Law which they had not offended. Afterwards also, certain men of good calling (Pompey: friends) being accused, Cato perceiving that Pompey grew remis, and yielded in many things, he tharply reproved and reformed him. Furthermore, where Pompey had by Law taken away the praifes which were wont to be spoken of the offenders that were accused, he himself notwithflanding having written an Oration in the praile of Manarius Planeus, fent it unto the Judges, whilelt his Caule was a hearing. Case being one of the Judges at that time, Ropped his ears with both

welle newer then the offences committed, then they should do wrong unto them that were already ac-

his hands, and would not have it read. Wherefore Planeus refuled him for one of his Judges, after his Caffe was pleaded unto : howbeit he was condemned not withflanding To conclude, Caro was fuch a grief and trouble unto them that were accused, that they could not tell well how to deal with him. For notethey durk not tel him be any of their Judges, neither could they well also refuse him. For there were many that were condemned, which refuling Care, feemed unto others that they were guilty :

and many also were thaniefully reproved; because they would not accept Caro for their Judge, when he was offered then! Things proceeding in this fort at ROME, Cofar remained in GADL with his Army, where he made Wars : nevertheless he wan him friends feld in ROME, by Gifts and Money, and made himlelf very ftrong. Now appeared Caro's Predictions and Forewarnings true unto Pompey, and

began to quicken his Spirits which had flept to long, and stade him then to confider of the danger, the

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CATO UTICAN. which before he could not be perforated to believe. But perceiving his slackness and fear withall, Cate fixed to be doubting how to proceed; to prevent Cafars practiles, Cate determined to fixe to be Confull, with Confull to re- intent either to make him leave his Army, or else to find out the practise he intended. Cate's Competitors, they were both of them very honest men also, of the which Sulpitim had received great

honour and preferment by Cato's credit and authority: in respect whereof many thought that it was feant honeftly done of Sulpitius, to shew himself so unthankfull, as to stand against Caso in this suit, Howbeit, Cato never complained of the matter, but faid, that it was no marvell he would give place to no man in that, fith it was the greatest good hap that ever came unto him. This notwithstanding he perswaded the Senate to make a Law, that from thenceforth, such as sued for any Office, they should themselves be Suiters to the People, and not prefer their suit by others. This caused the People to be more offended with him then before, because thereby he did not onely take away their fingering of Money, which they got by their voices in Elections : but took from them the means they had also to pleafure many, bringing them now into poverty and contempt. He therefore having no face to flatter the People and to curry favour with them, but rather flicking to his grave manner and modest life, then to feek the dignity of a Confull by fuch means, made furt himself in person, and would not fuffer his friends to take the ordinary course which might win the Peoples hearts, whereupon he Cate was deni- was put by his Confulfhip. This denial was wont not onely to have made the parties refused, very ed the Consul- forrowfull, but their friends and kinsmen also greatly ashamed a long time after. Howbeit Cato made no reckoning of that, but went the next morning, and played at Tennis with his friends in the Field of Mari, and after he had dined, walked again in the Market-place, as his manner was, without Shoes

Citero blameth on his feet, and coat. Citero blamed him much for that, because the Common-wealth requiring then such a Confull as he, he had not carefully endeavoured himfelf by courtefie and gentle means to win the favour of the People, neither would ever after make fuit for it, although at another time he fued to be Prator. Thereunto Cato answered, that for the Pratorship he was not deni'd it by the good-will of the People, but rather for that they were bribed with Money. And for the Election of the Confuls, where there was no deceit used, he knew plainly he went without it, for his manners which the People milliked : the which he thought were no wife mans part to change for any mans pleasure, nor yet by making the like fuit to hazard the refufall. Furthermore, Cofar making War with very flour Nations, and having with no small danger and travell subdued them: and having also see upon the GERMAINS with whom the ROMANS were at peace, and also slain three hundred thousand Persons: his friends made suit that the People should do solemn Sacrifice to give thanks unto the gods.

But Cate in open Senate was of opinion, that they should deliver Cafar, into their hands whom be had

injured, to receive fuch punishment as they thought good to the end the whole offence, for the breach

of peace, might be cast upon him, that the City might be no partaker of it, sith they could not do

withall. Nevertheles, said he, we are 10:do Sacrifices unto the gods 3,100 give them thanks, for that

they turned not the revenge of the fury and rathness of the Captain, upon our poor Souldiers which

Cato's opinion against Cafar.

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Cato inveigh-

were in no fault, but have pardoned the Common-wealth. Coffer being advertifed thereof, wrote a Letter unto the Senate, containing many Acculations against Caso. The Letter being read, 6 are role, not as A man put in a chafe with choler, nor pricked with envy, but coldly and quietly (as if he had long-before premeditated what he would fay) declared that the Accusations which Cafar heaped against him in his Leinets, were but pretty mocks and fleights which he had gathered together, to make the People merry thinhall. But on the other fide, when he began to unrip his whole intents and practifes from the beginning, not as if he had been his Enemy; but rather a Confederate with him in bis conspiracy, declaring that they were not the Germain's, nor the Gaules, which they were to be afraid of, but of himself, it they were wife : he thereupon to offended the Senate, and made such flir among them, that Colors triends repensed them they had caused his Letters to be read in the Senate, giving Cato thereby octation justly, to complain of Cafera and to alledge much good matter against him. At that time therefore there was nothing detreed in the Senate against Cafar, but this was faid onely, that it was reason to let him have a Successour. There Cefare friends made hin the Romey should put away his Army, and resignup the Provinces he keps for elfe that they should compell Co. far no more then him to do it. Then Cato opened his mouth, and faid, the thing was now come to pass noticered Ca- which he had ever told shem of, and that Carfar came to apprece the Common wealth, openly units ing the Army against it, which deceitfully be had obtained the same. All this prevailed not, neither sould he thereby win any thing of the Senatt, because the People favoured Cofor, and would always have him great; for the Senate did believe all that he faid, but for all that they leared the People with hen news was brought that Cofer had won the City of A B.d. at sol M.; and was coming on with his Army towards ROME, then every man looked upon Care, and the People and Plampey confessed, that he onely from the beginning had found out the mark Cafar floot at, and had his the white of his file device. Then faid Gasa unto them , If you would have believed me, my Lords, and followed my Counfell, you should that now have been straid of one man alone, neither should you also have put your onely hope in one man. Pompeyaniweed thereunto, that Care indeed had gueffed more muy howbeit that he also had shalt more friendly. Thereupon: See gave Council, that the Senate flouid nowbeit that he also had shalt more friendly. Thereupon: See gave Council, that the Senate flouid now being the senate flouid new territorial that the senate flouid new territorial territ help it. Powery perceiving that he had no Army convenient about him to tarry Cefer; coming, and that the men also which he had, were but faint-hearted, he fortook the City. Case being determined to go with him, fent his lyounger Son before purco. Munasian, which lay in the sounter of the Bruttans, and took his Elect Son with him. Now because he was to provide a

Pomter.

flav and governor of his house and daughters, he took Martin again, which was lest a widow and nay and governor of an action dying made her his heir of all that he had. Therein Cafar upbraideth Cafar reprov-Care much, reproving his covetousnels to marry for goods. For said he, if he had need of a wife, enclars corewhy then did he before grant her to another? If he had no need of a women, why then did he take her teoutness. afterwards again? Unleis fhe were before a bait unto Hortensins, to keep her whilest she was young, that he might have her again when she was rich. But against that methinkes it is sufficient to recute these verses of Eurypides:

Unlikelihoods first I disprove. For why? what man can say,

That ever fear made Hercules to turn his face away? For I take it to be all one, to reprove Hercules cowardliness and Cato's covetousness. But if his marriage be to be reproved, peradventure it is in another fort. For fo foon as he had married Martia again, he lest his house and his daughters to her government, and followed Pomper. But after that time, men report that he never polled his head, clipped his beard, nor ware any Garland, but to his dying day, lamented and bewailed in his heart, the mifery and calamity of his Country, whether they had victory, or were overcome. So having the Province of Sicile allotted to him, he went Cato is fent ininto Syracusa. There understanding that Asimin Polito was arrived at Messina, with men of to skille. war from his enemies, Cato fent unto him, to know wherefore he came thither, Pollio again asked of him, who was the causer of all this war? Again, when Cato advertised that Pimpey had forfaken ITALY, and that he lay in Camp beyond the fea by the City of DYRRACHIUM, then he faid, he faw a marvellous great change and incertainty in the providence of the gods: that when Pomner did all things beyond reason, and out of course, he was invincible, and now that he sought to preserve his Country, he saw he lacked his former good hap. Now he knew he was strong enough at that time to drive Afinius Pollio out of SICILE if he would, but because there came a greater aid unto him, he would not plague that Island, with the misery of war. Then after he had advised the SYRACUSANS to take the stronger part, and to look to their safety: he took the sea and went towards Pompey. When he was come unto him, he did always counfell him to prolong the war, Cato leaveth hoping ftill of fome Treaty of Peace; and would in no cafe they should come to fight any battell, sicile. where the weaker part should of necessity be put to the sword by the stronger. Therefore he perfwaded Pompey and the counsellers about him, to establish certain laws to this essect. That they should fack no City in this war, the which belonged unto the Empire of Rome : and also, that they should kill no Citizen of Rome, but in sury of battell, when their swords were in their Cato's laws in hands. Thereby he wan himself great honour, and brought many men to take Pompeys part, Pompeys Arby the lenity and clemency he used unto them that were taken. Thereupon Cato being fent into A-my. SIA, to aid them that had commission to press Ships and men of war, he took his sister Servilia with him, and the boy which Lucullus had by her: for all the time of her widow hood, she had followed Cato, and thereby had worn out her ill name she had before, fith they saw she had so willingly given her felf to follow him in his flying, and contented her felf with his ftraight manner of lite. This notwithstanding, Cafar did not let to shame her to Cato. Pompey's Captains had no need of Cato any where but at RHODES. For he wan the people there with his courteous usage and perswasion, leaving with them Servilia and her little son, and went from thence to Pompey's Camp, who had leavied a great Army both by fea and land. There did Pompey most of all discover his mind and intent. For first he meant to have given Cato the charge of the Army by sea, which were above five hundred ships of war, besides an infinite number of Foists and Pinnaces, and such small bottoms uncovered: but suddenly considering better of it (or possibly being informed by fome of his friends, that all Cato's regard and counsel in matters of government was, to deliver Why Position ROME from Tyranny, and that if he had so great a charge under him, Cafar being overcome, he changed his would also force Pompey to leave his Army, and so make him subject to the law) he changed his mind, mind for the notwithstanding he had already moved it to Cate, and leaving him, gave Bibulus the charge of all his government of Army by sea. But Cato therefore shewed no less good will unto Pompey, then before. For it is sea. reported, that in a certain skirmish and conflict before the City of Dyrrachium, Pompey encouraging his fouldiers, and commanding every Captain also to do the like in his quarter: the fouldiers gave but faint ear unto them, and made no manner of shew of men whose hearts had been any whit the more encouraged thereby. But when Cato after them all came and told them (as the time ferved) the reason of Philosophy, touching liberty, manhood, death, and honour, and that with a vehement affection : and last of all, ending his Oration, with calling upon the gods, turning his speech unto them, as if they had been present to have seen how valiantly the souldiers sought for the liberty of their Countrey: they gave such a lufty cry, and had such a brave conceit and vehement desire to fight like men, that all the Captains were filled with good hope, and foled them to battell, where they gave fuch a cruel charge and fierce onfet upon their enemies, that they overthrew them, and put them that day to flight. Howbeit Cefars good fortune took the finallend of this victory from Pompey, by his over great fear and miftruft: who could not tell how to take the benefit of his victory, as we have written more amply in his life. But when all the rest rejoyced that they had done so noble an exploit, and made their vaunts of the great advantage they had of their enemies : Cato to the contrary bewailed the calamity of his Countrey, and lamented that curfed ambition which cauled so many good and valiant Citizens of one felf City, so to kill and murder one another. After this overthrow, Cafar

taking his way into THESSALIE, Pompey raised his Camp to follow him, and leaving a great power at DYRRACHIUM, of men, armour, munition, and friends: he gave Cato the charge of them all, and Why Pompey Dyrrachium.

fitteen Enfigns of footmen besides. The which he did for the fear and mistrust he had of him, being affured, that if by ill fortune he should lose the battel, he knew well enough that he could not commit them to a truftier man then he : but on the other fide if he wan the victory, he doubted fore that he could not command as he would, where Cato was. There were also many other Noblemen, as a man would fay, cast away, and lest at DYRRA CHIUM with Cato. In fine, the overthrow of the battell at PHARSALIA being blown abroad, Cato refolved with himself if Pompey were dead, that he would pals over all his men into lTALY, and then like a banished man would himself alone wander as far as he could from the tyranny : and contrarily, if he were alive , that then he would keep his Army together for him, as long as he could. With this determination, he passed over the Sea into the Isle of CORFU, where Pompeys Army by fea lay. There Cato finding Cicero, he would have furrendred up his charge unto him, as to a man of a greater dignity, for that he had been Conful, and Cato onely but Prætor. Howbeit Cicero would in no wife receive it , but returned immediately into ITALY. Cato then perceiving that Pompey the younger (fon unto Pompey the great) of a rash and haughty mind, would have punished all them that went into ITALY, and left the Army by sea, and that specially he was bent first of all to begin with Cicero: Cato reproved him privately for it, so that he certainly saved Gito faved Ci- Cicero's life, and many other more befides. Now Cato supposing that Pompey the Great had faved himcertifile, from felf in EGYPT or in AFRICK, he determined to take the feas, to meet him with all his men : but be-Pompey's fon, fore he took ship, he gave all men leave to depart that were not willing to follow him. Cato being ar-

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rived in Africk, failing up and down the coast there, he met with Sextu, the youngest son of Pompey, who first told him, that his father was slain in EGYPT : when the fouldiers heard it, they took it very heavily, and not one of them after the death of Pempey the Great, would ferve under any other Captain then Cato. He thereupon being afhamed, and thinking it pity also to leave so many noble and good men that had ferved fo faithfully under him, without a Captain, not knowing what way to take, nor whither to go: at their request he was contented to take charge of them, and went first unto the City of CYRENES, where not many days before, the Citizens had shut the Gates against Labienius. Being there, it wastold him that Scipio, Pompeys father in law, was gotten unto King Juba, who had received him, and that Allim Varus, unto whom Pompey had given the charge of the Province of Africk, was in their company with an Army, and determined to go joyn with them. So he went by land in the Winter time, and had gotten a marvellous number of Affes together, to carry Pfiller, be men water and victuals, which followed him with a great number of Carts besides, and of those men, which which heal the the Africans call Psilles, to wir, they that do heal the ftinging of ferpents, and do fuck out flinging of fer- the poison with their mouths, and do furthermore charm and enchaunt the Snakes, that they have no power to do any hurt. He was feven days together marching continually, and went a foot as a guide

unto his nien, without help of horse or beast. From that day forth, on the which he understood of

lostratus in Sicile, he gave him the upper hand, honouring him for his Philosophy. Thus Cato

did pull down the pride of the King at that time, who before had used Scipio and Varm as his noble-

* Men in old themselves, and Winter in Ly BIA, he brought his souldiers into the field, which were about ten thousand persons, then laid them The affairs on their fide had but hard fuccels, for the contention and variance betwixt Scipio and Vadown in their rus, for the which, they both flattered King Inba to win his favour : being a marvellous proud man

the battell loft at PHARSALIA, he never supped, but sitting, * and added that unto the rest of his forrow, that he never laid him down, but when he went to bed for all night. Cato having paffed the for his greatness and riches : as he shewed the first time he spake with Cato. For when Cato came he caused his own Chair to be set betwixt Scipio and Cato, to have the honour to be in the midst. But mind of Caro. Cato perceiving it , took up his own Chair , and fet it on the other fide by Scipio to put him in the middest, notwithstanding that he was his enemy, and had written a shamefull book against him. Many make no account of this fact of Cato, but reprove him, because that walking one day with Phi-

Cato joyneth wich *Scipio* in Africk.

governour of the City of

men and subjects: howbeit Cato did reconcile them together again. Furthermore, when all the company prayed him to take charge of the whole Army, and that Scipio himself and Varm both, did first give him place, and willingly refigned unto him the honour to command the whole Camp: he anfwered them, he would not offend the law, fith he made war onely to preserve the authority and priviledge thereof, neither would take upon him to command all, himself being but Vice-prætor, where there was a Vice-conful prefent. For Scipio was created Proconful, and furthermore, the people had a certain confidence that their affairs would prosper the better if they had but the name of a Scipio to lead them in AFRICK. Now when Scipio was General over them, he would ftraight, for Juba's sake, have put all the inhabitants of the City of UTICA (without respect of age) unto the sword, and have razed the houses to the ground, as those that had taken Cafars part. Howbeit Case would not fuffer him, but protesting unto them that were present, and calling the gods to witness in open counfell, with great difficulty he faved the poor people of UTICA from that cruel Tragedy and flaughter. Afterwards, partly at the request of the people, and partly also at Scipio's instance, Cato took upon Cato was made from the City fearing left by treation, or against their wills it should come into Cafars hands: governour of the City of the City fearing left by treation, or against their wills it should come into Cafars hands: governour of the City of the C should keep it. Cato did both surnish it, and also fortifie it. For he brought in great store of Corn,he repaired the rampiers of the walls, made great high Towers, and cast deep trenches round about the City, palling them in and betwirt the Trenches and the Town, he lodged all the young men of UTI-CA, and compelled them to deliver up their armour and weapons, and kept all the reft within the City it felf, carefully providing that never a man of them should be hurt by the ROMANS; and besides, did also send corn , armour , munition and money unto the Camp: so that the City of UTICA

was the staple and store-house of the wars. Moreover, as he had before counselled Pompey not to come to battel, the like counsel he now gave also unto Scipio, not to hazard battell against a man of great skill and experience in wars, but to take time, whereby, by little and little, he flould confume the power and and experience in warsout to the But Scipio was fo from that he regarded not Cato's counsel, but wrote Scipiodespileth other while unto him, twitting him with his cowardliness in this manner: That it was enough for him to Cato's counsel. befafe in a good City compaffed about with walls, though otherwise he fought not to hinder men to be valiant to execute any enterprife, as occasion was offered. Caro wrote again unto him, that he was ready to go into ITALY with his footmen and horsemen which he had brought into AFRICK; to draw Cafar from them, and to turn him against him. Scipio made but a sport at it, Then Cato shewed plainly. that he repented him that he had given him the preferment to be General of the Army, because he saw he would but fondly profecute this war; and also, that if he chanced to overcome, he could not moderately use the victory against his Countrymen. Then he began to mistrust the good success of this war (and so he told his friends) for the Generals hastiness and unskillulness : and yet if beyond expectation it fell out well, and that Cafar were overthrown, he would never dwell at ROME any more, but would flie the cruelty and bitterness of Scipio, who even at that present time did proudly threaten many. But in the end, that fell out fooner then looked for. For a post came to him late that night, who but three days before departed from the Camp, and brought news that all was loft, in a great battell, by the City of THAPSES, which Cafar had won: that he had taken both Camps; that Scipio and King Juba were fled with a few men, and that all the rest of their Army was slain. These news did put the Citizens in such a fear and maze (and specially being in the war, and in the night-time) that for very fear they could fcant keep themselves within the walls of their City. But Cato meeting with them, stayed them that ran up and down crying in the streets, and did comfort them the best he cy in extremity could. Yet he took not all their fear from them, though he brought them again unto themselves from the extastie they were in , declaring unto them that the loss was nothing so great as it was made, and that it was a common matter to enlarge such news with words enough. By these perswasions, he somewhat pacified the tumult and uproar, and the next morning by break of day he made a proclamation. that the three hundred men which he had chosen for his counsellours, should come and assemble in the Temple of Tupiter, they all being Citizens of ROME, which for traffick of Marchandise lay in A-FRICK, and all the ROMAN Senators and their children alfo. Now whilft they gathered themfelves together, Cato himfelf went very gravely with a fer modest countenance, as if no fuch matter had happened, having a little book in his hand, which he read as he went. This book contained the ftore and preparation of Munition he had made for this war, as Corn, Armour, Weapons, Bowes, Slings, and Footmen. When they were all affembled, he began greatly to commend the good love and faithfulness of the three hundred ROMANS, which had profitably served their Countrey with their persons, money, and counsell, and did counsel them not to depart one from another, as men Cato's Oration their perions, money, and comment, and the fave themselves scatteringly. "For remaining together, at Wisca. "* Cefar would less despife them, if they would make war against him: and would also sooner pardon them if they craved mercy of him. Therefore he counselled them to determine what they would do, "and, for his own part, he faid he would not millike whatfoever they determined of : for if their " minds followed their fortune, he would think this change to proceed of the necessity of time; "but if they were refolved to withfrand their misfortune, and to hazard themselves to defend their "liberty, he then would not onely commend them, but having their noble courage in admiration, "would himself be their Chieftain and companion, even to prove the fortune of their Country to the "uttermoft. The which was not UTICA nor ADRUMETUM, but the City felf of ROME ! the "which oftentimes through her greatness had raised her self from greater dangers and calamities. Fur-"thermore, that they had many ways to fave themselves, and the greatest mean of all was this, that "they should make war with a man, who by reason of his wars was compelled to be in many places: "For Spain of one fide was up against him, and took part with the younger Pompey: and the "City of Rome also not being used to be bridled with the snasse of such insolency; could not abide it, but would rather rife with any other change. Furthermore, that they were not to refule any "danger, but to take example of their enemy: who to work his milchievous intent, spareth not his person in any danger. And contrarily also, that unto them the incertainty of the war, if victory "followed, would make them happy: as also in being overthrown, their death would turn to im-"mortal glory. Notwithstanding, they were to think of the matter among themselves, and to "make their prayers to the gods, that in recompence of their vertue and good fervice which they " had shewed thereunto, they would grant them grace to determine for the best. After Cato had en-

ded his Oration, there were divers of them that were ftirred up by his lively perswassons, but the most

part of them were incouraged by his conftancy and noblemind, and also by his kindness: so that they

presently forgot the danger they were in , and praying him to command their persons , goods ,

and weapons, as he thought good, taking him for their onely invincible Captain, of whom fortune had

no power, thinking it better to die obeying his counfel, then to favethemfelves, forfaking fo valiant and worthy a man. Then, when one of the affembly made a motion that they should make their bondmen

free, and that divers also did confirm it, Cato faid, he would by no means suffer it, because it was neither

meet nor lawful : howbeit if their mafters would manumifs them , that he was comented to receive

them for fouldiers that could wear any weapon. Divers promifed him to do it : and Cato command-

ed their names should be enrolled that would, and so went his way. Immediately after, letters were

brought him from King Juba and Scipio : of the which, King Juba was hidden in a mountain with

Caro forfaken ofthree hundred Romane Merchants at Witica.

few men with him, who fent unto him to know what he would determine to do. For if he meant to forfake UTICA, he would tarry him there: and if otherwise he determined to keep UTICA, then that he would come and help him with an Army. Scipio on the other fideriding at Anchor, at a point of the land not far from UTICA, flaid for the like answer. Then Cato, thought it best to stay the mef-The equity of fengers which had brought him their letters, till he faw what was the determination of the three hundred. For all they that were Senators of ROME, were very glad men, and did prefently make their bondmen free, and gave them weapons. But the other three hundred which were Merchant venturers, and that lived by usury and exchange, who had the most part of their goods in slaves and bondmen, did not long follow Cato's counfell, but like men, whose bodies soon receive heat, and are foon cold again when they are once gone from the fire: even fo those Merchants, while Cato was prefent among them, had fome good pretty will and defire, but when by themselves they had cast their account, the fear they had of Cafar made them forget the reverence they bare unto Cato, and unto their duty. For, faid they, what are we, and what is he whom we disdain to obey? Is it not (efar himself, who at this day is Lord and Emperor of ROME? Never a one of us is Scipio, Pompey, or Cate, and yet now, when all men for fear (and in manner compelled) do yeeld and fubmit themselves, we will needs take upon us within the walls of UTICA to fight for the liberty of ROME against him, for whom Caro flying with Pompey for look IT ALY : and we now make our bondmen free to fight with Cefar, having no better liberty our selvesthen it pleaseth him to give us. Let us therefore now know our felves whileft we have time, and crave mercy at his hands that is the strongest, and send unto him to pray him to pardon us. The greatest and wifest men of those three hundred Merchants had this speech. But the most part of them sought means how to intrap the Senators, hoping the better of mercy atCafars hand, if they did deliver them unto him, Cato did look for this change in them, but yet uttered not that he thought, and returned the messengers back again unto King Juba and Scipio, and wrote unto them, that they should beware they came not near UTICA, because he did missrust these three hundred Merchants. Now there were a great number of horsemen which had scaped from the battell, who coming towards UTICA, fent three of their company unto Cato, the which brought him not one self determination from all the company. For some of them meant to go unto King Juba, others also to joyn with Cato, and part of them were afraid to come into UTICA. Thele things being thus reported unto Cato, he commanded Marcin Rubrim to take care of these three hundred men, and to receive the names of the bondmen which they willingly manumified, without compelling of any man. In the mean time Cato with all the Senators went out of UTICA to meet with these Cato's piny and horsemen, and there he spake to the Captains, and prayed them that they would not for lake so maregardunt the ny Noblemen and Senators of ROME as were there; and that they would not have King Jaba for their Captain before Cato, but to come into UTICA, where they might fave themselves, the City was of fuch ftrength, and befides, so well armed and victualled for many years. The like request did the Senators also make unto them, with the tears running down their cheeks. Thereupon the Captains went and spake with their fouldiers. Cato in the mean time set him down on a hill, with the Senators, tarrying for answer. But then on the suddain came Rubriss unto him in great hast, complaining of the turnult of these three hundred Merchants , which went about to make the City to rebell : whereupon the reft (their heartsfailing them) fell to bewail their miferable fortune. But Cato fought to comfort them, and then sent unto the three hundred Merchants, to pray them to have a little patience. So the Captains returned again with unreasonable demands of the horsemen. For they faid that they cared not for King Juba's pay, neither were they afraid of Cafars malice, fo that they had Cato for their General: yet to be pend up within the wals of a City with AFRICANS, that were PHOENICIANS, and a traiterous Nation as could be, that grieved them most of all. For, faid they, though now they stir not, and be quiet, yet when Cafar comes, they will be the first that will betray us, and cut our throats. And therefore, if Cato would have them to joyn with him in this war, that he should either kill or drive away all the UTICANS out of the City, and then that they would come into it, when it was clear of all those barbarous people their enemies. Cato thought this a cruel and barbarous condition, nevertheless he told them that he would talk with the three hundred: and so returning again into UTICA, he spake unto them. But they then not regarding the reverence unto Cato, diffembling no longer, faid openly, that they would not like of him whatfoever he were, that Thould compell them to make war with Cafar, because they would not, nor could not do it. Further, there were some of them that mumbled to themselves, that the Senators, should be kept there till Cefar came. Cato over-heard them, for indeed his hearing was very quick. At that very instant one came to him, and told him, that the horfemen were going their way. Cato therefore fearing left these three hundred Merchants would lay hands upon the Senators, he went unto them himself with his friends, and perceiving they were gone a great way off, he took his horse and rode after them. Caso an earnest They rejoycing to fee him come, received him among them, and prayed him to fave himself with fuirer for the them. But Cato prayed them again to fave the Senators, and that with fuch affection, as it forced tears in him: besides, he held up his hands unto them, took their horses by the bridles, and themfelves by their weapons, that at the length he obtained of them, that they would remain there one day at the leaft to help the Senators to fave themselves. So Cato returning with them into the City, he appointed some of them to ward at the Gates, and put others also in Garrison into the Castle : so that the three hundred Merchants quaked for fear, left he would have been revenged of them, because of their return with him. Thereupon they sent unto Cato, humbly to pray him to come unto them in any case. But the Senators flocking about him, would not suffer him to go, and said, that they

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word not cast away their faviour and protector, to put him into traitors hands. Then doubtless, all that were within UTICA plainly faw the vertue and fimplicity of Caro, and found that there was no fraud nor deceit in him: who having long time refolved to kill himself, he onely took that extream pains and care for others, that their lives being faved, he might then rid himself of his own. For men might eafily fee, though he diffembled it, that he was refolved to die. Whereupon, having com- The fincerity forted the Senators, he yeelded unto the requests of the three hundred Merchants, and went himfelf of Gato. alone unto them. Then they thanked him much for his coming, and prayed him to command them and boldly to truft them: to that he would pardon them if they could not be all Caro's, and would take pitie of their faint hearts, though they were not fo conftant and noble minded as he. For they were determined to fend unto Cafar, specially to intreat him for him: and if that they could not obtain pardon for him, then they were affured they could have none for themselves, and therefore would fight for the fafety of him, while they had any breath in their bodies. Cato thanking them for their good wils, answered, that they should fend quickly to crave pardon for themselves, but to aske none for him. For (laid he)men that be overcome, and have offended, it flandeth them upon to make humble fuit, and to crave pardon: but for himself, he was never overcome in his life, and yet Caro's mind had overcome as much as he defired; and had alwayes been better then Cafar in justice, who onely unconquerable. (not himself) was now taken and overcome: the thing being apparently proved in fight against him which he had always denied to have practifed against his Countrey. When he had made this answer unto the three hundred Merchants, he departed from them. News being brought that Ce/ar was in his way with all his Army, coming towards UTICA: O gods, faid he, then he cometh against us as against men. Then turning unto the Senators, he gave them counsell quickly to fave themselves, whileft the horsemen were yet in the City. So shutting all the Gates of the City, saving that towards the haven, he appointed thips for them all, and fet every thing at a ftay, without tumult or diforder, no man having injury offered him, and gave every one money to make way for their fafety. When Marcus Octaviss (who came with two Legions, and camped hard by UTICA) fent unto Cato, to determine which of them two should be Generall, he made no answer, but turning to Cato, to determine which of them can we wonder any more, that all gooth to wrack with us, fith there is Cato reproveth fuch ambition amongft us for the government, even now when we are at the laft cast? In the mean the ambition time word was brought him, how the horsemen going their way were spoiling of the Citizens goods, of man. as a lawfull prey in war. He straight ran thither himself, and the first he met withall, he took from them that they had gotten: the reft, before he came unto them, threw down that they were carrying away, and hanging down their heads for shame, they went their way, faid nothing. Then Cato calling all the Citizens of UTICA together, prayed them not to incense nor move Casar against the three hundred, but rather to crave of him pardon for them all. Then he went again to the peer, and there embracing his friends, and taking his leave of them all, he brought them to their ships. Now for his fon, he did not counfell him to go, neither did he think it meet to urge him to for fake his father. Furthermore, there was one Statiling a young man in his company, of a noble courage, Statiling a folthat was determined to follow the invincible conftancy of Caro: who counfelled him to take the fea, lower of Caro. and to fail away with the rest, because he knew he was Cafars mortall enemy. Statilius said, he would not go. Then Cato turning him unto Apillonides a Stoick Philosopher, and unto Demetrina a Peripatetick Philosopher, faid: You must take this stout young man, to perswade him to obey unto necessity. Cato himself in the mean time sent away the rest, and did minister justice unto them that required it, spending all that night and the next day about those matters. Then Lucius Casar, the kiniman of Julius (e/ar the conqueror, being chosen by the three hundred, to go and suite unto him for them all , came and prayed Caro to help him to make his Oration , which he should say unto Cefar for them all: and as for thee Cato, faidhe, I will kifs his hands, and fall down on my knees before him to intreat him for thee. Nay, faid Cato, thou fhalt not do fo. For if I would fave my life by Ca/ars grace, I could do it, if I would but go umo him: howbeit I will not be bound to a tyrant for Cato would not by Ca/arz grace, I could do it, it I would out go unto min; nowcer I wantot be bound to a tyrian tot have pardon injuffice. For it is an injuffice in him, to take upon him as a Lord and foveraign to fave a mans life, when begged of Cahimself hath no authority to command. But yet let us consider if thou wilt, what thou shalt say, far for him. to crave pardon for the three hundred. So they were a while together confidering the matter: and

in fine, Lucius Cafar being ready to depart, Cato recommended his fon and friends unto him, and

was bathing, thinking upon Statilius, he cried out aloud: Well Apollouides, haft thou at length

yer perswaded Starilina to go his way, and pulled down his stour courage he had : and is he gone

without bidding us farewell? How , gone , faid Appollonides? Nay , his heart is now more front and

couragious then ever it was, notwithstanding all the perswasions we could use unto him: for he is

determined to tarry, and to take such part as thou doest. After he had bathed himself, hewent to

embracing him, took his leave of him. Then he returned unto his lodging, and calling his fon Catto forbad his and friends before him, and talking of many matters, among others he charged his fon in no fonto meddle case to meddle in the affairs of the Common-wealth. For, said he, to deal uprightly like Cato's with matters fon, the corruption of the time and flate will not abide it: and contrarily, observing the time, thou canft not do like an honest man. Towards evening he went into his Bath to wash himself, and as he

but when he went to bed : and he had all his friends and the chief Magistrates of UTICA to Supper The Paradoxes

fupper, and fate at his meat, as he had always used after the battell of PHARSALIA, and never lay, with him. After supper they fell into grave talk, and matters of Philosophy, till at length they came of the Stocks unto the strange opinion of the Stoick Philosophers, which was this, that only the good man is free,

and all the evill be flaves. The Peripatetick Philosopher that was present there, was straight against it.

logue of the

Cato's laft

Philosophers

his triends.

But Cato was very earnest against the Peripatetick and argued the matter a long time, with a chement speech and contention: infomuch as they that heard him, found then that he was determined to end his life, and to rid himfelf out of all those troubles. But then when he had ended his argument, and faw that every man held their peace, and looked fadly on it: to comfort them again, and to put the fulpicion of his death out of their heads, he began again to fall in talk of their affairs, and feemed to be carefull of them, as though he had been affraid left fome misfortune were come unto them upon the fea, or unto them that were gone by land, because they passed through deferts, where there was no water to be had: Now when supper was done, and the strangers gone, he walked as his manner was with his friends, and having taken order with the Captains of the watch for matters of fervice, as the time required, going into his Chamber he embraced his fon and his friends more lovingly then he was wont to do, whereby he made them again suspect the execution of his determination. When he was come into his Chamber and laid in his bed, he took Plato's Dialogue in hand, treating of the foul, and read the most part of it. Then looking by his beds fide, and milling his fword (which his fon had taken from him when he was at supper) he called one of the Grooms of his Chamber to him, and asked him who had taken his fword away. His man made him no answer, and he fell again to read his Book. Then a pretty while after, not feeming to be importunate, or over hafty of the matter, but as though he would onely know what became of it, he willed them to bring him his sword again. They tarried long, and he had read over all the book, but yet his fword was not brought him again. Whereupon he called for all his men, one after another, and very angerly asked them his fword, and gave one of them fuch a blow on his face, that his nofe fell a bleeding, and his hand was all bloody withall; and cried out, that his fon and his fervants would deliver him naked into the hands of his enemie, untill his for and his friends at length ran unto him, and falling down on their knees, lamented, and belought him to be contented. Cato then rifing out of his bed , looked grimly upon them , and faid unto them : O gods , who ever faw me in this taking? why doth no manby reason perswade me, if they see me out of the way, and not to keep me from my determination by plucking my weapons from me? why doest not thou (my son) bind thy fathers hands behind him, that when Cefar cometh, he may find me in case not to defend my self? I do not defire my fword to hurt my felt, for it I had any fuch mind, I need but hold my breath a little, or give but a knock of my head against the wall onely, and dispatch my felf quickly. When he had faid thus, his son went out of his Chamber weeping, and all his friends also, no man remaining with Cato, but Demetriss and Apollonides, unto whom he spake more gently, and reasoned in this fort . What do you think to keep an old man as I am alive by force ? and have you tarried behind but to fit flaring upon me, and fay nothing unto me? if otherwise else, by reason you come to perswade me, that it shall be no shame for Caro (despairing of the safety of his life) to seek it by the grace and mercy of his enemy, why then do you not now tell me your reasons to perswade me; that for saking all other fancies and determinations which hitherunto we have holden for good, being on a sudden become wifer by Cefars means, we should be bound the more therefore to give him thanks; I do not tell you this, that I have determined any thing of my life, but that it is in my power (if I lift) to put the thing in execution I have determined . but yet I will confult with you, when I am fo determined, to hear the reasons and opinions of your books, which your selves do use in discourse and argument together. Go your way therefore hardly unto my fon, and tell him that he must not think to compell his father unto that which he cannot prove good unto him by reason. After this talk, Demitrius and Appellonides being nothing comforted, weeping, departed out of his Chamber. Then his fword was brought him by a little boy. When he had it, he drew it out, and looked whether the point and edge of his sword was sharp and would cut: when he saw it was well: O, said he, now am I where I would be, and so laying down the fword naked by him, he took his book again in his killed himfelf. hand, and read it over (asthey fay) twice together. Then he slept so soundly after it, that his men which were without his Chamber heard him snort again. About midnight he called for two of his freemen, Cleanthes his Phylitian and Butas, whom he chiefly employed in his weightieft affairs of the Common-wealth. So he fent him unto the haven, to fee if all his men that were imbarked were under fail, and gave his hand to the Physitian to be bound up, because it was swollen with the blow he gave one of his flaves when he hit him on the face. All his fervants were glad to hear of that, hoping then that he defired to live. Soon after came But as back again from the haven, and brought him word that all were gone but Craffus, who stayed about some business he had, and yet that he was going to take ship : howbeit that the sea was very rough, and wind exceeding great. Cato hearing this , fighed, being forry for them that were upon the fea : and fent But at back again to the haven, to see if any mancame back for any matter they had to say unto him. The little birds began to chirp, and Cato fell again in a little flumber. But thereupon But as returned, and brought him word that all was quiet in the haven, and there was no ftir. Then Cate bade him go his way, and shut too the door after him, and layed him down in his bed, as though he had meant to have slept out all the reft of the night. Busa back was no fooner turned, but Cato taking his naked fword in his hand, thrust it into his breast: howbeit the swelling of his hand made the blow so weak, that it killed him not prefently, but drawing on to his latter end, he fell down upon his bed, and made fuch a noise with his fall (overthrowing a little table of Geometrie hard by his bed) that his servants hearing the noise, gave a great shreek for sear. Thereupon his son and his striends ran into the

Chamber, and found him all of a goar blood, and the most part of his bowels coming out of his body, himfelf being yet alive and feeing them. They were all stricken with such forrow to behold it, that

The death of

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at the first they were so amazed, as they could not tell what to say to it. His Physitian coming too, went about to put in his bowels again which were not perished, and to sow up his wound. But Cate coming to himself, thrust back the Physician, and tore his bowels with his own hands, and made his wound very great, and immediately gave up the Ghost. Whereupon the three hundred ROMANS (in less time then a man would have thought Cato's own houshold fervants could have known of his death) were at his doors, and immediately after all the people of UTICA also came thither, and with one voice called Cato their benefactor and faviour, and faid, he onely was a freeman, and had an invincible mind: and this was done, when they heard fay, that Cafar was not far from UTICA. Furthermore, neither fear of the present danger, nor the desire to flatter the conquerour, neither any private quarrell amongst themselves, could keep them from honouring Cato's Funerals. For sump- Cato's sunerals. tuoully fetting out his body, and honourably accompanying his Funerals as might be, they buried him by the sea fide, where at this present time is to be seen his image, holding a sword in his hand. After that, they made their best way to fave themselves and their City. Now Casar being advertised by them that came unto him, how Caro stirred not from UTICA, nor fled not, but sent all others away, faving himself and his son, and a few of his friends that remained there, being afraid of nothing, he could not devise what he meant by it. Therefore esteeming Cato much, he made hast with all the freed he could with his Army to come thither. But when he understood that Cato had flain himself, Cafars faying writers do report he faid thus : O Cato, I envythy death, fith thou haft envied mine honour to fage unto Cato the thy life. For indeed, had Caro been contented Cafar should have faved his life, he had not so much dead. impaired his own honour, as he had augmented Casars glory. And yet what Casar would have done, men make it doubtful, faving that they conjecture well of Cafars clemency. Caro died when he was but eight and fourty years old. For his son, Cafar never did him hurt : howbeit it is reported of him to what condithat he was very idely given, and lascivious besides. For when he lay in CAPPADOGIA, in a Noble-tions he had. mans house of the Kings blood, called Maphradates, who had a fair woman to his wife, he tarried longer there then he might well with honefty; whe reupon he fell to be a laughing stock to the people, and in mockery they faid: Cato will go to morrow, a thirty days hence. And further that Maphradates and Porcins are two good friends, but they have but one mind: and the reason was, because Psiche signifi-Maphradates wife was called P/Jche, which in the Greek fignifieth, mind : and Cato is a noble fellow, eth mind. and hath a Princely mind: howbeit his famous death did ftop this infamous speech. For he valiantly fighting against Angustu and Anconimat the battell of PHILIPPES, for the liberty of his Country, their Army being overthrown and fled , he would neither flie flor hide himself , but running in amongst his enemies, he made them know what he was by encouraging those of his fide, which yet did defend themselves, till he was slain in the field, to the great admiration of his valiantness. Further- Portion the more, Porcia the daughter of Cato, gave no place unto her father, neither for chaltity, nor greatness daughter of of mind. For she being married unto Brutus, who slew Casar, was of the conspiracy, and slew her Cato, and wife felf as couragiously as became the vertue and nobility of her bloud from whence the came, as we have of Brutus, more amply declared in the life of Bratus. Statilius also, who had said, he would run Cato's fortune (as we have told you before) was kept from killing of himself by the Philosophers , Demetrius and Apollonides. But after that time having shewed himself very faithful and serviceable unto Brutus in all his affairs , he was flain in the field also at the baccell of PHILIPPES.

The end of Cato's Life.

THE

AGIS and (LEOMENES.



Anno Mundi. 3700.

240.

3712.

The fable of Ixion againth ambicious po

tuely the Fable of I imes ion was not ill devifed against ambitious persons , who imbracing a cloud for the goddess Juno, begot (as it is faid) the CEN-TAURI. For even so ambitious men, imbracing glory for the true image of vertue, do never any act that is good nor perfect: but being carried away with divers fancies, and following others humors with defire to please the people, they may as the heardmen in the Tragedy of Sophoclis speaking of their cattell) say:

We wait upon their beasts, though we their masters be,

And where seever they become, there also follow we. Such indeed are they compared to , that govern Common-weals after

peoples lust and fancy: who doubtless are as their fervants obedient at call, because they onely may

enjoy the glorious title and name of an officer. For like as in a ship the Mariners that stand in the Prow, do better fee before them then Pilots that feer the Helm in the Poop, and yet look always back unto them to fee what they command : even fo , they that govern in the Common-wealth for honours fake, are no better then honourable flaves of the people, having no more but the bare name of a Governor. But indeed, the perfect good and honest man should never cover outward glory, but as a mean to bring him to noble attempts, whereby he might procure the better credit of his doings. And for a young man that coveteth honour by vertue, give him leave a little to glory in his well do-Theophrassus of ings: for as Theophrassus saith, vertue buddeth and flourisheth in youth, and taketh fast roots by praises given, as wir and courage groweth in them. But overmuch praise is dangerous in every person, but chiefly in ambitious Governors. For if they be men of great power, it makes them commit many desperate parts : for they will not allow that honour proceeds of vertue, but that honour is vertue it feli. But indeed they should fay as Phocion faid unto Antipater, that requested an unlawfull matter of him : Thou canft not , faid be, have Phocion a friend and a flatterer both. This , or the very like, may be faid unto the people: you cannot have one, both a mafter and a fervant, that can command and obey together. Or else the mischief spoken of in the tale of the Dragon must needs happen, which was; The tail on a time fell out with the head, and complained, faying, it would another while go before, and would not always come behind. The head granted the tail, which fell out very ill for it, not knowing how to guide the head; and befides that, the head thereby was tormented every way, being compelled against nature to follow that part and member, which could neither hear nor fee how to guide it. The like manner have we feen happen unto many, which in the administration of the Common-wealth , did feek to please the humors of the multitude. For when they have once put their heads under their girdles to please the common people, which without cause and reason do soon rebell, they can by no politible means afterwards bridle their fury and infolency. Now the reason that made us enter into discoule against the ambition and vain glory amongst the people, was the Platinchexcul- confideration I had of their great power, remembring the misfortunes of Tiberius and Caiss Gracchi: ethibe Grachi both of the which coming of a noble house, and having been marvellous well brought up, and managing also the affairs of the Common-wealth with a good defire, were notwithstanding in the end cast away: not so much through coverousness of glory, as for fear of dishonour, which came also of no bale mind. For they having received great pleafures and friendship of the people, were ashamed to be indebted to them, and therefore earneftly fought to exceed the people in goodwill, by new decrees and

the praise of Immoderate praise vety Phocions Say-

the Dragons head and tail.

AGIS and CLEOME N. ES.

devices, which they preferred for common benefit: and the people also for their parts contended to honor them the more, by how much they ftrived to shew themselves thankful. So with like strife on either fide, they to gratifie the common people, and the people to honour them, were fo unwares enrangled with publike causes, that they could no more follow the common Proverb, which saith:

Although our deeds diffent from equity, Tet can we not defift with honefty.

This thou shalt easily find by the declaration of the History. With these we do compare two other popular men, both Kings of LACEDEMON, Agis and Cleomenes. For they as the Gracchi, feeking to increase the power of the common people, and to restore the just and honest government again of the Commonwealth of LACEDAMON, which of long time had been out of use, did in like manner purchase the hate of the Nobility, which were loth to lose any part of their womted covetousness. Indeed these two LACONIANS were no brethren born, but yet did both follow one self course and Form of Government, which had beginning in this fort. After that covetousness of Gold and Silver crept again into the City of SPARTA, and with riches, covetousness also and misery, and by use voloptuousness and licentious life: SPARTA then was void of all honour and goodnefs, and was long time drowned in shame and dishonour, untill King Agis and Leonidas came to reign there. Agu was of the house of the Eury iontides, the son of Eudamedas, the fixth of lineal The linage of descent after Agefilam who had been the great Prince of all GREECE in his time. This Agefilam Agis, had a fon flain in ITALY by the MESSAPHIANS, called Archidamus before the City of MAN-DONIUM. Archidamus had iffue two fons , Agus and Eudamidas that was King , who succeeded his brother Agis, whom Antipater flew before the City of MEGALIPOLIS, and left no children behind him. Eudamidas begat Archidamus, which Archidamus begat another Eudanidas : which Eudamidas also begat Agis , whose life we now write of. Leonidas also , the son of Cleonymu , was The linage of of the other family of the Agiades, the eight of fuccession after Pansanias, who slew Mardonius. the Kings Lieutenant Generall of PERSIA, in a battell fought before the City of PLATÆES. This Paulanias had a fon called Pliftonax, and Pliftonax also another, called Paulanias : who flying from Sparta unto the City of Tegen, his eldest fon Agespelis was made King in his fathers room, who dying without iffue, his younger brother Cleombrotus succeeded him in the Kingdome. Cleombrotus had two fons, Agespolis and Cleomenes : of the which, Agespolis reigned not long King. and died without iffue. Then Cleomenes his brother , who was King after him, had two fons , Acrotatus the elder, that died in his fathers life time : and Cleonymus the younger which survived him. and was not King , but one Arem his Nephew, the fon of Acrotatin. This Arem died before the City of CORINTH, who having another Acrotatus to his fon, he succeeded him in the Kingdom. He also died at a battell before the City of MEGALIPOLIS, and was there flain by the Tyrant Aristodemus Arillodemus, leaving his wife great with child. She being brought to bed after his death of a fon, tyrant of Megawhom Leonidas the son of Cleonymus taught and brought up, the child dying very young, the lipolas, crown by his death was cast upon Leonidas himself. Howbeit his manners and conditions never liked the people. For though all men generally were corrupted through the Common-wealth, and clean out of order, yet Leonidas of all other exceeded, deforming most the ancient LACONIAN life: Leonidat because he had been long time brought up in Princes bouses, and followed also Seleneus Court, from brought superwhence he had brought all the pride and pomp of those Courts into GRECE, where Law and fluity and ex-Reason ruleth. Agus on the contrary part did not onely far excell Leonidas, in honour and mag cels into Sparnanimity of mind: but all other almost also which had reigned in SPARTA from the time of Agest- The continen-Lase the great. So that when Agis was not yet twenty years old, and being daintily brought up with cy of Agis. the fineness of two women, his mother Agistrata, and Archidamia his Grandmother, which had more Gold and Silver then all the LACEDEMONIANS elle, he began to spurn against these womanish delights and pleasures, in making himself fair to be the better liked, and to be fine and trim in his apparell; and to cast upon him a plain Spanish Cape, taking pleasure in the Diet, Bathes, and manner of the ancient LA CONIANS life: and openly boasted besides, that he would not desire to be King, but onely for the hope he had to restore the ancient LACONIAN life by his authority. The beginning Then began the state of LACEDEMON first to be corrupted, and to leave her ancient discipline, of the Lacede Then began the state of LACEDAMON lith to be continued, and to the last and the monitorial when the LACEDAMON LANS having subdued the Empire of the ATHENIAMS, flored them. monitorial felves and Country both with plenty of Gold and Silver. But yet referving still the lands left unto cientificipline. them by succession from their fathers, according unto Lycurgus first ordinance and institution, for Lycurgus Rhedivition of lands amongst them: which ordinance, and equality being inviolably kept amongst them, tra, for partitidid yet preserve the Common-wealth from defamation of divers other notorious crimes, untill the on of lands time of the authority of Episadem , one of the Ephores , a feditious man, and of proud conditions : brokenby Epiwho bitterly falling out with his own fon , preferred a law , that every man might lawfully give his Epitadeus law lands and goods whilest he lived, or after his death by testament, unto any man whom he liked or for demise of thought well of. Thus this man made a law to fatisfie his anger, and others did confirm it for lands by will. covetoufness fake, and so overthrew a noble ordinance. For the rich men then began to buy lands of numbers, and to transferred it from the right and lawful heirs: whereby a few men in short time being made very rich, immediately after there fell out great poverty in the City of SPARTA, which made all honest sciences to cease, and brought in thereupon unlawful occupations, who envied them that were wealthy. Therefore, there remained not above seven hundred natural Citizens of SPARTA in all, and of them, not above an hundred that had lands and inheritance: for all the rest were poor people in the City, and were of no countenance nor calling, and befides that, went unwillingly to

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thewars against their enemies, looking every day for stir and change in the City. Agis therefore thinking it a notable good act (as indeed it was) to replenish the City of SPARTA again, and to bring in the old equality, he moved the matter unto the Citizens. He found the youth (against all Agis seeths- hope) to give ear unto him, and very well given unto vertue, eafily changing their garments bout coreduce and life, to recover their liberty again. But the oldest men, which were now even rotten with coverousness and corruption, they were askaid to return again to the straight ordinances of Lycurwealth to ber gus, as a flave and runnagate from his mafter, that trembleth when he is brought back again market him. Therefore they reproved Agu, when he did lament before them their prefent miferable effacts, and wish also for the former ancient honour and true dignity of SPARTA. Howbeit Lysander the and wish also for the former ancient honour and true dignity of SPARTA. Howbeit Lysander the fon of Lybis, and Mandroelisas the fon of Exphants, and Agestans also, greatly commended his noble defire, and persuaded him to go forward withall. This Lysander was of great authority and noble defire, and persuaded him to go forward withall. eftimation amongst them in the City, Mandroclidas was also very wise, and carefull about any matter of counfel, and with his wisdom and policy, very valiant : Agefilam in like manner, the Kings Unkle, and an eloquent man, was very efferninate and covetous, and yet prickt forward to give his furtherance to this attempt as it appeared, by his fon Hippomedon, who was a noble good fouldier, and could do very much, by means of the love and good will the young men did bear him. But indeed, the secret cause that brought Agestlans to consent unto this practise, was the greatness of his debt which he ought, of the which he hoped to be discharged by changing of the state and Commonwealth. Now when Agit had won him , he fought by his means to draw his mother also unto the matter, which was Ageflam fifter. She could do very much by the number of her friends, followers, and debtors in the City, by whose means she ruled the most part of the affairs of the City after her own pleasure. But the young man Hippomedon making her privy unto it, at the first she was amazed withall, and bade him hold his peace if he were wife, and not to meddle in matters unpossible and unprofitable. But when Agefilam had told her what a notable act it would be, and how easily it might be brought to pais, with marvellous great profit; and that King Agis began also to fira n her with great intreaty, and that the should willingly depart with her goods to win her fon honour and glory: who though he could not in money and riches come to be like unto other Kings (because the flaves and factors onely of the Kings Selencus and Prolomy , had more money then all the Kings of SPARTA had together that ever raigned) yet if in temperance, thriftiness, and noble mind (exceeding all their vanities, he could come to reftore the LACEDEMONIANS again unto equality, that then indeed he should be counted a Noble King. These women stirred up with ambition by those refugitions of the young man , seeing him so nobly bent, as if by the good their minds had secretly been inflamed with the love of vertue, did prefently after their minds in fuch fort , that they themselves did prick forward Agio, and fent for their friends to pray and intreat them to favour his enterprife; and furthermore they brought on other women also, knowing that the LACEDEMONIANS did ever hear and believe their wives, fuffering them to understand more of the affairs of the state then they themselves did of their private estate at home. Herein is to be considered, that the most part of MLDAS WETE UN. the riches of LACEDAMON was in the hands of the women, and therefore they were against it, not to their wives. the riches of LACEDAMON was in the hands of the women, onely because thereby they were cut off from their finenels and excels , in the which being ignorant of the true good indeed, they put all their felicity: but also because they saw their honour and authority which they had by their riches, clean troden underfoot. Therefore coming to Leonidas, they did perswade him to reprove Agis, because he was an elder man then he, and to lett that this enterprise went not forward. Leonidas did what he could in favour of the rich , but fearing the common people, who defired nothing but alteration, he durft not onely speak against him, but secretly he did the best he could to hinder Ago practile; talking with the Magistrates of the City, and accusing Agis unto them, he told them how he did offer the rich mens goods unto the poor, the division of their lands, and the abolifhing of all debts, for reward to put the tyranny into his hands, and that thereby he got a ftrong guard unto himself, but not many Citizens unto SPARTA. This notwithflanding, King Agis having procured Lyfander to be chosen one of the Ephores, he presently preferred his law unto the counsel. The Articles whereof were these: That fuch as were in debt, thould be cleared of all their debts, and that the lands also should be divided into equal parts; so that from the valley of Pallena unto mount Tangerus, and unto the Cities of MALEA and SELASIA, there should be four thousand five hundred parts, and without those bonds, there should be in all the rest, fifteen thousand parts, the which should be distributed unto their neighbours meet to carry weapon: and the reft unto the naturall SPARTANS. The number of them should be replenished with their neighbours and strangers in like manner, which should be very well brought up, and be able men befides to serve the Common-wealth : all the which afterwards should be divided into fifteen companies, of the which, fome should receive two hundred, and others four hundred men, and should live according to the old ancient inflitution observed by their Ancestors. This law being preferred unto the Senate, the Senators grew to divers opinions upon it. Whereupon Lylander affembled the great councill of all the people , and there spake unto them himself , and Mandroclidu , and Agessiau alfo , praying them not to fuffer the honour of SPARTA to be troden under foot , for the vanity of a few: but that they would remember the ancient Oracles of the gods, warning them to beware of avarice, as of the plague and deftruction of the Common-wealth: and of the late Oracle also brought unto them, from the Temple of Pafiphat. The Temple and Oracle of Pafiphat, was famous at the City of THALAMES : and fome fay , that Pafiphae was one of the daughters of Atlas , which was gotten with child by Inpiter , and was delivered of a fon called Hammon. Other

Ach law.

How loving

Pajiphae the daughter of Atlas.

AGIS and CLEOMENES. think that it was Cassandra, one of Priamus daughters that died there, which was sirnamed Past-

think that I was Lapanara, one of the same of things to come. But Phylarchia writes that Daphnethe daughter of Amyela flying from Apollo that would have ravished her, was turned into a Lawrel Tree, and honoured by Apollo with the gift of prophecy. So, they faid that this Oracle of the god commanded them, that the SPARTANS should again return unto their former ancient equality, stablished first by Lycurgus law. When every man else had spoken, King Agis rising up, briefly speaking unto the people, said: that he would bestow great contributions for the reformation of the Common-wealth, which he was defirons to reftore again. For first of all, he would make common all his arable and pasture he had, and besides that he would add too fix hundred talents in ready money, and so much should his mother, grandmother, kinsmen, and friends, all the which ready honey, and to hack in Sparta. When the people heard what he faid, they marvelled his good; commuch at the noble mind of this young King and were very glad of it, faying: that for three hundred mon years space together, the City of Sparta had not so worthy a king as he. But Leandas contrarily affaied with all the power he could to refift him, thinking with himself that if King Agis purpose took place, he should also be compelled to do as he did, and yet he should have no thanks, but King Leonidas resistances Agis: because that all the SPARTANS indifferently should be compelled to make their goods com- eth King Agis. mon, but the honour should be his onely that first began it. So he asked Agis, whether he thought Lycurgus had been a good and just man, or not? Agus answered that he had been. Then replyed Leenidas. Did you ever fee that he had taken away and abolithed any debts, or had received strangers into the number of the Citizens of Sparta? Who contrarily thought this Common-wealth unperfect. if all strangers were not banished the City. Agis again answered him: that he marvelled not that Leonidas being brought up in a strange Countrey, and also married there in a Noblemans house, he should be ignorant of Lycurgus Laws, who banishing gold and filver out of his City, did therewithat exile debt and lending. And for strangers he hated them that would not conform themselves unto the manners and fashions of life which he instituted, and those they were which he banished : not for any ill will he bare unto their persons, but because he seared their manners of life, lest that mingling them with the Citizens, they should make them run after vanity and covetousness to be rich. For otherwise, Terpander, Thales, and Phericydes, which were all strangers, were marvellously reverenced and honoured in SPARTA in old time, because they did fign in their writings, the self fame things which Lycurgus had established in his laws. And thou thy self also doest commend Ecprepes, being one of the Ephores, because he did cut with a Hatchet the two ftrings which Phrynis the Musician added unto the Cithern, more then the seven common strings, and those also which did the like unto Timesheus: and yet thou reprovest me, because I go about to root out all excess and pride out of Sparta, as though those men did not far off prevent that these superfluous strings of the Musick, delighting the Citizens minds too much with their songs, should not cause them fall unto such trade and manner of life, as should make the City at discord with it self. After this contention the common people did flick unto King Agis, and the rich men followed Leonidus: praying and perswading him not to forsake them; and further, they did so intreat the Senators, in whom confifteth the chief authority, to determine and difgest all matters before they be propounded unto the people, that they overthrew the law, by the onely voice of one man more. Wherefore Lylander who was yet in office, attempted to accuse Leonidas by an ancient law, forbidding that none of the race of Hercules should marry with any strange woman, nor beget children of her : and faid further that no man upon pain of death should dwell any where, but in SPARTA. When he had instructed others to object these things against Leonidas, he with others of his colleagues observed a sign in the Element, the Ceremony whereof was in this fort: Every ninth year, the Ephari choosing a bright night without Moon-light, did fit down in some open place, and beheld the Stars in the Element. to fee if they faw anv Star shoot from one place to another: if they did, then they accused their Kings, that they had offended the gods, and did deprive them of their Kingdom, untill fome Oracle came from DELPHES or OLYMPUS, to restore them again. Lyfander then declaring that he had King Leonidas feen a Star flie in the Element, did therefore accuse King Leonidas, and brought forth witnesses a accused by Life gainst him, how he had married a woman of Asia, the which one of King S lencus Lieutenants ander. had given him in marriage, and that he had two children by her; and afterwards being forfaken of his wife that refused him, he returned again into his Country against his will, and had so possessed the Kingdom for lack of a lawfull heir. So following his accufation in this manner against him, he allured Cleombrotus his fon in law, being also of the Kings blood, to make title to the Crown. Leonidas being afraid of the success hereof, took fanctuary in the Temple of Juno, sirnamed Chalcocos; and his daughter with him, who forfook her husband Cleombrotus. Leonidas then being cited to appear in person, and making default they deposed him, and made Cleombrotsus King. In the mean time Lylanders Office expired, and the new Ephor; which succeeded him, did deliver Leonidas again, Leonidas deptiand accused Lysander and Mandroelidas, because against the Law they had abolished all debts, and had ved of his again made new division of lands. When they saw they were openly accused, they incensed both Kingdom, the Kings, that joyning together, they should make the Ephores ordinances of no effect : declaring that their authority was onely erected for the discord of the two Kings, because they should give their voices unto that King that had the best judgement and reason, when the other would willfully withstand both right and reason: and therefore they two agreeing together, might lawfully do what they would, without controlement of any person; and that to result the Kings, was a breaking of the Law, fith that by right the Ephors had no other priviledge and authority, but to be Judges and

Hippomidon was fo well beloved of every man for his valiantness, that intreating the People for his

Father Agesilam, he saved his life, and got him out of the City. But for the two Kings, Agu took

plucked the Ephores from their feats and put others in their rooms, of the which Agefilam was one. Furthermore they armed a great number of young men, and opening the prisons, did fet the pri-

Lonidte flieth unio Teges.

foners at liberty: the which made their adversaries afraid of them, doubting some great murder would have followed upon it, howbeit no man had any hurt. For Agefilam being bent to kill Leonidas, who fled to the City of TEGEA, and having also laid men in wait for him by the way, King Agis hearing of it, fent thither other friends of his in whom he put great confidence, and they did accompany Leonidas, and brought him fafely unto the City of Tegen. Thus their purpose taking effect, and no man contrarying them, one man onely Agefilam overthrew all, and dashed a noble LACONIAN law by a shamefull vice, which was coverousness. For he being a great landed King Agir de man, and having the best lands of any man in the Countrey, and owing a great sum of money beceived by Age fides, would neither pay his debts, nor let go his land. Wherefore he periwaded King Agis, that if

AGIS and CLEOMENES.

Arbitratours between them, when there was any cause of Jar or controversie. Both the Kings Aronratours between them, which there into the Market-place accompanied with their friends,

he went about to stablish both together, he should raise a great uproar in the City, and withall, if he did first win them that were landed men, preferring at the beginning the cutting off of debts onely, then that they would eafily and willingly also accept the law of partition of lands. Lyfander was also of this opinion: whereby King Agus and he both were deceived by Agestlans subtility. So they New laws fla. commanded all the creditors to bring their bonds, obligations, and bills of debt (which the LACE-New laws flat communicio an the creditors to uting them of the law flat them on a heap together biffied by the DEMONIAN do call Claria) into the Market-place, and there laying them on a heap together

Lacelamonian they did fet fire on them. When the Usurers and Creditors saw their Writings obligatory on a fire, they departed thence with heavy hearts: but Agefilam mocking them faid, he never faw a brighter they ucpanied them the people then requiring that the lands also should be presently divided, and the nremaissine. The people than regulary full interpoling some cause of let, delayed time, untill opportunity ferved, that King Agis should go to the wars : for that the ACHAIANS their confedeportunity icreu, that Ang. Age House 5 being bound thereunto by the league confirmed between rates had prayed aid of LACEDAMON, being bound thereunto by the league confirmed between them, because they looked daily that the £TOLIANS coming through the Countrey of MEGARA,

ral of the Achaians. King Agis journey into Aduis.

Aratus Gene- would invade PELOPONNESUS. Aratus General of the ACHAIANS had leavied a great Army to withfland their invation, and had also written unto the Ephores, that they should fend them aid. Whereupon they prefently fent King Agis, perceiving also the readiness and good will of the souldiers which were appointed to go with him: for the most part of them were young men and needy, who feeing themselves discharged of the fear of their debts, and hoping also at their return, that the lands likewife should be divided among them, they went with glad hearts, and were obedient to King Agis. So that the Cities where they passed through, wondred how they came through Pelo-PONNESUS, from the one fide to the other, very quietly, without noile or offence to any man. Likewife many Grecians calling to mind the ancient times, told one another, that it was a noble fight then to fee the Army of LACEDEMON when they were led by Agefilam, Lylander, and Leonidas, famous Captains: fith now they faw fo great obedience unto Agis by his fouldiers, who was in manner the youngest man of all his Camp: who also glorying to be content with little, to away with pains, and not to be more costly apparelled, and armed then any private fouldier he had, he wan himself thereby a marvellous love of the people. Howbeit the rich men liked not this change, and were afraid least Agis should give other people example to rife also, and to do the like with theirs, as he had done. As meeting with Aratus by the City of CORINTH, even as he was confulting whether he should fight with his enemie, or not, shewed himself in his counsel then, no rash, but a resolute and valiant man. For he told him, that for his opinion he thought it better to fight, and not to fuffer the war to come any further, leaving the entry into Pelopon-King Agirgare NESUS free to their enemy: nevertheless, that he would do what Aratus thought good, beplace unto A- cause he was the elder, and General also of the ACHAIANS, whom he came not to command,

but to aid them. But Baton SINO PIAN writeth that King Agis would not fight, though Aratus was willing: howbeit he hath not read that which Aratus had written for his excuse and justification, alledging there that the farmers and husbandmen having brought all the Corn into their Barns, he thought it better to fuffer the enemies to come farther into their Countrey, rather then to hazard battel, to the loss of the whole Countrey of PELOPONNESUS; and that therefore he licenced all the confederates to depart , and brake up his Army. So King Agis returned home again, greatly honoured of them that ferred with him in his journey, finding the City of SPARTA then in great broile and trouble. For Agestians at that time being one of the Ephores, finding himself rid of the fear which before kept him under, cared not what injury or mischief he did unto any Citizen, so he might get money. For amongst other things, that very year he made them pay beyond all reafon the Tallages and Taxes due unto the Common-wealth for thirteen moneths, adding too the thirteenth moneth above the ordinary time of the yeare. Wherefore perceiving every man hated him, and being afraid of them he had offended, he kept fouldiers about him, armed with their fwords, and so came down into the Marker-place among them. And for the two Kings, he made no account of the one; but of the other that was Agu, he feemed outwardly to make good account, rather for kindreds sake, then for his dignity of a King; and furthermore gave it out abroad, that he would also be one of the Ephore; the next year following. Whereupon, his enemies speedily to prevent King Leonidas the danger, gathered force together, and openly brought King Leonidas from TEGEA, to reftore

returneth from him again to his Kingdom. The people were glad to fee that, because they were angry they had estle into spar- been mocked in that fort, for that the lands were not divided according unto promife. Furthermore

Sanctuary in the Temple of Juno Chalcacos, and Cleombrotus the other King fled into the Temple of Neptune : for it feemed Leonidas being much more offended with him, did let King Agus alone, and went against him with certain Souldiers armed. Then he sharply taunted him, that being his Son-inlaw, he had conspired against him, to deprive him of his Kingdom, and had driven him out of his Countrey. But then Cleombrotus not having a word to fay, fate still, and made him no answer. Wherepoon his Wife Chelonis, the Daughter of Leonidas, who before was offended for the injury they did The natural her Father, and had left her Husband Cleombrotus, that had usurped the Kingdom from him, to serve love of Cheloher Father in his adversity, and while he was in Sanctuary took part with him also of his misery, and mis, Leonidas afterwards when he went to the City of TEGEA, wore blacks for forrow, being offended with her Daughter, un-Husband: the contrarily then changing her anger with her Husbands fortune and milery, became allo and Husband an humble fuiter with him, fitting down by him, and embracing him, having her two little Sons on either side of them. All men wondring, and weeping for pity to see the goodness and natural on emerine of them. All the mourning Apparell, and hair of her head flaring about her eyes, bare-headed, flee spake in this manner unto her Father: "O Father mine, this forrowfull Garment The Oration and countenance is not for pity of Cleombrot w, but hath long remained with me, lamenting fore of Chelonis the "your former milery and exile: but now, which of the two should I rather choose, either to conti- Daughter of " nue a mourner in this pitifull state, seeing you again restored to your Kingdom, having overcome Leonidas. " your enemies; or else putting on my Princely Apparell, to see my Husband slain, unto whom " you married me a Maid? who if he cannot move you to take compassion on him, and to obtain "mercy, by the tears of his Wife and Children, he shall then abide more bitter pain of his evil "counfell, then that which you intend to make him luffer. For he shall see his Wife die before him. "whom he loved more dearly then any thing in the World. Also, with what face can I look upon "other Ladies, when I could never bring my Father to pity by any intercession I could make for my "Husband, neither entreat my Husband for my Father : and that my hap is to be born a Daughter "and Wife alwaies most unfortunate, and despised of mine own? And for my Husband, it he 6 had any reason to do that he did, I then took it from him, by taking your part, and protesting aer gainft him: and certainly your felf doth give him honest colour to excuse his fault, when he seeth in you the defire of the Kingdom fo great, that for the love thereof, you think it lawfull to kill "your Son-in-law; and also not to regard the children he hath gotten, for her sake. Chelonis pi-tifully complaining in this fort, putting her sace upon Cleombrotus head, cast her swollen and blubhered eves upon the standers by. Wherefore Leonidas after he had talked a little with his friends, he The banishcommanded Cleombrotus to get him thence, and to leave the City as an exile : and prayed his Daugh-ment of King ter for his fake to remain with him, and not to for fake her Father, that did fo dearly love her, as for Cleombrous. her fake he had faved her Husbands life. This notwithstanding, she would not yield to his request; but rifing up with her Husband, gave him one of his Sons, and her felf took the other in her arms ; and then making her prayer before the Altar of the goddess, she went as a banished woman away with her Husband. And truely the example of her vertue was so famous, that if Cleombrotus mind Thegreat verhad not been too much blinded with vain glory, he had cause to think his exile far more happy, tue and love of had not been too much nimed with vall gifty in that of the Kingdom which he possess of the without Chelonit, to her onjoy the love of so noble a Wise as he had, then for the Kingdom which he possess of the Husband Cle-her. Then Leonidus having banished King Cleombreus out of the City, and removing the first & -mbreus. phores, had substituted other in their places, he presently bethought him how he might crastily come by King Agis: First, he perswaded him to come out of the Sanctuary, and to govern the Kingdom fately with him, declaring unto him that his Citizens had forgiven him all that was past, because they knew he was deceived, and subtilly circumvented by Agesslane craft, being a young man, ambitious of honour. Agis would not leave the Sanctuary for Leonidas cunning perswasion, but mistrufted all that he said unto him. Wherefore Leonidas would no more beguile him with fair words. But Amphares, Demochares and Arcesilaus, did oftentimes go to visit King Agis; and otherwhile also they got him out of the Sanctuary with them unto the Bath, and brought him back again into

the Temple, when he had bathed. But Amphares having borrowed not long before, certain rich Apparell and Plate of Agessistrata, because he would not re-deliver them again, he determined to be- Amphares betray King Agu, his Mother and Grandmother. And it is reported that he chiefly did ferve Leonidas trayeth King turn, and provoked the Ephores (of which number he was one) against Agis. Now therefore, Asis Agis. keeping all the reft of his time within the Temple, faving when he went upon occasion to the Bath, they determined to intercept him by the way, and to take him when he was out of the Sanctuary. So they watched him one day when he came and bathed, and came and faluted him as their manner was,

and feemed to accompany him, sporting and being merry with him, as with a young man their familiar. But when they came to the turning of a street that went towards the Prison, Amphares laying hold on him, being one of the Ephores, faid unto him : I arreft thee Agis, and will bring thee before the Ephores, to give account of thy doings in the Commonwealth. Then Demochares which was a great mighty man, cast his Gown over his ears, and pulled him forward: others also thrust him forward behind him, as they had agreed together. So no man being near them to help Agu, they got King Agin him into Prison. Then came Leonidas incontinently with a great number of Souldiers that were carried to priftrangers, and befet the Prison round about. The Ephores went into the Prison, and fent unto some son.

of the Senate to come to them, whom they knew to be of their mind : then they commanded Agus, as if it had been judicially, to give account of the alteration he had made in the Commonwealth.

and that he should pay for his folly. Then another of the Ephores seeming to deal more favoura-

bly with him, and to shew him a way how he might escape the condemnation for his sault, asked

him if he had not been enticed unto it by Agefilam and Lyfander. Agis answered, that no man

Note the reverent regard of the Heathen abhorring to lay violent hands upon

Grandmother,

the Son of Leo-Wife of King Agistis King Agis Wife,

Cleomenes.

compelled him, but that he onely did it to follow the steps of the ancient Lycurgus, to bring the Commonwealth unto the former eftate of his grave Ordinance and Institution. Then the fame Senator asked him again, if he did not repent him of that he had done. The young man boldly anfwered him, that he would never repent him of fo wife and vertuous an enterprile, though he ventured his life for it. Then they condemned him to death, and commanded the Serjeants to carry him into the Decade, which was a place in the Prison where they were strangled that were condemned to die. Demochares perceiving the Serjeants durst not lay hold on him, and likewise that the Souldiers which were strangers, did abbor to commit such a fact contrary to the Law of God and man, to lay violent hands upon the Person of a King, he threatned and reviled them, and dragged ton of a King, Agis perforce into that place called the Decade. Now the rumour ran straight through the City, that King Agie was taken, and a multitude of People were at the Prison doors with Lights and Torches. Thither came also King Agis Mother and Grandfather, shricking out, and praying that the King of Sparta might yet be heard and judged by the People. For this cause they hastened his death the fooner, and were afraid befides, left the People in the night would take him out of their hands by force, if there came any more People thither. Thus King Agu being led to his death, fpied a vergeant lamenting and weeping for him, unto whom he faid: Good fellow, I pray thee weep not for me, for I am an honefter man then they that fo shamefully put me to death; and King Agis, his with those words he willingly put his head into the halter. Amphares then going out of the Prilon into the ftreet, found Agefifrata there, King Agu Mother, who ftraight fell down at his feet: but he taking her up again, in old familiar manner, as being her very friend, told her that they should do King Agu no hurt, and that she might if she would, go and see him. Then she prayed that they would also let her Mother in with her. Amphares said : With a good will : and so put them both into the Prifon-house, and made the doors be shut after them. But when they were within, he first gave Archidamia unto the Serjeants to be put to death, who was a marvellous old woman, and had lived more honourably unto that age then any Lady or Matron befide her in the City. She being executed, he commanded Agefiftrate alfo to come in. Who when the faw the body of her dead Son layed on the ground, and her Mother also hanging on the Gallows, she did her self help the Hangman to pluck her down, and layed her body by her Sons. Then having covered her in decent manner, the layed her down on the ground by the Corps of her Son Agu, and kiffing his cheek, faid: Out alas my Son, thy great modesty, goodness, and clemency, brought thee and us unto this death. Then Amphares peeping in at the door, to see what was done, hearing what she said, came in withall in a great rage, and said: I perceive that thou hast also been of counfell with thy Son, and fithence it is 10, thou shalt also follow him. Then she rising also to be strangled, said : The gods grant yet that this may profit SPARTA. This horrible murder being blown abroad in the City, and the three dead bodies also brought out of Prison, the sear though it were great amongst the People, could not keep them back from apparent shew of grief, and manifest have against Leonidas and Amphares, thinking that there was never a more wicked and crueller fact committed in SPARTA, fince the DORIANS came to dwell in PELOPONNESUS, For the very Enemies themselves in Battle, would not willingly lay hands upon the Kings of Lathe Enemies CEDEMON, but did forbear as much as they could possible, both for fear and reverence they bare unto their Majefty. For in many great Battles and Conflicts which the LACEDEMONI-King of Luce ANS had against the GRECIANS, there was never any King of LACEDAMON slain before Philips time, but (Itembrotus onely, who was flain with a Dart at the Battle of LEUCTRES. Some write also that the MESSINIANS hold opinion, that there Ariflomenes flew Theopompusi howbeit the LACEDEMONIANS faid, that he was but hurt, not flain. But hereof there are divers opinions: but it is certain that Agis was the first King whom the Ephores ever put to death; for that he had layed a plot of a noble device, and worthy of SPARTA, being of that age when men do easily pardon them that offend : and was rather to be accused of his friends then of his enemies, because he had faved Leonidas life, and had trusted other men, as the best natured young

Now Agu having suffered in this fort, Leonidas was not quick enough to take Archidamus his Broneth Chomens ther also, for he fled presently: yet he brought Agu Wife out of her house by force, with a little Life, Cleamener boy she had by him, and married her unto his Son Cleamenes, who was yet under age to marry; fearing left this young Lady (hould be bestowed elsewhere, being indeed a great Heir, and of a rich House, and the Daughter of Gylippus, called by her name Agiatie; besides that, she was the fairest woman Displace of at that time in all GREECS, and the vertuousest, and best conditioned. Wherefore for divers reDisplace and spects she prayed she might not be forced to it. But now being at leagth married with Cleomenes, she ever hated Leonidas to the death, and yet was a good and loving Wife unto her young Husband, who immediately after he was married unto her, fell greatly in fancy with her, and for compassion fake (as it feemed) he thanked her for the love the bare unto her first Husband, and for the loving remembrance the had of him, informach as he himself many times would fall in talk of it, and would be inquifitive how things had passed, taking great pleasure to hear of Agis wise counfell and purpose. For Cleaments was as defirous of honour, and had as noble a mind as Agu,

and was born also to temperance, and moderation of life, as so few in like manner was a howbeir, he had not that shamefast modelty and lenity which the other had, but was somewhat more stirring of nature, and readier to put any good matter in execution. So he thought it good honesty to bring the Citizens (if he could) to be contented to live after an honest fort : but contrarily, he thought it no dishonesty to bring them unto good life, by compussion also. Furthermore, the manners of the Citizens of SPARTA giving themselves over to itleness and pleasure, did nothing like him at all: neither that the King and fulfer the Commonwealth to be ruled as they lifted, to no man impeached his pleasure, and that they did fer him shone; informed as no man regarding the profit of the Commonwealth, every man was for himfelt and his Family. And contrarily it was not lawfull for any man to speak for the exercises of the youth, for their education in temperance, and for the reftoring again of equality of thie, the preforment whereof was the onely cause of the late death of Agis. They say also, that Chamenes being a young stripling, had heard some disputation of Philotophy, when the Philosopher Spharas, of the Countrey of BORYSTHENES, came to LACE-DEMON, and lovingly stayed thereito teach young men and children. He was one of the chiefest spharus a Phi-Scholars of Zenon CITIAN, and delighted (as it feemed) in Cleomenes noble mind, and had a losopher of great defire to prick him forward unto honour. For as it is reported, that the ancient Leonidas being demanded what Poet he thought Tyrtaus to be, answered, he was good to flatter young mens minds: for he fet their hearts on fire by his Verles, when they began to fight any Battle, fearing no danger, they were so encouraged by them. So the Stoick Discipline is somewhat dangerous, for the stout and valiant minds, which otherwise doth make desperate; and when they are joyned unto a grave and gentle nature, first it lifteth up his heart, and then maketh him talte the profit thereof. Now Leonidas (the Father of Chomenes) being deceased, and he himself also come unto the Crown, finding that the Citizens of Sparta at that time were very diffolite, that the rich men followed their pleasure and profit, taking no care for the Commonwealth, that the poor men also for very want and need, went with no good life and courage to the Wars, neither cared for the bringing up of their children; and that he himself had but the name of a King, and the Ephori the absolute authority to do what they listed; at his first coming to his Kingdom, he determined to alter the whole State and Government of the Commonwealth. Who having a friend called **Xenare**, that had been his Lover in his youth (which the LACEDEMONIANS called Empristee, as much as, inspired) he began to found his opinion, asking what manner of man King Agis had been, and by what reason, and whose advice he had followed in his attempt, for the reformation of the Commonwealth. Xenares at the first did not willingly rehearse the things unto him, declaring every thing what had paffed. But when he found that Cleomenes was affected unto King Agis intent, and still defired to hear of it, then Xenares sharply and angerly reproved him, and told him he was not wife, nor well advised: and at length would no more come and talk with him as he was wont; yet making no man privy why he abstained from coming to him, but told them that asked him, he knew a cause well enough why. Xenares now having thus refused him, and thinking all the rest would do the like : to bring this matter to pass, he took this resolution with himself. Because he thought he might the rather do it in War, than in Peace, he fet the City of SPARTA and the ACHAIANS at variance together, who did themselves give the first occasion to be complained upon. For Aratus being the Cleomenes did President and chief of all the ACHAIANS, had practifed a long time to bring all PELOPONNE- fet the Lacedasus into one body; and had therefore onely sustained great troubles in Wars, and at home in Montains toge-Peace: thinking that there was no other way to deliver them from forraign Wars. Now when ther by the he had won all the other people to be of his opinion, there remained no more but the ELIANS, ears. the LACEDEMONIANS, and a few of the ARCADIANS, which were subject to the LACE-DEMONIANS. When King Leonidas was dead, Aratus began to invade the ARCADIANS, those specially that bordered upon the ARGIVES, to prove how the LACEDEMONIANS would take it, making no account of Cleomenes, being but a young King, and had no experience of Wars, Thereupon the Ephori fent Gleomenes unto ATHENIUM (a Temple of Minerva hard by the City of Belbina) with an Army to take it, because it was a passage and entrey into the Countrey of LACONIA; howbeit the place at that time was in question betwixt the MEGALIPOLITANS and the LACEDEMONIANS. Chomenes got it, and fortified it. Aratus making no complaint otherwife of the matter, ftole out one night with his Army to fet upon the TEGEANS and ORCHOME-NIANS, hoping to have taken those Cities by Treason. But the Traytors that were of the Confederacy, their hearts failed them when they should have gone about it; so that Aratus returned, having loft his Journey, thinking that this fecret attempt of his was not discovered. But Cleomenes finely wrote unto him as his friend, and asked him, whither he had led his Army by night. Aratus returned answer again, that understanding Cleomenes meant to fortifie Belbina, he went forth with his Army, thinking to have let him. Cleomenes wrote again unto him, and faid, he did believe that which he spake was true : howbeit he earnestly requested him (if it were no trouble to him) to advertise him why he brought scaling-laders and lights after him. Aratus smiling at this mock, asked what this young man was. Democrites LACEDAMONIAN being a banished man out of his Countrey, answered : if thou hast any thing to do against the LACEDAMONIANS, thou hadft need make hafte, before this young Cockrell have on his fours. Then Cleomenes being in the Field in the Countrey of ARCADIA, with a few Horsemen and three hundred Footmen onely, the Ephori being afraid of Wars, sent for him to return again. His back was no sooner turned, obeying their commandment, but Aratus suddenly took the City of CAPHYES.

AGIS and CLEOMENES.

Cleamenes againft Aratus.

The laving of the King of Lacedamon. touching their Enemics.

Archilamus King Agis brother flain.

fory of the Achaians.

Lyfiadas Tyver his tyran. ny, and made it a Popular

The Dream of

Thereupon the Ephors incontinently fent Cleomenes back again with his Army: who took the Fort of METHYDRIUM, and burnt the Borders of the ARGIVES. The ACHAIANS came against him journey into the Country of with an Army of twenty thousand Footmen, and a thousand Horsemen led by Aristomachus. Cleomenes met with them by the City of PALANTIUM, and offered Battle. But Aratus quaking at the the Argivet. means ince with them by man, would not fuffer Aristamachus to hazard Battle, but went his way the victory of hardiness of this young man, would not fuffer Aristamachus to hazard Battle, but went his way derided by the ACHAIANS, and despised by the LACEDEMONIANS, who in all were not above five thouland fighting men. Cleomenes courage being now lift up, and bravely speaking to his Citizens, he remembred them of a faying of one of their ancient Kings, that the LACEDEMONIANS never enquired what number their Enemies were, but where they were. Shortly after the ACHAI-ANS making War with the ELIANS, Cleomenes was sent to aid them, and met with the Army of the ACHAIANS by the Mountain Lyceum, as they were in their return; he fetting upon them, gave them the overthrow, flew a great number of them, and took many also Prisoners, that the rumour ran through GREECE, bow Aratu felf was slain. Cleomenes wifely taking the occasion which this Victory gave him, he went straight to the City of MANTINEA, and taking it upon a fudden, when no manknew of his coming, he put a strong Garrison into it. Now the LACEDEMO-NIANS hearts failing them, and refifting Cleomenes enterprifes, over-wearying them with Wars, he went about to fend Archidamus, King Agis brother, being then at MESSINA, unto whom the Kingdom of right belonged by the other House; supposing that he should easily weaken the power of the Ephores, by the Authority of the two Kings, if both of them joined together. Which when the murtherers of King Agis understood, being afraid that Archidamus returning from exile, he would be revenged of them, they fecretly received him into the City, and found the means to bring him into SPARTA. But when they had him, they put him straight to death, whether it was unwitting to Cleomenes (as Phylarchus plainly teftifieth) or elfe with his privity, suffering them to make him away, by perswasion of his friends. But it is a clear case, the City was burdened withall, because probable matter fell out, that they had compelled Cleomenes to do it. Nevertheless, he holding still his first determination, to alter the state of the Commonwealth of SPARTA, as soon as he could possible, he fo fed the Ephores with Money, that he brought them to be contented he should make War. He had also won many other Citizens by the means of his Mother Cratesiclea, who furnisht him with Money, that he lacked not to honour him withall : and further, married as it is reported (though otherwise she meant not to marry) for her Sons sake, unto one of the valiantest men of all the City. So Cleomenes leading his Army into the Field, wan a place within the territory of MEGALIPO-LIS, called LEUCTRA. The ACHAIANS also being quickly come to their aid, led by Aratus, they straight fought a Battle by the City felf, where Cleomenes had the worst on the one side of his Army. Howbeit Aratus would not fuffer the ACHAIANS to follow them, because of bogs and quavernires, but founded the retreat. But Lyfiadas a MEGALIPOLITAN being angry withall, caused the Horsemen he had about him to follow the Chase, who pursued so fiercely, that they came amongst Vines, Walls and Ditches, where he was drivento disperse his men, and yet could not get out. Cleamenes perceiving it, fent the light Horsemen of the TARENTINES and CRETANS Liftal finin. against hint: of whom Lystadas valiantly fighting was slain. Then the LACEDEMONIANS beCleomene: Vi- ing couragious for this Victory, came with great cries; and giving a fierce charge upon the ACHAI-ANS, overthrew their whole Army, and flew a marvellous number of them; but yet Cleomenes at their request suffered them to take up the dead bodies of their men to bury them. For Lysiadas Corps, he caused it to be brought unto him, and putting a Purple Robeupon it, and a Crown on his head, fent it in this array unto the very Gates of the City of MEGALIPOLIS. It was that rant of Mega- felf Lysiadas, who giving over the Tyranny and Government of Megalipolis, made it a Popular State, and free City, and joyned it to the ACHAIANS. After this Victory, Cleomenes that determined greater matters and attempts, perswaded himself that if he might once come to stablish the Affairs of the Commonwealth at SPARTA to his mind, he might then eafily overcome the ACHAIANS, brake with his Father-in-law Megiftonus, and told him that it was necessary to take away the Authority of the Ephores, and to make division of the Lands among the SPARTANS: and then being brought to equality, to encourage them to recover the Empire of GREECE again unto the LACEDEMONIANS, which their Predecessors before them held and enjoyed. Megistonus granting his good will and furtherance, joyned two or three of his friends more unto him. It chanced at that time, that one of the Ephores lying in the Temple of Passiphae, had a marvellous dream in the night. For he thought he saw but one Chair standing where the Ephori did use to sit to give audience, and that the other four which were wont to be there, were taken away; and that marvelling at it, he heard a voice out of the Temple that faid, That was the best for SPARTA. He declaring this Dream the next morning unto Cleomenes, it somewhat troubled him at the first, thinking that he came to feel him, for that he had heard fome inckling of his intent. But when he perswaded himself that the other meant good faith, and lied not unto him, being bolder then before, he went forward with his purpose; and taking with him unto the Camp all those SPARTANS which he suspected to be against his enterprise, he went and took the Cities of HEREA and ALSEA, Confederates of the ACHAIANS, and victualled ORCHOMENA, and went and camped before the City of MANTINEA. In fine, he so wearied and over-harried the LACED & MONIANS by long journeys, that at length they belought him he would let them remain in ARCADIA, to repose themselves there. In the mean time, Cleamenes with his strangers which he had hired, returned again unto SPAR-TA, and imparted his intent by the way unto them he trufted beft, and marched at his own cafe, AGIS and CLEOMENES.

that he might take the Ephores at Supper. When he came near unto the City, he sent Euryclidas before, into the Hall of the Ephores, as though he brought them news out of the Camp from him. After him, he fent also Thericon and Phabis, and two other that had been brought up with him. whom the LACEDEMONIANS called the SAMOTHRACIANS, taking with them a few Souldiers. Now whilft Enryclidas was talking with the Ephores, they also came in upon them with their Swords drawn. and did fer upon the Ephores. Agefilam was hurt first of all, and falling down, made as though he had been flain; but by little and little he crept out of the Hall, and got fecretly into a Chappel consecrated unto Fear, the which was wont ever to be kept shut, but then by chance was left open : when he was come in, he shut the door fast to him. The other four of the Ephores were slain presently, Cleomenes sleet and above ten moe besides, which came to desend them. Furthermore, for them that sate still and stirred not, they killed not a man of them, neither did keep any man that was defirous to go out of the City ; but moreover, they pardoned Agesilans, who came the next morning out of the Chappel of Fear: Amongst the LACEDEMONIANS in the City of SPARTA, there are not onely Temples of Fear and Divers Tom-Death, but also of Laughter, and of many other such passions of the mind. They do worship Fear, ples at Sparta, not as other spirits and devils that are hurtfull, but because they are perswaded that nothing preserveth of Fear, Death, a Commonwealth better then fear. Wherefore the Ephori (as Arifotle witneffeth) when they are fancies. created, do by publick Proclamation command all the SPARTANS to shave their chins, and to obey the Law, left they should make them feel the rigour of the Law. They brought in the shaving of their chins, in my opinion, to enure young men to obey the Magistrates even in trifles. Moreover, it seems that men in old time did efteem fortitude to be no taking away of fear, but rather a fear and lothness to incur shame. For commonly those that are most afraid to offend the Law, are in the Field most va- The valiancest liant against their Enemies, and shun no perill to win fame and honest reputation. And therefore it men are most was wifely faid of one:

That fear cannot be without shamefastness. And fo Homer in a certain place made Helen fay unto King Priamus: Of truth I do confes dear father-in-law, Tou are the man of whom I stand in av. And reverence most of all that ever I saw. And in another place, speaking of the GRECIAN Souldiers, he saith thus: For fear of their Captains they spake not a word.

For men do use to reverence them whom they fear. And this was the cause why the Chappel of Fear The Chappel was by the Hall of the Ephores, having in manner a Princely and absolute Authority. The next mor- of Fear joined ning Cleomenes banished by Trumpet fourfcore Citizens of Sparta, and overthrew all the Chairs of to the Hall of ning (teomenes bandined by Prumper four Contents of Sparia, and over the want to change the Ephores but one onely, the which he referved for himself to fit in to give audience. Then calling the Ephores, the Ephores but one onely, the which he referved for himself to fit in to give audience. Then calling the Ephores the Ephores but one onely, the which he referved for himself to fit in to give audience. the People to Councill, he gave them account of his doings, and told them that Lycurgus had joyned of King Cleothe Senators with the Kings, and how the City had been governed a long time by them, without help menes couching of any other Officers. Notwithstanding, afterwards the City having great Wars with the MESSI- the first Original NIANS, the Kings being always employed in that War, whereby they could not attend the affairs of nal of the Ethe Commonwealth at home, did choose certain of their friends to sit in judgement in their steads. Phores. to determine controversies of Law, which were called Ephores, and did govern long time as the Kings Ministers; howbeit that afterwards by little and little, they took upon them absolute government by themselves. And for manifest proof hereof, you see that at this present time when the Ephori do fend for the King, the first and second time he refuseth to come, but the third time he rifeth and goeth unto them. The first man that gave the Ephores this Authority, was Afteropus, one of the Epho- Afteropus the res, many years after the first institution of the Kings: and yet if they had governed discreetly, per- first man that adventure they might have continued longer. But they licentioully abuling their own Authority, by gave authority supporefing the lawfull Governours instituted of old time, taking upon them to benish some of their to be Ephores. suppressing the lawfull Governours instituted of old time, taking upon them to banish some of their Kings, and putting other of them also to death, without Law and Justice, and threatning others, that desire to restore that noble and former blessed Government unto Sparta again : all these things, I fay, are in no wife to be suffered any longer. And therefore if it had been possible to have banished all these plagues of the Commonwealth out of SPARTA, brought from foraigne Nations (I mean, Pleasures, Pastimes, Money, Debts, and Usuries, and others yet more ancient, Poverty and Riches) he might then have efteemed himself the happiest King that ever was, if like a good Physician he had cured his Countrey in that infection, without grief or forrow. But in that he was conftrained to begin with blood, he followed Lycurgin example, who being neither King nor other Magiftrate, but a private Citizen onely, taking upon him the Authority of the King, boldly came into the Market-place with force and armed men, and made King Charilaus that then reigned so afraid, that he was driven to take Sanctuary in one of the Temples. But the King being a Prince of a noble nature, and loving the honour of his Countrey, took part with Lyeurgus, adding to, his advice and counfell, for the alteration of the state of the Government of the Commonwealth, which he did confirm. Hereby then it appeareth, that Lyourgus faw it was a hard thing to alter the Commonwealth without force and fear: the which he notwithstanding had used with as great modesty and discretion as might be possible, banishing them that were against the profit and wealth of LA-CEDEMON, given all the Lands of the Countrey also to be equally divided amongst them, and fetting all men clear that were in debt. And furthermore, that he would make a choice and proof of the strangers, to make them free Citizens of Sparta whom he knew to be honest men,

Cleamenes reformeth the ftare of the wealth of Lace-

thereby to defend their City the better by force of Arms: to the end that from thenceforth we may no more see our Countrey of LACONIA spoiled by the ETOLIANS and ILLYRIANS, for lack of men to defend themselves against them. Then he began first himself to make all the goods common, and after him Megistronus his Father-in-law, and consequently all his other friends. Then he caused the Land alfo to be divided, and ordained every banished man a part, whom he himself had exiled, promifing that he would receive them again into the City, when he had established all things. So when he had replenished the number of the Citizens of SPARTA, with the choicest honest men their neighbours, he made four thousand Footmen well armed, and taught them to use their Pikes with both hands, in stead of their Darts with one hand, and to carry their Targets with a good strong handle, and not buckled with a leather thong. Afterwards he took order for the education of children, and to reftore the ancient LACONIAN Discipline again: and did all these things in manner by the help of Spharus the Philosopher. Insomuch as he had quickly set up again School-houses for children, and also brought them to the old order of diet: and all but a very few, without compulsion were willing to fall to their old inflitution of life. Then because the name of one King should not of fend any man, he made his Brother Euclidas King with him. But this was the first time that ever the two Kings were of one House but then. Furthermore, understanding that the ACHAIANS and Aratm were of opinion, that he durft not come out of LACEDEMON, for fear to leave it in perill of revolting, because of the late change and alteration in the Commonwealth, he thought it an honourable attempt of him to make his Enemies fee the readiness and good will of his Army. Thereupon he invaded the Territories of the MEGALIPOLITANS, and brought away a great prey and booty, after he had done great hurt unto his Enemies. Then having taken certain Players and Minstrels that came from Messina, he set up a stage within the Enemies Countrey, made a game of forty Mina's for the Victor, and fate a whole day to look upon them, for no pleafure he took in the fight o, it, but more to despight the Enemies withall, in making them see how much he was stronger then they to make fuch a maygame in their own Countrey, in despight of them. For otherwise of all the Armies of the GRECIANS, or Kings in all GREECE, there was no Army but his onely, that was without Players, Minstrels, Fools and Juglers: for his Camp onely was clean of fuch rabble and foolery, and all the young men fell to fome exercise of their bodies, and the old men also to teach them. And if they chanced to have any vacant time, then they would pleasantly be one merry with another, in giving some pretty fine mock after the LACONIAN manner. And what profit they got by King Cleame. that kind or exercise, we have written it at large in Lycurgus Life. But of all these things, the King nes the teacher himfelf was their Schoolmafter and example, shewing himfelf very temperate of life, and plain withand example of out curiofity, no more then any private Souldier of all his Camp: the which were great helps unto him in his enterprizes he made in GREECE. For the GRECIANS having cause of suit and negotiation with other Kings and Princes, did not wonder fo much at their pomp and riches, as they did abhor and deteft their pride and infolency: so disdainfully they would answer them that had to do with them. But contrarily when they went unto Cleomenes, who was a King in name and deed as they were, finding no purple Robes nor stately Mantles, nor rich embroidered Beds, nor a Prince to be spoken to but by Mellengers, Gentlemen-uthers, and supplications, and yet with a great ado: and feeing him also come plainly apparelled unto them, with a good countenance, and courteoully answering the matters they came for : he thereby did marvelloully win their hearts and good wills, that when they returned Cleamenes mo home, they faid he onely was the worthy King that came of the race of Hercules. Now for his diet at his board, that was very straight and LACONIAN-like, keeping onely three boards: and if he chanced to feaft any Ambaffadors or other his friends that came to fee him, he then added to, two other boards; and besides made his men see that his fare should be amended, not with pastry and conserves, but with more store of meat, and some better wine then ordinary. For he one day reproved one of his friends, that bidding strangers to supper, he gave them nothing but black broth, and brown bread onely, according to the LACONIAN manner. Now, faid he, we must not use strangers so hardly aster our manner. The Board being taken up, another little Table was brought with three feet, whereupon they fet a bowl of Copper full of wine, and two filver cups of a bottle a piece, and certain other few filver pots befides: fo every man drank what they lifted, and no man was forced to drink more then he would. Furthermore, there was no sport, nor any pleasant song sung to make the company merry, for it needed not. For Cleomene, self would entertain them with some pretty question or pleasant tale: whereby as his talk was not severe and without pleasure, so was it also pleasant withtertainment at out infolency. For he was of opinion, that to win men by gifts or money, as other Kings and Princes did, was but base and clown-like: but to seek their good wills by courteous means and pleasantness, and therewith to mean good faith, that he thought most fit and honourable for a Prince. For this was his mind, that there was no other difference betwixt a friend and hireling, but that the one is won with Money, and the other with civility and good entertainment. The first therefore that received King

his board.

helping him to drive out the Garrison of the ACHAIANS, they yielded themselves unto him. But he referring them to the use and government of their own Laws and liberty, departed from thence the Cleomenerless. fame day, and went unto the City of TEGEA. Shortly after he compassed about ARCADIA, and eth his Army came unto PHERES in ARCADIA, determining one of the two, either to give the ACHAIANS against Aratus Battle, or to bring Aratus out of favour with the People, for that he had suffered him to spoil and deftroy their Countrey. Hyperbatas was at that time General of the ACHAIANS, but Aratus dld bear all the sway and authority. Then the ACHAIANS coming into the Field with all their

Cleamenes into their City, were the MANTINEANS, who opened him the Gates in the night, and

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People armed, and encamping by the City of DYMES, near unto the Temple of Hecatombaum. Cleomenes going thither, lay betwirt the City of DYMES that was against him, and the Camp of his Enemies : which men thought a very unwife part of him. Howbeit, valiantly provoking the ACHA-IANS, he procured them to the Battle, overthrew them, made them fly, and flew a great number in the Field, and took many of them also prisoners. Departing from thence, he went and fet upon The Victory the City of LANGON, and drave the Garrison of the ACHAIANS out of it, and restored the City of Cloment again unto the Elians. The Achaians being then in very hard flate, Aratus that of cu- Adminst. from was wont to be their General (or at the leaft once in two years) refused now to take the charge, notwithstanding the ACHAIANS did specially pray and entreat him; the which was an ill act of him, to letanother steer the rudder, in so dangerous a storm and tempest. Therefore the A-CHAIANS fent Ambassadors unto Cleomenes to treat of peace, unto whom it seemed he gave a very tharp answer. After that, he fent unto them, and willed them onely to refigne the Seigniory of GREECE unto him: and that for all other matters he would deal reasonably with them, and prefently deliver them up their Towns and Prisoners again, which he had taken of theirs. The ACHA-IANS being glad of peace with these conditions, wrote unto Cleomenes that he should come unto the City of LERNA, where the diet and generall affembly should be kept to consult thereon. It chanced then that Cleamenes marching thither, being very hot, drank cold water, and fell on fuch a bleeding withall, that his voice was taken from him, and he almost stifled. Wherefore he sent the ACHAI-ANS their chiefest prisoners home again, proroguing the Parliament till another time, and returned back to LACEDAMON. It is supposed certainly, that this let of his coming to the diet, was the onely cause of the utter destruction of GREECE: the which otherwise was in good way to have rifen again, to have been delivered from the present miseries, and extream pride and covetousness of the MACEDONIANS. For Aratus, either for that he trufted not Cleomenes, or for that he was afraid of his power, or that he otherwise envyed his honour and prosperity, to see him risen to fuch incredible greatness in so short a time; and thinking it also too great shame and dishonour to him, to fuffer this young man in a moment to deprive him of his great honour and power, which he had possessed so long time, by the space of thirty years together, ruling all GREECE: first he fought by force to terrifie the ACHAIANS, and to make them break off from this peace. But in fine, finding that they little regarded his threats, and that he could not prevail with them, for that to his Counthey were afraid of Cleomenes valiantness and courage, whose request they thought unreasonable, trev. for that he fought but to reftore PELOPONNESUS unto her former ancient state again : he fell then into a practife far unhonest for a GRECIAN, very infamous for himself, but most dishonourable for the former noble acts he had done. For he brought Antigonus into GREECE, and in his age filled the Countrey of PELOPONNESUS with MACEDONIANS, whom he himself in his youth had driven thence, had taken from them the Castle of CORINTH, and had alwaies been an enemy of the Kings: but specially of Antigonus, of whom before he had spoken all the ill he could, as appeareth in his writings, faying that he took marvellous pains, and did put himfelf into many dangers, to deliver the City of ATHENS from the Garrison of the MACEDONIANS. And yet notwithstanding he brought them armed with his own hands, not into his Countrey onely, but into his own house, yea even into the Ladies chambers and closets: disdaining that the King of LACE-DAMON, descending of the blood-royal of Hercules (who setting up again the ancient manner of life of his Countrey, did temper it as an instrument of musick out of tune, and brought it to the good, ancient, and lober discipline, and DORICAN life instituted by Lycingus) should be called and written King of the SICYONIANS, and of the TRICCEIANS. And furthermore, flying them that were contented with brown bread, and with the plain course caps of the LACEDEMONIANS, and that went about to take away riches (which was the chiefest matter they did accuse Cleomenes for) and to provide for the poor, he went and put himself and all ACHAIA unto the Crown and Diadem, the purple robe, and proud imperious commandment of the MACEDONIANS, fearing left men thould think that Cleomenes could command him. Furthermore his folly was such, that having Garlands of Flowers on his head, he did facrifice unto Antigonus, and fing Songs in praise of his honour, as if he had been a god, where he was but a rotten man confumed away. This that we have written of Aratus (who was endued with many noble vertues, and a worthy GRECIAN) is not fo much to accuse him, as to make us see the frailty and weakness of mans nature: the which, though it have never fo excellent vertues, cannot yet bring forth fuch pertect fruit, but that it hath ever fome maim and blemish. Now when the ACHAIANS were met again in the City of Argos, to hold the Selfion of their Parliament before prorogued, and Cleomenes also being come from TEGEA, to be at that Parliament, every man was in hope of good peace. But Aratus then, who was agreed before on the chiefest Articles of the Capitulations with Antigonus, fearing that Cleomenes by fair words or force would cause the People to bring that he desired, sent to let him understand, that he should but come himself alone into the City, and for fafety of his person, they would give him three hundred Hostages: or otherwise, if he would not leave his Army, that then they would give audience without the City, in the places of exercises, called Cyllarabium. When Cleomenes had heard their Answer, he told them they had done him great wrong; for they should have advertifed him of it before he had taken his journey, and not now when he was almost hard at their Gates, to fend him back again, with a flea in his ear. Thereupon he wrote a Letter unto the Council of the ACHAIANS, altogether full of complaints against Aratus. On the other side also, Aratus in his Oration to the Council, inveighed with bitter words against Cleomenes.

AGIS and CLEOMENES. Thereupon Cleomenes departing with speed, fent an Herauld to proclaim Wars against the ACHAI-ANS, not in the City of Argos, but in the City of EGION (as Aratu writeth) meaning to fet upon them being unprovided. Hereupon all ACHAIA was in an uprore : for divers Cities did prefently revolt against the ACHAIANS, because the common Peoplehoped after the division of Lands, and discharging of their debts. The Noblemen also in many places were offended with Aratus, because he practifed to bring the MACEDONIANS into the Countrey of PELOPONNESUS. Cleaments therefore hoping well for all these respects, brought his Army into ACHAIA, and at his first coming took the City of PALLENA, and drave out the Garrison of the ACHAIANS: and after that, wan also the Cities of Pheneum and Pantelium. Now the Achaians fearing some treason in Corinth and Sicyone, sent certain Horsemen out of the City of Argos, to keep those Cities. The ARGIVES in the mean time, attending the celebration of the Feaft at the Games

Nemeca, Cleomenes thinking (which fell out true) that if he went to Argos, he should find the

City of Argos.

City full of People that were come to fee the Feafts and Games, and that affailing them upon the fudden, he should put them in a marvellous fear: brought his Army in the night hard to the Walls of the City of Argos, and at his first coming wan a place they called Aspis, a very strong place about the Theatre, and ill to come unto. The ARGIVES were fo amazed at it, that no man would take upon him to defend the City, but received Cleomenes Garrison, and gave him twenty Hostages, promiling thenceforth to be true Confederates unto the LACEDEMONIANS, under his charge and conduct. The which doubtless wan him great fame, and encreased his power: for that the ancient Kingsof Lacedamon, could never before with any policy or device, win the City of Argos. for King Pyrrhus one of the most valiantest and warlikest Princes that ever was, entring the City of ARGOS by force, could not keep it, but was flain there, and the most part of his Army: whereby City of Argan. every man wondered greatly at the diligence and counfel of Cleomenes. And where every manded mock him before, when Cleomenes faid that he would follow Solon and Lycurgus, in making the Citizens Goods common, and discharging all debts: they were then clearly perswaded, that he onely was the cause and mean of that great change which they saw in the courage of the SPARTANS, who were before so weak and out of heart, that they having no courage to defend themselves, the ÆTOLIANS entring LACONIA with an Army, took away at one time fifty thousand Slaves. Whereupon an old man of Sparta pleafantly faid at that time, that their Enemies had done them a great pleasure, to rid their Countrey of LACONIA of such a rabble of rascals. Shortly after, they Lycurgui Laws being entred again into the former ancient Discipline of Lycurgui, as if Lycurgui felf had been alive to have trained them unto it, they thewed themselves very valiant, and obedient also unto their Magistrates, whereby they recovered again the commandment of all Greece, and the Countrey also of Peloponnesus. After Cleomenes had taken the City of Argos, the Cities also of CLEONES and PHLIUNTH, did yield themselves unto him. Aratus in the mean time remained at CORINTH, and there did bufily accuse them which were suspected to savour the LACED. MONIANS. But when news was brought him that ARGOS was taken, and that he perceived also the City of Corinth did lean unto Cleomenes part, and drave away the Achaians, he then calling the People to Council in CORINTH, secretly stole to one of the Gates of the City, and caufing his horfe to be brought unto him, took his back, and gallopped for life unto the (ity of SICYONE. When the CORINTHIANS heard of it, they took their Horsebacks also, striving who should bethere soonest, and posted in such haste unto Cleomenes at the City of Argos, that many of them (as Aratm writeth) killed their Horfes by the way : howbeit Cleomenes was very much offended with them, for that they had let him scape their hands. But Aratus faith further, that Magiftonus came to him from Cleomenes, and offered him a great fum of Money to deliver him the Caftle of CORINTH, wherein there was a great Garrison of the ACHAIANS. But he anfwered again, that things were not in his power, but rather that he was subject to their power. Now Cleamenes departing from the City of Argos, overcame the TROEZENIANS, the EPIDAU-RIANS, and the HERMIONIANS. After that he came unto CORINTH, and prefently introched the Castle there round about, and sending for Aratus friends and sactors, commanded them to keep his houle and goods carefully for him; and fent Trytimallus MESSINIAN again unto him, to pray him to be contented that the Castle might be kept indifferently betwirt the ACHAIANS and LACEDEMONIANS, promifing him privately to double the Pension that King Prolomy gave him. But Aratus refufing it, fent his Son unto Antigonus with other Hostages, and periwaded the ACHAIANS to deliver up the Cattle of CORINTH into Anigonus hands. Cleomenes understanding it, entred with his Army into the Countrey of the SICYONIANS, and destroyed it as he went, and took Aratus Goods and Money of the gift of the CORINTHIANS by Decree. Now Antigonus in the mean time being passed the Mountain of Gerania with a great Power, Cleomenes determined not to fortifie the ISTHMUS or the Straight of PELOPONNESUS, but the wales of the Mountains of Onienes; determining to keep every one of them against the MACE-DONIANS, with intent to confume them rather by time, then to fight a Battle with an Army fo good Souldiers, and well trained as they were. Cleomenes following this determination, did put Antigonus to great trouble, because he had not in time provided for Corn, and could not win the palfage by force, for that Cleomenes kept it with such Guard and Souldiers. Then Anisgonus stealing secretly into the Haven of Lecheum, he was stoutly repulsed, and lost a number of his men: whereupon Cleomenes and his men being couragious for this Victory, went quietly to supper. Anrigonss on the other fide fell into despair, to fee him brought by necessity into such hard teams. AGIS and CLEOMENES.

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Wherefore he determined to go to the Temple of June, and from thence to pass his Army by Sea into the City of Sicyone, the which required a long time, and great preparation. But the same night there came fome of Aratus friends of the Argives, who coming from Argos by Sea. brought news that the ARGIVES, were rebelled against Cleomenes. The practifer of this rebellion The Argives was one Aristoteles, who easily brought the People unto it, that were already offended with Cleo- do rebell 2menes, that had promised to passa Law for the clearing of debts, but performed it not according to gainft Cleametheir expectation. Wherefore, Aratus with a thousand and five hundred men which Antigonus ner. gave him, went by Sea unto Epidaurum. Howbeit Aristoteles tarried not his coming, but taking them of the City with him, went and befieged the Garrison of the LACEDEMONIANS within the Caffle, being aided by Timoxenss, with the ACHAIANS that came from SICYONE. Cleomenes receiving advertisement hereof, about the second Watch of the night, sent for Megistons in haste. and commanded him in anger speedily to go and aid their men that were in the City of Argos. For it was Megistonus himself that promised Cleomenes the fidelity of the ARGIVES, and that kept him from driving them out of the City, which he suspected. So sending him away forthwith with two thousand men, he attended Antigonus, and comforted the Corinthians the best he could: advertising them that it was but a little mutiny of a few, that chanced in the City of ARGOS. Megistonus being come to ARGOS, and slain in Battle, fighting for the LACEDE-MONIANS in Garrison there (who being in great distress, and scant able to keep the Castle against the Enemies) fent fundry Messengers unto Cleomenes, to pray him to fend them immediate aid. Cleomenes then being afraid that the Enemies having taking ARGOS, would stop his way to return back into his Countrey, who having opportunity fafely to spoil LACONIA, and also to besiege the City felf of SPARTA that had but a few men to defend it, he departed with his Army from CORINTH. Immediately after came Antigonus and took it from him, and put a ftrong Garri- Cleomenes loft fon into it. When Cleomenes came before the City of Argos, he scaled the Walls, and breaking the City of the Vaults and Arches of the place called Aspis, entred into the City, and joyned with his Garrison Corinib. there, which yet relifted the ACHAIANS: and taking other parts of the fame also, affaulted the Walls, and cleared the streets in such fort, that not an Enemy durst be seen, for fear of the Archers of the CRETANS. In the mean time, when he faw Antigonus afar off, coming down the hills into the Valley with his Footmen, and that his Horsemen also came upon the Cleoments lost spur into the City, despairing then that he could any longer keep it, he gathered all his men the City of together, and fately going down by the Walls, retired without loss of any man. So, when in Argos. short time he had conquered much, and had almost won all within PELOPONNESUS, in shorter space also he lost all again. For, of the Consederates that were in his Camp, some did prefently forfake him, others also immediately after surrendred up the Towns unto Antigonus. Cleomenes being thus oppressed with the forume of War, when he came back to TEGEA with the rest of his Army, news came to him in the night from LACEDÆMON, which grieved him as much as the loss of all his Conquests: for he was advertised of the death of his Wife Agiates, whom he loved so dearly, that in the middest of his chiefest prosperity and Victories, he made often journeys to SPARTA to fee her. It could not be but a marvellous grief unto Cleomenes. The death of who being a young man, had loft to vertuous and fair a young Lady, to dearly beloved of him; Asiates, King and yet he gave not place to his forrow, neither did grief overcome his noble courage, but he Gleomenes wife used the self-same voice, apparell, and countenance that he did before. Then taking order with his private Captains about his Affairs, and having provided also for the safety of the TEGEANS, he went the next morning by break of day unto SPARTA. After he had privately lamented and forrowed for his Wives death, with his Mother and Children, he prefently bent his mind again to publick Causes. Now Cleomenes had fent unto Ptolomy King of ÆG WPT, who had promifed him aid, but upon demand, to have his Mother and Children in pledge. So he was long time before he would for shame make his mother privy unto it, and went oftentimes of purpose to let her understand it: but when he came, he had not the heart to break it to her. She first suspecting the thing, asked Cleomenes friends, if her Son had not somewhat to say unto her, that he durst not utter. Whereupon, in fine he gave the venture, and brake the matter to her. When the The noble heard it, she fell a laughing, and told him: Why, how cometh it to pass, that thou hast kept it mind of Crathus long, and wouldest not tell me? Come, come, faid she, put me straight into a Ship, and fend tiffelest, Cleome whither thou wilt, that this body of mine may do fome good unto my Countrey, before crooked menes Mothers age confume my life without profit. Then all things being prepared for their journey, they went by Land, accompanied with the Army, unto the head of Tænarus: where Cratificlea being ready to imbark, the took Cleomenes afide into the Temple of Neptune, and embracing and kiffing him, perceiving that his heart yearned for forrow of her departure, fhe faid unto him: O King of LACEDEMON, let no man fee for shame when we come out of the Temple, that we have wept and dishonoured Sparta: for that onely is in our power; as for the rest, as it pleaseth the gods so let it be. When she had spoken these words, and fashioned her countenance again, she went then to Cleomenes take her Ship with a little Son of Cleoments, and commanded the Mafter of the Ship to hoife fendeth his dail. Now when she was arrived in ÆGYPT, and understood that King Ptolomy received Am-Children Hold bassadors from Antigonus, and were in talk to make Peace with him: and hearing also that Cle- stages unto omenes being requested by the ACHAIANS to make Peace with them, durst not hearken to it, and Prolomy King end that War, without King Ptolomies consent, and because of his Mother: she wrote unto of Feypt. him, that he should not spare to do any thing that should be expedient for the honour of Sparta,

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without fear of displeasing Prolomy, or for regard of an old woman, and a young boy. Such was the noble mind of this worthy Lady in her Son Cleomene: advertity. Furthermore, Antigonis having taken the City of TEGEN, and facked the other Cities of ORCHOMENE and MANTI-NEA, Choments feeing himself brought to defend the borders onely of LACONIA, he did manumiffe all the LLOTES (which were the flaves of LACEDEMON) paying five Artica Mina's a man. With that Money he made the fum of five hundred Talents, and armed two thousand of these freed Slaves after the MACEDONIAN fashion, to fight against the LEUCASPIDES (to wit, the white Shields of Antigonat:) and then there fell into his mind a marvellous great enterprife, unlooked for of every man. The City of MEGALI POLIS at that time being as great as SPARTA, and having the aid of the ACHAIANS, and Antigonus at hand (whom the ACHAIANS as it feemed had brought in, chiefly at the request of the MEGALIPOLITANS) Cleomenes determining to fack this City, and knowing that to bring it to pafs, nothing was more requifite then celerity, he commanded his Souldiers to victual themselves for five days; and marching with the choice of all his Army towards Selacia, as though he had meant to have spoiled the ARGIVES, suddenly turning from thence, he invaded the Countrey of the MEGALIPOLITANS; and supping by ROETIUM, went straight by ELICUNT Aunto the City. When he was come near unto it, he fent Panneau before with speed, with two Bandsof the LACEDEMONIANS, and commanded him to take a certain piece of the Wall between two Towers, which he knew wasnot kept nor guarded; and he followed him allo with the reft of his Army, coming on fair and foftly. When Pantess came thither, finding not onely that place of the Wall without Guard or Watch which Cleamenes had told him of, but allo the most part of that side without desence, he took some part of the Wall at his first coming, and manned it: and overthrew another place of it also, putting them all to the Sword that did defend it: and then came Cleomenes, and was within the City with his Army, before the MEGALI-POLITANS knew of his coming. At length, the Citizens understanding that the City was taken, fome fled in haste, conveying such light things as came to hand, in fo great a fear: and the others also arming themselves, ran together to resist the Enemies: but though they valiantly fought to repulle them out of the City, and yet prevailed not, they gave the rest leisure thereby to #y and save themselves, so that there remained not behind above five thousand men: for all the rest were fied with their Wives and Children, into the City of MESSINA. The most part of them also that fought with the Enemies, faved themselves, and very few were taken, the chiefest whereof were Lyfandridas and Thearidas, the noblest persons that were amongst the MEGALIPOLITANS; wherefore when the Souldiers had taken them, they brought them unto Cleomenes. Lyfandridas when he faw Cleomenes a good way off, cried out aloud unto him: O King of LACEDEMON, this day thou haft an occasion offered thee to do a more famous Princely act, then that which thou hast already done, and that will make thy Name also more glorious. Cleomener musing what he would request: Well (quoth he) what is that thou requireft? One thing I will tell thee before-hand, thou shalt not make the reftore your City to you again. Yet, quoth Lyfandridas, let me request thus much then, that ye do not destroy it, but rather replenish it with friends and Considerates, which hereaster will be true and faithfull to you: and that shall you do, giving the MEGALIPOLITANS their City again, and preferving such a number of People as have forfaken it. Cleomenes pausing a while, answered, It was a hard thing to believe that: but yet, quoth he, let Honour take place with us before profit. After that he fent an Herauld straight unto Messina, unto them that were fled thither, and told them that he was contented to offer them their City again, so that they would become good friends and Confederates of the LACEDEMONIANS, for laking the alliance of the ACHAIANS. Philopamen would by no means fuffer the MEGALIPOLITANS to accept this gracious offer of Cleomenes, nor also to leave their alliance with the ACHAIANS: telling them, that he meant not to give them their City again, but to take them also with their City: and therefore drave Thearidas and Lyfandridas out of Messina, that moved this practife. It was that Philopamen that afterwards was the chiefest man of the ACHAIANS, and that wan such Fame and honour among the GRECIANS, as we have particularly declared in his Life. This word being Clements 182- brought to Cleoments, who had kept the City from spoiling untill that time, he was then so throughly offended, that he gave the Goods in prey to the Souldiers, sent away their goodly Tables, Images, and Pictures unto Sparta, and defaced the chiefest parts of the City, and then returned home again, being afraid of Aningons and the ACHAIANS. Howbeit they stirred not, because of the Parliament that was kept at that time in the City of EGIUM; where Aratm being in the Pulpit for Orations, and holding his Gown a long time before his face, the People marvelling at it, willed him to tell what he ailed : he answered them : MEGALIPOLIS is taken, and razed by Cleomenes. The ACHAIANS being amazed at the suddenness of this great loss, straight brake off their Parliament and Affembly. But Antigonus thinking to aid them, fent prefently for all his Garrifons, who being long a coming, he willed them to flay where they were, and he himself taking a few Souldiers with him, went unto the City of ARGOS. Therefore the second enterprise of Chemenes seemeth at the

first fight avery rash and desperate attempt: howbeit Polybius writeth, that it was an attempt of

great wildom and policy. For Cleomenes understanding that the MACEDONIANS were dispersed

in Garrisons in divers places, and that Antigonus lay all the winter in the City of ARGOS, with a cer-

tain number of Footmen that were strangers, he invaded the Countrey of the ARGIVES with his

Army, perswading himself, that either Ansigonus would for shame come and fight with him, or if he

did not, that then he should put him in disgrace with the ARGIVES : which indeed came so to pass.

ble faying.

Megalipolis.

Megalipolis.

Cleomenes

The ARGIVES feeing their Countrey spoiled by Cleomenes, were in a marvellous rage, and gathering together at Antigonus Lodging, they cried out unto him, either to go into the Field and fight with the Enemy; or else if he were afraid, to relign his Office of Generall of Greece unto others that were valianter then himself. But Antigoniu like a wife and excellent Captain, thinking it Awife Captain a dishonour to him, rashly to put himself in danger, and his friends also, though he were provoked should not of with many injuries and opprobrious words, would not go into the Field, but flood conflant in his first by put himself determination. Then Cleomenes having brought his Army hard to the Walls of the City of Argos, in hazard. and spoiled and destroyed the Countrey round about, without let or danger he safely returned home again. Within a while after, Cleomenes being advertised that Antigonus was come unto TEGEA, with intent to invade the Countrey of LACONIA, he going another way with his Army (unwitting to his Enemies) they wondered when they faw him in the morning by the City of ARGOS, spoiling their Countrey, and cutting down their Corn, not with Sickles or Swords, as others do use, but with long Poles in form of Sithes, wherewith the Souldiers as they went sporting-wife, overthrew and spoiled it. But when they came to the place of Exercises in their Suburbs, called Cyllabaris, cer- The moderatitain of the Souldiers going about to have let it on fire, Cleomenes would not fuffer them; and told on of Cleomenes them, that what he had done at MEGALIPOLIS, it was rather angrily then honeftly done. Now to his Enemies. Antigonius presently returned back again, being minded first to have gone directly to the City of Argos, but fuddenly altering his mind, did Camp upon the top of Hills and Mountains. Cleomenes seeming not to be afraid of him, sent Heraulds to him to desire the keys of the Temple of Juno, and then after he had done Sacrifice, he would depart his way. Thus mocking Antigonus, after he had facrificed unto the goddess, under the Temple that was shut up, he sent his Army unto PHLIUNTA; and having driven away the Garrison out of OLOGUNTA, he came unto the City of ORCHOMENE, having not onely encouraged his Citizens, but gotten even amongst the Enemies themselves, a same also to be a noble Captain, and worthy to manage great affairs. For every man judged him to be a skilfull Souldier, and a valiant Captain, that with the power of one onely City, did maintain War against the Kingdom of MACEDON, against all the People of PELOPONNEsus, and against the Treasure of so great a King: and withall, not onely to keep his own Countrey of LACONIA unfoiled, but far otherwise to hurt his Enemies Countries, and to take so many great Cities of theirs. But he that first said, that Money was the sinew of all things, spake it chiefly Money the fiin my opinion in respect of the Wars. Demades the Orator said on a time, when the ATHE- new of Wars, NIANS commanded certain Galleys should be put out of the Arsenal into the Sea, and presently rigged and armed with all possible speed, though they lacked Money : He that rules the Prow, must first see before him : meaning, Munition and Victuals must be provided, before the Ships be set out. And it is reported also, that the ancient Archidamus, when the Confederates of the LACEDEMO-NIANS at the beginning of the War of PELOPONNESUS required, that they might be feffed at a certain rate, answered: The charges of War have no certain stint. For like as Wrest- the sying of lers that exercise their bodies continually in Games, are better able to Wrestle, and overthrow them Archidanu with time, that having no strength but onely art and sle ght: even so King Antigonut, who by the greatness of his Kingdom defrayed the charge of this War, did weary and overcome Cleamenes at the length, because he lacked Money, both to pay the strangers that served him, and also to maintain his own Citizens. For otherwise doubtless the time served his turn well, because the troubles that fell upon Antigonus in his Realm, did make him to be fent for home. For the barbarous People his Neighbours, in his absence did spoil and destroy the Realm of Macedon, and speci- Cleomenes o ally the ILLYRIANS of the high Countrey, that came down then with a great Army: where- Antizonus for upon the MACEDONIANS being spoiled and harried on all sides by them, they sent post unto An- lack of Money tigonus, to pray him to come home. If these Letters had been brought him but a little before the to pay his Battle, as they came afterwards, Antigonus had gone his way, and left the ACHAIANS. But Fortune that alwaies striketh the stroke in all weightiest Causes, gave such speed and savour unto him, Fortune that immediately after the Battle was fought at SELASIA (where Cleamenes loft his Army and City) Battle betwire the very Messengers arrived that came for Antigonus to come home; the which made the overthrow Cleomenes and of King Cleomenes fo much more lamentable. For if he had delayed Battle but two days longer, Antigonus, at when the MACEDONIANS had been gone, he might have made what Peace he would with the Sciafia. ACHAIANS: but for lack of Money, he was driven (as Polybins writeth) to give Battle with twenty thousand men, against thirty thousand: where he shewed himself an excellent and skilfull Captain, and where his Citizens also fought like valiant men, and the strangers in like case did shew themselves good Souldiers. But his onely overthrow was by the manner of his Enemies Weapons, and the force of their Battle of Footmen. But Phylarchus writeth, that Treason was the cause of his overthrew. For Antigonus had appointed the ACARNANIANS, and the ILLYRIANS, which he had in his Army, to steal upon the Wing of his Enemies Army, where Euclidas, King Cleomenes Brother was, to compass him in behind, whilest he did set the rest of his men in Battle. When Cleomenes was got up upon fome hill to look about him, to fee the countenance of the Enemy, and feeing none of the ACARNANIANS, nor of the ILLYRIANS, he was then afraid of Antigonus, that he went about some .ftratagem of War. Wherefore he called for Demoteles, whose charge was to take heed of Stratagems and secret Ambushes, and commanded him to look to the Rere-ward of his Army, and to be very circumspect all about. Demoteles, that was bribed The Treason of before (as it is reported) with Money, told him that all was clear in the Rere-ward, and bad Demoteles.

him look to overthrow his Enemies before him. Cleamenes trufting this report, fet forward

Clcomencs 0-Ansigonus.

fierce Charge upon the Squadron of the MACEDONIAN Footmen, that they drave them back five Furlongs off. But in the mean time, Euclidas his Brother, in the other Wing of his Army, being compassed in behind, Cleomenes turning him back, and seeing the overthrow, cryed out aloud: Alas good Brother, thou are but Ilain, yer thou diest valiantly, and honestly, and thy death shall be a worthy example unto all posterity, and shall be sung by the praises of the women of Spar-TA. So Enclidas and his men being flain, the Enemies came straight to set upon Cleomenes Wing. Cleamenes then seeing his men discouraged, and that they durst no longer resist the Enemies, fled, and faved himself. Many of the strangers also that served him, were slain at this Battle; and of six thouland Spartans, therewere left alive but onely two hundred. Now Cleomenes being returned unto Sparta, the Citizens coming to fee him, he gave them counfell to yield themselves unto Antigonm the Conquerour: and for himself, if either alive or dead he could do any thing for the honour and benefit of SPARTA, that he would willingly do it. The Women of the City also coming unto them that flying had escaped with him, when he saw them unarm the men, and bring them drink to refresh them with, he also went home to his own house. Then a Maid of the House, which he had taken in the City of MEGALIPOLIS (and whom he had entertained ever fince the death of his Wife) came unto him as her manner was, to refresh him coming hot from the Battle: howbeit he would not drink though he was extream dry, nor fit being very weary, but armed as he was, laid his arm across upon a pillar, and leaning his head upon it, reposed himself a little: and casting in his mind all the ways that were to be thought of, he took his friends with him and went to the Haven of Gythium, and there having his Ships which he had appointed for the purpofe, he hoifed fail, and departed his way. Immediately after his departure, came Antigonus into the City of Anticomer was Sparta, and courteoully entreated the Citizens and Inhabitants he found, and did offend no man, nor proudly despise the ancient Honour and Dignity of SPARTA, but referring them to their own Laws and Government : when he had facrificed to the gods for his Victory, he departed from thence the third day, news being brought him that the War was very great in MACEDON, and that the barbarous People did Ipoil his Countrey. Now a difeafe took him, whereof he died afterwards, which appeared a Tifick, mixt with a fore Catarrh : but yet he yielded not to his Difease, and bare it out, that fighting for his Countrey, and obtaining a famous Victory, with great flaughter of Antigonar the the barbarous People, he might yet die honourably; as indeed he did, by Philarchus tellimony, who faith, that with the force of his voice fiercely crying out in the middeft of this fight, he tare his lungs and lights, worfe then they were before. Yet in the Schools it is faid, that after he had trius, King of won the Battle, he was so joyfull of it, that crying out : O bleffed day, he brake out into a great bleeding at the mouth, and a great Feaver took him withall, that he died of it. Thus much tou-Cleomenes fly- ching Antigonus. Now Cleomenes departing out of the Ise of CYTHERA, went and caft Anchor in another Island called ÆGLALIA. Then determining to fail over to the City of CYRENA, Therysion, one of Cleomenes friends (a man that in Wars shewed himself very valiant, but a boaster besides of his own doings) took Cleomenes aside, and said thus unto him: "Truly, O King, we " have lost an honourable occasion to die in Battle, though every man hath heard us vaunt and say, unto Glomenes "that Amigonus should never overcome the King of Sparta alive, but dead. A second occasion against death. "yet is afforded us to die, with much less honour and fame notwithstanding then the first. Whither do we fail to no purpose? Why do we fly the death at hand, and seek it so far off? If it be "no shame nor dishonour for the Posterity and Race of Hercules to serve the Successors of Philip "and Alexander, let us then fave our labour, and long dangerous failing, and go yield our felves "unto Antigonus; who in all likelihood will better use us then Ptolomy, because the MACEDONIANS "are far more noble persons then the ÆGYPTIANS. And if we disdain to be commanded by "them which have overcome us in Battle, why then will we make him Lord of us that hath not over-"comeus: in stead of one, to make us inferiour unto both, flying Antigonus, and serving King Pro-"lomy? Can we say that we go into EGYPT, in respect to see your Mother there? A joyfull fight "no doubt, when we shall shew King Ptolomies Wives her Son, that before was a King, a Prisoner "and Fugitive now. Were it not better for us, that having yet LACONIA our Countrey in fight, "and our Swords befides in our own hands, to deliver us from this great milery, and so doing to ex-"cufe our felves with them that are flain at SELASIA for defence of SPARTA: then cowardly

Maccdon.

Loponne sus.

"lofing our time in ÆGYPT, to enquire whom Antigonus left his Lieutenant and Governour in La-Cleaments O CEDAMON? Therycion ending his Oration, Cleamens answered him thus: "Doeft thou think it a ration of death. " glory to thee to feek death, which is the eafieft matter, and the prefenteft unto any man, that can "be: and yet wretch that thou art, thou flieft now more cowardly and shamefully then from the Bat-"tle. For divers valiant men, and far better then our felves, have often yielded unto their Enemies, e either by some missortune, or compelled by greater number, and multitude of men: but he, say I, "that submitteth limself unto pain and misery, or to reproach and praise of men, he cannot but Willing death " confels that he is overcome by his own unhappinels. For when a man will willingly kill himfelf, mun have ho. "he must not do it to be rid of pains and labour, but it must have an honourable respect and action. nourable re- "For to live or die for his own respect, that cannot but be dishonourable : the which now thou per-"fwadest me unto, to make me fly this present misery as we are in, without any honour or profit in "our death. And therefore, I am of opinion, that we should not yet cast off the hope we have to "ferve our Countrey in time to come : but when all hope faileth us, then we may eafily make our "selves away when we lift. Thereunso Therycion gave no answer, but assoon as he found opportunity

to flip from Cleomenes, he went to the Sea fide, and flew himself. Cleomenes hoifing fail from the life of ÆGIALIA, went into Africk, and was brought by the Kings Servants unto the Cleamence fly-City of ALEXANDRIA. King Peolomy at his first coming, gave Cleamenes no special good but ethinto A indifferent intertainment: but after that he had shewed himstell to be of great wildom and judge gypt unto King ment, and that Ptolomy faw in the simplicity of his LACONIAN life, he had also a noble disposition and courage, nothing degenerating from the Princely Race and Blond of Hercules, and that he yeelded not to his adverfity, he took more delight in his company then in all the company of his flatterers and hangers on him: and then repented him greatly that he had made no more account of him before, but had suffered him to be overthrown by Antigonus, who through this Victory of him, had marvelloufly enlarged his honour and power. Then he began to comfort Cleomenes, and doing him as great honour as could be, promifed that he would fend him with ships and Money into GREECE, and put him again into his Kingdom: and further, gave him an annuall Penfion in the mean time, of four and twenty Talents, with the whichhe fimply and foberly entertained himfelf and his men about him : and bestowed all the rest upon his Countreymen that came out of GREECE into EGYPT. But now old King Ptolomy deceaffing before he could perform the promise he made unto Cleomenes , to send him into GREECE, the Realm falling then into great lascivioulnels, drunkennels, and into the Government of Women, his case and misery was clean forgotten. For the young King his fon was so given over to Women and Wine, that when he was most fober and in his best wits, he most disposed himself to make Feasts and Sacrifices, and to have the Taber playing in his Court , to gather People together , like a Stage-player or Jugler ; whilest one Agathoclea his Lemman , and her Mother , and Oenanthes a Baud , did rule all the Affairs of the State. But when he came to be King, it appeared he had need of Cleomenes: because he was afraid of his Brother Magus, who by his Mothers means, was very well efteemed of among Souldiers. Wherefore he called Cleomines to him, and made him of his Privy Councell, where he devised by practife, which way to kill his Brother. All other his friends that were of counsell with him, did counsell him to do it : but Cleomenes onely vehemently diffwaded him from it , and told him, that if it were possible, rather more Brethren should be begotten unto the King for the safety of his Person. and for dividing of the Affairs of the Kingdom between them. Amongst the Kings Familiars that were chiefest about him, there was one Sofibius that faid unto Cleomenes: So long as his Brother Magas lived, the Souldiers that be strangers whom the King entertained, would never be true to him. Cleamenes answered him for that matter there was no danger: for, faith he, of those hired Strangers, there are three thousand PELOPONNESIANS, which he knew at the twinkling of an eve would be at his commandment, to come with their Armour and Weapons where he would appoint them. These words of Cleomenes at that time shewed his faith and good-will he bare unto the King, and the force he was of besides. But afterwards, Ptolomy's fearfullness increasing his mistrust, (as it commonly happeneth, that they that lack wit, think it the best fasety to be fearfull of every wagging of a straw, and to mistrust every man) the remembrance of Cleomenes words made him much suspected of the Courtiers, understanding that he could do much with the Souldiers that were strangers : insomuch as some of them faid : See (meaning Cleomenes) there is a Lyon amongst Sheep. Indeed considering his fashions and behaviour, they might well say fo of him : for he would look through his fingers as though he faw nothing, and yet faw all what they did. In fine, he required an Army and Ships of the King; and understanding also that Antigonus was dead, and that the ACHAIANS and ETOLIANS were at great Wars together, and that the Affairs of his Countrey did call him home, all PELOPONNESUS being in arms and uproar, he prayed that they would licence him to depart with his friends. But never a man would give ear unto him, and the King also heard nothing of it, because he was continually entertained among Ladies, with Banquets, Dancing, and Masks. But Sofibins that ruled all the Realm, thought, that to keep Clemenes against his will, were a hard thing, and also dangerous: and to let him go also, knowing that he was a valiant man, and of a ftirring mind, and one that knew the Vices and Imperfections of their Government. he thought that also no lafe way, fith no Gifts nor Presents that could be offered him, could soften him. For as the holy Bull (which they call in ÆGY PT, Apis) that is full fed in goodly Pasture, doth yet desire to follow his natural course and liberty, to run and leap at his pleasure, and plainly CleomenerVersheweth, that it is a grief to him to be kept still by the Priests: even so the courtly pleasures did no- tue. thing delight Cleomenes, but as Homer writeth of Achilles:

> It irkt his noble heart to fit at home in flothfull reft, When Martiall matters were in hand, the which he liked best.

Now Cleomenes standing in these terms, there arrived in ALEXANDRIA one Nicagoras MESSI- Nicagoras Mes NIAN, who maliced (leomens in his heart, but yet shewed as though he loved him. This Nicagon finian, an E-ras on a time had fold Cleomens certain Land, but was not payed for it, either because he had no nemy to cleon present Money, or else by occasion of the Wars which gave him no leasure to make payment, menes. Cleomenes one day by chance walking upon the Sands, he faw Wicagoras landing out of his Ship, being newly arrived; and knowing him, he courteoully welcomed him, and asked what wind had brought him into EGYPT. Nicagoras gently faluting him again, told him, that he had brought the King excellent Horses of service. Cleament smiling, told him, Thou hadst better have brought him some Curtizans and Dancers, for they would have pleased the King better. Xicagoras faintly laughed at his answer, but within sew days after he did put him in remembrance

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Cleomenes committed to

Cleomenes

of the Land he fold him, and prayed him then that he would help him to Money, telling him that he would not have prest him for it, but that he had fustained loss by Merchandise. Cleomenes anfwered him, that all his Pension was spent he had of the King. Nicagoras being offended with this answer, he went and told Sosibius of the mock Cleoments gave the King. Sosibius was glad of this occasion, but yet desiring further matter to make the King offended with Cleoments, he periwaded Nicasor as towrite a Letter to the King against Cleomenes, as though he had conspired to take the City of Cyrena, if the King had given him Ships, Money, and men of War. When Nicagoras had written this Letter, he took Ship, and hoifed faile. Four daies after his departure, Sofibius brought his Letter to the King, as though he had but newly received it. The King upon fight of it, was so offended with Cleomens, that he gave present order he should be shut up in a great house, where he should have his ordinary diet allowed him, howbeit that he should keep his house. This grieved Cleomenes much, but yet he was worse asraid of that which was to come, by this occasion: Prolomy the Son of Chryfermus, one of the Kings familiars, who had oftentimes before been very conversant and familiar with Cleomenes, and did frankly talk together in all matters. Cleomenes, one day fent for him, to pray him to come unto him. Ptolomy came at his requelt, and familiarly discoursing together, went about to diffwade him from all the fufpitions he had, and exculed the King also for that he had done unto him: fo taking his leave he left him, not thinking that Cleomenes followed him (as he did) to the Gate; where he sharply took up the Souldiers, faying that they were very negligent and careless in looking to such a fearfull beast as he was, and so ill to be taken if he once scaped their hands. Cleomenes heard what he faid, and went to his lodging again, Ptolomy knowing nothing that he was behind him: and reported the very words again unto his friends. Then all the SPARTANS converting their good hope into anger, determined to be revenged of the injury Prolomy had done them, and to die like noble SPARTANS, not tarrying till they should be brought to the shambles like far Weathers, to be sold and killed. For it would be a great shame and dishonour unto Chomenes, having refused to make peace with Antigonus, a noble Prince and Warriour, to tarry the Kings pleasure till he had left his drunkenness and dancing, and then to come and put him to death. They being full refolved hereof, as you have heard, King Ptolomy by chance went unto the City of CANOBUS, and first they gave out in ALEXANDRIA, that the King minded to set Cleomenes at liberty. Then Cleomenes friends observing the custome of the Kings of ÆGYPT, when they meant to fet a Prifoner at liberty (which was, to fend the Prifoners meat, and Prefents before to their Supper) did fend unto him fuch manner of Prefents and fo deceived the Souldiers that had the keeping of him, faying, that they brought those Presents from the King. For Cleamenes himself did facrifice unto the gods, and fent unto the Souldiers that kept him, part of those Presents that were sent unto him, and supping with his friends that night, made merry with them, every man being crowned with Garlands. Some fay, that he made the more hast to execute his Enterprife fooner then he would have done, by means of one of his men that was privy unto his conspiracy: who went every night to lie with a Woman he kept, and therefore was alraid left he would bewray them. Cleamenes about noon, perceiving the Souldiers had taken in their Cups, and that thy were afleep, he put on his Coat, and unripping it on the right shoulder, went out of the house with his word drawn in his hand, accompanied with his friends, following him in that fort, which were thirty in all, Amongst them there was one called Hipporas, who being lame, went very lively out with them at the first : but when he saw they went fair and softly because of him, he prayed them to kill him, because they should not hinder their Enterprise for a lame man, that could do them no service. Notwithstanding , by chance they met with a Towns-man a horse-back, that came hard by their door, whom they pluckt from his Horle, and cast Hippotas upon him and then ran through the City, and cried to the People, Liberty, liberty. Now the People had no other courage in them, but onely commended Cleomenes, and wondered at his valiantness: but otherwise to follow him, or to further his Enterprise, not a man of them had any heart in them. Thus running up and down the Town, they met with Ptelomy (the fame whom we faid before was the Son of Chrysonus) as he came out of the Court: whereupon three of them fetting on him, flew him prefently. There was also another Ptolomy that was Governour and Lieutenant of the City of ALEXANDRIA: who hearing a rumour of this ftir, came unto them in his Coach. They went and met him and first having driven away his Guard and Souldiers that went before him, they pluckt him out of his Coach, and flew him also. After that they went towards the Castle, with intent to set all the Prisoners there at liberty to take their part. Howbeit the Jaylors that kept them had so strongly locked up the Prilon-doors, that Cleomenes was repulsed and put by his purpose. Thus wandring up and down the City, no man neither came to joyn with him, nor to refift him, for every man fled for fear of him. Wherefore at length being weary with going up and down, he turned him to his friends, and faid unto them: It is no marvell though Women command such a cowardly People, that fly in this fort from their liberty. Thereupon he prayed them all to die like men, and like those that were brought up with him, and that were worthy of the fame of his fo noble deeds. Then the first man that made himself be slain, was Hippotas, who died of a wound one of the young men of his company gave him with a Sword at his request. After him every man flew themselves, one after another, without any fear at all , faving Pantess , who was the first man that entred the City of MEGALL POLIS. He was a fair young man, and had been very well brought up in the LACONIAN Difcipline, and better then any of his years. Cleomenes did love him dearly, and commanded him that when he should see he were dead, and all the rest also, that then he should kill himself last of a ll. Now they all being laid on the ground, he fearched them one after another with the

The end and death of Cleomenes and his

point of his Sword, to fee if there were any of them yet left alive : and when he had pricked Cleomenes on the heel amongst others, and saw that he did yet knit his brows, he kiffed him, and sate down by him. Then perceiving that he had yeelded up the ghost, embracing him when he was dead he also flew himself, and fell upon him. Thus Cleamenes having reigned King of SPARTA fixteen years, being the same manner of man we have described him to be; he ended his days in this fort as yehear. Now his death being presently bruited through the City, Cratesicles his Mother, though otherwise she had a noble mind, did notwithstanding a little forget her greatness, through the extreme forrow the telt for the death of her Son : and fo embracing Cleamenes Sons, the fell to bitter lamentation. But the eldelt of his Sons (no man miltrufting any fuch matter) found means to get out of tation. Dut the crucial profile top of the house, cast himself headlong down to the ground, that hishead was all broken and splitted; yet died not, but was taken up crying, and angry with them, that they would not fuffer him to die. This news being brought to King Prolomy, he commanded that they would not sure time to the state of the state o then would not let ber depart, and imbark with her Wushand, but had locked her up, and kept her at home by force. Howbeit, shortly after the found the means to get her a Horfe, and Tongs Money, and ftole away in the night, and galloped towards the Haven of Tamarus, where finding a Ship ready bound for ÆGYPT, the imbarked and went to feek her Husband, with whom the gladly and lovingly led her life, forfaking her own Countrey, to live in a strange Realm. Now when the Sergeants came to take Cratesicles to put her to death, Panteas Wife led her by the arm, carrying up her train , and did comfort her; although Crateficles otherwise was not afraid to die, but onely asked this favour that the might die before her little Children. This notwithstanding, when they came to the place of execution, the Hangman first slew her Children before her eyes, and then her felf afterwards, who in such great grief and forrow, faid no more but thus: Alas my poor Children, what is become of you? And Panteas Wife also, being a mighty tall Woman, girding her cloaths to her, took up the flain bodies one after another, and wrapped them up in such things as the could get, speaking never a word, nor. thewing any fign or token of grief. And in fine, having prepared her fell to die, and plucked off her Attire her felf, without fuffering any other to come near her, or to fee her , but the Hangman that was appointed to strike off her head, in this fort she died as constantly, as the stougest man living could have done; and had so covered her Body, that no man needed after her death to touch hier, so carefull was the to her end, to keep her honefty , which the had always kept in her life : and in her death was mindfull of her honour, wherewith the decked her Body in her lifetime. Thus thefe LA CED & MONI-AN Ladies playing their parts in this pitifull Tragedy, contending at the time of death, even with the AN Ladies playing little parts in the parts in the following of them flould die nioft confanity; cleaners the first a manifelt proof and reflimony, that fortune had no power over fortitude and courage. Shortly afhanging upon ter, those that were appointed to keep the Body of the King Commer that hung upon the Cross, they a Cross, had a spied a great Serpent wreathed about his head, that covered all his face, insomuch as no ravening Fowl Serpent durst come near him to eat of it : whereupon the King fell into a superstitious fear , being afraid that wreathed ahe had offended the gods. Hereupon, the Ladies in his Court began to make many Sacrifices of puri-bout his head. fication, for the clearing of this fin : perswading themselves , that they had put a man to death be- Living things livingthings loved of the gods, and that he had fomething more in him then a man. The ALEXANDRIANS breeding of the thereupon went to the place of execution, and made their prayers unto Cleomeries, as unto a demy-god, corruption of calling him the Son of the gods: untill that the Learned-men brought them from that errour, de-dead Beafts. claring unto them, that like as of Oxen being dead and rotten there breed Bees, and of Horse also Why the Dracome Waspes, and of Asses likewise Bettels : even so mens Bodies when the marrow melteth and ga-gon is consethereth together, do bring forth Serpents. The which coming to the knowledge of the Ancients in old crated unto

time, of all other Beafts they did confecrate the Dragon to Kings and Princes, as proper unto Man. Princes.

The end of the Life of Agis and Cleomenes.

TIBERIUS and CAIUS. GRACCHI.



Anno Mundi.

Ant. Christ. 175.

is reported, that Tiberius on a time found two Snakes in his Bed, and that the Soothfayers and

Dw that we have declared unto you the History of the Lives of these two GRECIANS, Agis and Clemenes aforefaid , we muft also write the History of two ROMANS , the which is no less lamentable for the troubles and calamities that chanced unto Tiberius and Caises, both of them the Sons of Tiberius Gracebus. He having been twice Confull and once Cenfor, and having had the Honour of two Triumphes, had notwithstanding more Honour and Fame onely for his Valiantness, for the which he was thought worthy to marry with Cornelia, the Daughter of Scipio, who overcame Hannibal after the death of his Father: though while he lived he was never his Friend, but rather his Enemy. It

them both escape, but one onely taffuring him that if he killed the Male he should not live long after a and if he killed the Female, that then his Wife Cornelio should die. Tiberius then loving his Wife riarro his Wife dearly, thinking it meeter for him also, that he being the elder of both, and she yet a young WoCornelis.

man, should die before her, he slew the Male, and let the Female escape; howbeit he died soon after, leaving twelve Children alive, all of them begotten of Cornelia. Cornelia after the death of her Husband, taking upon her the rule of her House and Children, led fuch a chast life, was so good to her Children , and of fo noble mind , that every man thought Tiberius a wife man for that he died, and left her behind him. She remaining Widow, King Ptolomy made fuit unto her, and would have made her his Wife and Queen: but fhe refused, and in her Widow-hood lost all her Children, but one Daughter (whom the bestowed upon the younger Scipio African) and Tiberims, and Cains, whose Lives we presently write. Those she carefully brought up, that they being become more civill, and better conditioned then any other ROMANS in their time, every man judged, that Education prevailed more in them then Nature. For, as in the Favours and Pictures of Castor and Pollux, there is a certain difference discerned, whereby a man may know that the one was made for Wreftling, and the other for running : even fo between these two young Brethren, amongst other the great likeness between them, being both happily born to be Valiani, to be Temperate, to be Liberall, to be Learned, and to be Nobly-minded, there grew notwith-Atrae deferip- flanding great difference in their actions and doings in the Common-wealth, the which I think tion of Tibe-tius and Gains convenient to declare, before I proceed any further. First of all, for the favour of the Face, the look and moving of the Body, Tiberius was much more mild and tractable, and Cains more hot and earnest. For the first in his Orations was very modest, and kept his place: and the other of all the ROMANS was the first that in his Oration jetted up and down the Pulpit, and that plucked his Gown over his shoulders : as they write of, Cleo ATHENIAN, that he was the first of all Oratours that opened his Gown, and clapped his hand on his thigh in his Oration. Furthermore,

Cains words, and the rehemency of his persuasion, were terrible and full of passion; but Tibe-

rine words in contrary manner, were mild, moved men to compassion, being very proper,

and excellently applied; where Cains words were full of fineness and curiofity. The like diffe-

Wifards having confidered the fignification thereof, did forbid him to kill them both, and also to let

The praise of Cornelia , Mother of the

The Worthi-

ness of Tibe-

the Father.

rius Gracebus

Tiberius Grac-

obus the Father

married Cor-

nelja, the

Scipio.

Daughter of

The tender

rence also was between them in their Fare and Diet. For Tiberim always kept a convenient Ordinary: and Caim also in respect of other ROMANS, lived very temperatly, but in respect of his Brothers Fare, curiously and superfluously. Insomuch as Drusu on a time reproved him, because he had bought certain Dolphins of Silver, to the value of a thousand two hundred and fifty Druchma's for every Pound weight. And now, as touching the manners and naturall disposition of them both agreeing with the diversity of their Tongues, the one being mild and plausible, and the other hot and cholerick : infomuch that otherwile forgetting himself in his Oration , against his will he would be very earnest and strain his voice beyond his compass, and so with great nncomeliness confound his words. Yet finding his own fault, he devised this remedy. He had a Servant called Licinius, a good wife man, who with an Instrument of Musick he had, by the which they teach men to rife and fall in their Tunes, when he was in his Oration, he ever flood behind him : and when he perceived that his Mafters Voice was a little too loud, and that through choler he exceeded his ordinary speech, he played a soft stop behind him, at the found whereof Caius immediatly sell from his extreamity, and eafily came to himself again. And here was the diversity between them. Otherwife., for their hardiness against their Enemies, justice unto their Tenants, the care and pains in their Offices of Charge, and also their continency against voluptuousness, in all these they were both alike. For age . Tiberius was elder by nine years , by reason whereof their severall authority and doings in the Common-wealth fell out at fundry times. And this was one of the chiefest causes why their doings prospered not, because they had not both authority in one self time, neither could they joyn their power together: the which if it had met at one felf-time, had been of great force. and peradventure invincible. Wherefore we must write particularly of them both, but first of all wemust begin with the Elder. He, when he came to mans state, had such a name and estimation. that immediatly they made him fellow in the Colledge of the Priests which at ROME are called Au-Tiberlus made gures (being those that have the charge to consider of signs and Predictions of things to come) Augure, more for his valiantness then for Nobility. The same doth Appins Clodius witness unto us, one that hath bren both Confull and Cenfor, and also Prastident of the Senate, and of greater authority then any man in his time. This Appius at a Supper when all the Augures were together, after he had faluted Tiberius, and made very much of him, he offered him his Daughter in marriage, Tiberius was very Tiberius marriglad of the offer, and therewithall the marriage was prefently concluded between them. Thereupon ed Applies Clo-Apping coming home to his house, at the threshold of his Door he called aloud for his Wife, and told diss Daughter. her: Antifria I have bestowed our Daughter Clodia. She wondering at it, O gods faid she, and what needed all this hafte? what couldft thou have done more, if thou haddest gotten her Tiberius Gracchus for her Husband? I know that fome refer this History unto Tiberius, Father of these men we write of, and unto Scipio the AFRICAN: but the most part of Writers agree with that we write at othis present. And Polybius himself also writeth, that after the death of Scipio African, his friends being met together, they chose Tiberius before all the other young men of the City to marry him unto Carnelia, being free, and unpromised, or bestowed upon any man by her Father. Now Tiberius: the younger being in the Wars in AFRICK under Scipio the second, who had married his Sifter ; ly-Tiberius Souling in the Tent with him, he found his Captain indued with many noble Gifts of Nature, to allure dier fare. mens hearts to defire to follow his valiantness. So in a short time he did excell all the young men of his time, as well in obedience, as in the valiantnels of his person: insomuch that he was the first man that scaled the Wals of the Enemies, as Fannins reporteth, who said that he scaled the Wals with him, and did help him in that valiant Enterprise. So that being present, all the Camp were in love with him: and when he was absent, every man wished for him again. After this War was ended, he was chosen Treasurer, and it was his chance to go against the Numantines, with Cains Mancinus one of the Confuls, who was an honeft man, but yet had the worft luck of any Captain the ROMANS had. Notwithstanding , Tiberius wildom and valiantness, in this extream ill Tiberius Gracluck of his Captain, did not onely appear with great glory to him, but also most wonderfull, by chus chosen the great obedience and reverence he bare unto his Captain: though his misfortunes did fo trouble Quartor. and grieve him, that he could not tell himself whether he was Captain or not. For when he was overthrown in great foughten Fields, he departed in the night, and left his Camp. The Numan-TINES hearing of it, first took his Camp, and then ran after them that fled, and setting upon the rereward, flew them, and environed all his Army. So that they were driven into straight and narrow places, whereout they could by no means escape. Thereupon Mancinus despairing that he could get out by force, he fent a Herauld to the Enemies to treat of peace. The Numantines made answer that they would trust no man but Tiberins onely, that therefore they willed he should be sent unto them. They defired that, partly for the love they bare unto the Vertues of the young man, because there was no talk of any other in all this War but of him and partly also, as remembring his Father Tiberius, who making Wars in SPAIN, and having there fubdued many Nations, he granted the NUMANTINES peace, the which he caused the ROMANS afterwards to confirm and ratific: Hereupon Tiberius was fent to speak with them, and partly obtaining that he defired, and partly also granted them that they required, he concluded peace with them, whereby affuredly he faved the Tiberius Graclives of twenty, thouland ROMAN Citizens, belides Slaves and other Stragglers that willingly chus conclu-

followed the Camp, This notwithstanding, the NUMANTENES took the spoil of all the goods deth peace they found in the ROMAN'S Camp, among the which they found Tiberius Book of accompt with the Nutouching the Money disbursed of the Treasure in his Charge. Tiberius being marvellous desirous mantines.

to have his Book again, returned back to Numantia with two or three of his friends onely.

fpake unto the Governours of the City, and prayed them to re-deliver him his Books of ac-

compt, because his malicious Enemies should not accuse him, cashing him to account for his do-

ings. The NUMANTINES were very glad of this good hap, and prayed him to come into the

The peace

Town. He standing still in doubt with himself what to do, whether he should go into the Town, or not: the Governours of the City came to him, and taking him by the hand prayed he would think they were not his Enemies, but good Friends, and that he would truft them. Whereupon Tiberius thought best to yeeld to their perswasion, being desirous also to have his Books again, and the rather, for fear of offending the NUMANTINES, if he should have denied and miltrufted them. When he was brought into the City, they provided his Dinner, and were very earnest with him, intreating him to dine with them. Then they gave him his Books again, and offered him moreover to take what he would of all the Spoils they had gotten in the Camp of the Ro-MANS. Howbeit of all that, he would take nothing but Frankinsence, which he used, when he did any Sacrifice for his Countrey: and then taking his leave of them, with thanks he returnes, When he was returned to ROME, all this peace concluded was utterly misliked; as dishonourable to the majefty of the Empire of ROME. Yet the Parents and Friends of them that had ferved in this War, making the greatest part of the People, they gathered about Tiberius, faying, that what faults were committed in this Service, they were to impute it unto the Confull Mancinus, and not unto Tiberina, who had faved fuch a number of ROMANS lives. Norwithstanding, they that were offended with this difhonourable peace, would that therein they should follow the example of their Fore-fathers in the like case. For they fent back their Captains naked unto their Enemies , bebroken with cause they were contented the SAMNITES should spoil them of that they had, to escape with life. the Numan-Moreover, they did not onely fend them the Captains and Confuls, but all those also that bare any Office in the Field, and had confented unto that condition: to the end they might lay all the perjury and breach of peace upon them. Herein therefore did manifestly appear, the love and good-will the People did bear unto Tiberius : for they gave order, that the Confull Mancinus should be sent naked and bound unto the NUMANTINES, and for Tiberius fake they pardoned all the reft. I think Scipio, who bare great fway at that time in ROME, and was a man of greatest account, did help him at a pinch, who notwithstanding was ill thought of because he did not also fave the Consul Mancinus. and confirm the peace concluded with the NUMANTINES, confidering it was made by Tiberius his Friend and Kinfman. But these millikings grew chiefly through the ambition of Tiberius Friends, and certain men, which stirred him up against Scipio. But yet it fell not out to open malice between Why Tiberius them, neither followed there any hurt upon it. And furely I am perswaded, that Tiberius had not fallen into those troubles he did afterwards, if Scipio AFRICAN had been present, when he passed those things he preferred. But Scipio was then in Wars at the Siege of Numantia, when Tiberim upon this occasion passed these Laws. When the ROMANS in old time had overcome any of their neighbours, for ransome they took oftentimes a great deal of their Land from them, part whereof they fold by the Crier, for the benefit of the Common-wealth, and part also they referred to their State as a demean, which afterwards was let out to Farm for a small Rent yearly, to the poor Citizens that had no Lands. Howbeit the rich men inhanced the Rent, and so began to thrust ont the poor men. Thereupon was an Ordinance made, that no Citizen of ROME should have above five hundred Acres of Land. This Law for a time did bridle the coverousness of the rich men, and did ease the poor also that dwelt in the Countrey, upon the Farms they had taken up of the Common-wealth, and so lived with their own, or with what their Ancestours had from the beginning. But in process of time, their rich neighbours, by Names of other men, got their Farms over their heads, and in the end, the most of them were openly seen in it in their own Names. Whereupon, the poor People being thus turned out of all, went with faint courage afterwards to the War, nor cared any more for bringing up their Children. So that in short time, the Freemen left ITALY, and Slaves and barbarous People did replenish it, whom the rich men made to Plough those Lands which they had called the wife. taken from the ROMANS. Caim Lalim, one of Scipio's friends, gave an attempt to reform this Tiberius Grac- abuse : but because the chiefest of the City were against him, fearing it would break out to some uproar, he desisted from his purpose, and therefore he was called Lelius the wife. But Tiberius being

chosen Tribune, he did forthwith prefer the reformation aforesaid being allured unto it (as divers

Writers report) by Diophanes the Oratour , and Bloffin the Philosopher : of the which, Diophanes

was banished from the City of MITILENE, and Bloffin the ITALIAN from the City of Cumes ;

who was Schollar and familiar unto Antipater of TARSUS at ROME, by whom he was honoured for

certain Works of Philosophy he dedicated unto him. And some also do accuse their Mother Cornelia,

who did twit her Sons in the teeth , that the ROMANS did yet call her Scipio's Mother-in-law, and

nouthe Mother of the Gracchi. Other fay it was Spurius Posthumius , a Companion of Tiberius, and

onethat contended with him in eloquence. For Tiberius returning from the Wars, and finding him

far beyond him in same reputation, and well beloved of every one, he sought to excell him by attempt-

ing this noble Enterprife, and of to great expectation. His own Brother Caim in a certain Book,

wrote, that as he went to the Wars of NUMANTIA, passing through Thuscan, he found the

Countrey in manner unhabited : and they that did follow the plough, or keep Feafts were the most

of them slaves, and barbarous People, come out of a strange Countrey. Whereupon ever after it ran-

in his mind to bring this Enterprise to pass : which brought great troubles to their house. But in fine,

it was the People onely that most fer his heart on fire to cover honour, and that hastened his determi-

Why Caius Lalius Was

the People.

Jugera.

TIBERIUS and CAIUS.

nation : first bringing him to it by Bils set upon every wall, in every Porch, and upon the Tombs. praying him by them to cause the poor Citizens of ROME to have their Lands restored . which were belonging to the Common-wealth. This notwithstanding he himself made not the Law alone of his own head, but did it by the counsell and advice of the chiefest men of Rome, for vertue and estimation: among the which, Crassu the high Bulhop was one, and Mutius Scavola the Lawyer, that then to Tiberius for was (onfull, and Appin Clodin his Father-in-law. And truly it feemeth, that never Law was made preferring the with greater favour, then that which he preferred against so great injustice and avarice. For those Law that should have been punished for transgressing the Law, and should have had the Lands taken from Lex Agraria. them by force, which they unjustly kept against the Law of ROME, and that should also have been amerced for it, he ordained that they should be paid by the Common-wealth to the value of the Lands, which they held unjustly, and so should leave them to the poor Citizens again that had no Land, and lacked help and relief. Now, though the reformation established by this Law, was done with fuch great favour, the People notwithstanding were contented, and would forget all that was past, so that they might have no more wrong offered them in time to come. But the rich men and men of great Poffellions, hated the Law for their avarice, and for spite and self-will (which would not let them yeeld) they were at deadly feud with the Lawyer that had preferred the Law, and fought by all device they could to diffwade the People from it : telling them that Tiberius brought in this Law Agraria again, to diffurb the Common-wealth, and to make some alteration in the State. But they prevailed not : for Tiberius defending the matter, which of it felf was good and just, with fuch Eloquence as might have justified an evill cause, was invincible; and no man able to argue against him to consute him , when speaking in the behalf of the poor Citizens of ROME (the People Tiberius Otabeing gathered round about the Pulpit for Orations) he told them, that the wild Beafts through tions. ITALY had their Dens and Caves of abode, and that the men that fought, and were flain for their Countrey, had nothing else but ayr and light; and so were compelled to wander up and down with their Wives and Children, having no resting place nor house to put their heads in : and that the Captains do but mock their Souldiers, when they encourage them in Battell to fight valiantly for the Graves, the Temples, their own Houses, and their Predecessours. For, said he, of such a number of poor Citizens as there be, there cannot a man of them shew any ancient House or Tomb of their Ancestors : because the poor men do go to the Wars , and be slain for the rich mens pleasures and wealth: besides, they faisly call them Lords of the Earth, where they have not a handfull of Ground that is theirs. These and such other like words being uttered before all the People with fuch vehemency and troth, did so move the common People withall, and put them in such a rage, that there was no Adverfary of his able to withftand him. Therefore, leaving to contrary and deny the Law by argument, the rich men did put all their trust in Marcus Octavius. Colleague and fellow Tribune with Tiberius in Office, who was a grave and wife young man, and Tiberius very familiar friend. So that the first time they came to him, to oppose him against the confirmation of this Law, he prayed them to hold him excused, because Tiberius was his very friend. But in the end, being compelled unto it through the great number of the rich men that were importunate with him, he did withftand Tiberius Law, the which was enough to overthrow it. For if any one of the Tribunes Marcus Offafpeak against it, though all the other pass with it, he overthroweth it : because they all can do vius Tribune, nothing, if one of them be against it. Tiberius being very much offended with it, proceeded no fur- did withstand ther in this first favourable Law, but in a rage preferred another more gratefull to the common People, Tiberius Law. as also more extream against the rich. In that Law he ordained, that who oever had any Lands contrary to the ancient Laws of ROME, that he should presently depart from them. But thereupon there fell out continuall brawls in the Pulpit for Orations, against Octavius : in the which though The modest they were very earnest and vehement one against another, yet there passed no foul words from them contention be-(how hot foever they were one with another) that should shame his Companion. Whereby it appeareth, that to be well brought up, breedeth fuch a flay and knowledge in a man, not onely in things of and Odlavinis. pleasure to make him regardhis credit, both in word and deed, but in passion and anger also, and in their greatest ambition of glory. Thereupon Tiberius finding that this Law among others touched Oltavius, because he joyned a great deal of Land that was the Common-wealths, he prayed him secretly to contend no more against him, promising him to give him of his own, the value of those Lands which he should be driven to forfake, although he was not very able to perform it. But when he faw Ollavius would not be perswaded, he then preferred a Law that all Magistrates and Officers should cease their Authority, till the Law was either, past or rejected, by voices of the People : and thereupon he set his own Seal upon the Doors of the Temple of Saturne, where the Coffers of the Treasure lay, because the Treasurers themselves during that time, should neither take out nor put in any thing, upon great Penalties to be forfeited by the Prætors or any other Magistrate of authority

that should break this Order. Hereupon, all the Magistrates fearing this Penalty, did leave to exer-

cife their Office for the time. But then the rich men that were of great Livings, changed their Apparell,

and walked very fadly up and down the Market-place, and layed fecret wait to take Tiberim having

hired men to kill him: which caused Tiberim himself, openly before them all, to wear a short Dag-

ger under his long Gown, properly called in Latin, Dolon. When the day came that this Law should

be stablished, Tiberius called the People to give their voyces : and the rich men on the other fide ,

they took away the Pots by force, wherein the Papers of mens voyces were thrown, fo that

there was like to fall out a stir upon it. For the Faction of Tiberius was the stronger side, by the

number of People that were gathered about him for that purpose: had it not been for Manlim

of his Tri-

buneship.

and Fulviu, both the which had been Confuls; who went unto him, and befought him with the tears in their eyes, and holding up their hands, that he would let the Law alone. Tiberim thereupon, foreseeing the instant danger of some great mischief, as also for the reverence he bare unto two fuch noble Persons, he stayed a little, and asked them what they would have him to do. They made answer, that they were not able to counsell him in a matter of fo great weight, but they prayed him notwithstanding, he would be contented to refer it to the judgement of the Senate. Thereupon he granted them prefently. But afterwards perceiving that the Senate fate upon it, and had determined nothing, because the rich men were of too great authority, he entred into another device that was neither honest nor meet; which was to deprive Otavim of his Tribuneship, knowing that otherwise he could not possibly come to pass the Law. But before he took that course, he openly intreated him in the face of the People with courteous words, and took him by the hand, and prayed him to stand no more against him; and to do the People this pleasure, which required a matter just and reasonable, and onely requested this small recompence for the great pains they took in fervice abroad for their Countrey. Ottavim denied him plainly. Then faid Tiberim openly, that both of them being Brethren in one felt place and authority, and contrary one to another in a matter of fo great weight, this contention could not be possibly ended, without civill war: and that he could see no way to remedy it, unless one of them two were deposed from their Office. Thereupon he bad Offavisu begin first with him, and he would rife from the bench with a good will, and become a private man; if the People were to contented. Offavim would do nothing in it. Tiberini then replied, that he would be doing with him, if he altered not his mind, upon a better breath and confideration : and fo dismiffed the Affembly for that day. The next morning the People being again affembled, Tiberius going up to his Seat, attempted again to perswade Olfavius to leave off, In fine, finding him still a man unremoveable, he referred the matter to the voices of the People. whether they were contented Octavias should be deposed from his Office. Now there were five and thirty Tribes of the People, of the which seventeen of them had already passed their voices against Offavius, fo that there remained but one Tribe more to put him out of his Office. Then Tiberius made them flay for proceeding any further, and prayed Octavius again, embracing him before all the People, with all the intreaty possible, that for self-will sake he would not suffer such an open fhame to be done unto him, as to be put out of his Office, neither also to make him the occasion and instrument of so pitifull a deed. They say that Ottavins at this last intreaty was somewhat moved and won by his perswasions, and that weeping, he stayed a long time, and made no answer. But when he looked upon the rich men that stood in a great company together he was ashamed (I think) to have their ill wills, and rather betook himself to the loss of his Office, and so bad Tiberius do what he would. Thereupon he being deprived by voices of the People, Tiberius commanded one of his infranchifed bondmen to pull him out of the Pulpit for Orations : for he used his infranchifed bondmen instead of Sergeants. This made the fight fo much more lamentable, to see Octavius thus Thamefully pluckt away by force. Yea furthermore, the common People would have run upon him , but the rich men came to rescue him , and would not suffer them to do him further hurt. So Offavius faved himself running away alone, after he had been refcued thus from the fury of the People. Moreover, there was a faithfull Servant of Octavism, who stepping before his Master to Tave him from hurt, had his eyes pulled out against Tiberius mind, who ran to the refcue with all speed when he heard the noise. After that , the Law Agraria passed for division of Lands , and Law Agraria, three Commissioners were appointed to make inquiry and distribution thereof. The Commission ners appointed were these : Tiberius himself , Appius Clodius his Father-in-law , and Caius Gracchus his Brother , who were not at that time in ROME , but in the Camp with Scipio AFRI-CAN, at the Siege of the City of NUMANTIA. Thus Tiberius very quietly passed over these matters, and no man durft withfrand him : and furthermore, he substituted in Ottavius place no man of quality, but onely one of his followers, called Mutins. For which cause the Noble-men were fore offended with him, and fearing the increase of his greatness, they being in the Senate-house did what they could possible to do him despite and shame. For when Tibering demanded a Tent at the charge of the Common-wealth, when he should go abroad to make division of these Lands, as they usually granted unto others, that many times went in far meaner Commissions, they statly denied him : and through the procurement of P. Nasica (who being a great landed man in his Countrey, shewed himself in this Action his mortall Enemy, taking it grievously to be compelled to depart from his Land) onely granted him nine of their Oboli a day, for his ordinary allowance. But the People on the other fide were all in an uproar against the rich. Infomuch as one of Tiberius friends being dead upon the suddain, upon whose body being dead there appeared very ill Signs, the common People ran suddainly to his Buriall, and cried out, that he was poyloned. And so taking up the Biere whereon his Body lay upon their shoulders, they were present at the fire of his Funerals, where immediately appeared certain Signs to make them suspect, that indeed shere was vehement cause of presumption he was poyloned. For his Belly burst, whereout there iffued such abundance of corrupt humours, that they put out the first fire, and made them fetch another, the which also they could not make to burn, untill that they were com-

pelled to carry the Body into some other place, where notwithstanding they had much ado to

make it burn. Tiberini feeing that, to make the common People mutiny the more, he put on

mourning Apparell, and brought his Sons before them, and befought the People to be good

unto them and their Mother, as one that despaired of his health and safety. About that time

TIBERIUS and CAIUS died Attalus firnamed Philopater , and Endemus PERGAMENIAN brought his Will to ROME in the which he made the People of Rome his Heir. Wherefore Tiberius, fill to increase the good King Attalut

that ftanding up, faid , that he was next neighbour unto Tiberins , and that by reason of his neigh-

bour-hood he knew that Endemon PERGAMENIAN had given bim one of King Attales Royall

Bands, with a purple Gown besides, for a token that he should one day be King of Rome. And

Quintus Metellus also reproved him; for that his Father being Cenfor, the ROMANS having sup-

ped in the Town, and repairing every man home to his house, they did put out their Torthes and

Lights, because men seeing them return, they should not think they tarried too long in company

ded them to bring this Annins before him, that he might be endited in the Market-place. But he

finding himself far inferiour unto Tiberius both in Dignity and Eloquence, ran to his fine fub-

till questions, to take a man at his word : and prayed Tiberine before he did proceed to his Accusa-

tion , that he would first answer him to a question he would ask him. Tibering bad him say what he

would. So filence being made, Annius asked him : If thou wouldest defame me, and offer me in-

jury, and that I called one of thy Companions to help me, and he should rife to take my part.

and anger thee : wouldest thou therefore put him out of his Office? It is reported Tiberius was

fo gravelled with this question, that though he was one of the readiest speakers, and the boldest in

his Orations of any man, yet at that time he held his peace, and had no power to speak, and

therefore he prefently dismiffed the Affembly. Afterward, understanding that of all the things he

did, the depoling of Ottavins from his Office was thought (not onely of the Nobility, but of the

common People also) as foul and wilfull a part as ever he played, for that thereby he had imbased

and utterly overthrown the Dignity of the Tribunes, the which was always had in great venera-

"or to fet fire on the Arfenall; and yet notwithfranding this wicked part, if it were committed he

"should be Tribune of the People still, though a leud Tribune. But when he goeth about to take a-

"way the authority and power of the People, then he is no more a Tribune. Were not this against

"all reason, think you, that a Tribune when he lift, may take a Confull, and commit him to Prison?

"and that the People should not withstand the Authority of the Tribune, who gave him the same,

"when he would use his authority to the prejudice of the People? for the People are they that do

"chuse both Confull and Tribune. Furthermore, the Kingly Dignity (because in the same is con-

"tained the absolute authority and power of all other kinds of Magistrates and Offices together) is

"confecrated with very great and holy Ceremonies, drawing very near unto the god-head; and yet

"the People expulled King Tarquin, because he used his authority with cruelty; and for the injury

"he offered one man onely, the most ancient rule and government (by the which the foundation of

"ROME was first laid) was utterly abolished. And who is there in all the City of ROME to be

" reckoned so holy as the Vestall Nuns, which have the custody and keeping of the everlasting Fire?

"and yet if any of these be taken in fornication, she is buried alive for her offence : for when they

"are not holy to the gods, they lofe the liberty they have, in respect of serving the gods. Even to

es also it is unmeet, that the Tribune if he offend the People, stiould for the Peoples sake be reveren-

"ced any more, feeing that through his own folly he had deprived himself of that authority they gave

thim. And if it be so that he be chosen Tribune by the most part of the tribes of the People, then by

e reason is he justly deprived that by all the whole Tribes together is sorfaken and deposed. There

"is nothing more holy nor inviolate then things offered up unto the gods; and yet it was never feen

"that any man did forbid the People to take them, to remove and transport them from place to place,

"as they thought good. Even fo, they may as lawfully transfer the Office of the Tribune unto any

"other, as any other Offering confecrated to the gods. Furthermore, it is manifest that any Officer or

"Magistrate may lawfully depose himself : for it hath been often feen , that men in Office have de-

will of the common People towards him, preferred a Law immediatly, that the ready Money that made the Peowill of the common People towarus man, personal to the common People towarus man, personal to the state of this King, should be distributed among the poor Citizens; on whose Lot ple of Rone it should fall to have any part of the division of the Lands of the Commonwealth to shrinking his Heir. it should tall to nave any part or the up their Tillage. Furthermore, he said, that concerning the for dividing of Towns and Cities of the Kingdom of Atralus, the Senare had nothing to do to take any order with Attalus Mo. them, but that the People were to dispose of them, and that he himself would put it out. That my, made him again more hated of the Senate then before, infomuch as there was one Pompay a Senator.

banquetting : and that in contrary manner, the feditious and needy rabble of the common People did banqueting; and that in contrary manner, inwas one Titus Annius, a man that had no goodness nor honesty in him, howbeit taken for a great fibrill Quest, reasoner, and for a subtill questioner and answerer. He provoked Tiberius to answer him, whether oner and Answer he had not committed a shamefull Fact against his Companion and Brother Tribune, to defame him were of that by the Laws of Rome should have been holy and untouched. The People took this pro-things. vocation very angrily, and Tiberius also coming out, and having affembled the People, comman-

"his own authority, leaving to do the thing for the which his Authority was first given him; Or authority of "otherwise we could not chuse, not suffer a Tribune, if it pleased him, to overthrow the Capitoll, the Tribune

tion untill that present time : to excuse himself therefore, he made an excellent Cration to the People, whereof we will fet down some speciall Points, that you may the better discern thereby the ple, whereof we will let down tome special a solution of side the side of the state "as particularly confectated to the People, and established for their benefit and safety: where Grachus "contrariwife, if the Tribune do offer the People any wrong, he thereby minisherh their power, and touching the "taketh away the means from them to declare their wils by voices; befides that he doth also imbase power and

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" prived themselves, or otherwise fued to be discharged. This was the effect of Tiberim Purgation. Now his friends perceiving the threats the rich and Noblemen gave out against him, they wished him for the fafety of his Person, to make suite to be Tribune again the next year. Whereupon he be-Other Laws made by Tibe took away the time and number of years preferred, when every Citizen of Rome was bound to the Wars being called, and his Name Billed. He made it lawfull also for men to appeal go to the Wars being called, and his Name Billed. from fentence of the Judges unto the People, and thrust in also amongst the Senatours (which then had absolute authority to judge among themselves) a like number of the ROMAN Knights, and by this means fought to weaken and imbale the authority of the Senate, increasing also the power of the People, more of malice then any reason, or for any justice or benefit to the Common-wealth. Furthermore, when it came to the gathering of the voices of the People for the confirmation of his new Laws, finding that his Enemies were the stronger in the Assembly, because all the People were not yet come together, he fell a quarrelling with his Brethren the Tribunes, always to win them; and yet in the end brake up the Affembly, commanding them to return the next morning. There he would be the first man in the Market-place, apparelled all in black, his face beblubbered with tears, and looking heavily upon the matter, praying the People affembled to have compaffion upon him, faying, that he was atraid left his Enemies would come in the night, and overthrow his house to Unlucky figns kill him. Thereupon the People were fo moved withall, that many of them came and brought their unto Tiberist. Tents, and lay about his houfe to watch it. At the break of the day, the Keeper of the Chickens (by figns of the which they do divine of things to come) brought them unto him, and caft them down Meat before them. None of them would come out of the Cage but one onely, and yet with much ado, shaking the Cage: and when it came out, it would eat no Meat, but onely lift up her left Wing, and put forth her Leg, and so ran into the Cage again. This fign made Tiberius remember another he had had before. He had a marvellons fair Helmet, and very rich, which he wore in the Wars: under it were crept two Snakes unawares to any, and layed Egges, and hatched them. This made Tiberins wonder the more , because of the ill figns of the Chickens : notwithflanding, he went out of his house when he heard that the People were affembled in the Capitoll; but as he went out, he hit his foot fuch a blow against a stone at the threshold of the Door, that he brake the nail of his great Toe, which fell in such a bleeding that it bled through his Shooe. Again, he had not gone far, but he faw upon the top of a house on his left hand, a couple of Ravens fighting together: and notwithfranding that there past a great number of People by, yet a stone which one of these Ravens cast from them, came and sell hard at Tiberius foot. The fall thereof flayed the flourest man he had about him. But Blossius the Philosopher of Cumes that did accompany him, told him it were a great shame for him, and enough to kill the hearts of all his followers, that Tiberise being the Son of Gracebus, and Nephew of Scipio the AFRICAN, and the chief man besides of all the Peoples side, for fear of a Raven, should not obey his Citizens that called him: and how that his Enemies and ill-willers would not make a laughing sport of it, but would plainly tell the People, that this was a trick of a Tyrane that reigned indeed, and that for pride and difdain did abuse the Peoples good wils. Furthermore, divers Messengers came unto him. and faid, that his friends that were in the Capitoll, fent to pray him to make hafte, for all went well with him. When he came thither, he was honourably received : for the People feeing him coming cried out for joy to welcom him; and when he was gotten up to his Seat, they shewed themselves both carefull and loving towards him, looking warily that none came near him, but such as they knew well. When Mutius began again to call the Tribes of the People to give their voices, he could not proceed according to the accustomed order in the like case, for the great noise the hindmost Flavius Flac. People made, thrusting forward, and being driven back, and one mingling with another. In the reopie made, inruiting forward, and being driven toath, and one integring with absolute, in the supervised mean time Flavius Flacess, one of the Senatours, got up into a place where all the People might the configure, fee him, and when he saw that his voice could not be heard of Tiberius, he made a fign with his against Tibe. hand that he had some matter of great importance to tell him. Tiberim straight bad them make a lane through the prefs. So, with much ado, Flavine came at length unto him, and told him, that the rich men in open Senate, when they could not frame the Confull to their wils, determined themselves to come and kill him., having a great number of their friends and bond-men armed for the purpole. Tiberim immediately declared this conspiracy unto his friends and followers, who straight girt their long Gowns unto them, and brake the Sergeants Javelins which they carried in their hands to make room among the People, and took the trunchions of the fame to refift those that would set upon them. The People also that stood furthest off, marvelled at it, and asked what the matter was. Tiberius by a fign to tell them the danger he was in , laid both his hands on his head, because they could not hear his voice for the great noise they made. His Enemies feeing the fign he gave, ran prefently to the Senate, crying out, that Tiberius required a Royall Band or Diademe of the People, and that it was an evident fign, because they saw bim clap his hands upon his head. This Tale troubled all the company. Whereupon Xasica befought the Confull, chief of the Senate, to help the Common-wealth, and to take away this Tyrant. The Confull gently answered again, that he would use no force, neither put any Citizen to death, but lawfully condemned : as also he would not receive Tiberius, nor protect him, if the People by his perswasion or commandment should commit any Act contrary to the Law. Nasica then rifing in anger, Sith the matter is so (faith he) that the Consull regardeth not the Commonwealth, all you then that will defend the Authority of the Law, follow me. Thereupon be cast the

TIBERIUS & CAIUS.

Skirt of his Gown over his head, and went Araight to the Capitoll. They that followed him also Skirt of this Gowns and wrapped them about their arms, and laied at as many as they might, to Nafica doth make them give way: and yes very few of the People durft meet with fuch States as they were to fer upon Tibemake them give way were the chiefest men of the City; but every man flying from them, they rias Gracebus. fell one on anothers neck for hafted. They that followed them , had brought from home great Leavers and Clubs, and as they went they took up feet of Treftlers and Chairs which the People had vers and closes, and as the overthrown and broken, ruffning away, and hied them apace to meet with Tiberius, ftriking at overthrown and blocks, the way a forthat in fhort space they had dispersed all the common People, and Tiberius Grace many were flain flying. Tiberha feeing that, betook him to his legs to fave himself; but as he dratte Triwas flying, one took him by the Gown and stayed him : but he leaving his Gown behind him bune stain. ran in his Coat, and running fell upon them that were down before. So, as he was rifing upagain, the first man that strake him, and that was plainly seen strike him, was one of the Tribunes his Brethren, called Publius Sainreins, who gave him a great rap on the head with the foot of a Chair : and the fecond blow he had, was given him by Lucius Rufus that boafted of it, as if he had done a notable act. In this tumult, there were flain above three hundred men, and were all killed with Staves and Stones; and not one man hurt with any Iron. This was the first sedition among the Citizens of ROME, that fell out with murder and bloudshed, fince the expulsion of the Kings. But for all other former diffentions (which were no trifles) they were eafily pacified, either Party giving place to other: the Senate for fear of the Commoners, and the People for reverence they bare to the Senate. And it feemeth that Tiberius himfelf would eafily have yeelded also, if they had proceeded by fair means and perswafion, so they had meant good faith, and would have killed no man: for at that time he had not in 'all above three thouland men of the people about him. But furely it feemes this conspiracy was executed against him, more for very spite and malice the rich men did bear him, then for any other apparent cause they presupposed against him. For proof hereof may be alledged, the barbarous cruelty they used to his Body being dead. For they would not suffer his own Brother to have his Body to bury it by night, who made earnest fuite unto them for it; but they threw him amongst the other Bodies into the River, and yet this was not the worst. For, fome of his friends they banished without form of Law, and others they put to death which they flain. could meet withall. Among the which they flew Diophanes the Orator, and one Caim Biblins, whom The cruell they inclosed in a Pipe among Snakes and Serpents, and put him to death in this fort. Bloffins also the death of Cains Philosopher of Cumes, was brought before the Consuls, and examined about this matter: who boldly Bibling. confessed unto them, that he did as much as Tiberius commanded him. When Nasica did ask him. And what if he had commanded thee to fet fire on the Capitoll? He made him answer, that Tiberius would never have given him any fuch commandment. And when divers others also were still in hand with him about that question: But if he had commanded thee? I would fure have done it: faid he: for he would never have commanded me to have done it, if it had not been for the commodity of the People. Thus he scaped at that time, and afterwards fled into Asia unto Aristonicia, whom missortune having overthrown, he flew himself. Now, the Senate to pacifie the People at that present time did no more withftand the Law Agraria, for division of the Lands of the Common-wealth, but fuffered the People to appoint another Commissioner for that purpose in Tiberius place. Thereupon Publius Crassus was chosen, being allied unto Tiberius, for Caiss Gracebus (Tiberius Brother) had married his Daughter Licinia. Yet Cornelius Nepos saith, that it was not Crassus Daughter Caiss married, but the Daughter of Brutm, that triumphed for the LUSITANIANS. Howbeit the best Writers and authority agree with that we write. But whatfoever was done, the People were marvellously offended with his death; and men might easily perceive that they looked but for time and opportunity to be revenged, and titd prefently threaten Nafica to accuse him. Whereupon the Senate fearing some trouble towards him; devised a way (upon no occasión) to send him into A s 1A. For the common People did not diffemble the malice they bare him when they met him , but were very round with him, and called him Tyrant, and murderer, excontinunicate, and wicked man, that had imbrued his hands in the bloud of the holy Tribune, and within the most facred Temple of all the City. So in the end he was inforced to forfake ROME, though by his Office he was bound to folemnize all the greatest Sacrifices, because he was then chief Bishop of ROME. Thus travelling out of his Countrey like a mean man, and troubled in his mind, he died shortly after, not far from the City of Nafica chief PERGAMUS, Truly, it is not greatly to be wondred at, though the People fo much hated Nafica, Rome. confidering that Scipio the AFRICAN himself (whom the People of ROME for juster causes had loved better then any man elfe whatfoever) was like to have loft all the Peoples good will they bare him, because that being at the Siege of Numantia, when news was brought him of Tiberius death, he rang out this Verse of Homer

Such end upon him ever light. Which in fuch doings doth delight.

Furthermore, being asked in the affembly of the People, by Caisa and Fulvius, what he thought death of Tibeof Tiberius death : he answered them , that he did not like his doings. After that the People hand rins Gracebus. led him very churlifhly, and did ever break off his Oration, which they never did before: and he himself also would revile the People even in the Assembly. Now Casus Gracehus at the first because he feared the Enemies of his dead Brother, or otherwise, for that he sought means to make them more hated of the People, he ablented himself for a time out of the common Affembly, and kept at home, and medled not, as a man contented to live meanly, without

Scipio's fen-

Quaftor in

bufying himself in the Common-wealth: insomuch as he made men think and report both, that he did utterly missike those matters which his Brother had preferred. Howbeit he was then but a young man, and nine years younger then his Brother Tiberine, who was not thirty years old when he was slain. But in process of time, he made his manners and conditions (by little and little) appear, who hated floth and curiofity, and was leaft of all given unto any coverous mind of getting : for he gave himself to be Eloquent , as preparing him Wings afterwards to pra-Stife in the Common-wealth. So that it appeared plainly, that when time came, he would not Rand Rill and look on. When one Vellius a friend of his was fued, he took upon him to defend his Cause in Court. The people that were present, and heard him speak, they leaped for joy to see him : for he had such an Eloquent Tongue, that all the Oratours besides were but Children to him. Hereupon the rich men began to be afraid again, and whilpered among themselves, that it behoved Cains Gracebus them to beware he came not to be Tribune. It chanced so that he was chosen Treasurer, and it was his fortune to go into the Isle of SARDINIA, with the Confull Orefles. His Enemies were glad of that, and he himfelf-was not forry for it. For he was a Martiall man, and asskilfull in Arms as he was else an excellent Oratour: but yet he was afraid to come into the Pulpit for Orations, and milliked to deal in matters of State, albeit he could not altogether deny the People, and his friends that prayed his furtherance. For this cause therefore he was very glad of this Voyage, that he might absent himself for a time out of ROME: though divers were of Opinion, that he was more Popular, and defirous of the common Peoples good will and favour, then his Brother had been before him. But indeed he was clean contrary: for it appeared that at the first he was drawn rather against his will, then of any speciall desire he had to deal in the Common-wealth. Cicero the Oratour also Catus Gracous faith, that Cains was bent altogether to flie from Office in the Common-wealth, and to live quietly as a private man. But Tiberim ((aim Brother) appeared to him in his sleep, and calling him by his Name, faid unto him : Brother, why doest thou prolong time, for thou canst not possibly escape? For we were both predestinated to one manner of life and death, for procuring the benefit of the People. Now when Caiss arrived in SARDINIA, he shewed all the proofs that might be in a valiant man, and excelled all the young men of his age in hardiness against his Enemies, in justice to his Inseriours, and in love and obedience towards the Consull his Captain: but in Temperance, Sobriety, and in Painfulnels, he excelled all them that were elder then he. The Winter by chance fell out very sharp, and full of sickness in SARDINIA: whereupon the Consult sent unto the Cities to help his Souldiers with some cloaths: but the Towns sent in post to ROME, to pray the Senate they might be discharged of that burden. The Senate found their allegation reasonable, whereupon they wrote to the Confull to find some other means to cloath his People. The Confull could make no other shift for them, and so the poor souldiers in the mean time smarted for it, But Cains Gracehon went himself unto the Cities, and so perswaded them, that they of themselves fent to the ROMAN'S Camp such things as they lacked. This being carried to ROME, it was thought straight it was a prety beginning to creep into the Peoples favour, and indeed it made the Senate also afraid. In the neck of that , there arrived Ambassadours of Africk at Rome, fent from King Micipsa, who told the Senate that the King their Master, for Caim Gracchu fake, had fent their Army Corn into SARDINIA. The Senatours were fo offended withall, that they thrust the Ambassadours out of the Senate, and so gave order that other Souldiers should be sent in their places that were in SARDINIA : and that Oreflee should still remain Confull there, meaning alfo to continue Caises their Treasurer. But when he heard of it, he straight took Sea, and returned Caiss Gracebus to ROME in choller. When men faw Caisse returned to ROME unlooked for , he was reproved for it, not onely by his Enemies, but by the common People also, who thought his return very strange before his Captain, under whom he was Treasurer. He being accused hereof before the Cenfors, prayed he might be heard. So, answering his Accusation, he so turned the Peoples minds that heard him, that they all faid, he had open wrong. For he told them, that he had ferved twelve years in the Wars, where others were enforced to remain but ten years; and that he had continued Treafurer under his Captain the space of three years, where the Law gave him Liberty to return at the end of one year. And that he alone of all men else that had been in the Wars, had carried his Purfe full, and brought is home empty; where others having drunk the Wine which they car-ried thither in Veffels, had afterwards brought them home full of Gold and Silver. Afterwards they went about to accuse him as accessary to a conspiracy that was revealed in the City of FREGELLES. But having cleared all that suspicion, and being discharged, he presently made suit to be Tribune: wherein he had all the men of quality his sworn Enemies. On the other side also he had so great favour of the common People, that there came men out of all parts of ITALY to be at his Election, and that such a number of them, as there was not lodging to be had for them all. Furthermore, the Field of Mars not being large enough to hold fuch a multitude of People, there were that gave their CaiwGracobus voices upon the tops of houses. Now the Noblemen could no otherwise lett the People of their will, nor prevent Caim of his hope, but where he thought to be the first Tribune, hewas onely pronounced the fourth. But when he was once possest Officer, he became immediately the chief man,

because he was as Eloquent as any man of his time. And furthermore, he had a large occasion of calamity offered him : which made him bold to speak, bewailing the death of his Brother. For

what matters foever he spake of, he always fell in talk of that, remembring them what matters

had passed, and laying before them the examples of their Ancestours, who in old time had made

War with the PHALISCES, by means of one Genetine Tribune of the People, unto whom

the People.

they had offered injury : who also did condemn Cains Peterins to death; because that he onely would not give a Tribune place, coming through the Market place: Where these, said he, in your presence, and before your facts, have flain my brother Therisse with flaves, and have dragged his body from the mount of the Capitol, and all the City over; to throw it into the reference and with him also have most cruelly flain all his friends they could come by, without any law or justice at all. And ver by an ancient cuftom of long time observed in this City of Rom E, when any man is accused of Treason, and that of duty he must appear at the time appointed him, they do not withflanding in the morning fend a Trumpet to his house, to summon him to appear; and moreover the Judges were not wont to condemn him, before his ceremony was performed : fo carefull and respective were our predecessors, where is touched the life of any ROMAN. Now Cains having first stirred up the people with these perswasions (for he had a marvellous loud voice) he preferred two laws :

The first, that he that had once been put out of Office by the people, should never after be capable afany other Office.

The fecond, that if any Confut had banished any Citizen without lawfull acculation, the sentence laws. and hearing of the matter should pertain to the people.

The first of these two laws did plainly defame Ottavins, whom Tiberits his brother had by the people deposed from the Tribuneship. The second also touched Popilius, who being Prator, had banished his brother. Tibering friends; whereupon he staid not the trial, but willingly exiled himself out of ITALY. And touching the first law, Caise himself did afterwards revoke it, declaring unto the people that he had faved Octavine at the request of his mother Cornelin. The people were very glad of it, and confirmed it, honouring her no lels for respect of her sons, then also for Scipio's sake her father. For afterwards they cast her image in brafs, and fet it up with this inscription : Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi. Many common matters are found written touching Cornelia his mother, and ther of the eloquently pleaded in her behalf, by Caim against her adversaries. As when he said unto one of them: Gracchi honou-How dareft thou prefume to speak evil of Cornelia that had Tiberius to her son? And the other party red by the peoalso that flandered her, being forely suspected for a Sodomite : And art thou so impudent, said he, to ple of Rome. shew thy face before Cornelia? Hast thou brought forth children as she hath done? and yet it is well known to all men in ROME, that the being but a woman, hath lived longer without a man, then thou that art a man. Thus were Cains words tharp and ftinging, and many fuch like as are to be gathered out of his writings. Furthermore, he made many other laws afterwards to encrease the peoples authoray, and to imbale the Senates greatnels,

The first was, for the restoring of the Colonies to Rome, in dividing the lands of the Commontrealth unto the poor Citizens that should inhabit there.

The other, that they should apparell the Souldiers at the charge of the Commonwealth, and that it should not be deducted out of their pay: and also that no Citizen should be billed to serve in the wars. under seventeen years of age at the least.

Another law was, for their Confederates of ITALY, that through all ITALY they should have as free voices in the election of any Magistrate, as the natural Citizens of ROME it self.

Another, fetting a reasonable price of the Corn that should be distributed unto the poor people, Another touching judgment, whereby he did greatly minish the authority of the Senate.

For before, the Senators were onely Judges of all matters, the which made them to be the more honoured and feared of the people, and the ROMAN Knights: and now he joyned three hundred Ro-MAN Knights unto the other three hundred Senators, and brought so to pass, that all matters judicial should be equally judged among those fix hundred men. After he had passed this law, it is reported he was very curious in observing all other things, but this one thing specially, that where all other Orators speaking to the people turned them towards the palace where the Senators fate, and to that fide of the Market-place which is called Comitium: he in contrary manner when he made his Oration, turned him outwards towards the other fide of the Market-place; and after that kept it confrantly, and never failed. Thus by a little turning and altering of his look onely, he removed a great matter. For he so transferred all the Government of the Commonwealth from the Senate unto the judgement of the people, to teach the Orators by his example, that in their Orations they should behold the people, not the Senate. Now, the people having not onely confirmed the law he made touching the Judges, but given him also full power and authority to chuse among the ROMAN Knights fuch Judges as he liked of, he found thereby he had absolute power in his own hands, infomuch as Caint Gracebus the Senators themselves did ask counsel of him. So did he ever give good counsel, and did prefer matters meet for their honour. As amongst others, the law he made touching certain Other laws of Wheat that Fabins Vice Prator had fent out of Spain, which was a good and honourable Caine Gracebus act; he perswaded the Senate that the Corn might be fold, and so to send back again the money thereof unto the Towns and Cities from whence the Corn came: and therewithall to punish Fabius for that he made the Empire of Rome hatefull and intollerable unto the Provinces and subjects of the fame. This matter wan him great love and commendation of all the Provinces subject to ROME. Furthermore, he made laws for the restoring of the decayed Towns, for mending Highways, for building of Garners for provision of Corn. And to bring all these things to pass, he himself took upon him the onely care and enterprise, being never wearied with any pains taken in ordering of so great affairs. For, he followed all those things so earnestly and effectually, as if he had had but one matter in hand; infomuch that they who most hated and feared him, wondred much to fee his diligence and quick dispatch in matters. The people also wondred much to behold

Came Gracelia

hint onedy, feeing alwaiss such a number of laboraces, artificets, mabashadors, efficers, fouldiers, and learned men, wheathe early fatished and differents, feetings, fill-his efface, and yet using great courtefic and civility, entertaining every one of them privately; for that he made his accoders to be found liars, that faid he was a flately man and very cruel. Thus he was the good will of the common people, being more popular and familiar in his converfation and deeds then he was otherwife in his Orations. But the greatest pains and care be took upon thim \$25, in feeing the High-ways mended, the which he would have as well done, as profitably done. For he would caff the causes by ucu, the wineture wound have an inch would pave them with hard floor, and cafe a great deal of gravel-upon is, which he canded to be brought thinker. When he found any low or watery places which the Rivers had caren into, he ratio them up, or effe made. Bridges over them, with an even height equal to either fide of the cause; so that all his work, carried a goodly level withall, even by the line or planmet, which was a pleasure to behold. Eurthermore, he divided these Highways by miles, every mile containing eight furlongs, and at every miles end he fer sp a floor for a mark. At either end also of these High-ways thus paved, he fer occuan floores, of convenient eight furlougt. height, a pretty way affunder, to help the travellers by to take their horfebacks again without any help. The people for these things highly praising and extolling him, and being ready to make shew nery. The people for their though rightly yearing and carrier and comply one day in his Oration, of their love and good will to him any manner of way, he told them openly one day in his Oration, that he had a request to make unto them, the which if it would please them to grant him, he would think they did him a marvellous pleasure; and if they denied him also, he cared nos much. Then every man thought it was the Confulthing he means to ask, and that he would fue to be Tribune and Conful together. But when the day came to chuse the Confuls, every man looking auentisely what he would do, they marvelled when they the him come down the field of Mons, and brought Caim Fanniss with his friends to further his fuit for the Confulfhip. Therein he ferved Farmiss turn, for

and that they thould grant all the LATINES the freedom of ROME. The Senate perceiving his

Ceius Gracebus he was prefendly cholen Conful : and Cains Gracebus was the fecond time cholen Tribune again, not chefen Tribune at his own fute but by the good will of the people. Cains perceiving that the Senators were his own the fecond time pen enemies, and that Fanniss the Confull was but a flack friend use him, he began again to cutry favour with the common people, and to prefer new laws, fetting forth the law of the Colonies, that they should fend of the poor Chizens to replenish the Cities of TARENTUM and CAPUA,

power grew great, and that in the end he would be fo frong that they could not withfrand bent, they devifed a new and frange way to pluck the peoples good will from him, in granting them things not alrogenher very honeft. There was one of the Tribunes, a brother in office with Cains called Levism Limit Drufus, a man nobly born, and as well brought up as any other ROMAN: who for wealth and

one of the Tri eloquence was not intersour to the greatest men of estimation in ROME. The chiefest Senators went

unto him, and perswaded him to take part with them against Caises, not to use any force or violence against the people to withstand them in anything, but contrarily to grant them those things which were against the people to withstand them in anything, but contrarily to grant them those things which were more honesty for them to deny them with their ill-will. Livium offering to pleasure the Senate with his more honesty for them to deny them with their ill-will. Livium offering to pleasure the Senate with his by Livium Dun. by Living Drie no other end, but contending with Cause who should most flatter the people of thems two, as players do in their common plays, to thew the people passime. Whereby the Sesate shewed that they did not fo much millike form doings, as for the delire they had to overthrow him and his great credit with the people. For where Cain preferred but the replenishing of the two Cities, and defired to fend the honestest Citizens thinker, they objected against him, that he did corrupt the common people. On the other fide also they favoured Drafat, who preferred a law, that they should replenish twelve Colonies, and should tend to every one of them three thousand of the poorest Caizzess. And where they hated Caises for that he had charged the poor Chizens with an annual rent for the lands that were divided unto them, Living in contrary manner did please them by disbordening them of that rent and payment, letting them have the lands (confree. Furthermore also, where Canar did anger the people, because he gave the LATINES the freedom of ROME to give their voices in change of Magistrates as freely as the natural ROMANS, when Drufas on the other fide had preferred a law that thenceforth no ROMAN should whip a souldier of the LATINES with roduce the Wars, they liked the law, and past it. Livin also in every law he put forth said in all his Orations, that he did it by the counsell of the Senate, who were very carefull for the profit of the people : and this was all the good be did in his office unto the Commonwealth. For by this means the people were better pleased with the Senate, and where before they did hate all the Noblemen of the Senate, Liwine took away that malice, when the people faw that all that he propounded, was for the preferencest and benefit of the Commonwealth, with the content and furtherance of the Senane. The onely thing also that perswaded the people to think that Drujas meant uprightly, and that he onely re-spected the profit of the common people, was, that he never preferred any law for himself, or for his ownbenefit. For in the reftoring of these Colonies which he preserved, he always sent other Committioners, and gave them a charge of it, and would never finger any money himfelf: where Cains took upon him the care and charge of all things himself, and specially of the greatest manters. Rubrius also another Tribune, having preferred a law for the re-editying and repleasiting of CARTHAGE again with people, the which Scipio had razed and deftroyed, it was Coins hap to be appointed one of the Commissioners for it: whereupon he took (hip and failed into AFRICK. Drafas in the mean time taking occasion of his ablence, did as much as might be to feek the favour of the common people, and specially by accusing Faloises who was one of the best friends Come had,

TIBERIUS and CAIUS. and whom they had also chosen Commissioner with him for the division of these lands among the

Citizens whom they fent to replenish these Colonies. This Fulvius was a seditious man, and there- Fulvius Comfore marvelloufly hated of the Senate, and withall suspected also of them that took part with the missioner with people, that he fecretly practifed to make their Confederates of ITALY to rebell. But yet they feditions man. had no evident proof of it to justifie it against him, more then that which he himself did verifie. because he seemed to be offended with the peace and quietness they enjoyed. And this was one of the chiefest causes of Cains overthrow, because that Fulvine was partly hated for his sake. For when Scipio African was found dead one morning in his house, without any manifest cause how he fhould come to his death fo fuddenly (faving that there appeared certain blind marks of stripes on Scibio Altican. his body, that had been given him, as we have declared at large in his life) the most part of the sufpition of his death was laid to Fulviss, being his mortal enemy, and because the same day they had been at great words together in the Pulpit for Orations. So was Cains Gracehus also partly suspected for it. Howfoever it was, such a horrible murther as this, of so famous and worthy a man as any was in ROME, was yet notwithstanding never revenged, neither any inquiry made of it, because the common people would not fuffer the accufation to go forward, fearing left Cains would be found in fault, if the matter should go forward. But this was a great while before. Now Caim at that time being in Africk about the re-edifying and replenishing of the City of CARTHAGE again, the which he named Junonia, the voice goeth that he had many ill fignes and tokens ap- unlucky figns peared unto him. For the ftaff of his Enfign was broken with a vehement blaft of wind, and with appearing unto the force of the Enlign-bearer that held it fast on the other side. There came a flaw of wind also that Caius. carried away the facrifices upon the Altars, and blew them quite out of the circuit which was marked out for the compass of the City. Furthermore, the Wolvescame and took away the marks which they had fet down to limit the bounds of their circuit, and carried them quite away. This notwithflanding, Caises having dispatched all things in the space of threescore and ten days, he returned incontinently to ROME, understanding that Fulvius was oppressed by Drusus, and that those matters required his presence. For Lucius Hostilius that was all in all for the Nobility, and a man of great This man is credit with the Senate, being the year before put by the Confulfhip by Cains practife, who caused named after-Fannius to be chosen, he had good hope this year to speed, for the great number of friends that wards Opinius, furthered his fuit. So that if he could obtain it, he was fully bent to fet Cains beside the saddle, and the rather, because his estimation and countenance he was wont to have among the people, began now to decay, for that they were full of fuch devices as his were: because there were divers others that preferred the like to pleafe the people withall, and yet with the Senates great good will and favour. So Caius being returned to ROME, he removed from his house, and where before he dwelt in mount Palatine, he came now to take a house under the Market-place, to shew himself thereby the lowlier and more popular, because many of the meaner fort of the people dwelt thereabouts. Then he purposed to go forward with the rest of his laws, and to make the people to establish them, a great number of people repairing to ROME out of all parts for the furtherance thereof. Howbeit the Senate counselled the Consult Fannius to make proclamation, that all those which were no natural ROMANS, refident and abiding within the City felf of ROME, that they should depart out of ROME. Besides all this there was a strange proclamation made, and never seen before; that none of all the friends and Confederates of the ROMANS for certain days should come into ROME. But Cains on the other fide fet up bills on every post, accusing the Consul for making so wicked a proclamation: and further, promiled the Confederates of ROME to aid them, if they would remain there against the Consuls proclamation. But yet he performed it not: for when he saw one of Fan-

nius Sergeams carry a friend of his to prison, he held on his way, and would see nothing, neither

did he help him: either of likelihood because he seared his credit with the people, which began to

decay, or else because he was loth (as he said) to pick any quarrel with his Enemies, which sought

it of him. Furthermore, he chanced to fall at variance with his brethren the Tribunes, about this

would yield to it. Wherefore he staid till the night before the pastime should be, and then he took

all his labourers he had under him, and went and overthrew the scaffolds every one of them : so

that the next morning all the Market-place was clear for the common people to fee the pastime at

their pleasure. For this fact of his, the people thanked him marvellously, and took him for a wor-

fpake fomewhat two proudly to his enemies that were merry with the matter, and laughed him

to fcorn: that they laughed a SARDONIANS laugh, not knowing how darkly his deeds

were intangled. Furthermore, his enemies having chosen Opimius Consul, they began imme-

diately to revoke divers of Casus laws; as amongst the rest, his doings at CARTHAGE for the

re-edifying of that City, procuring thus all the waies they could to anger him, because they might

have just occasion of anger to kill him. Cains notwithstanding did patiently bear it at the first:

occasion. The people were to fee the pastime of the Sword-players or Fencers at the sharp, with- Cains Gratchus in the very Market-place, and there were divers of the Officers that to fee the sport, did fet up scaf- tell out with folds round about, to take money for the standing. Caius commanded them to take them down the Tribunes. again, because the poor men might see the sport without any cost. But not a man of them

thy man. Howbeit his brethren the Tribunes were very much offended with him, and took him for a bold prefumptuous man. This feemeth to be the chief cause why he was put from his third Caine Gracebus Tribunelhip, where he had the most voices on his side: because his Colleagues, to be revenged the third Triof the part he had played them, of malice and spite made false report of the voices. Howbeit there buneship. is no great troth in this. It is true that he was very angry with this repulle, and it is reported he

but afterwards his friends, and specially Fulvius, did encourage him so, that he began again to ga-

ther men to resist the Consull. And it is reported also, that Cornelia his mother did help him in it,

Sedition betwist Caius Gracchus and the Senate.

fecretly hiring a great number of strangers which she sent unto Rome, as if they had been Reapers, or harvest men. And this is that the wrote secretly in her letter unto her son in Ciphers. And yet otherwrite to the contrary, that she was very angry he did attempt those things. When the day came that they should proceed to the revocation of his laws, both parties met by break of day at the Capitol. There when the Confull Opimius had done facrifice, one of Caius Sergeants called Quintus Attyllius, carrying the intrails of the beaft factificed, faid unto Fulvius, and others of his tribe that were about him : give place to honest men, vile Citizens that ye be. Some say also, that besides these injurious words, in from and contempt he held out his naked Arm to make them ashamed: whereupon they slew him presently in the field with great Bodkins to write with, which they had purpofely made for that intent. So the common people were marvelloufly oftended for this ur Gracebus une, man purposes, man of both fides also were diversly affected. For Caim was very forry Sergent flain murther, and the chief men of both fides also were diversly affected. For Caim was very forry for it, and bitterly reproved them that were about him, faying, that they had given their enemies the occasion they looked for, to fet upon them. Opimius the Conful in contrary manner, taking this occasion, rose upon it, and did stir up the people to be revenged. But there fell a showre of rain at that time that parted them. The next morning the Conful having affembled the Senate by break of day, as he was difpatching causes within, some had taken the body of Anyllim, and laid it naked upon the Bier, and so carried it through the Market-place, (as it was agreed upon before amongst them) and brought it to the Senate door, where they began to make great moan and lamentation, Opimisus knowing the meaning of it, but yet he diffembled it, and feemed to wonder at it. Whereupon the Senators went out to fee what it was, and finding this Bier in the Market place, some fell a weeping for him that was dead, others cryed out, that it was a shamefull act, and in no wife to be suffered. But on the other side, this did revive the old grudge and malice of the people, for the wickednels of the ambitious Noblemen: who having themselves before slain Tiberius Gracehus that was Tribune, and within the Capitol it felf, and had also cast his body into the river, did now make an honourable fnew openly in the Market-place, of the body of the Sergeant Anyllius (who though he were wrongfully flain, yet had himfelf given them the cause that slew him, to do that they did) and all the whole Senate were about the Bier to bewail his death, and to honour the funerals of an hireling, to make people also kill him that was onely left the Protector and Defender of the people. After this, they went again into the Capitol, and there made a decree, whereby they gave the Conful Opimius extraordinary power and authority, An Ordinance by abfolute power to provide for the fafety of the Commonwealth, to preferve the City, and to fupmade by the Prefs the Tyrants. This decree being established, the Consul prefently commanded the Senators Sonate against that were present there, to go arm themselves; and appointed the ROMAN Knights that the next Cains Gracebus morning betimes every man should bring two of their men armed with them. Fulvius on the other

fide prepared his force against them, and affembled the common people together. Cains also returning from the Market-place, staid before the image of his father, and looked earnestly uponit without ever a word speaking, onely he burst out a weeping, and setching a great sigh, went his

way. This made the people that faw him to pitty him: fo that they talked among themselves, that they were but beafts and cowards at such a straight to forfake so worthy a man. Thereupon they went to his haufe, flayed there all night and watched beforehis gate: not as they did that watched with Fulvius, that paffed away the night in guzling and drinking drunk, crying out, and making noife, Fulvius himself being drunk first of all, who both spake and did many things far unmeet for his calling. For on the other fide, they that watched Caius were very forrowfull, and made no noile, even as in a common calamity of their Countrey, deviling with themselves what would fall out upon it, waking and sleeping one after another by turns. When the day brake, they with Fulvius did awake him, who slept yet foundly for the Wine he drank over night, and they armed themselves with the spoils of the GAULS that hung round about his house, whom he had overthrown in battle the fame year he was Confull: and with great cries, and thundering threats they went to take the mount Aventine. But Cains would not arm himself, but went out of his house in a long Gown, as if he would have gone simply into the Market-place according to his wonted manner, faving that he carried a short dagger at his girdle under his Gown. So as he was going out of his house, his wife staid him at the door, and holding him by the one hand, and a little child of his in her other hand, the faid thus unto him: "Alas Cains, thou doft not The words of a now go as thou were wont, a Tribune into the Market-place to speak to the people, neither to Lithisto her prefer any new laws: neither doft thou go unto an honeft War, that if unfortunately that hubband Crims is should happen to thee that is common to all men, I might yet at the least mourn for thy death Grandhar. " with honour. But thou goeft to put thy felf into bloody Butchers hands, who most cruelly have "flain thy brother Tiberius: and yet thou goeft a naked man unarmed, intending rather to suffer "then to do hurt. Befides, thy death can bring no benefit to the Commonwealth. For the worfer "part hath now the upper hand, confidering that fentence passeth by force of sword. Had thy brother been slain by his enemies , before the City of Numantia, yet had they given us his body to have buried him. But such may be my misfortune, that I may presently go to pray the Ri-"ver or fea to give me thy body, when as thy brothers, it shall likewise be thrown into the same. A-"las, what hope or trust is lest us now in the laws or gods, sithence they have slain Tiberius? As Licinia was making this pittiful moanu to him, Cains sair and softly pulled his hand from her, and lest

her giving her never a word, but went on with his friends. But the reaching after him to pull him by the Gown, fell to the ground, lay flatling there a great while, speaking never a word, untill at length her servant took her up in a swoon, and carried her so unto her brother Crassiu. Now Fulvius, by Fulvius sent the perswasion of Caim, when all their faction were met, sent his younger son (which was a pretty fair his son to the boy) with an Heraulds rod in his hand for fafety. This boy humbly prefenting his duty, with the Conful, with an tears in his eyes, before the Conful and Senate, offered them peace. The most of them that were Heraulds rod present thought very well of it. But Opimius made answer, faying, that it became them not to fend to offer peace. meffengers, thinking with fair words to win the Senate : but it was their duty to come themselves in person like subjects, and offenders to make their trial, and so to crave pardon, and to seek to pacifie the wrath of the Senate. Then he commanded the boy he should not return again to them but with this condition he had prescribed. Caius (as it is reported) was ready to go and clear himfelf unto the Senate: but the refidue would not fuffer him to go. Whereupon Fulvius fent his fon back again unto them, to speak for them as he had done before. But Opimius that was defirous to fight, caused the boy to be taken, and committed him to safe custody, and then went prefently against Fulvius with a great number of footmen well armed, and of CRETAN Archers befides, who with their Arrows did more trouble and hurt their enemies, then with any thing elfe, that within a while they all began to fly. Fulvius on the other fide fled into an old hot-house that no body made reckoning of, and there being found shortly after, they slew him and his eldest son. Now The death of for Caims, he fought not at all, but being mad with himself, and grieved to see such blood-shed; Fulvius and his he got him into the Temple of Diana, where he would have killed himself, had not his very good eldett ion. friends Pomponius and Licinius faved him. For both they being with him at that time, took his fword from him, and counfelled him to fly. It is reported that then he fell down on his knees, and holding up both his hands unto the goddels, he befought her that the people might never come out of bondage, to be revenged of this their ingratitude and treason. For the common people (or the most part of them) plainly turned their coats, when they heard proclamation made, that all men had pardon granted them that would return. So Cains fled upon it, and his enemies followed him fo The flight of near that they overtook him upon the wooden Bridge, where two of his friends that were with Gracebus. him flaid, to defend him against his pursuers, and bad him in the mean time make shift for himself, whilst they fought with them upon the Bridge: and so they did, and kept them that not a man got the Bridge of them untill they were both flain. Now there was none that fled with Cains, but one of his men called *Philocrates*: notwithstanding, every man did still encourage and counsel him, as they do men to win a game, but no man would help him, nor offer him any horse though he often required it, because he saw his enemies so near unto him. This notwithstanding, by their desence that were flain upon the Bridge, he got ground on them fo, that he had leifure to creep into a little grove of wood which was confecrated to the Furies. There his fervant Philocrates flew him. and then flew himself also, and fell dead upon him. Other write notwithstanding, that both the master The faithfuland fervant were overtaken, and taken alive: and that his fervant did fo ftraight embrace his mafter, nefs of Catas that none of the enemies could strike him for all the blows they gave, before he was slain himself. So one of the murtherers strake off Caius Gracchus head to carry to the Consul. Howbeit one of Opimius friends called Septimuleius, took the head from the other by the way, because proclamation was made by Trumpet before they fought, that who foever brought the heads of Fulvius and Caius, they should be paid the weight of them in Gold. Wherefore this Septimuleius carried Caius head upon the top of his spear unto Opimius: whereupon the scales being brought to weigh it, it was found to weigh seventeen pound weight and two third parts of a pound : because Septimuleius besides the horrible murder he had committed, had also holpen it with this villainy, that he had taken out his brain, and in lieu thereof had filled his fcull with Lead. Now the other also that brought Fulvius head, because they were poor men, they had nothing. The bodies of these two men, Cains Gracehus and Fulvius, and of other their followers (which were to the number of three thoufand that were flain) were all thrown into the River, their goods confifcate, and their widdows forbidden to mourn for their death. Furthermore, they took from Licinia Caius wife, her jointer : but yet they dealt more cruelly and beaftly with the young boy, Fulvius fon; who had neither lift up his hand against them, nor was in the fight among them, but onely came to them to make peace before they fought; whom they kept as prisoner, and after the battle ended they put him to death. But yet that which most of all grieved the people was the Temple of Concord, the which Opimius caused to The Temple of be built : for it appeared that he boafted, and in manner triumphed, that he had flain fo many Citizens Concord built of ROME. And therefore there were that in the night wrote under the inscription of the Temple these Contul.

> A furious fast and full of beaftly shame This temple built, that beareth Concords name.

verfes :

This Opimius was the first man at Rows, that being Consull, usurped the absolute power of the Dictator: and that without law or justice condemned three thousand Citizens of Rows before first Consul, using the condemned three thousand Citizens of Rows before first Consul, using the consultance of t Fulvius Flaccus (who had also been Conful, and had received the honour of triumph) and Caius furping the Gracehus a young man in like case, who in vertue and reputation excelled all the men of his years, power of the This notwithstanding could not keep Opimius from thievery and extortion. For when he was Distor. fent Ambaffador unto Jugurth King of Numidia, he was bribed with Money: and thereupon Opimia bribed being accused, he was most shamefully convicted, and condemned. Wherefore he ended his days Fagurib and with this reproach and infamy, hated and mocked of all the people: because at the time of the condemned.

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The Gracchi were marvelloufly defired of the people.

overthrow he dealt beaftly with them that fought for his quarrel. But fhortly after it appeared to the world how much they lamented the lofs of the two brethren of the *Gracchi*. For they made images and statues of them, and caused them to be set up in an open and honourable place, consecrating the places where they had been flain : and many of them also came and offered to them of their first fruits and flowers, according to the time of the year, and went thither to make their prayers on their knees, as unto the temples of the gods. Their mother Cornelia, as writers report, did bear this calamity with a noble heart: and as for the Chappels which they had built and confectated unto mity of Corne this calamity with a noble heart: and as for the Chappels which they had fuch graves as they had list, the mother them in the place where they were flain, the faid no more, but that they had fuch graves as they had list, the mother them in the place where they were flain, the faid no more, but that they had fuch graves as they had us, the mother than in the place where they were hair, the sale ho more, one that they had never changed her manner of the Grachi. Afterwards she dwelt continually by the mount Missen, and never changed her manner of life. She had many friends, and because she was a noble Lady, and loved ever to welcome strangers, she kept a very good house, and therefore had always great repair unto her, of GRE-CIANS and learned men: befides, there was no King nor Prince but both received gifts from her, and fent her again. They that frequented her company delighted marvelloufly to hear her report the deeds and manner of her fathers life, Scipio AFRICAN: but yet they wondred more to hear her tell the acts and death of her two fons, Tiberisa and Caiss: Gracchi, without shedding tear, or making any shew of lamentation or grief, no more then if she had told an History unto them that had requested her. Infomuch as fome writers report, that age, or her great misfortunes, had overcome and ta-ken her reason and sence from her to feel any forrow. But indeed they were sensites to say so, notunderstanding how that to be nobly born and vertuoully brought up, doth make men temperately to digeft forrow: and that fortune oftentimes overcomes vertue which regardeth honefly in all respects, but yet with any advertity the cannot take away the temperance from them whereby they patiently

The power of learning to 0vercome for-

The end of the Lives of Tiberius and Caius Graechi.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF

TIBERIUS and CAIUS GRACCHI, with AGIS and (LEOMENES.



Ow that we be come to the end of this Hiftory, we are to compare the Lives of these two men the one with the other. First, as touching the two Gracchi, their The wildom of Enemies that most hated them, and spake the worst they could of them, could the Gracibi. not deny but that they were the best given to vertue, and as well taught and brought up as any ROMANS that were in their time. But yet it appeareth, that nature had the upper hand of them, in Agis and Cleomenes. For they having

been very ill brought up both for Learning and good Manners, for lack whereof the oldest men were almost spoiled, yet did they notwithstanding make themselves the first masters and example of sobriety, temperance, and simplicity of life. Furthermore, the two first having lived in that time when Rome flourished most in honour and vertuous desires, they were more then ashamed to forsake the vertues inherited from their Ancestors. These two last also being born of fathers that had a clean contrary disposition, and finding their Countrey altogether without any order, and infected with diffolute life, were not therefore any whit the more flack in their defire to do well. Furthermore the greatest praise they gave unto the two Gracchi, was, their abstinence and integrity from taking of money all the time they were in office, and dealt in matters of state, ever keeping their hands clean, and took not a penny wrongfully from any man. Where Agis on the other fide was offended if any man praised him, for that he took nothing from another man: feeing that he dispossessed himself of his own goods, and gave it to his Citizens, which amounted in ready coyn to the value of fix hundred talents. Whereby men may eafily judge, how grievous a fin he thought it to take any thing wrongfully from any man, feeing that he thought it a kind of avarice, lawfully to be richer then others. Furthermore, there was marvellous great difference in their alterations, and renewing of the state, which they did both preser. For the acts of the two ROMANS were to mend high ways and to re-edifie and replenish decayed Towns: and the worthiest act Tiberius did, was the law Agraria, which he brought in for dividing of the lands of the Commonwealth amongst the poor Citizens. And the best act his brother Caim also did, was the mingling of the Judges, adding to the three hundred Senators three hundred ROMAN Knights to be indifferent Judges with

The Gracchi loufly defired

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them. Whereas Agis and Cleomenes in contrary manner were of opinion, that to reform fmall faults, and to redrefs them by little and little, was (as Plate faid) to cut off one of the Hydraes heads, of the which came afterwards feven in the place : and therefore they took upon them a change and innovation, even at once to root out all the mischiefs of their Countrey (or to speak more truly, to take away the diforder which brought in all vice and mifchief to the Commonwealth) and so to restore the City of SPARTA again to her former ancient honourable estate: Now this may be faid again for the government of the Gracchi, that the chiefest men of Rome were ever against their purposes. Where, in that Agis attempted, and Cleomenes ended, they had the noblest ground that could be, and that was the ancient Laws and Ordinances of SPARTA, touching temperance and equality: the first, instituted in old time by Lycurgus, the other confirmed by Apollo.

Furthermore, by the alterations of the first, Rome became no greater then it was before. Where, The sets of the by that which Cleomenes did, all GREECE in short time faw that SPARTA commanded all the the profit Rome, reft of Peloponnesus, and fought at that time against those that were of greatest power in all GREECE, for the figniory thereof. Whereby their only mark and purpose was, to rid all GREECE from the Wars of the GAULS and ILLYRIANS, and to reftore it again to the honeft Government of the race and line of Hercules. Their deaths (methinks) do shew great difference of their courages. For the Gracehi fighting with their own Citizens, were flain flying. Of these two also, The end of the Agu, because he would put never a Citizen to death, was slain in manner voluntarily: and Cleaments receiving injury flood to his defence, and when he had no opportunity to do it, he floutly killed himfelf. And so may it be faid on the other side, that Agis did never any notable act of a Captain or Souldier, because he was slain besore he could come to it. And for the victories of Cleomenes on the other fide, may be opposed the scaling of the walls of CARTHAGE, where Tiberius was the first man that at the assault got up upon the wall, which was no small exploit: and the peace which he made also at the siege of Numantia, whereby he saved twenty thousand sighting men of the Ro-MANS, the which had no means otherwife to fave their lives. And Caim also in the felf fame war, at the fiege of Numantia, and afterwards in Sardinia, did many noble feats of War; for that there is no doubt, but if they had not been slain so soon as they were, they might have been compared with the excellentest Captains that ever were in ROME. Again, touching their doings in civil policy, it appeareth that Agis dealt more flackly, being abuted by Agefilam: who likewise deceived the poor Citizens of the division of the lands which he had promised them. In fine, for lack of courage, because he was very young, he lest the things undone which he had purposed to have performed. On the other fide, Cleomenes went too roundly to work, to renew the ancient government of the Commonwealth again, by killing the Ephores with too much cruelty, whom he might easily have won, or otherwise by force have gotten the upper hand. For it is not the part of a wife Phylician, nor of a good governour of a Commonwealth to ule the fword, but in great extremity, where there is no other help nor remedy; and there lacked judgement in them both, but worst of all in the one, for injury is ever joyned with cruelty. The Gracchi on the other side, neither the one nor the other began to imbrue their hands in the blood of their Citizens. For it is reported, that though they did hurt Caim, yet he would never defend himself: and where it was known that he was very valiant in battle with his fword in his hand against the enemy, he shewed himself as cold again in the uproar against his Citizens. For he went out of his house unarmed, and fled when he faw them fight, being more circumspect not to do hurt, then not to suffer any. Therefore they are not to be thought cowards for their flying, but rather men fearfull to offend any man. For they were driven either to yield to them that followed them, or elfe it they frayed, to fraud to their defence, because they might keep themselves from hurt. And where they accuse Tiberius for the faults he committed, the greatest that ever he did, was when he deposed Ottavisus his colleague from the Tribuneship, and that he himself made suit for the second. And as for Caise, they fallly accused him for the death of Anylliss the Sergeant, who indeed was slain unknown to him, and to his great grief. Where Cleomenes on the other fide, though we should forget the murther he committed upon the Ephores, yet he fet flaves at liberty, and ruled the Kingdom in manner himfelf alone: but yet for manners fake onely he joined his own brother with him, which was of the felf fame house. And when he had perswaded Archidamu (who was next heir to the Kingdom of the other royal house) to be bold to return home from Messina unto Sparta, he suffered him to be flain; and because he did not revenge his death, he did confirm their opinion that thought he was consenting to his death. Lycurgus on the other side, whose example he did counterfeit to follow, because he did willingly refigne the Kingdom unto his brothers son Charilam, and being afraid alfo, that if the young child should chance to miscarry, they would suspect him for his death, he exiled himfelf out of his own Countrey a long time, travelling up and down, and returned not to SPART A again, before Charilam had gotten a fon to succeed him in his Kingdom. But we cannot fet another GRECIAN by Lycurgus comparable unto him. We have declared also that amongst Chemenes deeds, there were many other greater alterations then these, and also many other breaches of the law. So they that do condemn the manners of the one and the other, fay, that the two GRE-CIANS from the beginning had an afpiring mind to be tyrants, still practifing Wars: whereas the two Romans onely, even by their most mortal enemies, could be blamed for nothing else, but for an extream ambition; and did confess that they were too earnest and vehement above their nature, in any strife or contention they had with their adversaries, and that they yielded unto their choler and pattion, as unto ill winds, which brought them to do those things they did in the end. DEMOSTHEN ES.

For what more just and honest intent could they have had, then the first was? had not the rich men (even through floutness and authority to overthrow the laws) brought them against their wills into quarrel : the one to fave his life, the other to revenge his brothers death, who was flain without order, justice, or the authority of any Officer? Thus thou mayeft thy felf fee the difference that was betwirt the GRECIANS and the ROMANS: and now to tell you plainly my opinion of both, I think that Tiberius was the stoutest of the four; and that the young King Agis offended least; and for boldnels and courage, Caius came nothing near unto Cleomenes.

THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.



Ann. Mund. 3590.

Ant . Christ. 350.



E that made the little Book of the praise of Alcibiades, touching the victory he True happiness wan at the horfe-race of the Olympian games (were it the Poet Euripides, as confiftethin fome think, or any other) my friend Soffins, faid: that to make a man happy, the mind and the must of necessity be born in some famous City. But to tell you what I think manners of hereof, doubtless, true happiness chiefly consistent in the vertue and qualities of place or Comthe mind, being a matter of no moment, whether a man be born in a pelting vil- try. lage, or in a famous City: no more then it is to be born of a fair or foul mother. For it were a madness to think that the little village of Julide, being the least

part of the Isle of CEO (the whole Island of it felf being but a small thing) and that the Isle of EGINA (which is of so small a length, that a certain ATHENIAN on a time made a motion it might be taken away, because it was but a straw in the fight of the haven of Piran) could bring forth famous Poets, and excellent Comedians : and not breed an honeft, just, and wife man, and of a noble courage. For, as we have reason to think that Arts and Sciences which were first devised and invented to make some things necessary for mens use, or otherwise to win fame and credit, are drowned, and cast away in little poor villages: fo are we to judge alfo, that vertue, like a strong and fruitful plant, can take root, and bring forth in every place, where it is graffed in a good nature, and gentle person, that can patiently away with pains. And therefore if we chance to offend, and live not as we should, we cannot accuse the meannels of our Country where we were born, but we must justly accuse our selves. Surely he that hath taken upon our Country water we were born, but we must justly accuse our serves. Surely he that name taken upon this mot put forth any work, or to write any history, in the which he is to thrust many thrange things un-an Hittlion-known to his Country, and which are not ready at his hand to be had, but differed abroad in divers pls- grapher to be had, but differed abroad in divers pls- grapher to be had, but differed abroad in divers pls- grapher to be had, but differed abroad in divers pls- grapher to be had. ces, and to be gathered out of divers books and authorities: first of all, he must needs remain in some a famous City.

little.

great and famous City throughly inhabited, where mendo delight in good and vertuous things, becaule there are commonly plenty of all forts of books: and that perufing them, and hearing talk alfo of many things belides, which other Hittoriographers peradventure have not written of, and which will carry to much more credit, because men that are alive may prefently speak of them as of their own knowledge : whereby he may make his work perfect in every point, having many and divers necessary things contained in it. But I my felf that dwell in a poor little Town, and yet do remain there willingly left it should become lefs, whilst I was in ITALY, and at ROME, I had no leifure to study and ex-ercise the Latine tongue, as well for the great business I had then to do, as also to fatisfie them that came to learn Philosophy of me : fo that even formewhat too late and now in my latter time, I began to take Latine books in hand. And thereby (a strange thing to tell you, but yet true) I learned no nor underflood matters fo much by the words, as I came to understand the words, by common experience and knowledge I had in things. But surthermore, to know how to pronounce the Latine tongue well, or to fpeak it readily, or to understand the figures, translations, and fine joining of the simple words one with another, which do beautifie and fer forth the tongue, furely I judge it to be a marvellous pleasant and sweet thing; but withall it require that long and laboursom study, meet for those that have better leisure then I have, and that have young years on their backs to follow such pleasure. Therefore in this prefent book, which is the fifth of this work, where I have taken upon me to compare the Lives of Noblemen one with another : undertaking to write the Lives of Demostbenes and Cisero, we will confider and examine their nature, manners and conditions, by their acts and deeds in the Government of the Commonwealth, not meaning otherwise to conser their works and writings of eloquence, neither to define which of them two were sharper or sweeter in his Oration. For as the Poet John saith:

> In this behalf a man may rightly say, The Dolphines in their proper foil do play.

The which Cacilius little understanding, being a man very rash in all his doings, hath unadvisedly writempired with ten and fet forth in Print, a Comparison of Demofibene, eloquence with (Icero's, But if it were an easie matter for every man to know himself, then the gods indeed have given us no commandment, neither could men have faid that it came from heaven. But for my opinion methinks Fortune even from the beginning hath framed, in manner, of one felf mold Demosthenes and Cicero, and hath in their natures fashioned many of their qualities one like to the other: as both of them to be ambitious, both of them to love the liberty of their Country, and both of them very fearfull in any danger of Wars. And likewise their fortunes seem to me, to be both much alike. For it is hard to find two Orators again, that being fo meanly born as they, have come to be of fo great power and authority as they two: nor that have deferved theill will of Kings and Noblemen fo much as they have done, nor that have loft their daughters, nor that have been banifhed their Countries, and that have been restored again with honour, and that again have fled, and have been taken again, nor that have ended their lives with the liberty of their Countrey. So that it is hard to be judged, whether Nature have made them liker in manners, or Fortune in their doings: as if they had both like cunning workmafters frived one with the other, to whom they should make them best resemble. But first of all we must write of the elder of them two. Demosthenes the father of this Orator Demosthenes, was (as Theopompus writeth) one of the chief The parenage men of the City, and they called him Macheropaut, to wit, a maker of fword blades, because he

of Demofiberer had a great shop where he kept a number of slaves to forge them. But touching Affeinnes the Orators report of his mother, who faid that the was the daughter of one Gelon (that fled from ATHENS being accused of treason) and of a barbarous woman that was her mother, I am not able to say whe-

ther it be true, or devited of malice to do him despite. Howsoever it was, it is true that his father The parrimony died, leaving him but feven years old, and left him reasonable well: for his goods came to little lefs of Demofibenes then the value of fitteen talents. Howbeit his Guardians did him great wrong, for they ftole 2 great

the liberal fciences which are usually taught unto honest mens sons: and to surther that want also, the was but weakling and very tender, and therefore his mother would not much let him go to School, neither also durft his mafters keep him too hard to it, because he was but a fickly child at the first, and very weak. And it is reported also, that the firname of Battalus was given him in mockery by other fchool boys his companions, because of his weakness of body. This Battalus (as divers men do why he was report) was an effemenate player on the flute, against whom the Poet Antiphanes to mock him, devifed a little play. Others do also write of one Batraliu, a diffolute Orator, and that wrote salcious verses: and it seemeth the Athenians at that time did call a certain part of mans body uncomely to be named, Battalus. Now for Argas (which firname men say was also given him) why innamed he was so called, either for his rude and beastly manners (because some Poets do call a snake Argai) or elfe for his manner of speech, which was very unpleasant to the ear; for Argue is the name of a Poet that made always bawdy and ill-favoured fongs. But hereof enough, as Plato faid. Further-callifratur the more, the occasion (as it is reported) that moved him to give himself to eloquence, was this, Callifirstu the Orator was to defend the cause of one Oropus before the Judges, and every man longed greatly for this day of pleading, both for the excellency of the Orator, that then bare the bell for eloquence: as for the matter, and his accusation, which was manifestly known to all. Demosthenes hearing his Shoolmasters agree together to go to the hearing of this matter, he prayed his School-

part of his goods themselves, and did let the rest run to nought, as having little care of it, for they would not pay his School-masters their wages. And this was the cause that he did not learn

matters agree rogether to the hearing of this matter, he prayed his School-matter to be so good asto let him go with him. His matter grantes him, and being, acquisited with the keepers of the Hall door where this matter was to be pleaded, the forestreated them, that they placed their scholar in a very good place, where being at his case, the might both hear and see all that was done, and no man could fee him. Thereupon when Demofthones had heard the case pleaded, he was greatly in love The earnest demean count we man Antercompt had gotten; when he faw how he was waited upon home with fuch fire of Densiftent to learn a train of people after him; but yet he wondered more at the force of his great eloquence, that could fo turn and convey all things at his pleasure. Thereupon be left the fludy of all other fciences and all other exercises of wir and body, which other children are brought up in and began to labour continually, and to frame himself to make Orazions, with intent one day to be an Orator among the reft. His mafter that taught him Rhetorick was Ifam, notwithflanding that Iforrates also keep a sichool of Rhesorick at this time: either bedanle that being an Orphan he was not able to pay the Ifans Demof waves that Herrates demanded of his Scholars, which was ten Mina's: or rather for that he found thener School-Has mainer of speech more proper for the use of the eloquence he defired, because it was more master of Rhefine and fubrile. " Yet Hermspres writeth notwithstanding, that he had read certain books having no name of any author, which declared that Demostheres had been Plate's Scholar, and that by hearing of him, he learned to frame his pronunciation and eloquence. And he writeth also of one Crefibion, who reported that Demostheres had becreely read Horrates works of Rhetorick, and also Akcidamus books, by means of one Callian STRACUSAN, and others. Wherefore when he Demoftbenes came out of his wardhip, he began to put his Guardians in fuit, and to write Orations and Pleas first practite in against them; who in contrary manner did ever tile delays and excuses, to fave themselves for giving drawing and any account unto him, of goods and patrianony left him. And thus following this exercise (as penning of O-Thucwooder writeth) it profesered so well with him, that in the end he obtained ir, but not without great pains and danger: and yet with all that he could do, he could not recover all that his father left him, by a good deal. So having now gotten some boldness, and being also used to speak in open presence, and withall, having a feeling and delight of the estimation that is won by eloquence in pleading, afterwards he attempted to put forward himself, and to practife in matters of state. For. sethere goeth a tale of one Luamedon an ORCHOMENIAN, who having a grievous pain in the Aremedy for folecu, by advice of the Phylicians was willed to run long couries to belp him: and that follow- the principle ing their order, he became in the end to lufty and minble of body, that afterwards be would needs folecu. make one run for games, and indeed grew to be the swiftest runner of all men in his time. Even to the like chanced unto Demosthenes. For at the first, beginning to practise Oratory for recovery of his goods, and thereby having gotten good skill and knowledg how to plead, he afterwards took upon him to fpeak to the people in affemblies touching the Government of the Commonwealth; e-wen as he should have contended for some game or prize; and at the length did excell all the Oranors at that time that go up into the Pulpit for Orations : notwithstanding that, when he first ventured to Demostheres speak openly, the people made such la moile, that he could scane be heard; and besides they more mocked of the hed him for his manner of speech that was so ftrange, because he used so many long confused periods; people for his and his matter he frake was fo intricate with argument one upon another, that they were tedious, and that made them weary to hear him. And furthermore, he had a very fost voice, an impediment in his tongue, and had also a short breath, the which made that men could not well understand what of nature. he meant; for his long periods in his Oration were oftentimes interrupted, before he was at the end of his fentence. So at length perceiving he was thus rejected, he gave over to speak any more before the people, and half in despair withdrew himself into the haven of Piras. There Euroman the THESSALLIAN being a very old man, found him, and tharply reproved him, and told him, that he did himfelf great wrong, confidering, that having a manner of speech much like unto Pericles, he drowned himself by his faint heart; because he did not seek the way to be bold against the noise of the common people, and to arm his body to away with the pains and burthen of publick Orations, but suffering it to grow feebler for lack of use and practife. Furthermore, being once again sepulfed and whistled at, as he returned home hanging down his head for shame, and utterly discouraged, Sarprus an excellent player of Comedies being his familiar friend, followed him, and went so speak with him. Demostheres made his complaint unto him, that where he had taken more pains then all the Orators befides, and had almost even worn himself to the bones with study, yet he could by no means devife to please the people: whereas other Orators that did nothing but bib all the day long, and Mariners that understood nothing, were quietly heard, and continually occupied the Pulpit with Orations: and on the other fide that they made no account of him. Satyrus then anfwered him, Thou fayest true Demostbenes, but care not for this, I will help it straight, and take away the cause of all this, so thou wilt but tell me without book certain verses of Eurivides. or of Sophesles, thereupon Demosthenes prefently rehearled some unto him, that came into his mind. Sasysus repensing them after him, gave them quite another grace, with fuch a pronunciation, comely

gesture, and modest countenance becoming the veries, that Demosthenes thought them clean chang-

ed. Whereby perceiving how much the action (to wir, the comely manner and gefture in his Orati-

my time, and he would daily go down into it, to fashion his gesture and pronunciation, and also Cellar.

on) do give grace and comelines in his pleading, he then thought it but a triffle, and almost nothing to speak of, to exercise to plead well, unless therewithall he did also study to have a good pronunciation and gefure. Thereupon he built him a Cellar under the ground, the which was whole even in Demofibenes

DEMOSTHE NESS or three moneths one after another, and did shave his head of purpose, because he durst, not go abfoad in that fort, although his will; was good. And were he took his Theam and matter to declaim upon, and to practice to plead, of the matters he had in hand before, or else upon occasion of such talk as he had with them that came to fee him, while he kept his boule. For they were no fooner gone from him, but he went down into his Cellar, and repeated from the first to the last all matters that had passed between him and his friends in talk together, and alledged also both his own and their answers. And if peradventure he had been at the hearing of any long matter, he would repeat it by himself: and would finely couch and convey it into proper fonences, and thus change and after every way any matter that he had heard or salked with others. Thereof came the opinion menthad of him, that he had no very quick capacity by nature, and that his eloquence was not natural labut, artificially gotten with extream labour. And for proof hereof, they made this probable reason, that they never law Demosthenes make any Oration on the sudden, and that oftentimes when he was feb in the affemfeldom pleased bly, the people would call him by his name, to fay his opinion touching the matter of counfel then in

please the peo-

hand : howbeit that he never rofe upon their call, unless he had first studied the matter well he would fpeak of. So that all the other Orators would many times give him a taunt for it : as # hid among other, that taurting him on a time, told him, his realons fmelled of this lamp. Yea, replied Demof. theres sharply again: so is there difference Pythias betwitt thy labour and mine by lampilight. And himfelf also speaking to others, did not altogether deny it, but told them plainly, that he did not always write at length all that he would speak, neither did he also offer to speak, before he had made Demostherer in briefs of that he would speak. He faid surthermore, that it was a token the man loved the people well, that would be carefull before what he would fay to them. For this preparative (quoth be) doth thew that he doth honour and reverence them. In contrary manner also, he that passeth not how the people take his words, it is a plain token that he despiteth their authority, and that he lacketh no good will (if he could) to use force against them rather then reason and perswasion. But yet further to enlarge the proofs, that Demosthenes had no heart to make an Oration on the sudden, they do alledge this reafon : That Demades many times role up on the fudden to maintain Demagibenes reasons, when the people otherwhile did reject him : and that Demosthenes on the other fide, did never rife to make Demades words good, which he had spoken in his behalf. But now might a man ask again ; If Demosfibenes was fo timerous to fpeak before the people upon the fudden, what meant Afchines then to fay, that he was marvellous bold in his words? and howkhanceth it, that he rifing upon the fudden, did prefentfyanswer the Orator Python BIZANTINE in the field, that wasvery lufty in speech (and rough like a vehement running stream) against the ATHENIANS, and how shanced it that Lamachus MYRRA-ENIAN, having made an Oration in the praise of Philip and Alexander Kings of Macedon, in the which he spake all the ill he could of the THEBANS, and of the OLYNTHIANS: and when he had read and pronounced it in the open affembly of the Olympian games, Demosfibenes upon the instant rifing upon his feet, declared, as if he had read fome Hiltory, and pointed as it were with his finger up-to all the whole affembly, the notable great fervice and worshy deeds the which the CHALCIDIANS had done in former times, for the benefit and hongur of GREECE? And in contrary manner allo, what milchief and inconvenience came by means of the flatterers that altogether gave themselves to curay favour with the MacEDONIANS & With thefe and fuch like perfwalions, Demoffhenes made fuch ftir amongst the people, that the Orator Lamachus being afraid of the sudden uproar, did secretly Demosthenes convey himself out of the assembly . But yet to tell you what I think . Demosthenes in my opinion to terrified Land- fhioning himself even from the beginning, to follow Pericles steps and examples, he thought that for down his Oo other qualities he had, they were not fo requifite for him; and that he would counterfeir his gravity and fober countenance, and to be wife, and to speak over lightly to every matter at all adventures: judging, that by that manner of wildom he came to be great, And like as he would, not: .lip any good occasion to speak, where it might be for his credit: fo would he not likewife over-izashly hazard his credit and reputation to the mercy of fortune. And to prove this true, the Orations which he made upon the fudden without premeditation before, do shew more boldness and courage then those which he had written and studied long before, if we may believe the reports of Eratosibentes, Demetrius Pha-LERIAN, and of the other Comical Poets. For Eransthenes faid, that he would be often carried away with choler and fury. Demetrius allo faith, that speaking one day to the people, ite sware a great Oath in Rhime, as if he had been possessed with some divine spirit, and said:

By sea and by land, by Rivers, Springs and Ponds.

"Outus antiλαβει ώσπερ Μά λαμβάνειν αλλά απλαμ-Baren maçà

The natural e loquence of Demades the Orator. judgement of

There are also certain Comical Poets that do call him Ropoperperetha, as who would say, a great babler that speaketh all things that cometh to his tongues end. Another mocked him for too much affecting a figure of Rhetorick called Antitheton : which is, opposition, with faying, Sie recept fi-Est cepit, which fignifieth, he took it as he found it. In the use of this figure Demosshenes much pleafed himfelf, unless the Poet Antiphanes Speaketh it of pleasure, deriding the counsel he gave the people, not to take the Ille of HALONESUS of King Philip, as of gift, but to receive it as their own reftored. And yet every body did grant, that Demades of his own natural wit, without art, was invincible : and that many times speaking upon the sudden, he did utterly overthrow Demosthenes long ftudied realons. And erifte of the Iste of Cuio, hath written Theophrasius judgement of the Orators of that time. Who being asked what manner of Orator he thought Demoßhenes: he answered, worthy of this City. Then again, how he thought of Demades: above

this City, faid he. The fame Philosopher writeth also, that Polycethus SPHETTIAN (one of those that practifed at that time in the Common-wealth) gave this fentence : that Demossiblenes indeed was a great Oratour, but Phocions tongue had a sharper understanding, because in few words he comprehended much matter. And to this purpose, they say that Demosthenes himself said also, that as oft as he faw Photion get up into the Pulpit for Orations to fpeak against him, he was wont to fay to his friends : See, the ax of my words rifeth. And yet it is hard to judge, whether he spake that in respect Photoion called of his tongue, or rather for the estimation he had gotten, because of his great wildom; thinking (as the ax of Deof instrongue, or rainer for the extension is based on the lead, of the head, of fuch a man millener Oraindeed it is true) that one word onely, the twinkling of an eye, or a nod of the head, of fuch a man millener Oraitions,
(that through his worthines had attained that credit) had more force to persuade then all the fine reasons and devices of Rhetorick. But now for his bodily defects of nature, Demetrius PHALERI-AN writeth, that he heard Demosthenes himself say, being very old, that he did help them by these by industry remeans. First, touching the stammering of his tongue, which was very fat, and made him that he formeth his could not pronounce all fyllables diffinctly, he did help it by putting of little pibble ftones into his defects of namouth, which he found upon the fands by the Rivers fide, and so pronounced with open mouth the ture. Orations he had without Book. And for his small and fost voice, he made that louder, by running up steep and high hills, uttering even with full breath some Orations or Verses that he had without Book. And further it is reported of him, that he had a great Looking-glass in his house, and ever flanding on his feet before it, he would learn and exercise himself to pronounce his Orations. For proof hereof it is reported, that there came a man unto him on a time, and prayed his help to defend his cause, and told him that one had beaten him: and that Demosthenes faid again unto him. I do not believe this is true thou tellest me, for surely the other did never beat thee. The Plaintiff then thrusting out his voice aloud, said : What, hath he not beaten me? Yes indeed, quoth Demofibenes then: I believe it now, for I hear the voice of a man that was beaten indeed. Thus he thought that the found of the voice, the pronunciation or gesture in one fort or other, were things of force to credit or discredit that a man faith. His countenance when he pleaded before the People, did mar- Demosshenes vellously please the common fort: but the Noblemen and men of understanding, found it too base countenance venously preactine common balerian faid, amongst others. And Hermippus writeth, that one called missilised of After being asked of the ancient Oratours, and of those of his time, answered that every man that the Nobility. had feen them, would have wondred, with what honour, reverence and modefly, they spake unto the People; howbeit that Demosthenes Orations (whosoever read them) were too artificiall and vehement. And therefore we may eafily judge, that the Oragions Demosthenes wrote are very severe

the much in the solution of th

copper) stepping forth to say somewhat of Demosthenes late sitting up a nights, and that he wrote

and studied the most part of the night by Lamp-light : Indeed, quoth Demosthemes, I know it grieves thee to fee my Lamp burn all night : and therefore my Lords of ATHENS, methinks you should

not wonder to fee fuch robberies in your City , confidering we have thieves of copper , and the walls

and fharp. This notwithstanding, otherwiseshe would give many pleasant and witty answersupon Demossheres the fudden. As when Demades one day faid unto him , Demosthenes will teach me : after the common witty answers

of our houses be but of clay. We could tell you of divers others of his like pleasant and witty anfwers , but these may suffice for this present : and therefore we will proceed to consider further of his The time of nature and conditions, by his acts and deeds in the affairs of the Common-wealth. Now Domofthe. Demofthenes nes first beginning when he came to deal in the affairs of the State, was in the time of the War coming to prames first beginning when ne came to use in the analy of the order, was in the time of the was first beginning when ne came to use in the almade with the PHOCIONS, and himself reporteth: and as appeareth further in his Orations which fairs of the he made against Philip: of the which, the last were made after the War was ended, and the first Saste. do touch also some particular doings of the same. He made the Oration against Midias, when he Displeasure was but thirty two years old and was of small countenance and reputation in the Common-wealth; betwin De was but thirty two years out, and was of mian connectiance and the want whereof was the chiefest cause (as I think) that induced him to take money for the injury masses, and the want whereof was the chiefest cause (as I think) that induced him to take money for the injury masses.

he had done him, and to let his action fall against him: He was not of a mild and gentle mind . But fierce and hafty to revenge by kind.

But knowing that it was no small enterprise, nor that could take effect by a man of so small Power and Authority as himself, to overthrow a man fo wealthy, fo befriended, and so eloquent as Midias, he therefore yeelded himself unto those that did speak and intreat for him. Neither do I think that the three thousand Drachma's which he received, could have bridled the bitterness of his nature, if otherwise he had seen any hope or likelihood that he could have prevailed against him. Now at Demosthenes his first coming unto the Common-wealth, taking a noble matter in hand, to speak against Philip, an enemy to for the defence and maintenance of the Laws and Liberties of the GRECIANS, he behaved himself the Macedofo worthily, that in short space he wan him marvellous same for his great eloquence and plain man-niant ner of speech. Thereby he was marvellously honoured also through all GREECE, and greatly esteemmed with the King of PERSIA: and Philiphimfelf made more account of him then of all the Oratours in ATHENS; and his greatest foes which were most against him, were driven to confess, that they had to do with a famous man. For in the Orations which Aschines and Hyperides made to accule him, they write thus of him. And therefore I marvell what Theopompus meant, when he wrote cy of Demofiles that Demostheres had a fubtill unconstant mind, and could not long continue with one kind of men, ner against nor in one mind for matters of State. But in contrary manner, in my judgement he continued con- Theopempus ftant still to theend, in one self-manner and order, unto the which he had betaken himself at the

DEMOSTHENES.

Note the inconstancy and fabrill evafion of these Ora-

his Orations.

Demasthenes franck (peech in his Orati-

Demostbenes Orations, which were true, and which

A Section

beginning : and that not onely he never changed all his life time, but to the contrary, he loft his life, because he would be no changeling. For he did not like Demades, who to excuse himself for that he bad oft turned coat in matters of Government, faid that he went oftentimes against his own fayings, as matters fell out: but never against the benefit of the Common-wealth. And Melampu allo, who was ever against Callifram, having his mouth many times ftopped with Money, he would up to the Pulpit for Orations, and tell the People, that indeed Calliftrains, which maintaineth the contrary opinion against me, is my enemy, and yet I yeeld unto him for this time: for the benefit of the Common-wealth must carry it. And another allo, Aicodomse Messenian, who being first of Caffanders fide, took part afterwards with Demerriss, and then faid, that he did not fpeak against himself, but that it was meet he should obey his superiours. They cannot detect Demossiblenes with the like, that he did ever halt or yeeld either in word or deed. For he ever continued firm and conftant in one mind in his Oration. Infomuch that Panatins the Philosopher faith, that the most pare of all his Orations are grounded upon this Maxime and Principle: that for it felf, nothing is to be taken or accepted, but that which is honest. As, the Oration of the Crown, the which he made against Ariflorates: that also which he made for the Franches and Freedom: and in fine, all his Orations against Philip of MACEDON; in all those he doth not perswade his Countreymen to take Demafibence a that which is most pleasant; easiest, or most profitable: but he proveth that oftentimes honesty is to Demoplemer 2 and some facety or health. So that had he in all his Orations and doings joyned to his ho-timorous man, be preferred above facety or health. So that had he in all his Orations and doings joyned to his honefty, courtefie, and frank speech, valiantness in Wars, and clean hands from bribery, he might defervedly have been compared, not with Mirecles, Polyentius, Hyperides and other Orators: but even with the higheft, with Cimon, Timeidides, and Pericles. For Pho.ion, who took the worst way in government of the Common-wealth, because he was suspected that he took part with the MACEDONIANS: yet for valianmels, wildom and justice, he wasever thought as honest a man as Ephialtes and Ariftides. But Demifibenes on the other fide (as Demetrine faith) was no man to truft to for Wars, neither had be any power to refule gifts and bribes. For though he would never be corrupted by Philip King of MACEDON, yet he was bribed with Gold and Silver that was brought from the Cities of Susa and ECBATANA; and was very ready to praise and commend the deeds of their Ancestors, but not to follow them. Truly, yet was he the honestest man of all other Orators in histime, excepting Phocion. And besides, he did ever speak more boldly and plainly unto the People then any man elfe, and would openly contrary their minds, and sharply reprove the A-THENIANS for their faults, as appeareth by his Orations. Theopompus also writeth, that the People on a time would have had him to actute a man, whom they would needs have condemned. But he refuffing to do it, the People were offended, and did mutiny against him. Thereupon he rifing up, faid openly unto them: My Lords ATHENIANS, I will always counsell you to that which I think beft for the benefit of the Common-wealth, although it be against your minds : but fallily to accuse one to fatisfie your minds, though you command me, I will not do it. Furthermore, that which he did against Ansiphon, sheweth plainty, that he was no People pleaser, and that he did lean more the Authority of the Senate. For when Antiphon was quit by the People in the Affembly of the City, Demofhence notwithstanding took him, and called him again into the Court of the Areopagies, and did not pass for the Peoples ill will; but there convinced him for promising Philip of MACEDON to burn the Arferrall of ATHENS: lieby fentence of that Court he was condemned, and fuffered for it. He did also accuse the Nun Theorides for many lewed parts committed, and a mongft others, for that the taught Slaves to deceive their Mafters : and fo following the matters against her, the was condemned to death, and executed. It is thought also, that he made the Oration Apollodorus spake against the Pretor Timotheus, and proved thereby that he was a debtor to the Commonwealth, and to a naughty man; and that he wrote those Orations, also intituled to Forms o and Stephanus, for the which he was justly reproved. For Formio pleaded against Apollodorus with the Oration which Demoffbener felt had made for him , which was even alike, as if out of one felf Cutlers Shop he had fold his Enemies Swords one to kill another: and for his known Orations, those which he made against Androcion, Timocrates and Ariffreentes, he caused them to give them unto others, when he had not yet dealt in matters of State. For indeed when he did put them forth, he was not passing seven or eight and twenty years old. The Oration which he had made against Arifogiton, and the other alto of liberty, against Ctefppus the Son of Chabrian, he space them, as he said himfelf (or as others write) openly unto the People, because he intended to marry Chabress Mother : howbeit heldid not; bur married a Santan monumpus DemetraniMa Gnestan, writethinhis Book be made, intituted Symonyma. But that he werdte againft Efebines, where he neceifeth him that he dealt fallly, when he was Ambaffadour, it is not known whether it was recited or not, although Idiomeneus writeth; that there lacked but thirry voices onely to have quit . Si, chines. But, in this methinks he spake not truly , and doth but conjecture it by that one and the other have faid in their Orations against the Crown, in the which neither the one nor the other do say, precisely, that this acculation proceeded to judgement. But let other that lift decide this doubt, 1 Now before the War began, it was evident enough, to which part Demosthous would incline in the Common-wealth: For, he would never leave to reprove and withfland Philips doings. Therefore he being more spoken of in Philips Court, then any man elfe, he was fent unto him the tenth person with nine others in Ambasfage. Philip gave them all audience one after another : howbeit he was more carefull and circumspect doing sgainst to answer Demostherer Oration then all the rest. Burotherwise our of that place, he did not Demofiliants fo much honour, nor gave him to good entertainment, as to his other companions for

Philip shewed more kindness, and gave better countenance unto Afchines and Philocrates then unto Wherefore when they did highly praise Philip; and said that he was a well-spoken Prince. a fair man, and would drink freely, and be pleafant in company, Demofthenes smiled at it, and turned all things to the worst, faying, that those qualities were nothing commendable nor meet for a King. For the first was a quality meet for a Pleader, the second for a Woman, and the third for a Sponge, In fine, Wars falling out between them, because Philip of the one fide could not live in peace, and the ATHENIA NS on the other fide were still incensed and stirred up by Dem Sthenes daily Orations. the ATHENIANS first fent into the Isle of EUBOEA (the which by means of certain private Tvrants that had taken the Towns, became subject again unto Philip) tollowing a Decree Demosthenes had preferred, and so went to expulse the MACEDONIANS again. After that also he caused them to fend aid unto the BYZANTINES, and to the PERINTHIANS, with whom Philip made War. For he so perswaded the ATHENIANS, that he made them forget the malice they did bear unto those two Nations, and the fault which either of both the Cities had committed against them in the Wars, touching the rebellion of their Confederates: and he caused them to send them aid, which kept them from Philips force and power. Furthermore, going afterwards unto all the great Cities of GREECE as Ambassadour, he did so solicite and perswade them, that he brought them all in a persoliberees manner to be against Philip. So that the Army which their Tribe should find at their common charge, stirrethub was fifteen thousand Footmen, all strangers, and two thousand Horsemen, besides the Citizens of Greece against every City which should also serve in the Wars at their charge; and the Money also leavied for the the Macedonimaintenance of this War, was very willingly disburfed. T.copbraftus writeth, that it was at that ant. time their Confederates did pray that they would fet down a certain fum of Money, what every City should pay: and that Grobylus an Oratour should make answer, that the War had no certain maintenance: inferring that the charges of War was infinite. Now all GREECE being in Arms, attending what should happen, and all these People and (ities being united in one League together, as the Euboeians, the Athenians, the Corinthians, the Megarians, the Leu-CADIANS , and those of CORFU: the greatest matter Demosthenes had to do , was to perswade the THEBANS also to enter into this League, because their Countrey confined and bordered with AT-TICA; befides, their force and power was of great importance, for that they carried the fame of all GREECE at that time, for the valiantest Souldiers. But it was no trifling matter to win the THEBANS, and to make them break with Philip, who but lately before had bound them unto him by many great pleasures which he had done to them in the War of the PHOCIANS : besides also that betwirt ATHENS and THEBES, by reason of vicinity, there fell out daily quarrels and debates, the which with every little thing were foon renewed. This notwithstanding, Philip being proud of the Victory he had won by the City of AMPHISSE, when he came and invaded the Countrey of E. LATIA, and was entred into PHOCIDE, the ATHENIANS were then fo amazed with it, that no

man durft occupie the Pulpit for Orations, neither could they tell what way to take. Thus the whole

Affembly standing in a doubt with great silence, Demosthenes onely stept up, and did again give them

counsell to feek to make league and alliance with the THEBANS: and so did further encourage the

People, and put them in good hope, as he was always wont to do. Then with others he was fent

Ambaffadour unto THEBES; and Philip also for his part, fent Ambaffadours unto the THEBANS, Amyntas and Clearchus, two Gentlemen MACEDONIANS, and with them Daschus, The falus,

and Thracydem , to answer and withstand the perswasions of the ATHENIANS Ambassadours.

Thereupon the THEBANS began to advise themselves for the best, and laid before their eyes the

EOTIA belides. And the Assemblies also of the Councill of THERES were as well governed by him as the Affemblies of ATHENS, being alike beloved both of the one and the other, and having

milerable fruits and calamities of War, their wounds being yet green and uncured, which they got by the War of PHOCIDE. Notwithstanding, the great force of Demostheres eloquence (as Theo-force of elopompus writeth) did so inflame the The BAN's courage with desire of honour, that it trod under their quence joyned feet all manner of considerations, and did so ravish them with the love and desire of honesty, that the Thebans they cast at their heels all fear of danger, all remembrance of pleasures received, and all reason per- with the Ather fwading to the contrary. This act of an Oratour was of fo great force, that Philip forthwith fent them from Ambassadours unto the GRECIANS, to intreat for peace, and all GREECE was up to see what philip King of would become of this ftir. Thus, not onely the Captains of ATHENS obeyed Demosthenes, doing Macedon. all that he commanded them, but the Governours also of THEBES, and of all the Countrey of Bo-

a like Authority to command both , and not undefervedly , as Theopompus faith , but by just defert. But some fatall deftiny, and the revolution of times had determined the finall end of the liberty of The over-But tome tatall deftiny, and the revolution of times had determined the liberty of the of the Greeker also many celestial throw of the Greeker forefigns that did foreshew and prognosticate what end should ensue thereof. And amongst others, A- shewed at Chepollo's Nun gave these dreadfull Oracles: and this old Prophecy of the SYBILS was commonly rones by igns

fung in every bodies mouth: What time the blondy battell shall be fought at Thermodon, God grant I may be far away; or elfe (to look thereon) Have Eagles wings to four above, among the clouds on hie :

The River of For therethe vanquist side shall weep, and Conquerour shall die, Men do report that this Thermodon is a little River of the Countrey of CHERONEA, which fal- or Hamon, in leth into the River of Cephifus: howbeit at this present timethere is never a River nor Brook in all the Countrey our Countrey, that I know, called Thermodon. And I think, that that River which we call now of Chareness Hamon.

Hamon, was in old time Thermodon: for it runneth by the Temple of Hercules, where the Gre-CIANS lay in Camp. And it may be , that because it was filled with dead bodies , and that it ran bloud at the day of the Battell, it changed her name, and was firnamed Hæmon, because Hæma in the Greek Tongue, fignifieth bloud. Yet Duris writeth notwithstanding, that this Thermodon was no River, but that certain men fetting up their Tent, and trenching it about, found a little Image of stone, whereupon were engraven these Letters: whereby it appeareth that it was a man called Thermodon, who carried an AMA 20 N hurt in his arms; and that for this Image of Thermodon, they do fing such another old Oracle as this:

Another opinion of Ther-

Demofthenes

Demailhenes

words and de-

vice upon his

Te Erns and Ravens turry till the field of Thermodon:

There will be store of carkases of men to feed upon.

This notwithstanding, it is very hard to tell the troth of these things. But Demosshenes trusting to the valiantness and power of the GRECIANS, and being marvellously incouraged to see such a great number of valiant and refolute men, fo willing to fight with the Enemy, he bade them be of good courage, and not to buz about fuch Oracles, and to give ear to fuch Prophecies. And furthermore he told them plainly, that he did miftruft the Nun Pythes did lean unto Philip, as favouring him, and did put the THEBANS in mind of their Captain Epaminondas, and the ATHENIANS of Pericles; and perfwaded them, that those two famous men were always of opinion, that such Prophecies were no other but a fine cloak for cowards, and that taking no heed to them, they did dispatch their matters according to their own discretion. Untill this present time, Demostheres shewed himself always an honest man. But when it came to the Battell, he fled like a coward, and did no valiant act any thing answerable to the Orations whereby he had perswaded the People. For he left his rank, and cowardly flieth from the cast away his Weapons to run the lighter, and was not ashamed at all (as Pythim said) of the words written upon his Shield in golden Letters, which were , Good Fortune. Now Philip having won the Bauell, he was at that present so joyfull, that he fell to commit many a fond part. For after he had drunk well with his friends, he went into the place where the Overthrow was given, and there in mockery began to fing the beginning of the Decree which Demosphenes had preferred (by the which the ATHENIANS accordingly proclaimed Wars against him) rising and falling with his voice,

and dancing it in measure with his foot:

Demosthenes the Son of Demosthenes Paanian did put forth this.

But afterwards beginning to wax fober, and leaving his drunkenness, when he had remembred of himself what danger he had been in , then his hair stood bolt upright upon his head , considering the force and power of fuch an Oratour, that in a piece of a day had enforced him to hazard his Realm and life at a Battell. Now Demosthener same was so great, that it was carried even to the great King of Demoplered in Persia's Court, who wrote unto his Lieutenants and Governours, that they should feed Dimeter with all the states of the states o corrupted with money and should procure to entertain him above all the men in GREECE, as he that could best withdraw Philip, and trouble him with the Wars and tumults of GREECE. And this was afterwards proved by Letters found of Demosthenes himself, the which came to King Alexan-King of Perder, hands in the City of SARDIS; and by other Writings also of the Governours and Lieutenans of the King of Persia, in the which were named directly, the express tums of Money which had been fent and given unto him. Now the GRECIANS being thus overthrown by Battell, the other Orators, adverfaries unto Demossibenes in the Common-wealth, began to fet upon him, and to Prepare to accuse him. But the People did not onely clear him of all the accusations objected against him , but did continue to honour him more then before, and to call him to Affemblies, as one that loved the honour and benefit of his Countrey, 'So that when the bones of their Countreymen which were flain at the Battell of CHERONEA, were brought to be openly buried according to the cuftom, the People gave him the honour to make the Fonerall Oration in praise of the dead, and made no thew of forrow or grief for the lofs they had received (as Theopompus witneffeth, and doth nobly declare) but rather in contrary manner thewed that they did not repent them in following of his counfell, but did honour him that gaveit. Demofiberes then did make the Funerall Oration, But afof Charenca. terwards in all the Decrees he preferred to the People, he would never subscribe any, to prevent the The death of philip King of insifter luck and misfortune of his name, but did pass it under his friends names one after another, until he army companions and the control of the control o untill he grew couragious again; (Rorrly after that he underflood of the death of Thilip, who was flain immediatly after the Victory he wan at CHERONEA. And it feemeth this was the meaning of the Prophecy or Oracle in the two last Verses:

Demofthenes

Macedon.

Demosthenes preferreth the joy of his Countrey before the forrow for his own Daughter. Æschines ré-Plusarch for his that blubbering and for-

rowing are

and charity.

The wanquished bewailes his Inchlefs lot, And he that wing , with tife escapeth not. Now Demofibenet hearing of Philips death, betore the news were openly known, to prevent them, he would put the People again in good hope of better luck to come. Thereupon he went with a chearfull countenance into the Affenthly of the Councill , and told them there , that he had a certain dream that promifed great good hap, and that out of hand unto the ATHENIAMS: and immediate the ATHENIAMS: atly after , the Meffengers arrived ; and brought certain news of King Philips death. Thereupon the ATHENIANS made Sacrifices of joy to the gods for this happy news, and appointed a Crown unto Panjanias that had flain him. Demosibeness also came abroad in his best Gown, and crowned with Flowers, seven days after the death of his Daughter, as As shines reporteth; who reproved him for it, and noteth him to be a man having stitle love or charity unto his own children. But indeed Achimes felf deferveth more blame, to have such a tender womanish heart, as to believe, that weeping and lamenting are figure of a gentle and charitable mature, condemning them that

with patience and constancy do passaway such missortunes. But now to the ATHENIANS again. With patiente and comments at they did wifely to shew such open signs of joy, as to wear Crowns and Garlands upon their heads; nor alio, to facrifice unto the gods for the death of a Prince. that and Gariands upon their means, inches them in the Victories he had won of them. For behaved himself fo Princely and courteoully unto them in the Victories he had won of them. For though indeed all cruelty be subject to the revenge of the gods, yet is this an act of a vile and base mind, to honour a man while he lived, and to make him free of their City; and now that another had flain him, they to be in fuch an exceeding jollity withall, and to exceed the bounds of modesty fo far, as to ramp in manner with both their teet upon the dead, and to fing Songs of victory, as if they themselves had been the men that had valiantly slain him. In contrary manner also, I praise and Plotareb praithey themselves had been the men that had variantly main that the leaving the tears and lamentarion of his seth Demossible commend the constancy and courage of Demossible to the leaving the tears and lamentarion of his set constancy. commend the command, and himself in the mean time that he thought was for the benefit of the for leaving of nome-trouble unto wonter, and in my opinion, I think he did therein like a man of courage, and worthy to his mourning be a Governour of a Common-wealth, never to ftop nor yeeld, but always to be found ftable and to rejoyce for constant, for the benefit of the Common-wealth, rejecting all his troubles, cares, and affections, in his common contrant, for the penetri of the Country; and to keep his honour much more carefully, then common neft. Players use to do, when they play the parts of Kings and Princes, whom we see neither weep nor laugh when they lift, though they be on the Stage, but when the matter of the Play falleth out to give them just occasion. But we omit those reasons, if there be no reason (as indeed there is not) to leave and for fake a man in his forrow and trouble, without giving him some words of comfort. but rather to devise somematter to asswage his forrow, and to withdraw his mind from that to think upon some pleasanter thing: even as they should keep fore eyes from seeing bright and glaring colours, in offering them green and darker. And from whence can a mantake greater commort for his troubles and griefs at home, when the Common-wealth doth well, then to joyn their private griefs with common joys, to the end that the better may obscure and take away the worse? But thus far I digressed from my History, enlarging this matter, because Afchines in his Oration touching this matter, did move the Peoples hearts too much unto womanish forrow. But now tothe reft. The Cities of GREECE being again stirred up by Demosthenes, made a new League Demosthenes again together and the THEBANS also having armed themselves by his practife, did one day fet raisethup the upon the Garifon of MACEDONIANS within their City, and flew many of them, The ATHE- Grains aupon the Garlion of MACEDONIANS with the Thebans behalf, and Demofflines was daily at gainlt Alexanall the Affemblies of Councill, in the Pulpit, perfwading the People with his Orations; and he wrote alfo into Asia unto the King of Persia's Lieutenants and Captains, to make war with Alexander on their fide, calling him Child, and Margites, as much to fay, as Fool. But after that Alexander having fet all his things at stay within his Realm, came himself in person with his Army, and invaded the Countrey of BOEOTIA, then fell the pride of the ATHENIANS greatly, and Demostheres also plied the Pulpit no more as he was wont. At length the poor THEBANS being left unto themselves forfaken of every man, they were compelled themselves alone to bear the brunt of this War, and fo came their City to utter ruine and destruction. Thereby the ATHENIANS being in a marvellous fear and perplexity, did suddenly choose Ambassadours to send unto this young King, and Demosthenes chiefly among others: who being afraid of Alexanders sury and wrath. durft not go to him, but returned from Mount Cytharon, and gave up the Ambassade. But Alex- Alexander reander fent to fummon the ATHENIANS, to fend unto him ten of their Oratours, as Idomeneus and quired certain Duris both do write: or eight, as the most Writers and Historiographers do report, which thens. thens. were these: Domossteines, Polyentim, Ephialies, Lyenrgin, Myvocles, Damon, Callistenes and Domossteines Charictenus. At which time they write that Domossteines told the People of Athens the Fable Tale of the of the Sheep and Wolves, how that the Wolves came on a time, and willed the Sheep, if they Sheep and would have peace with them, to deliver them their Mastives that kept them. And so he compared Woives. himself and his companions that travelled for the benefit of the People, unto the Dogs that keep the Flocks of Sheep, and called Alexander the Woolf. Moreover, he faid, like as you fee thefe Corn-mafters bringing a fample of their Corn in a Dish or Napkin to shew you, and by that little do fell all that they have: fo I think you will all wonder, that delivering of us, you shall also deliver your selves into the hands of your Enemies. Aristobeliu of Cassandria reporteth this matter thus. Now the ATHENIANS being in confultation, not knowing how to refolve Demades having taken five Talents of them whom Alexander demanded , did offer himself , and promifed to go in this Ambassage unto Alexander, and to intreat for them; either because he trusted in the love the King did bear him, or else for that he thought and hoped he should find him pacified, as a Lion glutted with the bloud of Beafts which he had flain. Howfoever it happened, he perswaded the Peopleto send him unto Alexander, whom he so handled, that he got their pardon, and did reconcile him with the City of ATHENS. Thereupon Alexander being retired, Demades and his fellows bare all the fway and authority, and Demosthenes was under foot. Indeed when Agis King of LACEDEMON, came with his Army into the Field, he began a little to rouze himself, and to lift up his head : but he shrunk collar again soon after , because the A-THENIANS would not rife with the LACEDEMONIANS, who were overthrown, and Agis The judge-flain in Battell. At that time was the cause of the Crown pleaded against Crespen, and the Plea ment of the was written a little before the Battell of CHERONEA, in the year when Crarondas was Provoft Crown 2of ATHENS : howbeit no sentence was given till ten years after , when Aristophon was Pro-gainst Ctefivost. This was such an open judgement, and so famous, as never was any, as well for the great Fame phon.

to the verbe

Demosthenes banishment.

> Demosthenes took his bagricvoufly.

Three mif-Beafts.

of the Orators that pleaded in emulation one of the other, as also for the worthinels of the Judges that gave fentence thereof : who did not leave Demofthenes to his Enemies, although indeed they were of greater power then he , and were also supported with the favour and good will of the MA CEDONIANS: but they did notwithstanding so well quit him, that Afchines had not so much as the fifth part of mens voices and opinions on his fide, Wherefore immediately after the fentence given, he went out of ATHENS for shame, and travelled into the Countrey of lonia, and unto the RHODE'S, where he did teach Rhetorick. Shortly after, Harpalus flying out of Alexanders fervice, came unto Athens, being to be charged with many foul matters he had committed by his exceedman came to
Athers, thing ing prodigality: and also because he feared Alexanders sury, who was grown severe and cruen unto from Alexan his chiefest Servants. He coming now amongst the ATHENIANS with store of Gold and Silver, the Oratours beeing greedy and desirous of the Gold and Silver he had brought, began straight to fpeak for him, and did counfell the People to receive and protect a poor Suiter that came to them for succour. But Demosthenes gave counsell to the contrary, and bad them rather drive him out of the City, and take heed they brought not Wars upon their backs, for a matter that not onely was not necessary, but furthermore meerly unjust. But within few days after, an Inventory being taken of all Harpalus Goods, he perceiving that Demosthernes took great pleasure to see a Cup of the Kings, and confidered very curiously the fashion and workmanship upon it, he gave it him in his hand, to judge what it weighed. Demosthenes poizing it, wondered at the great weight of it, it was to beavie: fo he asked how many pound weight it weighed. Harpalus finling, answered him: It will bring thee Demonstrates twenty Talents. So when night was come, he fent him the Cup, with the twenty Talents. This Harpalas was a very wifeman, and found straight by Demosshenes countenance that he loved Money, and could prefently judge his nature by feeing his pleafant countenance, and his eyes ftill upon the Cup. So Demostbenes refused not his Gift, and being overcome withall, as if he had received a Garison into his House, he took Harpalin part. The next morning he went into the Affembly of the People, having his neck bound up with wooll and rolls. So when they called him by his name to ftep up into the Pulpit, to speak to the People as he had done before, he made a fign with his head, that he had an impediment in his voice, and that he could not speak. But wise men laughing at his fine excuse, told him, that it was no fquinance that had stopped his wefell that night, as he would make them believe : but it was Harpales Money which he had received, that made him in that case. Afterwards when the People understood that he was corrupted , Dimosthenes going about to excuse himself , they would notabide to hear him, but made a noise and exclamation against him. Thereupon there role *The conceit up a pleasant conceited man, and said : Why my Masters, do ye resule to hear a man that hath *fuch a golden tongue? The People thereupon did immediately banish Harpaim, and fearing lest King Alexander would require an account of the Gold and Silver which the Oratours had robbed any other lan- and pilfered away among them , they made very diligent fearch and inquiry in every mans House, guage, then in excepting Gallicles houle, the Son of Arenidas; whose house they would by no means have Greek. For he sinh, and fearched, because he was but newly married, and had his new Spoule in his houle, as Theopompus Redarte 73 7h writech. Now Demosthenes desiring to shew that he was in no fault, preferred a Decree, that the ROBARIA STATE Court of the Areopagites should hear the matter, and punish them that were found faulty, and therewithall straight offered himself to be tried. Howbeit he was one of the first whom the Court condemned in the furn of fifty Talents, and for lack of payment, they put him in Prison: where he could not endure long, both for shame of the matter for the which he was condemned, as also for his fickly body. So he brake Prifon, partly without the privity of his Keepers, and partly also pleasant speech with their consent: for they were willing he should make a scape. Some do report, that he fled not far from the City: where it was told him, that certain of his enemies followed him, whereupon he would have hidden himfelf from them. But they themselves first called him by his name, and coming to him, prayed him to take Money of them, which they had brought him from their houles to help him in his banishment : and that therefore they ranaster him. Then they did comfort him the best they could, and perswaded him to be of good cheer, and not to despair for the misforune that was come to him. This did pierce his heart the more for forrow, that he answered them : Why, would you not have me be forry for my missortune, that compelleth me to for fake the City, where indeed I have to courteous enemies, that it is hard for me to find any where to good friends? So he took his banishment unmanly, and remained the most part of his banishment in the City of Æ01-NA, or at the City of TROEZEN, where oftentimes he would caft his eyes towards the Countrey of ATTICA, and weep bitterly. And some have written certain words he spake, which shewed no mind of a man of courage, nor were answerable to the noblethings he was wonk to perswade in his Orations. For it is reported of him, that as he went out of ATHENS, he looked back again, and holding up his hands to the Castle, faid in this fort: O Lady Minerva, Lady Patroness of this City: why doeft thou delight in three fo mischievous Beasts: the Owl, the Dragon, and the People? Befides, he perswaded the young men that came to see him, and that were with him, never to meddle in matters of State: affuring them, that if they had offered him two wayes at the first, the one to go into the Assembly of the People, to make Orations in the Pulpit, and the other to be put to death prefently; and that he had known as he did then, the troubles a man is compelled to fuffer, that medleth with the affairs of the State, the fear, the envy, the acculations, and troubles in the fame, he would rather have chosen the way to have suffered death. So Demosthenes continuing in his exile, King Alexander died, and all GREECE was up again: infomuch as Leofthenes being a man of great valour, had shut up Antipater in the City of LAMEA, and there kept him straightly besieged.

Then Pytheas and Callimedon, firnamed Carabos, two Oratours, and both of them banished from ATHENS , they took part with Antipater , and went from Town to Town with his Ambaffadours Antibater be and friends, perswading the GRECIANS not to stir, neither to take part with the ATHENIANS. sieged of the But Demolthenes in contrary manner , joyning with the Ambaffadours fent from ATHENS into every Athenians. Quarter to solicite the Cities of GREECE, to seek to recover their liberty, he did aid them the best he could, to folicite the GRECIANS, to take Arms with the ATHENIANS, to drive the MACEDONIANS out of GREECE. And Phylarchus writeth that Demosthenes encountered with Priheas words in an open Affembly of the People in a certain Town of ARCADIA. Priheas having spoken before him, had said: Like as we presume always that there is some sickness in the house whither we do fee Affes milk brought : fo must that Town of necessary be fick, wherein the Ambaffadours of ATHENS do enter. Demosthenes answered him again, turning his comparison against him: That indeed they brought Affes milk, where there was need to recover health: and even fo. the Ambassadours of Athens where sent to heal and cure them that were sick. The People at A-THENS understanding what Demosthenes had done, they so rejoyced at it, that presently they gave order in the Field, that his banishment should be revoked. He that perswaded the Decree of his re- Demosshenes vocation, was called Damon P.E.A.NIAN, that was his Nephew: and thereupon the ATHENIANS called home fent him a Galley to bring him to ATHENS, from the City of ÆGINA. So Demosthenes being arrived at the Haven of Piræa, there was neither Governour, Prieft, nor almost any Townsman left in the City, but went out to the Haven to welcom him home. So that Demetring MAGNESIAN writeth, that Demosthenes then lifting up his hands unto Heaven, faid, that he thought himself happy for the honour of that journey, that the return from his banishment was far more honourable then Alcibiades return in the like case had been. For Alcibiades was called home by force : and he was fent for with the good will of the Citizens. This notwithstanding, he remained still condemned for his Fine : for by the Law , the People could not dispense withall , nor remit it. Howbeit they devifed a way to deceive the Law: for they had a manner to give certain Money unto them that did prepare and fer out the Altar of Jupiter faviour, for the day of the folemnity of the Sacrifice, the which talents remit. they did yearly celebrate unto him: fo they gave him the charge to make this preparation for the ted-fum of fifty Talents, being the fum of the Fine aforefaid wherein he was condemned. Howbeit, he did not long enjoy the good hap of his restitution to his Countrey and Goods: for the affairs of the GRECIANS were immediately after brought to utter ruine. For the Battell of CRANON which they loft, was in the Moneth Munychion (to wit, July:) and in the Moneth Bodromion next enfuing (to wit , August) the Garison of the MACEDONIANS entred into the Fort of Munychia. And in the Moneth Pyanepsion (to wir , the October following) Demosthenes died in this manner. When news came to Athens, that Antipater and Craierus were coming thither with a great Army , Demoffhenes and his friends got out of the Town a little before they entred ; the People by Demades perswasion, having condemned them to die. So, every man making shift for himself, Antipater fent Souldiers after them to take them : and of them Archine was Captain , firnamed Physica Archine Physica - Arch dotheras, as much to fay, as a hunter of the banished men. It is reported that this Archias was hunter of the born in the City of THURIES, and that he had been fometimes a common Player of Tragedies : banished men. and that Polis also who was born in the City of ÆGINA (the excellentest Craitimaster in that faculty of all men) was his Scholar. Yet Hermippus doth place him amongst the number of the Scholars of Lacritus the Oratour. And Demetrins also writeth, that he had been at Anaximenes School. Now this Arthias having found the Oratour Hyperides in the City of EGINA, Aristonicas MA-RATHONIAN, and Hymeress the Brother of Demetries the PHALERIAN, which had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of Ajax, he took them out of the Temple by force, and fent them unto Antipater, who was at that time in the City of CLEONES, wherehe did put them all to death: and some fay, that he did cut off Hyperides tongue. Furthermore, hearing that Demosthenes had taken San-Cuary in the Isle of Calauria, he took little Pinaces, with a certain number of Thracian Souldiers, and being come thinter, he sought to perswade Demosshers to be contented to go with him unto Ansipater, promising him that he should have no hurt. Demossibenes had a strange dream the night before, and thought that he had played a Tragedie contending with Archias, and that he dream. handled himfelf so well, that all the lookers on at the Theater did commend him, and gave him the honour to be the best Player : howbeit that otherwise he was not so well furnished as Archias and his Players, and that in all manner of furniture he did far exceed them. The next morning when Archias came to speak with him, and using gentle words unto him, thinking thereby to win him by fair means to leave the Sanctuary, Demosthenes looking him full in the face, fitting still where he was, without removing, faid unto him: O Archia; thou diddeft never perswade me when thou playedft a Play, neither shalt thou now perswade me, though thou promise me. Then Archias began to be angry with him, and to threaten him. O faid Demosthenes, now thou speakest in good earnest, without diffimulation, as the Oracle of MACEDON hath commanded thee : for before, thou spakest Demosibenes without unimination, as the Oracle of MACEDON hast collinated thee; to reduce, thou peaks taketh profine in the clouds, and far from thy thought: but I pray thee stay a while, till I have written somewhat taketh profine to my friends. After he had said so, he went into the Temple as though he would have dispatched in the Temple fome Letters, and did put the end of the quill in his mouth which he wrote withall, and bit it as his of Neptu manner was when he did use to write any thing, and held the end of the quill in his mouth a pretty In the Isle of while together: then he cast his Gown over his head, and layed him down. Archias Souldiers see- Calauria. ing that, being at the door of the Temple, laughed him to fcorn (thinking he had done fo, for that he was afraid to die) calling him coward, and beaft. Archias also coming to him, prayed him to

rife, and began to use the former perswasions to him, promising him that he would make Antipater his friend. Then Demesthenes feeling the poylon work, cast open his Gown, and boldly looking Archies in the face, faid unto him: Now when thou wilt, play Creens part, and throw my body to the dogs, without further grave or buriall. For my part, O god Mersune, I do go out of thy Temple being yet alive, because I will not profane it with my death : but Antipater, and the Macedoni-ANS, have not spared to defile thy Sanctuary with bloud and cruell murther. Having spoken these words, he prayed them to stay him up by his arm-holes, for his feet began already to fail him; and thinking to go forward, as he paft by the Altar of Megrame, he fell down, and giving one gaspe, gave up the ghost. Now touching the poylon, Arifo reporteth, that he sucked and drew it up into his mouth our of his quill, as we had faid before. But one Pappus (from whom Hermippus hath taken his Hiftory) writeth, that when he was laid on the ground before the Altar, they found the beginning of a Letter which faid : D. mossbenst unto Antipater , but no more. Now his death being thus fudden, the THRACIAN Souldiers that were at the Temple door, reported that they faw him pluck the poyfon which he put into his mouth, out of a little cloth he had, thinking to them that it had been a piece of Gold he had swallowed down. Howbeit a Maid of the house that served him, being examined about it, told them, that he had carried it about him a long time for a prefervative for him. Eratofthenes writeth, that he kept this poyfon in a little box of gold made hollow within, the which he ware as a bracelet about his arm. There are many Writers also that do report his death diverily, but to recite them all were in vain: faving that there was one called Democharts (who was Descriptions very friend) who faid, that he died not fo fuddenly by poylon, but that it was the fociall favour of the gods (to preferve him from the cruelty of the MACEDONIANS) that fuddenly took him out of this life, and made him feel so little pain. Demosthenes died the sixteenth day of the Moneth Pynephion (to wit, October) on the which day they do celebrate at ATHENS the Feaft

Demofthenes.

Demosthenes

after his death.

The Athenium after, the ATHENIANS to honour him according to his deferts, did cast his Image in brass, and

made a Law besides, that the oldest man of his Houle should for ever be kept within the Palace, at the charge of the Common-wealth: and ingraved these Verses also upon the base of his Image: Hadft, thou Demosthenes, had strength according to thy heart, The Macedons foould not have wrought the Greeks such wo and smart.

of Ceres , called Telmophoria , which is the dolefulleft Feaft of all the year : on the which day allo,

the women remain all day long in the Temple of the goddes, , without meat or drink. Shortly

For they that think that it was Demosthemes himself that made these Verses in the 1se of Calau-RIA, before he took his poyfon, are greatly deceived. But yet a little before my first coming to ATHENS, there went a report that such a thing happened: A certain Souldier being sent fortocome unto the Captain, did put such pieces of Gold as he had into the hands of Demospheres Statue, which had both his hands joyned together: and there grew hard by it a great Plane-tree, divers leaves whereof either blown off with wind by chance, or else put there of purpose by the Souldier, covered fo this Gold, that it was there a long time, and no man found it: untill fuch time as the Souldier came again, and found it as he left it. Hercupon this matter running abroad in every mans mouth, there were divers men that took occasion of this subject, to make Epigrams in the praise of Demifibenes , as one who in his life was never corrupted. Furthermore , Demades did not long enjoy the honour he thought he had newly gotten. For the justice of the gods, revenger of the death of Demoffbener, brought him into MACEDON, to receive just punishment by death, of those whom he difhoneftly flattered: being before grown hatefull to them, and afterwards committed a fault where by he could not escape. For there were Letters of his taken, by the which he did perswade and pray *He sain An . * Perdiccus to make himself King of MACEDON, and to deliver GREECE from bondage, saying, rigonar, in the ferances command many and yet it was half rotten, meaning thereby Antipater. Dinarchus CORINTHIAN accused him, that he wrote these Letters: the which so grievously offended Coffander, that first he slew his own Son in his arms, and then commanded they should afterward kill Demades death Demades, making him feel then by those miseries (which are the cruelless that can happen unto man) that Traytors betraying their own Countrey, do first of all betray themselves. Dimosthenes had often forewarned him of his end, but he would never believe him. Thus, my friend Soffim, you have what we can deliver you, by reading or report, touching Demosthenes Life and Doings.

The end of the Life of Demosthenes.

THE LIFE OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICER O.



Ann Mund. 3870.

Ant . Christ. 78.



touching Cicero's Mother, whose name was Helvia, it is reported she was Cicero's parena Gentlewoman born, and lived always very honestly: but for his father, tage. the reports of him are divers and infinite. For some say, that he was born and brought up in a Fullers shop : others report, that he came of Tullus Appins, who while he lived was honoured among the VOLSCES as King, and made very sharp and cruell Wars with the ROMANS. But furely it feemes to me, that the first of that name called Cicero, was some famous man, and that for his fake his Off-spring continued still that sirname, and were glad to keep it; though many men scorned it, because Cicer in English fignifieth a cich pease: and Cicero had a thing upon the Cicero, why so

tip of his note, as it had been a little wart, much like to a cich peale, whereupon they firnamed him called.

Cicero. But this Cicero, whole Life we write of now, nobly answered certain of his friends on a time giving him counfell to change his name, when he first made suite for Office, and began to pra-chise in matters of State: that he would endeavour himself to make the name of Cicero's more noble and famous, then the Scouri or Catuli. After that , Cicero being made Treasurer in SICILE, he gave an Offering of certain Silver Plate unto the gods, and at large engraved on it his two first names, Marcus Tullius: and in place of his third name, he pleafantly commanded the Workman to cut out the form and fashion of a cich pease. Thus much they write of his name. Now for his birth, it was laid that his Mother was brought to bed of him without any pain, the third day of January; on Citero's birth. which day the Magistrates and Governours of Rome do use at this present, yearly to make solemn Prayers and Sacrifices unto the gods, for the health and prosperity of the Emperour. Further, it is reported, that there appeared an Image to his Nurse, that did prognosticate unto her, she gave a An Image ap-Child fuck, which in time to come should do great good unto all the ROMANS. Now though such peared to Giera things may feem but dreams and fables unto many, yet Citer himself shortly after proved this ro's Nurse.

fame among the Boys, for his excellent wit and quick capacity. For thereupon came the other

fort of men were offended with their Sons, because to honour Cicero, they did always put him in the midft between them, as they went in the ftreets." Cicero indeed had fuch a naturall wit and understanding as Plate thought meet for learning, and apt for the study of Philosophy. For he gave himself to all kind of knowledge, and there was no Art nor any of the liberall Sciences that he diffained: norwithstanding in his first young years he was aprer and better disposed

Prophecy true : because that when he came of age to learn, he grew so toward, and wan such

Boys Fathers themselves to the School to fee his face, and to be eye-witnesses of the report Chero's tothat went of him, of his sharp and quick wit to learn; But others of the rude and baser wit,

THE

Cicero a nota-

Cicero Phile's

cademick Phi-Cicero a follower of Muti-

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to the study of Poetry then any other. There is a pretty Poem of his in Verses of eight staves, called Postins Glaucus, extant at this day, the which he made when he was but a boy. After that, being given more earneftly unto his study, he was not onely thought the best Oratour, but the best Poet allo of all the ROMANS in his time : and yet doth the excellency of his eloquence, and commendation of his tongue continue even to this day, notwithstanding the great alteration and change of the Latine Tongue, But his Poetry hath loft the name and estimation of it, because there were many after him that became far more excellent therein then he. After he had left his childish studies , he became then Philo's Scholar, the Academick Philosopher, the onely Scholar of Clitomachus Scholars, whom the ROMANS efteemed fo much for his eloquence, and loved more for his gentle behaviour and conversation. He gave himself also to be a follower of Mutina Scavola, who at that time was a great man in ROME, and Prince of the Senate, and who did also instruct Cicero in the Laws of ROME. He did alfo follow Sylla for a time, in the Wars of the MARSIANS. But when he faw that the Common-wealth of Rome fell to Civill Wars, and from Civill Wars to a Monarchy, then he returned again to his Book and contemplative life, and frequented the learned men of GREECE. and always fludied with them , untill Sy//4 had gotten the upper hand , and that he faw all the Common-wealth again at fome stay. About that time, Sylla causing the Goods of one that was faid to be flain, to be fold by the Crier (being one of the Outlaws and Proferipts, to wit, banished by Bills fer up on Pofts) Chrylogonus, one of Sylla's freed Bondmen, and in great favour with his Mafter. bought them for the fum of two thousand Drachma's. Therewithall the Son and Heir of the dead person called Roscius, being marvellously offended, he shewed that it was too shamefull an abuse: for his Fathers Goods amounted to the fum of two hundred and fifty Talents. Sylla finding himfelf thus openly touched with publick fraud and deceit, for the onely gratifying of his man, he procured Crylogonus to accuse him , that he had killed his own Father. Never an Oratour durft speak in Roscins behalf to defend his cause, but shrunk back, fearing Sylla's cruelty and severity. Wherefore poor Rofeins the young man, feeing every man for fake him, had no other refuge but to go to Cicero, whom his friends did counfell and perswade boldly to take upon him the desence of Roscius cause: for he should never have a happier occasion, nor so noble a beginning to bring himself into estimation , asthis. Thereupon Cicero determined to take his cause in hand, and did handle it so well, that he obtained the thing he fued for : whereby he wan him great fame and credit. But yet being afraid of Sylla's displeature, he absented himself from ROME, and went into GREECE, giving it our , that his travell was for a difeafe he had upon him. Indeed Cicero was dog-lean , a little eater, and would also eat late, because of the great weakness of his stomack : but yet he had a good loud voice, though it was somewhat harsh, and lacked grace and comeliness. Furthermore, he was so earnest and vehement in his Oration, that he mounted still with his voice into the highest tunes: info-Giero, Asiis much that men were afraid it would one day put him in hazard of his life. When he came to A-THENS, he went to hear Antiochm of the City of ASCALON, and fell in great liking with his fweet tongue, and excellent grace, though otherwise he misliked new opinions in Philosophy. For Antiochus had then forfaken the opinions of the new Academick Philosophers, and the Sect of Carneades: being moved thereunto, either through the manifest proof of things, or by his certain judgement, or (as some say) for that of an ambition or diffention against the Scholars and followers of Clicomachus and Philo, he had reproved the resolutions of the Academicks, which he had of long time defended, onely to lean for the most part to the Stoicks opinion. Howbeit Ciaero had most affection unto the Academicks, and did fludy that Sect more then all the reft, of purpole, that if he faw he were forbidden to practife in the Common-wealth at ROME, he would then go to ATHEMS (leaving all Pleas and Affairs of the Common-wealth) to bestow the rest of his time quietly in the The commo-dity of Philosophy. At length, when he heard news of Sylla's death, and faw that his body was dity of czercife. grown to good state and health by exercise, and that his voice became daily more and more to fill mens care with a sweet and pleasant found, and yet was loud enough for the constitution of his body: receiving Letters daily from his friends at Roms, that prayed him to resum home; and moreover, Antiochus self also earnestly persuading him to practise in the Common-wealth, be began again to fall to the study of Rhetorick, and to frame himself to be eloquent, being a necellary thing for an Oratour, and did continually exercise himself in making Orations upon any Speech or Proposition, and so frequented the chief Oratours and Masters of eloquence that were at that time. To this end therefore he went into ASIA unto RHODES, and amongst the Orators of Asia he frequented Xenocles ADRAMETTIN, and Dionyfins, MAGNESIAN, and fludied also with Menippus CARIAN: at RHODES he heard Apollomius Molon , and the Philosopher Possodonius. And it is reported also, that Apollonius wanting the Latine Tongue, he did pray Cicero declai- Cicero for exercife fake to declaim in Greek. Cicero was very well contented with it, thinking that thereby his fault should be the better corrected. When he had ended his Declamation, all those that were present were amazed to hear him, and every man praised him one after another. Howbeit Apollonius all the while Cicero spake, did never shew any glad countenance : and when he had ended, he stayed a great while, and said never a word. Cicero milliking withall, Apollomus at length faid unto him : As for me Cicero, I do not onely praise thee, but more then that , I wonder at thee : and yet I am forry for poor GREECE, to fee that Learning and Bloquence (which An Oracle gi- were the two onely gifts and honours left us) are by thee obtained with us , and carried unto the Royearo Cierro. MANS. Now Cierro being very well disposed to go with good hope to practise at ROME, he was a little discouraged by an Oracle that was told him. For inquiring of the god Apollo DELCHIAN,

how he might do to win fame and estimation; the Nun Pytheas answered him, he should obtain it, fo that in his doings he would rather follow the disposition of his own nature then the opinion of Cicero's first the common People, Wherefore when he came to Rome, at the first he proceeded very warily and practifing in discreetly, and did unwillingly seek for any Office, and when he did, he was not greatly esteemed: wealth. for they commonly called him the GRECIAN, and Scholar, which are two words which the Artificers (and fuch base mechanical People at ROME) have ever ready at their tongues end. Now he being by nature ambitious of honour, and prickt forward also by the perswasion of his Father and friends, in the end he began to plead; and there obtained not the chiefest place by little and little, but fo foon as he fell to practife, he was immediatly efteemed above all the Orators and Pleaders in his time, and did excell them all. Yet it is reporteth notwithstanding, that for his gesture and pronunciation, having the felf-fame defects of nature at the beginning which Demosthenes had to reform them , he carefully ftudied to counterfeit Rofcius , an excellent Comedian , an Afor also a Player of Tragedies. Of this Afop men write, that he playing one day Airem part upon a Stage Resemble and (who determined with himself how he might be revenged of his Brother Thyestes) a servant by chance Elop comhaving occasion to run suddenly by him, he forgetting himself, striving to shew the vehement pasti- mon Players. on and fury of this King, gave him fuch a blow on his head with the Scepter in his hand, that he flew him dead in the place. Even to Cicero's words were of great force to perswade, by means of his grace and pronunciation. For he mocking the Orators that thrust out their heads, and cried in their Orations, was wont to fay, that they were like to lame men, who were driven to ride, because they could not go on foor : even fo (faid he) they cry out because they cannot speak. Truly plea- Cicero a fine] fant taunts do grace an Oratour, and shew a fine wit; but yet Cicero used them so commonly, that they were offensive unto many, and brought him to be counted a malicious scoffer and spightfull man. He was chosen Treasurer in the time of dearth, when there was great scarcity of Corn Cicero chosen at ROME : and the Province of SICILE fell to his lot. At his first coming thither, the SICILI- Qualtor. ANS milliked him very much, because he compelled them to send Corn unto Rome : but after shey had found his diligence, justice, and lenity, they honoured him above any Governour that ever was fent from ROME. Now there were divers young Gentlemen of ROME, of noble Houses, Cicero's dilliwho being accused for fundry faults committed in Wars against their Honour and Martiall Discipline, had been fent back again unto the Prætor of SICILE: for whom Cierro pleaded, and did and lenity. so excellently defend their cause, that they were pardoned every man. Thereupon, thinking well of himself, when his time was expired, he went to ROME, and by the way there hapned a pretty jeft unto him. As he passed through the Countrey of CAMPANIA (otherwise called the Land of labour) he mer by chance with one of the chiefest ROMANS of all his friends. So falling intalk with him , he asked him what they faid of him at ROME , and what they thought of his doings : imagining that all Rome had been full of the glory of his name and deeds. His friends asked him again: And where haft thou been Cicero all this while, that we have not feen thee at ROME? This killed his heart straight, when he faw that the report of his name and doings, entring into the City of ROME as into an infinite Sea, was fo suddenly vanished away again, without any other fame or freech. But after that, when he looked into himfelf, and faw that in reason he took an infinite cicero ambitilabour in hand to attain to glory, wherein he faw no certain end whereby to attain unto it, it eut ous, and defioff a great part of the ambition he had in his head : and yet the great pleasure he took to hear his rous of praise. own praise, and to be over-much given to defire of honour and estimation, these two things continued with him even to his dying day, and did effloors make him swerve from justice. Furthermore, when he began throughly to practife in the affairs of the State, he thought it an ill thing that Artificers and Crattimen thould have many forts of Instruments and Tools without life, to know the names of every one of them, the places where they should take them, and the use whereto they should employ them: and that a man of knowledge and quality (who doth all things with the help and fervice of men) should be flothfull and careless to learn to know the names of his Citizens. Therefore he gave himself to know, not onely mens names of quality, but the streets also Citero given to they dwelt in , what part of the City foever it was ; their goodly Hollies in the Countrey , the friends know mens they made of , and the neighbours whom they companied with. So that when he went abroad names, their into It's LY, whereforer he became, Cierto could thew and name his friends Houses. He was not friends. very rich, and yet he had enough to serve his turn : the which made men muse the more at him; and they loved him the better, because he took no Fee nor Gift for his pleading, what Caule loever he took in hand, but then specially, when he desended a matter against Verres. This Verres had been Prator of Spritta and had committed many lewed parts there , for the cicero's doings which the SICILIA'NS did accure him. Cisers taking upon him to defend their Caule, made Verres, gaint Verres, to be condemned, not by pleading; but in manner without pleading, that in this fort. The Prætors being his hidger, and favouring Ferrer, fad niade to many retoinments and delays, that they had driven it off to the latt day of hearing? "Circul perceiving then he should not have time to speak all that he had to fay against him, and that thereby nothing should be done and judged, he role up and faid, that there needed no further plea in this matter, But onely brought forth the Witnelles before the Judges; and having caused their depositions to be taken, he prayed they would procred to fentence, according to their evidence given on that behalf. Yet some do report, that Cicero gave many pleatant taunts and girds; in pleading the acculation of the SICILIANS against Verres. The ROMANS do tall a Bore, Perres. There was one Cacilius, the Son of a freed Bondman, who was suspected to hold with the superstition of the JEWS. This Calius would have put by

He fpake it because the Tews do eac

the SICILIANS from following the acculation of Verres, and would have had the matter of his accusation onely referred to him, for the profecuting of it against him. Cieero scorning his suit, said unto him : What hath a J k w to do with a bore ? This Verres had a Son somewhat above swenty years of age, who (as the report went) had a very ill name for his beauty. And therefore when Verres one day thought to mock Cieero, faying, that he was too effeminate : Thy children (faid he) are to be reproved of that fecretly at home. In this acculation, Horsenfius the Orator durft not directly defend Verres: but touching the condemnation of his fine, he was then contented to answer for him, for he bad a Sphinx of Ivory given him by Verres for his reward. Thereupon Cicero gave him a pretty nip by the way: but Hortenfius not understanding him , said, he could not skill of dark speeches. Well , faid Cierre, yet haft thou a Sphinx in thy houle. In the end Verres being condemned, and a fine fer on his head to the value of threefcore and fifteen Myriades, Cierro notwithftanding was sufpected to bebribed with money for agreeing to cast him in fo small a sum. But yet when he came to be Ædilis, the SICILIANS to flew themselves thankfull to him, both brought and sent him many Presents Cicero chosen out of SICILE. Of all that betook nothing to his own use, but onely bestowed their liberality in Cierro's tiches bringing down the prices of Victuals at ROME. He had a goodly house within the confines of the

Edilis.

City of ARPOS, a Farm also by NAPLES, and another about the City of POMPEII: but all thelewere no great things. Afterwards he had also the Joynter of his Wife Teremia, which amountains ted to the sum of twelve Myriades, and besides all this, there came to him by inheritance, cleven Myriades of their Denarii. Thereupon he lived very honeftly and foberly, without excess, with his familiar friends that loved him, both GRECIANS and ROMANS, and would never go to supper till after Sun-fet, not fo much for any great business he had, as for the weakness of his stomack, But otherwife he was very curious, and carefull of his person, and would be rubbed and anointed, and he would use also to walk a certain number of turns by proportion : and so exercising his body in that fort, he was never fick, and befides was also very strong and lufty of body, able to abide great pains and forrows which he fell into afterwards. He gave his Fathers chief manfion house to his Brother, and went himself to dwell in the Mount Palatine: because such as came to wait upon him to do him honour, should not take the pains to go so far to see him. For he had as many men daily at his gate every morning, as either (Fraffus tad for his wealth, or Pompey for his estimation among the Souldiers, both of them being at that time the chiefest men of ROME. Yea furthermore, Pomptys felf came unto Gierro, because his Orations flood him to great purpose, for the increase of

his honour and authority. Now when Gierro came to make fuit to be Prator (which is, to be as an

ordinary Judge) though he had many competitors, and fellow-fuiters with him, yet was he first cho-

fen afore them all : and he did fo honeftly behave himself in that Office, that they did not fo much as once suspect him of bribery or extortion. And for proof hereof, it is reported, that Lieinius Ma-

cer (a man that of himself was of great power, and yet favoured and supported besides by Crassia) was accused before Cicero of theft and extortion in his Office; but he trusting much to his supposed

credit, and the great fuit and labour his friends made for him, went home to his house, before sentence was pronounced against him (the Judges being yet to give their opinions) and there speedily trim-

med his beard, and pur a new Gown upon his back, as though he had been fure to have been Litialist Macer quit of his acculation; and then returned again into the Market-place. But Graffist went to meet

him, and told him, all the Judges had condemned him. Lieinius Macer took fuch a grief and conceit upon it, that he went home to his house again, laid him down on his bed, and never rose after. This judgement wan Cicero great fame, for they praifed him exceedingly for the great pains he tools, to fee justice duly executed. Another also called Vatinius (a bedlem fellow, and one that behaved himself very unreverently to the Magistrates in his pleading, and besides had a swollen neck (came very arrogantly one day unto Cierro being in his Pratoriall seat, and asked him a thing which Cierro cero would not granthim there, but would think of it at better leifure. Thereupon Vatinius told him, that he would not be crupulous to grant that, if he were Prator. Gierro turning to him, anfwered him again : No more have I (laid be) fuch a fwollen neck as thou haft. Towards the end of his Office, two or three days before his time expired, there was one accused Manilius before him, that he also had robbed the Common-wealth. This Manilius was very well beloved of the common People, who were perfusaded that he was put in fuit, not for any fault he had committed, but onely to despight Pompey with, whose familiar friend he was. So he required certain days to answer the matter he was accused of : but Ctero would give him no further respite, but to answer it the next day. The People therewith were marvellously offended, because the other Prators in fuch like cases, were wont to give ten days respite unto others. The next morning when the Tribunes had brought him before the Judges, and also accused him unto them, he befought Citero to hear him patiently. Citero made him answer, that having always used as much favour and courtefe as he possibly might by Law, unto those that were accused, he thought he should offer Manilius too great wrong, if he should not do the like to him: wherefore, because he had but one day more to continue Prator in Office, he had purposely given him that day to make his answer before him. For he said, that to leave his accusation to the hearing of another · Cietre withone Practor, he could not have been thought a man that had born him good will, and meant to pleafure word pacified him. These words did marvellously change the Peoples opinion and affection towards him, and

granted them : and coming from the Bench , flanding at the Bar like an Oratour to pleat for him, he made a notable Oration, and spake both boldly and sharply against the chief men

every man speaking well of him , they prayed him to defend Massilius canfe. He willingly

of the City, and those specially that did envy Powpey: This notwithstanding, when he came to sue to be Consul, he sound as great favour amongst the Nobility; as he did with the commonalty. For Citers made they did further his fuit, for the Commonwealths fake; upon this occasion. The change and Consulalteration of Government the which Sylla brought in, was thought strange at the first among the ancration or constrained in a state of the being used to its, it was throughly etholisted, and no man millited it. At that time many men practifed to subvert the Government, not for the benefit. of the Commonwealth, but to ferve their own covetous minds. For Pompey being then in the The conformer East parts, made Wars with the Kings of PONTUS and ARMENTA; and had not left fufficient of Carlline. the parts, make visit their feditious perfons, that fought nothing but rebellion: Their men had received their Captain, a desperate man to attempt any great enterprise; subtil and catifine which make Lucius Catifine their Captain, a desperate man to attempt any great enterprise; subtil and catifine which make out of nature. He was accused before (besides many other vise faults) for deflowing of address. his own Daughter, and killing his Brother: and being afraid to be put in fuit for it, he prayed Sills to put his Brother amongst the number of the Out-laws (or Proferipts) asif he had been then alive. Thefe wicked Rebelshaving chofen them, such a Captain, were; sworn, and, bound one to another in this manner. They killed a man, and did eat of his fielh pogether, and had befides corrupted the most part of all the youth. For Cariline their Captain suffered every man to take his pleafire, as his youth was inclined unto, as to banquet, to follow Harlots; and gave them Money largely to bestow in these vain expences. Furthermore, all Thus CAN began to rise, and the most part of GAUL alfo, lying between the Alpes and ITALE. The City of ROME it felf was also in great danger of rifing, for the inequality of the Goods of the Inhabitants. For the Noblemen and of greatest courage, had spent all their Lands in Plays and Feasts, or in Buildings and common Works. which they built at their own charge, to curry favour with the common People, that they might obtain the chief. Offices: fo that thereby they became very poor, and their Goods were, in the hands of the mean men and wretches. Thus the frate of Home flood in great hazard of uproar, the which any man might eafily have procured that durft have taken upon him any change or alteration of Government, there was then such division among them in the State. Catilina notwithstanding. to provide him of a ftrong bulwark to profecuse his intent, came to fue to be Conful, hoping that he should be chosen with Case Materius, a man that of himself was apt neither to do any great good, nor much hurt, and yet that he could be agreat strength and aid unto him that would actempt any thing. Divers noble and wife men forefeeing, that, did procure Cicero to fue for the Confulfhip. The People accepted him, and rejected Cariline. Antonism and Cicerothereupon were a families created Confuls, although that Ciorro of all the fuiters for the Confulfhip was but onely a Knights and M. T. Son, and not the Son of a Senator of Rome. Now, though the common People understood not Citeroctere the fecret practife and meaning of Catiline, yet at the beginning of Cicero's Confulfing, there sail Confuls our great trouble and contention in the Commonwealth. For they, of the one fide, whom Sylls had Great trouble our great roughe and communitation the Communication. For they are the cities and set Rome in the by his Ordinances depoted from their Dignites and Office in Robat, the who were no final men, note time of cities there few in numbers) began to cores into the Peoples good willy alledging many true and just readous Confuling. against the Tynamicall power of Sylla: howbeit spoken in ill, time; when it was our of time to make any change, or alteration in the Commonwealth. The Tribunes on the other side preferred Laws and Ordinances to further this device. They preferred the Law to shoole the Determini, with for A Law preferversign power and authority through all ITALY and SYRIA, and also through all the Countries red for the creand Provinces which Pompey had newly conquered to the Empire of Rome to fell and release all thority of the Lands belonging to the State of ROME, to accuse any, man whom they thought good, to builth any Decembri.
man, to reflore the Colonies with People, to take what Money, they would out of the Treasury, to levy men of War, and to keep them in pay as long as they thought good, after this great land abfolure power of the Determini, there were many men of great account this favoured this Lauri has Antonius chiefly a being Colleague and fellow Confull with Fieth, for bedad good hope to be chosen one of these ten Commissioners: and furthermore, it was thought that he was privy unto Con-siliant confuture, and that he milliked is not, howards he was so much in debt. Anothits was it that the Noblemen most feared of all other things. Direcupon Gisera its provide first an groven this danger, granted to him the Province of the Realm of Macanon: and the Province of Gana being offered unto himself, he refuted it. By this good turn be man Anonius like a hired Player, making him to promife him that he would affilt and aid him for the benefit of the Commonwealth, and that he would say no more, then he should will him. When he had brought him to this, and had won him to his mind, he then began to be the bolder, and more flourly to rediff them that were Authors of this innovation and new Laws, Cicero therefore in open Sanate, did one day sharply reprove and inveighagainst this Law of the December, which the Tribunes would have established, And thereby he slid so terrifie the Authors thereof, that there was not one man dust the stable of the stabl speak against him. This noswithstanding, the Tribunes afterwards attempted lonce again to overthrew the have it to pals, and appointed the Confuls to appear before the People. Howbeit Gicero being Law of the nothing abashed at it, he commanded the Sensue, to follow history. So he did not onely overthrow December. this Law of the Decemviri, which the Tribune did prefer, but furthermore, they were unterly discouraged and our of hope to bring any of their matters to pass they intended, he strook them fo dead with his Eloquence. For Cierce onely set, all men in ROME made the ROMANS know, how much Eloquence doth grace and beautifue that which is beneft, and how invincible right and justice are, being eloquently fer forth : and also how that a min that will be counted a wife Governour of a Commonweal, should always in his doings rather-prefer profit, then feek to curry

Cicero's (weet

Knights from

with Catiline.

Syllamus and Murana Con-

tilines conipi-

favour with the common People's yet to to use his words, that the thing which is profitable, may ner be also impleasant. And to provehis sweet and pleasant Tongue, may be alledged that which he did in the time of his Confuthin, couching the placing of men as the Theatre to fee the pattimes. For before; the Knights of Roban idd fit mingled one with anothed amongst the common People,

"Othersdolly and took their place as they came." The first dearmade the difference between them, was "Marcus - Unersacisy and room time Pratter : who made a Law, by the which: he appointed feveral feats for the Knights, where they might from thenceforth fee the pastimes. The People took this grievoully, of the People as a thing done to discounterance them; infomuch as Orko coming afterwards into the Theatre, Refeire Liw all the common People fell a whitting athim, to shame him within: The Knights also in contrariwife made him room among them, with great clapping of hands in token of honour. There with the People fell a whisting lowder then before, and the Knights in like manner to clapping of their hands, and fo grew to words one with another, that all the Theatre was straight in uproar with it. Corre understanding it, went thinker himfelf, and calling the People to the Eemple of the goddels Belleines he there to tharply reproved them, and therewith to persuaded them, that regourning prefently to the Theatre, they did then welcome and receive Orbo with clapping of their hands, and conceded with the Knights which of them: should do him greatest honour. But now again, the Rebels of Casillines configuracy (who were prettily cooled at the first for the fearthey stood in) began to be hifty again, and to gather together, boldly encouraging one another to broach their practife, before Pompey returned, with was faid to be on the way nowards RQm a wish his Army. 5,42.5 Souldi. Bur-beildes them, those Souldiers that had served before in the Wars under Sylla, being disperfed up and down land to be specially the best Souldiers among them dwelling in the good Fours of Trus CAN) did ftir up Casiline to haften the Enterprile, perfunding themselves that rowns or Frus A.N., una the goods enough at home, to fool and tradsick at their pleasure. Their they should once again have goods enough at home, to spoil and tradsick at their pleasure. Their they should once Mandian to their Captain, that had born Office in the Field under Sylle, conspired with Casiline, and came to Ron is no affift him in his fulre; who purposed once again to demand the Confuthip, being determined at the Election to kill Cierre, in the tumult and harly burly. The goes also did plainly show by Barth quakes, Lightning and Thunder, and by Vision of Spirits that the appear, the source practice and reconfigurer, she did not manifelt spirits that the appear, the source practice and reconfigurer, she did not manifelt spirits that the appear is the source practice and reconfigurer, and the source spirits that the appear is the source of the source conjectures and process by men that came reseases them, howbelt they had nor power fufficient of encounter to addle a man, and of to great power as Casiline was. Guera therefore deterring the Ciero cranin- day of Elections called Carilline into the Senant; and distiture examine him of their which was reed Catific in potential being Christine supposting there were many in the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and the Senate that had good will be senated to research the senate that had good will be senated to research the senated that had good will be senated to research the senated that the senated ares occane no women new manners servey uncornent coar were on me comparacy, me gave exerce of the coardinate and the coardinat recopic and senate. Some amover occupy many to serve wearners amount more convergement may her pur on a Brigarine for the faftery of this Body, and was accompanied with the chiefest men of Robins, and a great number of young ment bedder going with him resum his house into the Field of Mary, where the Cheft into where made; and had of purpose left tops his Jathet toofs at the coller, there has Brigaritine guight be fear in thereby to leavery man that flow him, know the danger in was in Every man indiffered a when they fam is, and camb about him to district him, if any offered to affail kinn. But in To league to pully that by voices of the People, Castilite was again tripleted from the Confulfition and Bysania and Pater and thosen Confulfition after this Decition, the Southern boff muse and being feyredy which theuteblase come to Carillini, and the day applicant being a band to breach their Exerptical shour midnights there came three of the chiefest men of Roma to (Lerr's wholese & Mairon's Craffins, Whereis Marvilles; and Srope Marefine) and knocking as his gare, called his Porter, ambbad him umed his Malter presently, and sell him who they there were at the gare, selled his Porter, ambbad him umed his Malter presently, and sell him who they there were at the gate sell-beak with illimation is matter of simportance with eight and existing the first present the sellength of the sellength perfort announced whicher one of them had no Wastle inholosibed; but! was onely directed unto Craft Asy hintelful I be thack of the Leuter was, the thirt Hould be made a given laugher in Rous by Culstine, und therefore he prayed him that be would supertout of Roms to fave humbelf. Craffee having read his bate Lexics should not spen the roll, blue wins forthwith uno Cicers, party for fear of the thinger; and opastly also to clear himself of the suspicion they had of him for the sriendship that was betwint him and Cartiface: Givere counfelling with them what was to be done the next morning at fembled the Senare very early, and carrying the Littless with him, he did deliver them according to their dissellion and communded they should read them out about. All their Letters, and every one of them particularly, diff bewray the confidency. Furthermore, Pointing Lawring a manual suitherity, and there had been Perror; told opinby the Souldiers and manual Was that were deviced in Thus CAN. And it it reported allo, that Manthe was in the Field with a geenmurber of Southers about the Cities of Trurica as gaping daily to their nine and four change in Ross. All thefe things being throughly loafidered, a decree period by this sense, that they should refer the kare of the Commonwealth unto the Cornfult; so the entit that with abblance authority shey might (as well as they could) provide for the fatered and preferention thereof. Such manner of decree and authority was not loften feen concluded of in the Sentie , but in title 16 perfent fear and danger. Now Cicere having this ablolus powie | he referred all perriege mutters to Quinnut Merelus

charge, and did himself take upon him the care and Government of all civil affairs within ROME. On the day time when he went up and down the Town, he had fuch a Troop of men after him. that when he came through the great Market-place, he almost filled it with his train that followed him. Thereupon Catiline would no longer delay time, but resolved to go himself unto Manlim. where their Armylay. But before he departed, he had drawn into his confederacy one Martine, and another called Gethegus, whom he commanded betimes in the morning to go to Cicero's house with short Daggers to kill him, pretending to come to salute him, and to give him a good morrow. But there was a noble Woman of Rome called Fulvia, who went over-night unto Cicero, and Fulvitheway. hade him beware of that Cethegus, who indeed came betimes the next morning unto him; and be-eth Catilines ing denied to be let in, he began to chafe and rail before the gate. This made him the more to be intent to kill suspected. In the end Cicero coming out of his house, called the Senate to the Temple of Tupiter Cicero. Stator, (as much to fay, as Stayer) which standeth at the upper end of the holy street as they go to the Mount Palatine. There was Catiline with others, as though he meant to clear himself of the suspition that went of him: howbeit there was not a Senator that would fit down by him, but they did all rife from the bench where Catiline had taken his place. And further, when he began to freak, he could have no audience for the great noise they made against him. So at length Cicero role, and commanded him to avoid out of ROME, saying, that there must needs be a separation of walls between them two, considering that the one used but words, and the other force of arms. Catiline thereupon immediately departing the City with three hundred armed men, was no fooner Catiline deparout of the Precincts of the Walls, but he made his Sergeants carry Axes and bundles of Rods before ted. him, as if he had been a Conful lawfully created; and did display his Ensigns of War, and so went in this order to feek Manlius. When they were joyned, he had not much less then twenty thousand men together, with the which he went to practise the Towns to rebell. Now open War being thus proclaimed, Antonim, Cicero's Colleague and fellow Conful, was fent against him to fight with him. In the mean space, Cornelius Lentulus, strnamed Sura (a man of a noble house. but of a wicked disposition, and that for his ill life was put off the Senate) affembled all the reft called Sura which were of Catalines conspiracy, and that remained behind him in ROME, and bad them be as fraid of nothing. He was then Przetor the second time, as the manner is when any man comes to recover again the dignity of a Senator which he had loft. It is reported, that this firmame of Sura was given him upon this occasion. He being Treasurer in Sylla's Dictatorship, did fondly waste and confume a marvellous fum of Money of the common Treasure. Sylla being offended with him for it, and demanding an account of him before the Senate, he carelefly and contemptionally flepped forth, faying, he could make him no other account, but shewed him the calfoot his leg, as Chila dren do when they make a fault at Tennis. And thereof it came, that ever after that they called him Sura, because Sura in Latine fignifieth the calf of the leg. Another time also being accused for a lewd part he had committed, he bribed fome of the Judges with Money; and being onely quit by two voites more which he had in his favour, he faid, he had loft his Money he had given to one of those two Judges, because it was enough for him to be cleared by one voice more. This man being of this disposition, was first of all incensed by Gatiline, and lasty marred by certain Wizards and false Prognosticators that had mocked him with a vain hope, singing Verses unto him which they had fained and devifed, and false Prophesies also, which they bare him in hand they had taken out of Sybilles Books of Prophecy, which faid, that there should reign three Cornelis at Rome, of Oracles of the which, two had already fullfilled the Prophecy, Cinna and Sylla; and for the third fortune laid three Cornelis it upon him, and therefore bad him go through withall, and not to dream it out, lofing opportunit that should ty as Catiline had done. Now this Lentuline undertook no small enterprize, but had an intent with reignest Rome. him to kill all the whole Senate, and as many other Citizens as they could murther, and to fet fire on Great treason ROME, sparing none but Poimpey's Sons, whom they would referve for pledges, to make their peace practiled in Rome by C. afterwards with Pompey: for the rumour was very great and certain also, that he returned from Lentulus and very great Wars and Conquefts which he had made in the East Countries. So, they laid a plot to Cothegue. put their Treason in execution, in one of the nights of Saturner Feasts. Further, they had brought Flax and Brimstone, and a great number of Armours and Weapons into Cethegias, house, Besides all this provision, they had appointed an hundred men in an hundred parts of the City, to the end that fire being raifed in many places at one time, it should the sooner run through the whole City. Other men allo were appointed to stop the Pipes and water Conduits which brought water to Rome. and to kill those also that came for water to quench the fire. In all this flir, by chance there were two Ambassadors of the Allobroges, whose country at that time did much mislike of the Ro-MANS, and were unwilling to be subject unto them. Learning thought these men very fit instruments to cause all Gaul to rebell. Thereupon practifing with them, he wan them to be of their conspiracy, and gave them Letters directed to the Council of their Countrey, and in them did promise them freedom. He sent other Letters also unto Cariline, and perswaded him to proclaim Liberty to all bondmen, and to come with all the speed he could to Rome: and sent with them one Titus of the City of CROTONA, to carry these Letters. But all their counsels and purpoles (like fools that never met together but at Feafts, drinking drunk with light Women) were eafily found out by Cicero, who had a carefull eye upon them, and very wifely and discreetly saw through them. For he had appointed men out of the City to foy their doings, which followed them to fee what they intended. Furthermore, he spake secretly with some he trusted, (the which others also

took to be of the conspiracy) and knew by them that Lentulus and Cethegus had practised with the

Ambassadors of the ALLOBROGES, and drawn them into their conspiracy. At length he watch-The confirm ed them one night to narrowly, that he took the Ambassadors, and Titus CROTONIAN with tors apprehenting the Letters he carried, by help of the Ambassadors of the Allogroups, which had secretly informed him of all before. The next morning by break of day, Cierro affembled the Senate in the Temple of Concord, and there openly read the Letters, and heard the evidence of the Witnefies. Further, there was one Junius Syllanus a Senator that gave in evidence, that some heard Carbegus fay that they should kill three Consuls and four Prators. Pife a Senator also, and that had been Conful, told in manner the felf fame tale. And Cains Sulpitius a Prator, that was fent into Cethegas boule, reported that he had found great store of Darts, Armour, Daggers, and Swords new made. Laftly, the Senate having promited Tiras CROTONIAN he should have no hurt, so he would tell what he knew of this compiracy, Lemulus thereby was convinced, and driven to give up his Office of Prator before the Senate, and changing his purple Gown, to take another meet for his milerable state. This being done, Lennhus and his Comforts were committed to ward to the Prætorshoufes, Now growing towards evening, the People waiting about the place where the Senate was Affembled, Cierro at length came our, and rold them what they had done within. Thereupon he was conweyed by all the People usto a friends house of his hard by: for that his own house was occupied by the Ladies of the City, who were buse, folennly celebrating a secret Sacrifice in the honour of the godders, called of the ROMANS the Good godders, and of the GRECIANS Gynecia, to wit, Feminine: unto her this yearly Sacrifice is done at the Confuls houle, by the Wife or Mother of the Confull then being, the Vertall Nuns being prefent at it. Now Cieers being come into his Neighbours house, began to bethink him what course he were best to take in this matter. For to punish the offenders with severity, according to their deferts, he was atraid to do is, both because he was of a courteous nature, as also for that he would not feem to be glad to have occasion to thew his abfolure power and authority, to punish (as he might) with rigour, Caizens that were of the noblest houses of the City, and that had besides many friends. And contrariwiscallo, being remitain fo weighty a matter as this, he was afraid of the danger that might enfue of their raffinels, mittrufting that if he should punish them with less then death, they would not amend for it, imagining they were well rid of their trouble, but would rather become more bold and desperate then ever they were, adding moreover the fling and spite of a new malice unto their accustomed wickednels ; befides that he himfelf should be thought a coward and timorous man , whereas they had already not much better opinion of him. Cierre being perplexed thus with their doubts, there appeared a Miracle to the Ladies, doing facrifice a home in his house. For the fire being though to be clean out upon the Altar where they had facrificed, there fuldenly role out of the Embers of the Riods or Barks which they had burnt, a great bright flame, which amazed all the other Ladies. Howbeit the Vestall Nose willed Terenris (Cicero's wife) to go straight unto her Husband, and to bid him not to be atraid telescence that boldly which he had confidered of, for the benefit of the Commonwealth, and that this godders had raised this great flame, to thew him that he should have great honour by doing of it. Terentia, that was no timorens nor faint hearted Woman, but wery ambitious, and furthermore had gotten more knowledge from her Husband of the Affairs of the State, then otherwise she had acquainted him with her housewifery in the house, as Cicero himfelf reporteth, the went to make report thereof uncohim, and prayed him to do execution of those men. The like did Quintus Cierro his Brother, and also Publius Migidius his friend and cllow Sudent with him in Philosophy , and whose counsell also Cieers followed much in the Government of Syllams fee, the Commonwealth. The next morning the matter being propounded to the Arbitrement of the Screace, how these Maletactors should be punished, Systems being asked his opinion sire, sad, they should be pur in person, and from thence to fuffer execution. Otherwisewrife that followed were all of that mind, but Cains Cafer, that afterwards came to be Dictator, and was then but young man, and began to come forward, but yet furth 2 one, 25 by his behaviour and the hope he hid, took such a course, that afterwards he brought the Commonweakh of Rome into an absolute Monar-Cafar privy to thy. For at that time Cierro had vehement sufpitions of Cafar but no apparent proof to convince him.

Catilities con. And some say, that is was brought so near, as he was almost convicted, but yet faved himself. O. thers write to the contrary, that Cierrs winingly differabled, that he either heard or knew any figns which were told him against Cafar, being arraid indeed of his friends and estimation. For it was a clear case, that if they had accuted Cesar with the reft, he undoubtedly had sooner saved all their lives then he should have lost his own. Now when Cefar came to deliver his opinion touching the punishment of the Prisoners, he strood up and faid, that he did not think it good to put them to death, but to confilcate their Goods; and as for hereir Persons, that they should bestour them in Prison, some in one place, some in another, in such Citigraf IT ALY as pleased Citers best, untillthe War of Cariline were ended. This sentence being very mild, and the Author thereof marvellous Eloquent to make it good. Cierro himself added thereunto a counterpoile, inclining unto either of both the opinions, partly allowing the first, and partly also the opinion of Cefer. His friends thinking that Cefer's 0soulbitatofsparsion was the inicht for Cicero, because thereby he should deserveles blane for that he had not put the Prisoners to death, they followed rather the second. Whereupon Syllams also recented that he had spoken, and expounded his opinion, saying, that when they spake he should be put to death, it meant nothing to, but thought the last punishment a Senator of Roma could have, was the Prilon. But the first that conversed this opinion, was Cantus Lastadus; and after him Care, who with veheurest words enforced Cofars Sulpition, and furthermore filled all the Senate with wrath and out-

rage : fo that even upon the inftant it was decreed by most voices, that they should suffer death. But Cafar stept up again, and spake against the confiscation of their goods, misliking that they should reject the gentlest part of his opinion, and that contrariwise they should stick unto the feverest onely: howbeit because the greatest number prevailed against him, he called the Tribunes to aid him, to the end they should withstand it; but they would give no ear unto him. Cicera thereupon yielding of himself, did remit the confiscation of their goods, and went with the Senate to fetch the Prisoners, who were not all in one house, but every Prætor had one of them. So he went first to take C. Lentulus, who was in the Mount Palatine, and brought him through the holy street and the Market-place, accompanied with the chiefest men of the City who compassfed him round about, and guarded his person. The People seeing that, quaked and trembled for sear. paffed by, and faid never a word : and specially the young men, who thought it had been some folemn Mystery for the health of their Countrey, that was so accompanied with the chief Magistrate, and the Noblemen of the City, with terrour and fear. So when he had passed through The execution the Market-place, and was come to the Prison, he delivered Lentulus into the hands of the hang- of the conspiman, and commanded him to do execution. Afterwards also Cethegus, and then all the rest, one rators. after another, whom he brought to the Prison himself, and caused them to be executed. Furthermore, feeing divers of their accomplices in a Troop together in the Market-place, who knew nothing what he had done, and watched onely till night were come, supposing then to take away their Companions by force from the place where they were, thinking they were yet alive, he turned unto them, and faid aloud, They lived. This is a phrase of speech which the ROMANS use some They lived, a time, when they will finely convey the hardness of the speech, to say he is dead. When night was word usurpec come, and that he was going homeward, as he came through the Market-place, the People did for the dead, wait upon him no more with filence as before, but with great cries of his praise, and clapping of hands in every place he went, and called him Saviour, and second Founder of ROME. Besides all Ciccro's praise, this, at every mans door there were Links and Torches lighted, that it was as light in the ftreets as at noon days. The very Women also did put lights out of the tops of their houses to do him honour, and also to see him so nobly brought home, with such a long train of the chiefest men of the City, (of the which many of them had ended great Wars, for the which they had triumphed, and had obtained many famous Conquests to the Empire of ROME, both by Sea and Land) confessing between themselves one to another, that the ROMANS were greatly bound to many Captains and Generals of Armies in their time, for the wonderfull riches and spoils, and encrease of their power which they had won, howbeit that they were to thank Cicero onely for their health and prefervation, having faved them from fo great and extream a danger. Not for that they thought it so wonderfull an Act to have striken dead the Enterprize of the Conspirators, and also to have punished the offenders by death: but because the conspiracy of Catiline, being so great and dangerous an infurrection as ever was any, he had quenched it and pluckt it up by the roots, with so small hurt, and without uproar, trouble, or actuall sedition. For the most part of them that were gathered together about Cataline, when they heard that Lemulus and all the reft were put to death, they prefently for fook him: and Catiline himself also fighting a Battle with them he had about him, against Antonius the other Confull with Cicero, he was flain in the Field, and Catiline flain all his Army defeated. This norwithftanding, there were many that spake ill of Civero for this Fact, in battle by and meant to make him repent it, having for their heads Cafar, (who was already chosen Practor Cafar chosen for the year to come) Metellius and Bestia, who should also be chosen Tribunes. They so soon Prezior, as they were chosen Tribunes, would not once fuffer Cicero to speak to the People, notwithstand- Metellin and ing that he was yet in Office of Confull for certain days. And furthermore, to let him that he Bestia, Trishould not speak unto the People, they did fer their benches upon the Pulpit for Orations, which bunes of the they call at ROME Rostra: and would never suffer him to set soot in it, but onely to refign his People. Office, and that done, to come down again immediately. He granted thereunto, and went up to the Circo relign-Pulpit upon that condition. So, filence being made him, he made an Oath, not like unto other eth his Office. Confuls Oaths when they refign their Office in like manner, but strange, and never heard of before, swearing that he had saved the City of Rome, and preserved all his Countrey and the Empire of Rome from utter ruine and destruction. All the people that were present confirmed it, and did Iwear the like Oath. Wherewithall Cafar and the other Tribunes his Enemies were fo offended with him, that they devised to breed him some new stir and trouble, and amongst others, they made a decree that Pompey should be fent for with his Army to bridle the Tyranny of Cicero. Cato (who at that time was also Tribune) did him great pleasure in the furtherance of the Commonwealth, opposing himfelf against all their practises, with the like authority and power that they had being a Tribune and Brother with them, and of better estimation then they. So that he did not onely easily break all their Cicero's Condevices; but also in a goodly Oration he made in a full affembly of the people, he so highly praised and sulfhip praised extolled Cicero's Confulfhip unto them, and the things he did in his Office, that they gave him by Cato the greatest honours that ever were decreed or granted unto any man living. For by decree of the Ciero the first People he was called, Father of the Countrey, as Cato himself had called him in his Oration: the man called, which Name was never given to any man, but onely unto him: and also he bare greater sway in Countrey.

ROME at that time then any man beside him. This notwithstanding, he shade himself envied and milliked of many men, not for any ill Act he did, or meant to do, but onely because he did too Gierra rea much boaft of himself. For he never was in any Affembly of People, Senate, or Judgement, but much given to

every mans head was full fill to hear the found of Cariline and Lentulus brought in for sport, and praise himtely

Spiracy.

Cicero faith Demosthenes fleepeth in his Orarions.

Cicero's fubtil and pleafant Tayings.

The Stoicks Opinion : A wife man is ever rich.

thy : So the grace of the ether Lan-

> * Because the Africans have commonly their ears boar-

filling the Books and Works he compiled befides full of his own prairies: the which made his fweet and pleafant Stile tedious and troublesome to those that heard him, as though this misfortune ever followed him to take away his excellent grace. But now, though he had this worm of ambition, and extream covetous defire of honour in his head, yet did he not malice nor envy any Citero friendly others glory, but would very frankly praise excellent men, as well those that had been before to praife others him, as those that were in his time. And this appeareth plainly in his Writings. They have written also certain notable words he spake of some ancient men in old time, as of Aristotle, that he was like a golden flowing River: and of Plato, that if Jupiter himself would speak, he would foeak like him: and of Theophrastus, he was wont to call him his delight: and of Demossibenes Orations, when one asked him on a time which of them he liked beft: The longest, said he. There be divers Writers also, who to shew that they were great followers of Demosthenes, do follow Cicero's faying in a certain Epiftle he wrote unto one of his friends, wherein he faid, that Demosteres slept in some of his Orations: but they forgot to tell how high he praised him in that place; and that he calleth the Orations which he wrote against Antonius (in the which he took great pains, and fludied more then all the reft) PHILIPPIANS: to follow those which Demosthenes wrote against Philip King of MACEDON. Furthermore, there was not a famous man in all his time, either in Eloquence or in Learning, whose fame he hath not commended in writing, or otherwise in honourable speech of him. For he obtained of Cesar, when he had the Empire of Rous in his hands, that Cratippus the PERIPATETICK Philotopher was made Cuizen of Rome. Further, he procured that by decree of the Court of the AREO PAGITES, he was entreated to remain at ATHENS. to teach and instruct the youth there: for that he was a great Honour and Ornament unto their City. There are extant alfo of Cieero's Epiftles unto Herodes, and others unto his Son, willing him to follow Cratippus in his study and knowledge. He wrote another Letter also unto Gorgias the Rhetorician, and iorbad him his Sons company, because he understood he enticed him to drunkennes, and to other great diffionefty. Of all his Epiftles he wrote in Greek, there is but that onely written in choller, and another which he wrote unto Pelops BYZANTINE. And for that he wrote to Gorgias, he had great reason to be offended with him, and to taunt him in his Letter, because (as it feemed) he was a man of very leud life and conversation. But in contrary manner, writing as he did to Pelops, finding himself grieved with him, for that he was negligent in procuring the By ZAN-TINES to ordain fome publick honours in his behalf: that, methinks, proceeded of overmuch ambition, the which in many things made him too much forget the part of an honest man, and onely because he would be commended for his Eloquence. When he had on a time pleaded Munation Caufe before the Judges, who shortly after accused Sabinus a friend of his, it is reported, that he was so angry with him, that he told him, What Munatius, hast thou forgotten that thou wert discharged the last day of thine. Accusation, not for thine innocency, but for a Mist I cast before the Judges eyes, that made them they could not differn the fault? Another time also, having openly praised Marcus Crassus in the Pulpit, with good Audience of the People, shortly after he spake to the contrary all the evil he could of him, in the fame place. Why, how now, faid Craffus, didft thou not the felf highly praife me in this place, the laft day? I cannot deny it, faid Cieco: but indeed I took an ill matter in hand to flew mine Eloquence. Another time Graffus chanced to fay in an open Afferebly, that none of all the Craft of his house had ever lived above threescore years: and afterwards again repenting himfelt, he called it in again, and faid, Sure I know not what I did, when I faid fo. Cieero answered him again: Thou knewest well enough the People were glad to hear it, and therefore thou spakest it to please them. Another time Crassus liking the Opinion of the STOICK Philosophers, that faid, the wife man was ever rich, Cicero answered him, and bade him consider whether they meant not thereby, that the wise man had all things. Crassist coverousness was defamed of every man. Of Crassis Sons, one of them did much refense Alius, and therefore his Mother had an ill name by him: one day this Son of Crassis made an Oration before the Senate, which divers of them commended very much. So, Gieero being asked **AEin Kestare how he liked it : Methinks, faid he, it is * Attins of Crassus. About this time, Crassus being Affine is a pro- ready to take his Journey into Syria, he defired to have Ciero his friend rather then his Eneper Name of a my. Therefore one picht making much of him, he sald Green that he would come and Sim per Name of a my. Therefore one night making much of him, he told Cicero that he would come and Sup Roman, and Africa with him. Cicero faid, he should be welcome. Shortly alter, some of his friends told him of fignifieth, wor- Vatinius, how he was defirous to be made friends withhim, for he was his Enemy. What, quoth Cicero, and will he come to Supper too? Thus he used Crassus. Now this Vatinius having a swola neck, one day pleading before Cicero, he called him the fwoln Orator. Another time when he heard fay that he was dead, and then that he was alive again : A vengeance on him, faid he, that preffed in any hath lyed fo shamefully. Another time when Gefar had made a Law for the dividing of the Lands of CAMPANIA unto the Souldiers, divers of the Senate were angry with him for it, and among other, Lucius Gellius (a very old man) faid, he would never grant it while he lived. Cicero pleafantly answered again, Alas, tarry a little, the good old man will not trouble you long. Another time there was one Octavist, supposed to be an * Africa w born: he when Cicero on a time pleaded a matter, faid, that he heard him not si Ciceso prefently answered him again, And yet haft thou a hole bored through thine ear. Another time Merellus Nepas told him, that he had overthrown more men by his Witness then he had saved by his Eloquence. I grant, faid Citero, for indeed I have more Faith, then Eloquence in ine. Su was there also a young man that was suspected to have poyloned his Father with a Tart, that boafted he would revile Ciciro : It had rather have

that of thee, quoth Cicero, then thy Tart. Publius Sextius also having a matter before the Judges. entertained Cicero, with other of his Counfellors: but yet he would speak all himself, and give none of the Orators leave to fay any thing. In the end, when they faw plainly that the Judges would difcharge him, being ready to give fentence, Cicero faid unto him, beffir thee hardly to day, for to morrow Sextim thou shalt be a private man. Another, one Publim Cotta, who would fain have been thought a wife Lawyer, and yet had little wit and understanding, Cicero appealed to him as a Wirnefs in a matter; and being examined, he answered he knew nothing of it. Cicero replied to him again: Thou thinkest peradventure they ask thee touching the Law. Again, Metellus Nepos, in a certain disputation he had with Cicero, did many times repeat, Who is thy Father? Cicero answered him again: Thy Mother hath made this question harder for thee to answer. This Nepos Mother was reported to be a light housewife, and he as subtle witted and unconstant. For he being Tribune, left in a jear the exercise of his Office, and went into Syria to Pompey upon no occasion: and as fondly again he returned thence upon a fudden. His School-master Philager also being dead, he buried him very honeftly, and fet a Crow of Stone upon the top of his Tomb. Cicero feeing it, told him, Thou haft done very wifely: for thy mafter hath taught thee rather to fly, then to fpeak. Another time Appins Clodius pleading a matter, said in his Preamble, that his friend had earneftly requested him Approximately requested him to employ all his knowledge, diligence, and faith upon this matter. O gods, faid Cicero, and haft thou shewed thy felf so hard-hearted to thy friend, as to perform nothing of all that he requested thee? Now to use these fine taunts and girds to his Enemies, it was a part of a good Orator: but fo commonly to gird every man to make the People laugh, that wan him great ill-will of many, as shall appear by some examples I will tell you. Marcus Aquinius had two Sons-in-law, who were both banished : Cicero therefore called him Adrastus. Lucius Cotta by chance also was Cenfor at that time, when Cicero fued to be Conful: and following his fuit at the day of Election, he was athirft, and was driven to drink. But while he drank, all his friends ftood about him. and after he had drunk, he faid unto them: It is well done of ye (faid he) to be airaid left the Cenfor should be angry with me because I drink Water: for it was reported the Censor loved Wine well. Another time Cicero meeting one Voconius, with three foul Daughters of his with him . he cryed out aloud:

This man bath gotten Children in despite of Phabus.

It was thought in ROME that Marcin Gellin was not born of free Parents by Father and Mother. who reading certain Letters one day in the Senate very loud : Cicero faid unto them that were about him. Wonder not at him, quoth he, for this man hath been a Cryer in his days. Fauftus, the Sonne of Sylla Dictatour at Rome, which fet up Bills Out lawing divers Romans, making it lawfull for any man to kill them without danger where they found them, this man after he had spent the most part of his Fathers Goods, was so fore in debt, that he was driven to fell his houshold Stuff, by Bills fet up on every Post. Cicero when he saw them, Yea marry, said he, these Bills please me better. then those which his Father set up. These taunts and common quips without purpose, made divers men to malice him. The great ill-will that Clodius bore him, began upon this occasion. Clodius was The malice beof noble house, a young man, and very wild and insolent: he being in love with Pompesa Casars twix: Cicro Wife, found the means fecretly to get into Cafars house, apparelled like a young singing Wench and Glodius. because on that day the Ladies of Rome did solemnly celebrate a secret Sacrifice in Casars house, which, is not lawfull for men to be present at. So there was no man there but Clodius, who thought he should not have been known, because he was but a young man, without any hair on his face, and that by this means he might come to Pompeia amongst the other Women. He being gotten into this great house by night, not knowing the Rooms and Chambers in it, there was one of Casars Mothers Maids of her Chamber, called Aurelia, who feeing him wandring up and down the house in this fort, asked him what he was, and how they called him. So being forced to answer, he faid he fought for Aura, one of Pompeia's Maids. The Maid perceived straight it was no Womans voice, and therewithall gave a great shriek, and called the other Women, the which did fee the Gates fast shut, and then sought every corner up and down, so that at length they sound him in the Maids Chamber with whom he came in. His offence was straight blown abroad in the City, whereupon Casar put his Wife away: and one of the Tribunes also accused Clodius. and burdened him that he had prophaned the holy Ceremonies of the Sacrifices. Cicero at that time was yet his friend, being one that had very friendly done for him at all times, and had ever accompanied him to guard him, if any man would have offered him injury in the bufie time of the conspiracy of Catiline. Clodius stoutly denied the matter he was burdened with, and said that he was not in Rome at that time, but far from thence. Howbeit Cicero gave evidence against cicero gave ehim, and deposed, that the self same day he came home to his house unto him, to speak with vidence against him about certain matters. This indeed was true, though it feemeth Cicero gave not this evidence for much for the truthes fake, as to please his Wife Terenia: for the hated Codius to the death, because of his Sifter Clodia that would have married Cicero, and did secretly practise the marriage by one Tullius, who was ficero's very friend; and because he repaired very often to this Clodia that dwelt hard by Cicero, Terentia began to suspect him, Terentia being a cruel Woman, and wearing her Husbands Breeches, allured Cicero to fet upon Clodius in his adverfity, and to Witness against him, as many other honest men of the City also did: Some that he was perjured,

The wicked parts of Clo-

* Some old Tertis.

Clodius quit,

others that he committed a thousand lewd parts, that he bribed the People with Money, that he had enticed and deflowred many Women. Luculus also brought forth certain Maidens, which deposed that Clodins had deflowred the youngest of his own Sisters, she being in the house with him, and married. And there went a great rumour alfo, that he knew his two other Sifters, of the which the one was called * Terentia, and married unto King Marrius: and the other Clodia, whom Metellus Celer had married, and whom they commonly called Quadrantaria: because one of her Paramours sent her a Purse full of Quadrines (which are little pieces of Copper Money) inflead of Silver. Clodius was flandered more by her, then with any of the other two. Notwithstanding, the People were very much offended with them that gave evidence against him, and accused him. The Judges being atraid of it, got a great number of armed men about them, at the day of his Judgement, for the fafety of their Perfons : and in the Tables where they wrote their Sentences, their Letters for the most part were confusedly fer down. This notwithstanding, it was found that he was quit by the greatest number : and it is reported also that some of them were close filted. Catalus therefore meeting with some of them going home, after they had given their fentence, told them: Surely ye had good reason to be well guarded for your safety, for you were afraid your Money should have been taken from you, which you took for Bribes. And Gicero faid unto Clodius, who reproved him that his Witnels was not true he gave against him: Clean contrary, quoth Cieero, for five and twenty of the Judgeshave believed me, being fo many that have condemned thee; and the thirty would not believe thee, for they would not quit thee before they had fingred Money. Notwithstanding in this judgement Cefar never gave evidence against casus words they had integred money. Informationing in this paragraphic casus gave evacute against of the parting Clodius: and faid moreover, that he did not think his Wife had committed any adultery: howbeit away his Wife that he had put her away, because he would that Cefar's Wife should not onely be clean from any Pempeia.

Closius chosen

dishonesty, but also void of all suspition. Closius being quit of this Acculation and trouble, and Cloding chosen uninotetry, our and round of an implicit control of the having also found means to be chosen Tribune, he began straight to perfectute Gierro, changing Tribune of the having also found means to be chosen Tribune, he began straight to perfect Gierro, changing the having also found means to be chosen Tribune, he began straight to perfect Gierro, changing the having also found means to be chosen Tribune, he began straight to perfect the Gierro, changing the having also found means to be chosen Tribune, he began straight to perfect the Gierro, changing the having also found means to be chosen Tribune, he began straight to perfect the Gierro, changing the having also found means to be chosen Tribune, he began straight to perfect the Gierro, changing the having also found means to be chosen Tribune, he began straight to perfect the Gierro, changing the having also found means to be chosen Tribune, he began straight to perfect the Gierro, changing the having also found means to be chosen Tribune, he began straight to perfect the Gierro, changing the having also found means to be chosen Tribune, he began straight to perfect the Gierro, changing the having also found means to be chosen Tribune, he began straight to perfect the chosen Tribune the having also found means to be chosen Tribune. Pife and G4- common People by deviling of new Laws which he preferred for their benefit and commodity: to both the Confuls he granted great and large Provinces: unto Pife, MACEDON, and to Gabinius, Syria. He made also many poor men free Citizens, and had alwaies about him a great number of Slaves armed. At that present time there were three notable men in ROMB, which three of the made much both of the one and the other: the third was Cefar, who was prepared for his Journey greated men in into GAUL with an Army. Cieero did lean unto him, (though he knew him no faft friend of his, and that he miltrusted him for matters past in Carilines conspiracy) and prayed him that he might go to the Wars with him, as one of his Lieutenants. Cafar granted him. Thereupon Clodina perceiving that by this means he got him out of the danger of his Office of Tribunefhip for that year, he made fair weather with him (as though he meant to reconcile himfelf unto him) and told him that he had cause rather to think ill of Terenia, for that he had done against him, then of himfelf: and always spake very courteously of him as occasion fell out, and faid, he did think nothing in him, neither had any malice to him, howbeit it did a little grieve him, that being a friend, he was offered unkindnels by a friend, These sweet words made Cicero no more afraid, fo that he gave up his Lieutenancy unto Cefar, and began again to plead as he did before. Cefar took this in fuch disdain, that he heartned Clodius the more against him, and besides, made Poma pey his Enemy. And Cefar himself also said before all the People, that he thought Cieero had put Lennulus, Cerbegus, and the reft unjustly to death, and contrary to Law, without lawfull trial Giero accessed and condemnation. And this was the fault for the which Cicero was openly accused. Thereupon Ciero feeing himfelf accused for this Fact, he changed his usuall Gown he wore, and put on a mourning Gown: and so suffering his beard and hair of his head to grow without any combing, he went in this humble manner, and fixed to the People, But Cledius was ever about him in every place and freet he went, having a fight of Rascals and Knaves with him, that shamefully mocked him for that he had changed his Gown and Countenance in that fort, and oftentimes they cast The Knights of dirt and stones at him, breaking his talk and requests he made unto the People. This notwith-Rome and Se standing, all the Knights of Rome did in manner change their Gowns with him for company; nate changed and of them there were commonly twenty thouland young Gentlemen of noble houles which follows for ments for the many their areas and were faiters to the People for him. Furthermore, ed him with their hair about their ears, and were fuiters to the People for him. Furthermore, the Senate affembled to decree that the People should mourn in Blacks, as in a common calamity: but the Confuls were against it. And Clodim on the other side was with a band of armed men about the Senate, fo that many of the Senators ran out of the Senate, crying and tearing their cloaths for forrow. Howbeit, these men seeing all that, were nothing the more moved with pity and shame, but either Cicero must needs absent himself, or else determine to fight with Clo diss. Then went Cicero to entreat Pompey to sid him, but he absented himself of purpose out of the City, because he would not be entreated, and lay: at one of his houses in the Countrey, near unto the City of Alba. So he first of all fent Pife his Son-in-law unto him to entreat him, and afterwards went himself in Person to him. But Pompley being told that he was come, had not the heart to fuffer him to come to him, to look him in the face : for he had been past all shame to have Pomery would refused the request of so worthy a man, who had before shewed him such pleasure, and also done not be Gireo. not tee cuero and faid fo many things in his favour. Howbeit Pompey being the Son-in-law to Cefar, did unfortunately (at his request) forfake him at his need, unto whom he was bound for fo many infi-

nice pleafures, as he had received of him afore: and therefore when he heard fay he came to him. he went out at his back-gate, and would not speak with him. So Cicero seeing himself betrayed of him, and now having no other refuge to whom he might repair unto, he put himfelf into the hands of the two Confuls. Of them two, Gabinius was ever cruell and churlish unto him. but Pife on the other fide spake always very courteously unto him, and prayed him to absent himselt for a time, and to give place a little to Clodius fury, and patiently to bear the change of the time. For in so doing, he might come again another time to be the preserver of his Countrey, which was now for his fake in tumult and fedition. Cicero upon this answer of the Conful, confulted with his friends; among the which Luculius gave him advice to tarry and faid that he should be the stronger. But all the rest were of contrary opinion, and would have him to get him away with speed, for the People would shortly wish for him again, when they had once been beaten with Cloding fury and folly. Cicero liked best to follow this counsel. Whereupon having had a Statue of Minerva along time in his house, the which he greatly reverenced, he carried her himself, and gave her to the Capitoll, with this inscription: Unto Mi- Cicero's Exile nerva Protettor of ROME. So his friends having given him fafe conduct, he went out of ROME about midnight, and took his way through the Countrey of Luke by Land, meaning to go into SICILE. When it was known in Rome that he was fled, Cloding did presently banish him by decree of the People, and caused Bills of inhibition to be set up, that no man should fecretly receive him within five hundred miles compass of ITALY. Howbeit, divers men reverencing Cicero, made no reckoning of that inhibition : but when they had used him with all manner of courtefie possible, they did conduct him besides at his departure, saving one City onely in Luke, called at that time HIPPONIUM, and now VIBONE : where a SICILIAN cal- Hibbonium tel Vibins (unto whom Ciecro before had done many pleasures, and specially among others, had alias Vibons, a made him Master of the Works in the year that he was Consul) would not once receive City in Luce. bim imo his house, but promised him he would appoint him a place in the Country that he might go unto. And Cains Virgilius also, at that time Prætor and Governour of Sicile, who before had shewed himself his very great friend, wrote then unto him, that he should not come near unto Sicile. This grieved him to the heart. Thereupon he went directly unto the City of BRUNDUSIUM, and there imbarked to pals over the Sea unto DYRRACHIUM, and at the first Awondershew. had wind as will, but when he was in the main Sea, the wind turned, and brought him back inhiserile. again to the place from whence he came. But after that he hoifed fail again; and the report went. Cicero's faintthat at his arrival at DYRRACHIUM when he took Land, the Earth shook under him, and heart in his the Sea gave back together: whereby the Soothfayers interpreted, that his exile should not be exile. long, because both the one and the other was a token of change. Yet Cicero, norwithstanding that many men came to fee him for the good will they barehim, and that the Cities of GREECE contended who should most honour him, he was always sad, and could not be merry, but cast his eyes full towards ITALY, as passionate Lovers do towards the Women they love : shewing himself faint-hearted, and took this adversity more basely then was looked for of one so well studied and learned as he. And yet he oftentimes prayed his friends, not to call him Orator, but rather Philosopher: faving, that Philosophy was his chiefest Profession, and that for his Eloquence he did not use it, but as a necessary instrument to one that pleadeth in the Commonwealth. But glory and opinion hath great power to take mans reason from him, even like a The wondercolour, from the minds of, them that are common Pleaders in matters of State, and to make full power of them feel the felf-fame pathions that common People do, by daily frequenting their company. Glory, unless they take great heed of them, and that they come to practife in the Commonwealth with this resolute mind, to have to do with the like matters that the common People have, but not to entangle themselves with the like passions and moods, by the which their matters do rise. Now Cledius was not contented that he had banished Cicere out of ITALY, but further, he burnt all his houses in the Countrey, and his house also in Rome standing in the Market-place, of the which he built a Temple of Liberry, and caused his Goods to be fold by the Cryer: so that the Cryer was occupied all day long crying the Goods to be fold, and no man offered to buy any of them. The chiefest men of the City beginning to be afraid of the violent parts, and having the common People at his Commandment, whom he had made very bold and infolent, he began to inveigh against Pompey, and spake ill of his doings in the time of his Wars, the which every man elfe but himself did commend. Pompey then was very angry with himself that he had so Pompey the forfaken Cicero, and repented him of it, and by his friends procured all the means he could to ing mind doth call him home again from his banishment, Clodius was against it all he could. The Senate not-fayour Cicero, withflanding with one full confent ordained, that nothing should be established for the Com-Lentus Con-monwealth, before Cicero's banishment were first repealed. Lenulus was at that time Conful, ful. and there grew such an uproar and stir upon it, that some of the Tribunes were hurt in the Market-place, and Quintus Cicero (the Brother of Cicero) was beaten down and hidden under the dead bodies. Then the People began to change their minds. And Annius Milo, one of the Tribunes, was the first man that durst venture upon Cloubes, and bring him by force to be tried before the Judges. Pompey himself also having gotten a great number of men about him, as well of the City of Rome as of other Towns adjoyning to it, being strongly guarded with them, he came out of his house, and compelled Cledius to get him out of the Market-place, and then called the People to give their voices for the calling home again of Cicero. It is reported that

Cicero called bome from banifhment.

the Capitol.

Claline the Tribune, flain by Mile.

Ciceto fearfull in Wars, and rimorous in pleading.

Cicero pleadeth

Cicero Pro-Contal of Cilicia.

Cicero's Integrity for the

the People never passed thing with so great good-will, nor so wholly together, as the return of Cicero. And the Senate for their parts allo, in the behalf of Cicero, ordained, that the Cities which had honoured and received Cieero in his exile, should be greatly commended: and that his houses which Clodius had overthrown and razed, should be re-edified at the charge of the Commonwealth. So Cicero returned the fixteenth Moneth after his banishment, and the Towns and Cities he came by, (hewed themselves so joyfull of his return, that all manner of men went to meet and honour him, with fo great love and affection , that Cicero's report thereof afterwards came indeed short of the very truth as it was. For he said, that ITALY brought him into ROME upon their shoulders. Informuch as Craffiu himself, who before his banishment was his Enemy, went then with very good will unto him, and became his friend, faying: That he did it for the love of his Son, who loved Cicero with all his heart. Now Cicero being returned, he found a time Citero taketh when Clodius was out of the City, and went with a good company of his friends unto the Capiway the Tatoll, and there took away the Tables, and brake them, in the which Clodiss had written all his bles of Glestin Acts that he had passed and done in the time of his Tribuneship. Clodises would afterwards have accufed Cierro for it: But Cierro answered him, that he was not lawfully created Tribune, because he was of the PATRICIANS, and therefore all that he had done in his Tribunethip was void, and of none effect. Therewith Caro was offended, and spake against him, not for that he liked of Clodius doings, (but to the contrary, uterly milliked all that he did) but because he thought it out of all reason, that the Senate thould cancell all those things which he had done and pailed in his Tribuneship, and specially, because amongst the rest, that was there which he himself had done in the Isle of CYPRUS, and in the City of BYZANTIUM. Hereupon there grew some frangeness betwirt Cicero and Cato, the which notwithflanding broke not out to open enmity, but onely to an abstinence of their wonted familiarity, and access one to another. Shortly after, Milo flew Clodins. Milo being accused of murther, prayed Cicero to plead his cause. The Senate fearing that this Accusation of Mile, (who was a hardyman, and of quality besides) would move fome fedition and uproar in the City, they gave Commission to Pompey to fee justice executed as well in this cause as in other offences, that the City might be quiet, and judgment also executed with fafety. Thereupon Pompey the night before took the highest places of the Marker-place, by his Souldiers that were armed, whom he placed thereabout. Milo fearing that Cicere would be afraid to fee such a number of harnessed men about him, being no usuall matter, and that it might peradventure hinder him to plead his cause well, he prayed him he would come betimes in the morning in his Litter into the Market-place, and there to flay the coming of the Judges, till the place were full. For Cicero was not onely fearfull in Wars, but timerous also in pleading. For indeed he never began to speak, but it was in fear; and when his Eloquence was come to the best proof and perfection, he never left his trembling and timerounces. Infomuch that pleading a cafe for Matine Murena (accused by Cate) striving to excell Hortenssius, whose pleading was very well thought of, he took no rest all night, and what through watching and the trouble of his mind, he was not very well, fo that he was not fo well liked for his pleading as Hortensius. So, going to defend Mile's caule, when he came out of his Litter, and saw Pompey let aloft as if it had been in a Camp, and the Market-place compassed about with armed men, glistering in every corner, it so amazed him, that he could scan fashion himfelf to speak, all the parts of him did so quake and tremble, and his voice could not come to him. But Milo on the other fide flood boldly by himfelf, without any fear at all of the judgement of his cause, neither did he let his hair grow, as other men accused did: neither did he wear any mourning Gown, the which was (as it feemed) one of the chiefest causes that condemned him. Yet many held opinion that this timorousness of Cierre came rather of the good will he bore unto his friends, then of any cowardly mind of himfelf. He was also Citers cholen one of the Priefts of the Soothfayers, which they call Augures, in the room of Publius Crassus the younger, who was slain in the Realm of PARTHIA. Asterwards, the Province of CILICIA being appointed to him, with an Army of twelve thousand Footmen, and two thouland and five hundred Horlemen, he took the Sea to go thither. So when he was arrived there, he brought Cappadocia again into the subjection and obedience of King Arisberzants, according to his Commission and Commandment given by the Senate: moreover, both there and elfewhere he took as excellent good order as could be devifed, in reducing of things to quienels without Wars. Furthermore, finding that the CILICIANS were grown fomewhat from and unruly, by the overthrow the ROMANS had of the PARTHIANS, and by reason of the rising and rebellion in Syria, he brought them unto reason by gentle perswasions : and never received Gifts that were fent him, no not from Kings and Princes. Furthermore, he did disburden the Provinces of the Feats and Banquets they were wont to make other Governours before the Provinces of the real and Dangues 127 the company of good and Learned-men at his him. On the other fide also, he would ever have the company of good and Learned-men at his him. On the other fide also, he would ever have the company of good and Learned-men at his him. On the other fide also, he would ever have the company of good and Learned-men at his him. On the other fide also, he would ever have the company of good and Learned-men at his him. On the other fide also, he would ever have the company of good and Learned-men at his him. On the other fide also, he would ever have the company of good and Learned-men at his him. On the other fide also, he would ever have the company of good and Learned-men at his him. On the other fide also, he would ever have the company of good and Learned-men at his him. On the other fide also, he would ever have the company of good and Learned-men at his him. On the other fide also, he would ever have the company of good and Learned-men at his him. On the other fide also, he would ever have the company of good and Learned-men at his him. On the other fide also, he would ever have the company of good and Learned-men at his him. nor was feen by any man in his bed : for he would always rife at the break of day, and would walk or fland before his door. He would courteoully receive all them that came to falure and vifit him. Further they report of him, that he never caused man to be beaten with rods, nor to tear his own Garments. In his anger he never reviled any man, neither did spitefully see Fine upon any mans head. Finding many things also belonging to the Commonwealth, which private men had from and embezeled to their own use, he restored again unto the Cities, where-

by they grew very rich and wealthy: and yet did fave their honour and credit that had taken them away, and didthem no other hurr, but onely constrained them to restore that which was the Come monwealths. He made a little War also and drave away the Thieves that kept about the Mounty Mon Among monweating. Fit made a manual factor of the which exploit his Souldiers called him Imperator, to fay, thief Captain Citero called in About that time there was an Orator called Cacilian, who wrote auto him from Rome, to pray Imperator. him to fend him fome Leopards or Panthers out of SILICIA, because he would shew the People fome patime with them. Cicero-boatting of his doings, wrote, the him again, that there were no more Leopards in SILICIA; but that they were all fled into CARIA for anger, that feeing all things quiet in SILICIA, they had leiture now to hunt them. So when he returned towards ROME, from the charge of his Government, he came by RHODES, and stayed a tew days at A-THENS with great delight, to remember how pleasantly he lived there before, at what time he fludied there. Thither came to him the chiefest Learned men of the City, and his friends also, with whom he was acquainted at his first being there. In fine, having received all the bosourable entertainment in GREECE that could be, he returned unto Rome, where at his arrival he found great factions kindled, the which men faw plainly would grow in the end to civil War. Thereupon the Senare having decreed that he should enter in Triumph into the City, he answered, that he would rather (all parties agreed) follow Cafar's Coach in Triumph. So he travelled very garneftly between Pompey and Cafar, eftloons writing unto Cafar, and also speaking unto Pompey that was Given seeken present, seeking all the means he could, to take up the quarrell and misliking betwire them two to pacific the But it was fo impossible a matter, that there was no speech of agreement would take place. So Pomes quarrel bepey hearing that Cafar was not far from ROME, he durft no longer abide in ROME, but fled with twist Pompey divers of the greatest men in Rome. Cicero would not follow him when he fled, and therefore and Cafar. men thought he would take part with Cefar: but this is certain, that he was in a marvellous perplexity, and could not eafily determine what way to take. Whereupon he wrote in his Epiffies'; What way should I take? Pompay had the juster and honester cause of War, but Casar can bester. execute, and provide for himself and his friends with better lafety: fo that I have means eriough to Cicero's words fly, but none to whom I might repair. In all this flir, there was one of Cefar's friends called of Pompey and Trebatine, which wrote a Letter unto Cicere, and told him that Cafar wished him in any cafe to come to him, and to run with him the hope and fortune he undetrook : but if he excufed himself by his age, that then he should get him into GREACE, and there to be quiet from them bothy Giero marvelling that (solor wrote not to him himfelf, allowered in anger, that he involved on and thing unworthy of his acts all the days of his life thinberto : and to this effect he wrote in his Letters! Now Cafar being gone into SPAIN, Cicero imbarked prefently to go to Pempey fo when he Cicero goeth came unto him, every man was very glad of his coming, but Cate. Howbeit (an icorethy ress unto Pampe), laying whap for himlels he had been without all bonethy as that sime to have forfaken that part the which he had always taken and followed from the beginning of his first practise in the Commonwealth; bin for him, on the other file, that it had been better for the fafery of his Countrey, and chiefly for all his friends, that he had been a notice to both, and he to have taken things as they had fallen out : and that he had no manner of reason nor infrant cause to make him to become Cafar's Enemy, and by coming thinher to pur himfelf into logreat peril. These persuasions of Case overthrew all Cicero's purpose and determination, besides that: Famps, himself did not employ him in any matter of service or importance. But hereof himself was more in fault then Pompey, because he confessed openly that indid repent him he wascome thither. Fires thermore, he scorned and distanced all Papper's perpurations and counsels, the which indeed made him to be had in jeatouse and sufpicion. Also the would ever be steering and gibing at those that took Pemperspart, though he had no lift himself to be merry. He would also go up and down the Camp very fad and beavy, but yet he wouldt ever have one jeast or other to make men laugh abhough they had as little luft; to be merry as helicand furely, it shall do no burt to call fome of then to mind in this place. Domeston being very definest to prefer a Centleman to have charge of men, to recommend him, be faid, he was an houself, wife, and sober man. Address Ottors prefently answered : Why doest thou not keep this then to bring up thy Children Hanother child when they commended Theophanies LES with restillar was Mafter of all the Artificers of the Cambi became he had notably comforted the RHODLANS when they had received a great lofs of their Nat vy: See, faid Cicere, what a goodly thing in its militare a GRECIAN, Mathematical Artificers in the Camp? When both Battles came to joyn regenters and this Union had its mininer all the ad-winness, and kept them as good as befored. Learnist told limmup at time itself the their's key, all Volumes friends were mad, and melancholly men. Why & quoth Cickre to him against doct thou fay that they do envy Cefor ? Another called Marrise, coming lately dut of Ly Az et faid that there ran a rumour in Roma, that Bahpen was belieged. What supports Ciedro to thim against and didft then take thip to come and see him they feld; because them, mightest believe it in thos hadfi feen it? Pempey being overshrown, one Numer faid, that there was yet good hope left, because they had taken feven Eagles within Pempey's Camps. Thy performing more nor illy deoth Cierro, to we were to fight but with Pies and Daws. Laboritar reposed all this trust an originit. Oracles, that Pempey of necessity must have the upper-hand. Verolaid Cicoro, but for all this goodly stratageth of War , we have not long lines lieft our whole Camp. After the Battle of PHARSALIA where Cierro was not by reason of his fickhelis Pompry being Mid, and Care as that time at Duna with the had guidered a great number of men of War, and tail also prepared a

great Navy, he prayed Cicero to take charge of all this Army, as it pertained unso him, having been Confull. Geers did not onely refuse it, but also told them, he would meddle no more with this to Gierro, and War. But this was enough to have made him been flain; for the younger Pompty and his friends offered flinthe and the Trainer and American Survey to the real him raphic him to hill him raphic him to have been deeper a survey to the survey of the survey o offered fioribe vv at . Due um was enough to have more more more into centrant; for the younger rompsy and nis trends charge of the Nisyan Dyr. Case stepped between them and him; and yet had be much ado to fave him, and to convey him fafe. ly out of the Camp. When Cierre came to BRUNDUSIUM, he stayed there a certain time for Cafar's coming, who came but flowly, by reason of his troubles he had in Asia, and also in &-GYPT. Howbeit news was brought at length that Cafar was arrived at TAREN YUM, and that he came by Land unto BRUNDUS 1UM: Gieere departed thence to go meet him, not militrufting that Gafar would not pardon him, but rather being ashamed to come to his Enemy being a Conqueror, before such a number of men as he had about him. Yet he was not forced to do or speak any thing unformly to his calling : for Cofar. feeing him coming towards him far before the reft that came with him, he lighted from his horfe and embraced him, and walked a great way on foot with him, fill talking with him onely; and ever after he did him great honour, and made much of him. In-Comuch as Cierre having written a Book in praise of Cate, Cefar on the other fide wrote another, and praifed the Eloquence and Life of Cieers, matching it with the Life of Pericles, and Theramines, Gierro's Book was intituled Cato, and Cafar's Book called Anticato, as much to fay, against Cato, They say further, that Quintur Ligarius being accused to have been in the Field against Casar, Cisere took upon him to defend his cause: and that Cafer faid unto his friends about him, What hurt is it for us to hear Cefar fpeak, whom we have not heard of long time? for otherwise Ligarius (in my opinion) standeth already a condemned man, for I know him to be a valiant man, and mine E-The force of nemy. But when Cicero had begun his Oration, he moved Cafer marvelloully, he had so sweet Giere's Elo- 2 grace, and fuch force in his words, that it is reported Cefar changed colour often, and shewed quence, how it plainly by his countenance, that there was a marvellous alteration in all the parts of him. For, in altered Gafar the end when the Orator came to touch the Battle of Phansalta, then was Cafar to troubled, that his Body shook withall, and besides, certain Books he had sell out of his hands, and he was driven against his will to fet Ligarian at liberty. Afterwards, when the Commonwealth of ROME erme to be a Kingdom, Cicero leaving to practife any more in the State, he gave himself to read

Philosophy to the young men that came to hear him: by whose access unto him (because they were the chiefest of the Nobility in Rome) he came again to bear augreat sway and Authority in

of Veries, he would use them many times for his recreation; for it is reported, that whenforer

he 100k in hand so make any, he would dispatch five hundred of them in a night. Now all that

sime of his recreation and pleasure, he would commonly be at some of his houses in the Country,

which he had ness anno Thuscullus, from whence he would write unto his friends, that he led

Laurtes life : einber fpoken merrily as abemanner was, or elle pricked forward with ambition, de

firing to return again to be practiler in the Commonwealth, being weary with the prefer time and flate thereof. Howforer it was, be came oftenines to Ro is 5, only to fee Gafor to keep him his friend, and would ever be she first man to confirm any honours decreed unto him, and was al-

ways fludious to unter fome new matter to praise him and his doings. As that was be faid rouching

the Statues of Pampey, the which being overthown, Cafer commanded them to he lifet up again,

Rans as ever he had done before. His study and endeavour was, to write matters of Philosophy

Dialogue wife, and to translate out of Greek into Latine, taking pains to bring all the Greek words, which are proper unto Logick and natural Caufes, into Latine. For he was the full man by report, that gave Latine Names unto these Greek words, which are proper unto Phisman by report, that gave Latine Names unto these Greek words, which are proper unto Phisman by report, that gave Latine Names unto these Greek words, which are proper unto Phisman by report, that gave Latine Names unto these Greek words, which are proper unto Phisman by report, that gave Latine Names unto the Greek words are proper unto the full properties. sum vy report, mat gave Laine vannes und tiene Green words, mint are project tinto helosphere, as, parraite, he tetriech, Rife. Kardbone, Affenfus. Ende, Affenfus cobibition. Kardbone, To angelensfie. To aroun, Corpus fingles. To aroun, Corpus fingles. To aroun, Corpus fingles. To aroun, and many other fach like words. But abough he were not the first, yet was it he that most did derife and safe them, and turned force of them by translation, others into proper terms: fo that at length they came to be well taken, known, and understood of every man... And for his readiness in writing

and fo they were. For Green Sind, that by that courtefie in fetting up of Rompey's Statues again, the did ethablish his own. So Green being determined to write all the Rom Ann Miltory, and to mindle with it many of the Gabetans. doings, adding thereunto all the fables and devices which they Chee did put do write and regions, he was hindred of his purpose against his will, by many open and private troubles away his Wife that came upon him at once : whereof notwithstanding he himself was cause of the most of them. For first of all, he did pur away his Wife Tereinia, because the had made but finall account of him in all the Wars; so that he departed from Roma having no necessary thing with him to entertain him out of his Country; and yet when he came back again; into ITALY, the never thewes any spark of love or good will towards him. For the never came to Brundusium to him, where he remained a long time; and worfe then that, his Daughter having the heart to take fo long a Journey in hand to go to him, theneither gave her company to conduct her, nor Money, nor other farming convenient for her, but so handled the matter, that Gierry at his return to Rome found bare walls in his bouse and nothing in it, and yet greatly brought in debt befides. And these were the bonest causes alledged for their Divorce. But besides that Torestia denied all these, Gieero himself Citero married gave her a good occasion to clear her felf, because he shortly stars married a young Maid, being ayong Mai: fallen in fancy with her (as Terentia faid) for her beauty 1:00, 30 Tyre his fervant wrote, for her riches, to the end that with her Goods he might pay his Detas, ther the was very rich, and Citer al-fo was appointed her Guardian, the being left Sole-Heir. Now, because the ought a marrellous tun-

of money. his parents and friends did counsel him to marry this young maiden, notwithstanding he was too old for her, because that with her goods he might fatisfie his creditors. But Antonius speaking of this marriage of Cicero, in his answers and Orations he made against the PHILIPPIANS, he doth reprove him for that he put away his wife, with whom he was grown old; being merry with him by the way, for that he had been an idle man, and never went from the fmoak of his Chimney, nor had been abroad in the Wars in any service of his Countrey or Commonwealth. Shortly after that he had married his fecond wife, his daughter died in labour of child, in Lentulus house, whose second wife she was, being before married unto Pifo, who was her first husband. So the Philosophers and learned men came of all fides to comfort him: but he took her death fo forrowfully, that he put away his fecond wife, because he thought she did rejoyce at the death of his daughter. And thus much touching the state and troubles of his house. Now touching the conspiracy against Cafar, he was not made privy Cicero not to it. although he was one of Brutus greatest friends, and that it grieved him to fee things in that state made privy to they were brought unto, and albeit also he wished for the times past, as much as any other man did, the conspiracy But indeed the confpirators were afraid of his nature, that lacked hardinels: and of his age, the which against Cafar. often times maketh the floutest and most hardiest natures faint-hearted and cowardly. Notwithflanding, the conspiracy being executed by Brutus and Cassius, Casar's friends being gathered together every man was afraid that the City would again fall into civil wars. And Antonius alfo. who was Conful at that time, did affemble the Senate, and made some speech and motion then to draw things again unto quietness. But Cicero having used divers perswasions fit for the time, in the end he moved the Senate to decree (following the example of the ATHENIANS) a generall oblivion of things done against Cafar, and to assign unto Brutus and Cassius some governments of Provinces. Howbeit nothing was concluded : for the people of themselves were forry, when they saw Casar's body brought through the Market-place. And when Amonius also did shew them his Gown all bebloodied, cut, and thrust through with swords, then they were like mad men for anger, and sought up and down the Market-place if they could meet with any of them that had flain him: and taking firebrands in their hands, they ran to their houses to fet them on fire. But the conspirators having prevented this danger, faved themselves: and fearing that if they tarried at Rome, they should have many fuch alarms, they for fook the City. Then Antonius began to look aloft, and became fearfull to all men, as though he meant to make himself King: but yet most of all unto Cicero above all o- Private grudge thers. For Antonius perceiving that Cicero began again to encrease in credit and authority, and know- betwist Antoing that he was Brutus very friend, he did millike to fee him come near him; and befides there was miss and Citero at that time some jealousie betwixt them, for the diversity and difference of their manners and dispofitions. Cicero being afraid of this, was first of all in mind to go with Dolabella to his Province of Sy-RIA, as one of his Lieutenants. But they that were appointed to be Confuls the next year following after Antonius, two noble Citizens, and Cicero's great friends, Hircius and Panfa, they entreated him not to forfake them, understanding that they would pluck down this over-great power of Antonises, so he would remain with them. But Cicero, neither believing nor altogether mistrusting them, forfook Dolabella, and promifed Hircian and Panfa, that he would spend the Summer at ATHENS, and that he would return again to ROME fo foon as they were entred into their Conful-Thip. With this determination Cicero took the fea alone, to go into GREECE. But as it chanceth Cicero faileth often times, there was some let that kept him he could not fail, and news came to him daily from into Greese. ROME (as the manner is) that Antonius was wonderfully changed, and that now he did nothing any more without the authority and confent of the Senate, and that there lacked nothing but his perfon to make all things well. Then Cicero condemning his dastardly fear, returned forthwith to Rome, not being deceived in his first hope. For there came such a number of people out to meet him, that he could do nothing all day long but take them by the hands, and embrace them, who to honour him, came to meet him at the Gate of the City, as also by the way to bring him to his house. The next morning Antonius affembled the Senate, and called for Cicero by name. Cicero refused to go, and kept his bed, faining that he was weary with his journey and pains he had taken the day before: but indeed the cause why he went not, was, for fear and suspition of an amoust that was laid for him by the way, if he had gone, as he was informed by one of his very good friends. Antonius was marvelloufly offended that they did wrongfully accuse him, for laying any ambush for him: and therefore fent fouldiers to his house, and commanded them to bring him by force, or else to set his house on fire: After that time, Cicero and he were always at jar, but yet coldly enough, Ill will betwine one of them taking heed of another: untill that young Cafar returning from the City of APOL- Citero and An-LONIA, came as lawfull heir unto Julius Cafar Dictator, and had contention with Antonius for the tonius. fum of two thousand and five hundred Myriades, the which Antonius kept in his hands of his fathers goods. Thereupon Philip who had married the mother of this young Cafar, and Marcel-Odivine Cafar has who had also married his fifter, went with young Cesar unto Cierro, and there agreed toge-joyned in ther, that Cierro should help young Cesar with the savour of his authority and eloquence, as friendship. well towards the Senate, as also to the people: and that Cafar in recompence of his good will should fland by Cicero, with his money and fouldiers : for this young Cafar had many of his fathers Souldiers about him, that had served under him. Now there was another cause that made Gicero glad to embrace the friendship of this young Cafar, and that was this. Whilest Pompey and Julius Cefor were alive and in good cafe, Gieror dreamed one night that the Senators fons were called into a circumstance of Carino and the Capitol, because Impirer had appointed to shew them him that one day should come to be Lord dopped fon of ward lines. and King of Rome, and that the ROMANS being defirous to see who it should be, ran all unto the Fulius Cafar.

Offevius and

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Note the fickleness of

Temple: and that all the children likewife were waiting there in their goodly garded Gowns of purple, untill that fuddenly the doors of the Temple were open ; and then that all the children arose one after another, and went and passed by the image of Jupiter, who looked upon them all, and sent them away discontented, saving this young Cesar, unto whom he put forth his hand as he passed by, and faid: My Lords of Rome, this child is he that shall end all your civil wars, when he cometh to be Lord of ROME. Some fay, that Cicero had this vision in his dream, and that he carried in good memory the look of this child, howbeit that he knew him not : and that the next morning he went of purpose into the field of Mars, where these young boys did exercise themselves, who, when he came thither, had broken up from playing, and were going home; and that amongst them he first faw him whom he had dreamed of, and knew him very well, and musting at him the more, asked him whose fon he was. The boy answered, that he was the fon of one Octavius (a man otherwise of no great calling) and of Accia, the fifter of Julius Cafar: who having no child, he made him his heir by his last will and testament, and less him all his lands and goods. After that time, it is reported, that Civiss Cajar.
Officials Cafar cero wasvery glad to ipeak to him when he met withhim, and that the boy also liked Cicero's friendwas born in the ship, and making much of him : for by good hap the boy was born the same year that Gieero was Conyear of Gierro's full. And these be the reasons alledged, why Gierro did favour this young Cesar. But in truth, first of Consulting, all the errest malice the bare unto Antonius. and secondly his nature that was ambitious of bonour were all the great malice he bare unto Antonius, and secondly his nature that was ambitious of bonour, were (in my opinion) the chiefeft causes why he became young Cefar's friend: knowing that the force and power of his fouldiers would greatly strengthen his authority and countenance in managing the affairs of the state; besides that the young man could flatter him so well, that he called him father. But Brutus being offended with him for it, in his Epistles he wrote unto Atticus he sharply reproveth Cicero, faying, that for fear of Antonius he flattered this young Cafar: whereby it appeared, he did not fo much feek for the liberty of ROME, ashe did procure himself a loving and gentle mafter. This notwithstanding Brutus brought with him Cicero's fon that studied Philosophy at ATHENS, and gave him charge of men under him, and employed him in great affairs, wherein he shewed himself Chero's great very forward and valiant. Now Cicero's authority and power grew again to be as great in ROME, power at Rome. as ever it was before. For he did what he thought good, and fo vexed Anonim, that he drave him out of the City, and fent the two Confuls Hircius and Panfa against him, to fight with him: and caused the Senate also to decree, that young Cesar should have Sergeants to carry Rods and Axes before him, and all other furniture for a Prator, as a man that fighteth for his Countrey. After that Antonius had lost the battle, and that both the Confuls were slain, both the Armies came unto Cafar. The Senate then being afraid of this young man that had fo great good fortune, they practifed by honours and gifts to call the Armies from him, which he had about him, and fo to minish the greatness of his power: saying, that their Countrey now stood in no need of force nor fear of detence, fith her enemy Antonius was fled and gone. Cafar fearing this, fent men fecretly unto Cicero, to pray him to procure that they two together might be chosen Consuls, and that when they should be in office, he should do and appoint what he thought good, having the young man at his commandment, who defired no more but the honour onely of the name. Cefar himself consessed asterwards, that being afraid he should have been utterly cast away, to have been left alone he finely ferved his turn by Cicero's ambition, having perswaded him to require the Consulship through the help and affiftance that he would give him. But there was Cicero finely colted, as old as he was, by a young man, when he was contented to fue for the Confulship in his behalf, and to make the Senate agreeable to it: wherefore his friends presently reproved him for it, and shortly after he perceived he had undone himself, and together also lost the liberty of his Countrey. For this young man Ottavisus Cafar being grown to be very great by his means and procurement, when he faw Offevine Cafer that he had the Confulship upon him, he forfook Cicero, and agreed with Antonius and Lepidus. Then joyning his Army with theirs, he divided the Empire of ROME with them, as if it had been lands left in common between them: and besides that, there was a bill made of two hundred men and upwards; whom they had appointed to be flain. But the greatest difficulty and difference that fell out between them, was about the out-lawing of Cicero. For Antonius would hearken to no peace between them, unless Cicero were flain first of all : Lepidus was also in the same mind with Antoof the 1tium- nine: but Cefar was against them both. Their meeting was by the City of BOLONIA, where they viti, Antendas, continued three days together, they three onely fectedly confulling in a place environed about Lepidas, Olds with a little liver. Some for that Cafes thick hard with Cicero the two first days, but at the third with a little River. Some fay that Cefar fluck hard with Cicero the two first days, but at the third Giero appoint, that he yielded and for fook him. The exchange they agreed upon between them, was this, Cefar et to be flain. for fook fieero: Lepidus, his own brother Parties and agreed upon between them, was this, Cefar forfook Cicero: Lepidus, his own brother Paulus; and Antonius, Lucius Cefar his Uncle by the mothers fide. Such place took wrath in them, as they regarded no kindred nor blood: and to speak more properly, they shewed that no brute or savage beaft is so cruel as man, if with his licentiousness he have liberty to execute his will. While these matters were a brewing, Cicero was at a house of his in the Countrey, by the City of Thus Culum, having at home with him also his brother Q Cicero. News being brought them thither of these proscriptions of out-lawries, appointing men to be slain, they determined to go to ASTYRA , a place by the fea fide where Cicero had another house, there to take fea, and from thence to go into MACEDON unto Brutus. For there ran a rumor that Brutus was very strong, and had a great power. So they caused themselves to be conveyed thither in two Litters, both of them being so weak with forrow and grief, that they could not otherwise have gone their ways. As they were on their way, both the Litters going as near to each other as they could, they bewailed their miferable estate : but Quint m chiefly, who took it most

grievoully. For, remembring that he took no money with him when he came from his house, and that Cicero his brother also had very little for himself, he thought it best that Cicero should hold on his journey, whileft he himfelf made an errand home to fetch fuch things as he lacked, and fo to make hafte again to overtake his brother. They both thought it best so, and then tenderly embracing one another, the tears falling from their eyes, they took leave of each other. Within few days after, Quintus Cicero being betrayed by his own servants, unto them that made search for him, he was cruelly flain, and his fon with him. But Marcus Tullius Cicero being called into As TYRA, and there Quintus Cicero finding a ship ready, imbarked immediately, and sailed along the coast unto Mount Circe, having a sain, good gale of wind. There the Mariners determining forthwith to make sail again, he came as shore, either for fear of the fea, or for that he had fome hope that Cafar had not altogether for laken him: and therewithall returning towards ROME by land, he had gone about an hundred furlongs thence. But then being at a straight how to resolve, and studdenly changing his mind, he would needs be carried back again to the fea, where he continued all night marvellous forrowfull, and full of thoughts. For one while he was in the mind to go fecretly unto Octaviu: Cafar's house, and to kill himself by the hearth of his Chimney, to make the furies of hell to revenge his blood : but being afraid to be intercepted by the way, and cruelly handled, he returned from that determination. Then falling into other unadviled determinations, being perplexed as he was, he put himself again into his fervants hands, to be conveyed by fea unto another place called * CAPITES. There he had a very * Some do read proper pleasant Summer house, where the North winds, called Etesia, do give a trim fresh air Caieta. in the Summer season. In that place also there is a little Temple dedicated unto Apollo, not far from the sea side. From thence there came a great shole of Crows, making a marvellous noise, that came flying toward Cicero's fhip, which rowed upon the shore. This shole of Crows came and lighted upon the yard of their fail, some crying, and some pecking the cords with their bills: so that every man judged ftraight, that this was a fign of ill luck at hand. Circero notwithstanding this amount of the standard of th most part of these Crows came and lighted upon the Chamber window where he lay, making a Crows unto wonderfull great noise: and some of them got unto Cicero's bed where he lay, the cloaths being cast Cicero. over his head, and they never left him, till by little and little they had with their bills pluckt off the cloathes that covered his face. His men feeing that, and faying to themselves that they were too vile beafts, if they would tarry to fee their mafter flain before their eyes (confidering that bruit beafts had care to fave his life, feeing him to unworthily entreated) and that they should not do the best they could to save his life: partly by entreaty, and partly by force, they put him again into his Litter to carry him to the fea. But in the mean time came the murtherers appointed to kill him, Herennim a Centurion, and Popilim Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand men, whole cause Cicero had once pleaded before the Judges, when he was accused for the murther of his Herennius and own father) having fouldiers attending upon them. So Cicero's gate being thut, they entred the Popilins fent to house by force, and missing him, they asked them of the house what was become of him. They an-Iwered they could not tell. Howbeit, there was a young boy in the house called Philologia, a flave 70. enfranchised by Quintus Cicero, whom Tullius Cicero had brought up in the Latine tongue, and had taught him the liberal Sciences: he told this Herennius that his servants carried him in a Litter towards the lea, through dark narrow lanes, shadowed with wood on either fide. Popilius the Colonel taking fome fouldiers with him, ran about on the outfide of the lanes to take him at his coming out of them: and Herennius on the other fide entred the lanes. Cicero hearing him coming, commanded his men to fet down his Litter, and taking his beard in his left hand, as his manner was, he froutly looked the murtherers in the faces, his head and beard being all white, and his face lean and wrinckled, for the extream forrows he had taken : divers of them that were by, held their hands before their eyes, M. T. Cictro whilft Herennius did cruelly murther him. So Cicero being threefcore and four years of age, thrust flain by Herenhis neck out of the Litter and had his head cut off by Antonius commandment, and his hands al-To, which wrote the Orations (called the Philippians) against him. For so did Cleero call the Orations he wrote against him, for the malice he bare him: and they do yet continue the same name untill this present time. When these poor dismembred members were brought to Rome, Antonius by chance was bufily occupied at that time about the election of certain Officers; who when the heard of them and faw them, he cryed our aloud, that now all his Outlawries and profectiptions of write the cryed our aloud, that now all his Outlawries and profectiptions of the cryed our aloud, that now all his Outlawries and profectiptions of the cryed our aloud, that now all his outlawries and profectiptions of the cryed our aloud, that now all his outlawries and profectiptions of the cryed our aloud, the head of all Amiritation and the cryed our aloud the head of the cryed our aloud the cryed ou were executed; and thereupon commanded his head and his hands should straight be fetup over the Pulpit for Orapulpit for Orations, in the place called Rostra. This was a fearfull and horrible fight unto the tions. ROMANS, who thought they faw not Cicero's face, but an image of Antonius life and disposi- A strange and tion: who among fo many wicked deeds as he committed, yet he did one Act onely that had ment taken by some shew of goodness, which was this. He delivered Philologus into the hands of Pomponia, Pomponia the wife of Quinus Cicero: and when she had him, besides all other cruell torments she made him, (Quinus Cicero abide, she compelled him to cut his own sless of by little morfels, and to broil them, and ros wife. abide, the compelled him to cut his own field off by little morters, and to broil them, and Philologus for then to eat them. Some Historiographers do thus report it; but Tyro who was a lave infranchiseraying of led by Ciceré, made no mention of the treason of this Philologus. Howbeit I understand that Ca- his mater.

Jar Augustus long time after that, went one day to see one of his Nephews, who had a book in his singustus Ca-hand of Cicero's; and he searing less his Uncle would be angry to find that book in his hands, thought for settimory to hide it under his Gown, Cafar faw it, and took it from him, and read the most part of it stand of Citero. ing, and then delivered it to the young boy, and faid unto him! He was a wife man indeed, my Control with child, and loved his Countrey well. After he had flain Antonius; being Conful, he made Cicero's Augustus Cafar

DEMOSTHEN ES and CICERO.

Yet furthermore, he did not onely praise his own acts and deeds, but the Orations also which he had

written or pleaded, as if he should have contended against Horrates, or Anaximenes a master that

which were both fierce and flout in Arms ; And fit to work their enemies harms

For, as it is requifite for the governour of a Commonwealth to feek authority by his eloquence : for

also for receiving money of the King of PERSIA, and therewithall condemned for the money which he

had taken of Harpalus. And though some peradventure would object, that the reports thereof (which are many) do lie: yet they cannot politibly deny this, that Demosthers had no power to refrain from Aooking on the prefents which divers King-did offer him, praying him to accept them in good part for their fakes: neither was that the part of a mah, that did take juliny by traffick on the fea, the extreamest yet of all other. In contrary manner (as we have faid before) it is certain that Cicero being Treasurer,

refused the gifts which the SICILIAN'S offered him there; and the presents also which the King of

CAPPADOCIA offered him whilft he was Pro-conful in CICILIA, and those especially which his

friends preffed upon him to take of them, being a great fum of money, when he went as a banished man

out of ROME. Furthermore, the banishment of the one was infamous to him, because by judgment he

monwealth, was in his banishment. For he went into every City, and did affist the Ambassador of the

GRECIANS, and refuled the Ambaffadors of the MACEDONIANS. In the which he shewed himself

a better Citizen, then either Themistocles, or Alcibiades, in their fortune and exile. So when he was

called home, and returned, he fell again to his old trade which he practifed before, and was ever against

Antipater, and the MACEDO NIANS, Where Lalius in open Senate sharply took up Cicero, for that

he fate still and faid nothing, when that Ottavius Cefar the young man made petition against the law,

that he might fue for the Confullhip, being so young, that he had never a hair on his face. And Bru-sus himself also doth greatly reprove Cicero in his Letters, for that he had maintained and hourished a

more grievous and greater Tyranny, then that which they had put down. And last of all, methinketh

the death of Cicero most pitifull, to fee an old man carried up and down (with tender love of his fer-

vants) feeking all the ways that might be to fly death, which did not long prevent his natural course; and in the end, old as he was, to see his head so pitifully cut off. Whereas Demosthenes, though he

the bloody cruelty of Antipater.

yielded a little, entreating him that came to take him: yet for that he had prepared the poylon long before, that he had kept it long, and allo used it as he did, he cannot but be marvellously commended for
betwix Deit. For that he god Neptune denied him the benefit of his sanctuary, he betook him to a greater, and
most here and

taught Rhetorick, and not to go about to reform the people of Rome :

fon his colleague and fellow Confull with him, in whose time the Senate ordained that the images of Antonius should be thrown down, and deprived his memory of all other honours: adding further unto this decree, that from thenceforth none of the houle and family of the Antonis should ever after bear the name of Marcus. So Gods juffice made the extream revenge and punishment of Antonius to fall into the house of Cicero.

The end of Marcus Tullius Cicero's Life.

THE COMPARISON OF CICERO with DEMOSTHENES.



Demofthenes eloquence.

Cicero's Tare

Arines.

and divers do-

and Cicero's

manners.

His is as much as we could gather by our knowledge touching the notable Adi and Deeds worthy of memory, written of Gieero and Demosithenes. Furthermore, leaving the comparison aside of the difference of their eloquence in their more, leaving the comparison aside of the difference of their eloquence in their Orations, methinks I may fay thus much of them: That Demofitienes did wholly employ all his wit and learning (natural or artificial) unto the Art of Rhetorick; and that in force and vertue of eloquence he did excell all the Orators in his time : and for gravity and magnificent stile, all those that onely write for shew or oftentation: and for sharpness and Art, all the Sophisters, and Masters

of Rhetorick. And that Gieero was a man generally learned in all Sciences, and that had fludied divers books as appeareth plainly by the fundry books of Philosophy of his own making, written after the manner of the Academick Philosophers. Furthermore, they may fee in his Orations be wrote in certain manner of the Academica and Arabet Market Cought occasions in his by-talk to show men that he was excellently well learned. Furthermore, by their phrases a man may discert some spark of their manners and conditions. For Demostherns phrase hath no manner of finencis, jefts, nor grace in it, but is allogether grave and harth; and not onely smelleth of the lamp, as Pythias said when he mocked him, but sheweth a great drinker of water, extream pains, and therewith also a sharp and sowre nature. But Civers oftentimes fell from pleafant taunts unto plain fourrillity, and turning all his pleadings of matters of importance to sport and laughter, having a grace in it, many times he did forget the comelines that became a man of his calling. As in his Oration for Calins, where he faith, It is no marvel if in fo great abundance of wealth and finencis he gave himfelf a little to take his pleasure : and that it was a folly not to tile pleasures lawfull and tolerable, fith the famoulest Philosophers that ever were did place the chief felicity of man, to be in pleasure. And it is reported also that Marcus (ato having accused Mura-116, Cicero being Conful, delended his cause, and in his Oration pleasantly girded all the sect of the Stoick Philosophers for Cato's fake, for the strange opinions they held, which they call Paradoxes: in for much as bemade all the people and Judges also fall on laughing a good. And Cate himfelfalfo fmiling a little faid unto them that fate by him: What a laughing and mocking Conful have we, my Lords? But letting that pafs, it feemeth that Cieero was of a pleafant and merry nature: for his face shewed ever great life and mirth in it. Whereas in Demosthenes countenance on the other side, they might discens marvellous diligence and care, and a pensive man, never weary with pain: infomuch that his enemies Desoftbener

(as he reporteth himfelf) called him a perverte and froward man. Furthermore, in their writings is difficult to thindels to the cerned, that the one speaketh modefully in his own praise, so as no man can justly be offended with him: Giero too fall and yet not always, but when necessity enforceth him for some matter of great importance, but otherof oftension. wife very differeet, and modest to speak of himself. Citero in contrary manner, using too often repetition of one felf thing in all his Orations, shewed an extream ambition of glory, when inceffantly he Let frear and sheild give place to Gown, And give the tongue the Lawrel Crown.

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And there for in the position of page dominion and therefore in this point we must confess that Demossible the feek authority by his eloquence: fo, to cover the praise of his own glorious tongue, or as it were to beg it, that shewth a base mind. And therefore in this point we must confess that Demossible the six and the store of a nobler mind, who declared himself, that all his eloquence must be by precises the which also required the favour of his auditory: and further, he thought the propose and must use as indeed they be no less) that therefore would make any boat of themself the propose and must use as indeed they be no less) that therefore would make any boat of themself the propose and must use as indeed they be no less) that therefore would make any boat of themself they for the standard to be a support of the support

phecy true, which was: That Cities are fale from danger, when the chief Magiftrates and Governous (by some good divine fortune) do govern with without and the contraction of the contra nother in the felf fame matter for Apollodorus; they being both adversaries. Further, he was defamed money taket.

was banished as a thief. The banishment of the other was for as honourable an act as ever he did, being Divers causes banished for ridding his Countrey of wicked men. And therefore of Demosthenes, there was no speech of the banish after he was gone : but for Cicero, all the Senate changed their apparel into black, and determined that ment of Demofthey would pass no decree by their authority, before Cicero's banishment was revoked by the People. thenes and Ci-Indeed Cicero idly passed his time of banishment, and did nothing all the while he was in MACEDON: and one of the chiesest acts that Demossberes did, in all the time that he dealt in the affairs of the Com-

that was death: whereby he faved himself out of the fouldiers hands of the Tyrant, and also scorned citero's death.

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Ant Christ

How fenfes and arts do a. gree and differ



HO light likened Arts to our Senies, feemeth to have respected especially that one property of them both, in receiving objects of contrary quality: for, in the use and end of filtir operation, there is great difference. The Senies reteive indifference. rently, without diffretion and judgement, white and black, foreer and fowre, foft and hard : for their office is onely to admit their feveral objects, and to carry and refer the judgement thereof to the common lende. But Arts being the perirection of Reason, receive and allow those things onely which make for their operation, regarding and etherwing the contractis. The one chiefly, and or the other by way, and with intent to avoid them. So Physick dealeth with Difeates, Musick with

Diffcords, to theend to remove them, and work their contraries. And the great Ladies of all other Arts, Temperance, Justice, and Wildom, do not onely confider honesty, uprightness, and profit: but examine withall, the nature and effects of lewdness, corruption and damage. And innocency, which vaunteth her want of experience in undue practife, men call simplicity, and ignorance of sings that be necessary and good to be known. And therefore the ancient LACEDEMONIANS in their The manner of folemn feafts forced their Itotis the bondmen, to overcharge themselves with Wine; and such The manner of toleran teaths forced their 110155 the bondamen, to overcharge themselves with Wishe; and such the spartant of they shewed them unto their youth, by their apparent beaffliness of drunken then, to work in them an abborring so loathsome vice. Wherein although I cannot much prasse them for dumanity of wildow, that corrupt and spoil one man, by example of him, to correct and reclaim another: yet (as I hope) it shall not be represented in their it amongst the rest I put in one or two pair of such, as living in great place and account, have encreased their faithe with infamy. Which in truth, I do not to held and desire the base will restaur to what the passe will restaur to the control of the passe with the sales with the s not, to please and draw on the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction the The ax w Musicinot, to please and draw on the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report, but as I fraction and the Reader will variety of report will be a second and the Reader will be a seco an shewed his Scholars, both those that strake a clean strough, with, Do so; and such a bongled it with, Do not for and Anigenidas thought men flould like better, and with great defice contend for skill, if they heard and difference ununable notes: fo think I, we shall be the forwarder in reading and following the good, it we know the lives, and feethe deformity of the wicked. This treaty containeth the Lives of Demitrion, furnamed the Fort-gainer, and M. Anthony the Tribbing, and great examples to confirm the laying of Plane; That from great minds both great vertues and great vices do proceed. They were both given over to Women and Wine, both Valuncand Liveral, both Sumptuous and High-minded : fortune ferved them both alike, not onely in the course of their lives in attempting great matters, formetimes with good, formetimes with ill fuccels, in getting and lofting things of great confequence, overthrowing both when they feared not, reftoring both when they hoped not: but also in their end there was no great difference, the one brought to his death by his mortal Enemies, and the others Fortune not fo much unlike. But now to our Hiftory. Antigonal had

describing the lives of the wicked.

Plate of vertue

two Sons by his wife Seratonice, the daughten of Confesto, the one of them he named Demetrius. and the other Philip after his fathers hand, militus far the milit writers do agree; howbeit fome hold reninge, spinion, that Demetrius was not the Son of ed migorius; but his Nephew. But because his father died leaving him a child, and that his mother was ftraight married again unto Antigonus, thereupon came the reportulat he was Antigonal long Howloever it was, Philip, that was not much younger then Demerring died. Now for Demerring though he was a nerry big man, he was nothing to high as The death of his father, this ver fo passing and wonderfull fair, that no Painter could possibly draw his picture Philip the and counterfeir to his likeness. For they faur a sweet countenance, mixed with a kind of gravity in younger bo his face, a fear with courtefies and incomparable Princely Majefty, accompanied with a lively spirit ther of Demcthis face, a rear-with counterty and marmers were futh, that they were both fearfull, and pleasant into men Demorrhis that frequented him. For as he was most pleasant in company having leifure, and most given to banquetting, pleasant life, and more wantonly given to follow lust and pleasure, then any King that e- Demetring ver was: fo was he always wery carefull and diligent in dispatching matters of importance. And manners. therefore he marvelloully commended, and also endeavoured to follow Deenyfus (as much to fay, as Bacchus) above all the other gods, as he that had been a wife and valiant Captain in war, and that in peace invented and used all the pleasure that might be. He marvellously loved and reverenced his father, and it feemeth that the dutifulness be shewed unto his mother, was more to discharge the due Demetrius love Obedience and duty of a fon, then otherwise to entertain his father, for fear of his power, or to his father, hope to be his heir. And for proof hereof we read, that one day as he came home from hunting, he went unto his father Anrigonus, giving andience to certain Ambassadors; and after he had done his duev to him, and kiffed him, he fate down by him even as he came from hunting, having his darts in his hand; which he carried our a hunting with him. Then Antigonia calling the Ambaffadors alond to they went their way, having received their answer : My Lords, said he, you shall carry home this report of my fon and me, be witneffes I pray you, how we live one with another. As meaning to thew thereby that the agreement betwirt the tather and the fon together, is a great fafety to the affairs of a King, as also a manifest proof of his greatness to jealous is a King to have a compani. A King can a. on, besides the liate and mistrust it should breed. So that the greatest Prince and most ancientest of bide no equal. all the forceffors of Alexander; boatted, that he stood not in fear of his fon, but did fuffer him to fit by him; having a dart in his hand. So was this house onely of all other the MACEDONIAN Kings, leaft defiled with fuch villany, many forcessions after : and to confess a troth, in all Antigonus race there was not one but Philip onely, that flew his own Son. But we may have many examples of The sport of divers other houses of Kings, that have put their fons, wives, and mothers to death : and for their the East Kings brethren, it was an ordinary thing with them to kill them, and never fluck at it. For like as Geome-own children, there would have men grant them certain propolitions which they suppose, without proof: even wives, and mo-To was this holden for a general rule, to kill their brethren, for the lafety of their eftate. But fur- thers. Ther, to thew you more plainly that Demetrine was of a noble and courteous nature, and that he Demetrius dearly loved his friends, we may alledge this example. Mithridates the fon of Ariobarzanes, was courtefie. his familiar friend and companion (for they were both in manner of an age) and he commonly followed Antigonal Court, and never practifed any villany or treason to him, neither was he thought Tuch a man : yet Anisgonia did Somewhar suspect him, because of a dream he had. He thought that being in a goodly great field, he lowed of the ferapings of gold, and that of that feed, first of all came up goodly wheat which had ears of gold : howbeit thortly after returning that way again. The found northing but the ftraw; and the cars of the wheat out off; and that he being very angry and Forry for it; forme told him, that Michridates had cut off these golden ears, and had carried them with him into the Realm of PONT. Antigonia being marvelloully troubled with this dream, after he Titl made his fon fwear unto him that he would make no man alive privy to that he would tell him. he told him all his dream what he had dreamed, and therewith that he was determined to put this yoing man Milbridates to death. Demersion was marvellously forry for it, and therefore the next morning, this young noble Prince going as he was wont; to pale the time away with Mitbridates, be durft not by word of mouth utter that he knew, because of his oath : howbeit, taking him afide from his other familiars when they were both together by themselves, he wrote on the ground with the thd of his dart, Mithridates looking on him ? Fly Mithridates. Mithridates found ftraight what he Demetrius faintenti, and field the very fame night into CAP PADOCIA; and shortly after it was his destiny to fulfill ved Mibrida-"Millional dream." For he conquered many goodly Countries, and it was he onely that established to life. the four of the Kingdom of Pont, the which the Romans afterwards overthrew, about the Kingdom of Pont, which the Romans afterwards overthrew, about the Kingdom of Pont. eighth fucceffien. By thele examples we may easily conjecture the good nature and courtefie of Deme- *Because he Trisis. For like as the Elements (according to Empedocles opinion) are ever at * ftrife together, but faid, that love specially those that are nearest each to other : even so, though all the successors of Alexander were at and discord continual Wars together, yet was it soonest kindled, and most cruell between them which bordered efficient causes mearest unto each other, and that by being near neighbours had alwaies occasion of brawl together, of generation as fell out at that time between Antigonia and Prolomy. This Antigonia lay most commonly in the and corruption Country of Prix or A : who having intelligence that Prolomy was gone into Cyprus, and that he of all things. over-ran all STRTA; winning by force, or fair means, all the Towns and Cities subject unto Enmity behim, he fent his fon Demerrias thinher, being at that time but two and twenty years of age; and twist Antigo-'it was the first time that ever he took charge, as General to his father, in matters of great amport Democratic Ge-fance. But he being a young man, and that field no skill of Wars, fighting a battle with an old foul neral to Antidier (trained up in the discipline of Wars under Alexander the Great, and that through him, and gonas against

DEMETRIDE

Demetrisa 0-

Demetrius

Demetrius in-

thens for Caffander.

in his name, had fought many great bateles) was foom questhoom, and his Army put to flight, by the City of GA & A. A. which overthoom, were flain five thouland substant and almost eight though fand taken: and besides, Demetrius lost his Tents and Parthiotis, his goldand silver, and to be short all his whole carriage. But Ptolomy fent him all his things again, add his friends also that were tony.

The bountiful taken after the battle, with great courseous words i thanke would not fight with them for all things. nels of Pistony together, but onely for honour and Empire, Demetring receiving them at his hands, belought the the conqueror, gods that he might not long live a debtoe unto Pristanyi for his greatessurefie, but shat he might quickly require it with the like again. Now Demetrine took not this overhow like a young man though it was his first fouldier-fare : but like an old and grife Gapusio, that had abidden many overthrows, he used great diligence to gather men again, to make newsolermours, and to keep the Citites and Countries in his hands under obedience, and did train; and tracrefic his fundings in arms, whom he had gathered together. Antigemes having news of the openhabow of his fon Demetria, whom he had gathered together. Antigemes having news of the openhabow of his fon Demetria, and that afterwards he should fight faid no more, but that Ptolomy had overcome heardless men; and that afterwards he should fight with bearded men. Bur now, because hie would not discourage his son altogether, who staved leave once again to fight a battle with Piolomy, the granted him. 1: So, thotaly after came Citter; Prolomer Generall, with a great puillant Army, to drive him altogether out of Syrain : for they made no great account of Demetrius , because he had once been overthrown before. Howbeit Demetring, Dometriar vi- ftole upon him, gave him charge on the fudden, and made him to afraid, that he took both the there of Pulse Camp and the General, with leventhouland priloners befoles, and wanta marvellous treasure of money : which made him a glad man, not fo much for the gain he thould have by it, as for the opportunity he had thereby to come out of Prolomy's debt ; nothing regarding the treasure nor the honour helad gotten by this victory, but onely the benefit of his requitat of Prolomy's courtefe towards him. But yet he did nothing of his own head, before he had written to his father; and then receiving full grant and committion from him to dispose of all things as be, thought good, he sent back Cilles unto Prolomy, and all his other friends befides, with great and rich gifts which he bountfully bestowed on them. This missortune and overthrow did unterly put Pselomy out of all Syria, and brought Antigonus also from the City of CELENES, for the exceeding joy he had of this victory, as allo for the great defire he had to fee his fon. After that he fent Demerrins into ARABIA, against unto Ptolomy. a people called the NABATHENIANS, to conquer them the but there he was in great, danger and diffrels in the deferts for lack of water, howbeit he never shewed any fign that he was afraid Thereby he fo aftonied the barbarous people, that the had leifure enough to retire with fafety, and Demotrius inyaded Arabia. with a great booty of a thouland Camels, which he brought away with hum. About that time Selences (whom Antigonus hads driven from Barr 100 N) returning thisher again, he came and conquered it without other aid then of himfelf: and were with a great Army against the People and Nations coafitting upon the Indias, and the Provinces adjoying unto mount Gaucajus, 10 conquer them, Thereupon Demetrius hoping to find MESOPOTAMIA without any guard or defence, fuddenly paffed over the River of Euphrates, and came unlooked for unto Basylon, and there diffred the Garrison of Seleucus, that kept one of the Cattles or Citadelsofinibe City, being two of them; and then putting in feven thousand souldiers to keep shiem, he commanded the rest of his mento go what they could, and to bring it away with them. After that he marched towards the feator reun home, leaving thereby the Realm and Kingdom of Selences in better flate, and fatery, then it was when he invaded it. For it appeared that he had taken all the Country from Sciences, leaving him nothing in it, by spoiling and forraging all that was there. At this return home, news was brought him that Prolony lay at the fiege of the City of HALICARNASSUS; whereupon he drew thinker with speed to make him raife the siege, and thereby saved the City from him. Now because by this Antigonus and exploit they wan great fame, both of them (Antigonus and Demetrius) fell into a marvellous delire Demeritus do to, fet all Greece at liberty, the which Prolomy and Caffender kept in fervitude and bondage. Negrotout to fet of King took in hand a more honourable, nor juster Way and enterprise, then that was. For, what power or riches he could gather together, in opporching of the barbarous people; he bestowed it all in power or riches he could gather together, in opprefling of the barbarous people; he bestowed it all in refloring the GRECIAN'S to their liberty; and onely to win fame and honour by it. So, they being in confultation what way to take, to bring their purpole and defire to pals, and having taken order to begin first at ATHENS, one of Anigona chiefest friends about him, told him, that he should take the City, and place a good Garrison there for themselves, if they could once win it: for (laidbe) it will be a good bridge, to pais further into all GREECE. , Assignmer would not bear ken to that, but faid, that the love and good will of men was a furer bridge, and that the City of ATHENS was as a Beacon to all the land, the which would immediately make his doings thine through the world, as a Creffet light, upon the top of a keep or waith-tower. Thus Demetrism holled fail, having five thousand filver talents, and a Fleet of two hundred and fifty fail, and failed towards the City of ATHENS : in the which Demetrica PHALERIAN was Governour in the behalf of Politrian, Go- Caffander, and kept a strong Garrison where within the Haven and Castle of Mungenta. He had an excellent good wind to further his journey, fo that with this good forelight and, fpeed he made, he arrived in the Haven of PIREA, the five and weentieth day of the moneth Thangalian (now called May) before any man knew of his coming. Now when this Fleet was within a kenning of the City, and lefs, that they might eafily fee them from thence, every man prepared bimiled to receive them, taking them to be Protomies ships. But in fine, the Captains and Governours understanding 100 late who they were, did what they could to help themselves; but they were all in hurly burly, \$ men compelled to fight out of order, to keep their engages from landing, and to repute them, com-

in so suddenly upon them. Demetrins having found the bar of the Haven open launched in presently. Then being come to the view of them all, and standing upon the hatches of his Galley, he made figns with his hand, that he prayed filence. The tumult being pacified, he proclaimed aloud by one of his Heraulds, that his father had fent him in a happy hour to deliver the ATHENI-ANS from all their Garrisons, and to restore them again to their ancient liberty and freedom, to Demetrius reenjoy their laws and ancient government of their foreignhers. After the proclamation made, all the floreth the A. emoy their laws and anterior government government and their feet, to clap their hands their liberty with great shouts of joy: praying him to land, and calling him aloud, their Saviour and benefactor. Now for them that were with Demetrius PHALERIAN, they all thought good to let the

ftronger in, although he performed not that he promifed, and also sent Ambassadors unto him to

treat of peace. Demetrius received them very courteoully, and fent with them for pledge. one of

the dearest friends his father had, Aristodemus MILESIAN, Furthermore, he was not careless of the health and fafety of Demetrius PHALERIAN, who by reason of the change and alteration of

away the Garrison thence: and thereupon he cast trenches round about the Castle of Muny CHIA. In the mean feason because he would not be idle, he hoised fail, and coasted towards the City of

MEGARA, within the which Cassander also kept a strong Garrison. Demetrine busily following

these matters, was advertised that Cratesipolis, sirnamed Polyperchon (who had been Alexanders wife)

a Lady of paffing fame and beauty, and lay at that time in the City of PATRAS, would be glad to fee

him, he leaving his Army within the Territory of the MEGARIANS, took his journey presently unto her, with a few of his lightest armed men, and yet he stole from them, and made his Tent to

be fet up a good way from them, because this Lady might not be seen, when she came unto him. Some

of his enemies having present intelligence thereof, came and set upon him before he knew it. Deme-

not shamefully taken of his enemies for his incontinency. But though they missed him, they took

free. It is true, O King (quoth he) for thou haft left us never a flave. Shortly after, he returned a-

gain unto ATHENS, and laid fiege to the Caltle of Muny CHIA, the which he took, and drave out the Garrison, and afterwards razed it to the ground. After that, through the entreaty and earnest

defire of the ATHENIANS, who prayed him to come and refresh himself in their City, he made his entry into it, and caused all the people to affemble, and then restored unto them their ancient Demetrius re-

which they gave him. For first of all, they called Antigonus and Demetrius Kings, who before that by the Athense

time had always refused the name, and the which (among all other princely honours and prerogatives and

granted) they that had divided between them the Empire of Philip and Alexander, durft never once

prefume to challenge nor to take upon them. So unto them onely they gave the file and names of the gods faviours, and took away their yearly Major, whom they called Eponymes, because they did them the years of old time by the names of them that had been Majors. Furthermore, in stead

thereof they ordained in the Council of the City, that there should yearly be chosen one by voices of

the people, whom they should name the Priest of their faviours, whose name they should write and

Subscribe in all publick grams and covenants, to shew the year: and besides all this, that they should

cause their pictures to be drawn in the weil or holy banner, in the which were set out the images of

their gods, the Patrons and Protectors of their City. And furthermore they did confecrate the place

where Demetrius first came out of his Coach, and there did see up an Altar, and called it Demetrius

the Government of the Commonwealth of ATHENS, flood more in fear of the people of A-THENS, then of his enemies. Therefore Demetrius regarding the fame and vertue of the man, Demetrius And caused him to be conveyed (according to his desire) unto THEBES, with good and sufficient safe conduct. And for Demetriss himself, although he was very desirous to see the City, he said he would reth Demetriss not come into it, before he had first restored it unto her ancient liberty and freedom, and also driven Phalerian.

trim was fo fcared, that he had no further leifure, but to cast an ill-savoured cloak about him, the Demetriardanfirst that came to hand, and disguising himself to fly for life, and scaped very hardly, that he was ger for lechery.

his tent and all his money in it. After that the City of MEGARA was taken and wan from Cassan Demetriat winder's men, where Demetricus fouldiers would have facked all : howbeit the ATHENIANS made hum- neth the City ble intercession for them, that they might not be spoiled. Demetring thereupon, after that he had of Megara, and ble intercetted to the finding that the property of the proper answered him, they had not : for (quoth he) I saw no man that took my learning from me. This not- Megara withfranding, all the flaves of the City were in a manner carried away. Another time, Demetrine Stilpo's fayings making much of him, as he was going his way, faid unto him. Well, Stilpo, I leave you your City unto Demetri

Laws and Liberty of their Country; promiting them besides, that he would procure his sather to storeth the Asend them an hundred and sitty thousand bushels of Wheat, and as much wood and timber as should them any ferve to make them an hundred and fifty Galleys. Thus the ATHENIANS, through Demetring their laws and liberty. means, recovered the Democratia again (to wit, their popular government) fifteen years after Democratia po they had loft it, and lived all the time between their lofs and restitution from the War called Lami-pular governacus War, and the battle that was fought by the City of CRANON, in the State of Oligarchia, to met wit, under the government of a few governments in fight, but in truth a Monarchy or King. Oligarchis, the dom, because they were under the government of one man Demersian Phalerian that government of the properties of the proper had an absolute authority over them. But by this means they made their faviour and preserver Too much hoof their Countrey, Demetrism (who feemed to have obtained fuch honour and glory through his hours decreed goodness and liberality) hatefull and odious to all men, for the over-great and unmeasurable honours to Demotrius

DEMETRIUS.

737

The boldness of Stratocles Athenian.

Altar coming out of his Coach ; and unto their tribes they added two other, the ANTIGONIDES, and the DEMETEIADES. Their great Council at large, which they created yearly of five hundred men. was then first of all brought unto fix hundred, because every tribe must needs furnish of themselves fifty Counsellours. But yet the strangest act, and most new-found invention of flattery, was that of Stratocles (being the common flatterer and people-pleaser) who put forth this decree, by the which it was ordained: That those whom the Commonwealth should send unto Antigonus and Demerrius, should inftead of Ambaffadors be called Theori, as much to fay, as, Minifters of the Sacrifices. For fo were they called, when they fent to Delphos to Apollo Pythias, or unto Elide to Jupiter Olympias, at the common and folemn feafts of all GREECE, to do the ordinary facrifices and oblations for the health and preservation of the Cities. This Stratocles in all things else was a desperate man, and one that had always led a wicked and diffolute life: and for his shameless boldness, he seemed wholly to defend the Reps of Cleons tool-hardiness and old infolency, which (when he lived) he shewed unto the people. He openly kept a harlot in his house, called Phylacion. One day she having bought for his supper, Stratelles cruel beafts leads and necks commonly eaten, he faid unto her: Why, how now ? thou half bought me acates which we tofs like balls, that have to do in the Commonwealth. Another time when the Army of the ATHENIANS was overthrown by fea, by the Isle of AMORGOS, he would needs prevent the news of this overthrow, and came through the freet of Ceranicus crowned with Garlands of flowers, as if the ATHENIANS had won the battle : and was also the author of a decree whereby they did sacrifice unto the gods, to give them thanks for the victory; and meat was given amongst every tribe, in token of common joy. But thortly after the messengers arrived, which brought report of the shipwrack and overthrow. The people were in an uproar withall, and fent for Stratocles in a marvellous rage. But he with a face of brais came unto them, and arrogantly defended the peoples ill will, and angrily told them : well, and what hurt have I done you, if I have made you merry thefe two days? Such was Stratocles impudency and raftnels. But, as the Poet Aristophanes faith :

But hotter matters were that time in hand, Then fire that wasteth both by sea and land.

For there was another that passed Stratocles in knavery, who procured a decree, that as often as Demetriss came into the City of ATHENS, he should be received with all ceremonies and like solemnity, as they use in the feasts of Ceres and Bacchu: and further, that they should give unto him that did excell all the rest in sumptuousnels and riches at such time as Demetrius made his entry into the City, so much money out of the common treature as thould ferve to make an image or other offering, which should be confectated to the Temples in memory of his liberality. And last of all, they changed the The moneth of name of the moneth Munichion (to wit, the moneth of January) and called it Demetrion: and the last Manythin al-day of the moneth, which they called before, The new and old Moon, they then called it the Demetered, and called the District of the Moon tered, and cal-ted Demetrion triade: and the feafts of Bacchus also, called then Dionysia, they presently named Demetria, But for the honour the gods by divers figus and tokens shewed plainly, that they were offended with these changes and alterations. For the holy banner: in the which (according to the order fet down) they had painted Antigains and Demetries, with the pictures of Jupiter and Minerva, as-they carried it a procession through the Street Ceranics, it was torn afunder in the midft by a tempeft of wind. And furthermore, about the Altars which were fet up in the honour of Demetrius and Antigonus, there grew a great deal Hemlock, the of Hemlock, the which otherwife was unpossible to grow there. On the feast day also of Bacchas, of Hemock, the which otherwise was algorithms by were compelled to leave the pomp or procedion for that day, it was such an extrean bard frost out they were compelled to leave the pomp or procedion for that day, it was such as few with the just they were compelled to leave the few fell such a mil.dew and great frost upon it, that not onely their Vines with the fell such as they were compelled to leave the pomp or procedion for that day, it was such as few and they were compelled to leave the pomp or procedion for that day, it was such as few and they were compelled to leave the pomp or procedion for that day, it was such as few and they were compelled to leave the pomp or procedion for that day, it was such as few and they were compelled to leave the pomp or procedion for that day, it was such as few and they were compelled to leave the pomp or procedion for that day, it was such as few and they were compelled to leave the pomp or procedion for that day, it was such as few and they were compelled to leave the pomp or procedion for that day, it was such as few and they were compelled to leave the pomp or procedion for that day, it was such as few and they were compelled to leave the pomp or procedion for the pomp of the pom win the juice of all feason: and besides, there fell such a mil-dew and great frost upon it, that not onely their Vines polfoned often- and Olives were killed with it, but also the most part of the Wheat blades which were newly sprung up, ders at Athens. And therefore the Poet Philippides (an enemy of the forefaid Stratocles) in one of his Comedies Philippides the Writeth certain verses against him to this effect :

The party for whose wickedness the weil was rent in twain, Which wish the honour due to God did wor hip men most vain, Is be for whom our budding Vines were blasted with the frost, Those things and not our Comedies have us so dearly cost.

This Philippides was very well beloved of King Lysimachus, informed that for his fake the King had done many pleasures to the Commonwealth of ATHENS. For he loved him so dearly, that as of ten as he faw him, or niet with him at the beginning of any war, or matter of great importance, he was of opinion that he brought him good luck. For indeed he did not for much efteen him for the excellency of his art, but he wasmuch more to be beloved and efteemed for his vertuous and honel, conditions. He was no troublefome man, neither was he infected with the finencis of Courts, as he shewed one day when the King made much of him, and giving him good countenance, faid unto Philippates no him: What wilt thou have me give thee of my things Philippides? Even what it shall please thee, O table nower King, fo it be none of thy fecrets. Thus much we thought good to fpeak of him in by-talk, because the first the first three fi unto King Ly- an honeft Player of Comedies should match with a shamelels and impudent Orator of the people, But yet there was another Demselides, of the village of Spharagus, that dreamed out a more this fecreu.

But yet there was another Demselides, of the village of Spharagus, that dreamed out a more firange kind of honour, touching the confecration of their Taygesta, which they dedicated to the Temple of Apollo in Dalphos, that is to fay, that they should go and ask the Oracle of Demetrial. But I will shew you the very effect and form of the law, as it was fet down. In good hour, the production of the law, as it was fet down. In good hour, the production of the law, as it was fet down. the people ordain that he should be chosen one of the Citizens of ATHENS, which shall go unto

our faviour : and after that he hath done due facrificeunto him, he shall ask Demetrins our faviour. after what fort the people shall with greatest holiness and devotion, without delay, make confectation of their holieft gifts and offerings: and according to the Oracle it shall please him to give them, the people shall duly execute it. Thus laying upon Demetrins all these foolish mockeries, who besides was no great wile man, they made him a very fool. Demetrius being at that time at leifure in ATHENS, Demetrius marwas no great whe man, my man the married a widdow called Eurydice, which came of that noble and ancient house of Militades, and ried unto Europe had been married before unto one Ophelias Prince of the CYRENIANS, and after his death returned a- dice at Atheres

gain to ATHENS. The ATHENIANS were very glad of this marriage, and thought it the greatest honour came to their City, supposing he had done it for their fakes. Howbeit he was soon won to be Demetrius had married, for he had many wives, but amongst them all he loved Phila best, and gave her most honour many wives roand preheminence above them all, partly for the respect of her father Antipater; and also for that she phila Demohad been first married unto Craterus, whom the MACEDONIANS loved best when he lived, and most triss wife Anlamented after his death above all the other successors of Alexander. His father, I suppose, made him tipaters daughto marry her by force, although indeed her years was not meet for him: for was marvellous young, tet, and Craznaud file very old. And when Demerrius feemed not to be contented withall, his father rounded him The judgement

foftly in the ear with this faving :

Refuse no woman ne'r so old; Whose marriage bringeth store of gold. Wherein he cunningly alluded to these verses of Eurypides.

Refuse not to become a thrall where lucre may ensue withall.

and obedience.

But so much did Demetrius honour his wife Phila, and all his other wives he married, that he was not ashamed to keep a number of Curtizans, and other mens wives besides: so that he onely of all other Kings in his time, was most detected with this vice of letchery. While these things passed on in this fort, he was commanded by his father to fight with Ptolomy for the Realm of Cyprus. So there was no remedy but he must needs obey him, although otherwise he was very forry to leave the War he had begun, to fet the GRECIANS at liberty, the which had been far more honourable and famous. Howbeit, beforehe departed from ATHENS, he fent unto Cleonides Ptolomy's General, that kept the Cities of CORINTH and SICYONE, to offer him money if he would fet their Cities at liberty. But Cleonides would not be dealt withall that way. Thereupon Demetrius straightway took sea, and failed with all his Army towards Cy PRUS, where at his first coming he overcame Menelaus Ptolomy's brother. But shortly after, Ptolomy went thither in person with a great Army both by sea and land, and there paffed betwirt them fierce threatnings and proud words to each other. For Ptolomy feff to Demetrius to bid him depart if he were wife, before all his Army came together : which would tread him under their feet, and march upon his belly if he tarried their coming. Demetrius on the other fide fent him word, he would do him this favour to let him escape, if he would swear and promise unto him to withdraw his Garrisons which he had in the Cities of CORINTH and SICYONE. So the expectation of this battle made these two Princes not onely very pensive to fight one with the other, but also all the other Lords, Princes, and Kings: because the success thereof was uncertain, which of them two should prevail. But every man judged this, that which of them obtained the victory, he should not onely be Lord of the Realm of CY PRUS, and SYRIA, but therewith also of greater power then all the rest. ProBattle by sea in
Lord of the Realm of CY PRUS, and SYRIA, but therewith also of greater power then all the rest. ProBattle by sea in
Lord of the Realm of CY PRUS, and SYRIA, but the removal to the land of the land o Menelans, that when he saw them saft grapled in fight together, he should launch out of the haven of SA- prus betwire LAMINA, and give charge upon the rereward of Demetrius ships, to break their order, with the three- Demetrius and score Galleys he had in charge. Demetrius on the other side prepared ten Galleys against these three- Ptolomy. fcore, thinking them enough to choak up the havens mouth being but narrow, fo that none of the Galleys that were within could come out: and furthermore, he dispersed his Army by land upon the foreland points which reach unto the fea, and went himfelf into the main fea with nine fcore Galleys, and gave fuch a fierce charge upon Prolomy, that he valiantly made him fly. Who when he faw his Army Denetring view, fled as speedily as he could with eight Galleys onely: for all the rest were either broken or Gory of Prolom funk in fight, and those eight onely escaped, besides threescore and ten which were taken, and all my. their fouldiers in them. And as for his carriage, his train, his friends, his officers and houshold fervants, his wives, his gold and filver, his armour, engines of battery, and all fuch other warlick furniture and munition as was conveyed aboard his caricts and great ships riding at Anchor: of all these things nothing escaped Demetrius hands, but all was brought into his Camp. Among those spoils things nothing eleaped Demetrius nanos, but all was brought into ins. Callip. Alliong more ipons also was taken that famous Curtizan Lamia, who at the first had her name onely for her passing play—Lamia the famous Curtizan ing upon the flute: but after the fell to Curtizan trade, her countenance and credit encreased the more taken by Deme-So that even then when her beauty through years fell to decay, and that she found Demetrius much trius, upon the younger then her felf, yet she so wan him with her sweet conversation and good grace, that he defeating of onely liked her, and all the other women liked him. After this victory by fea, Menelaus made no more Protony refiftance, but yielded up SALAMINA and his ships unto Demetrius, and put into his hands also salamina yielded up to Demetwelve hundred horsemen, and twelve thousand footmen well armed. This fo famous and trium-trius. phant victory was yet much more beautified by Demerrius great bounty and goodness, which he shewed in giving his enemies slain in battle honourable funerals, setting the prisoners at liberty without ransom paying, and giving moreover twelve hundred compleat armours unto the ATHENIA

Wonders.

1.10

DEMETRIUS ANS. After this Demersion fent Areftodemus MILESIAN unto his father Antigonus, totell him by word of mouth the news of this victory. Ariffodemus was the greatest flatterer in all Antigonus Court, nooriousta- who devited then (as it feemeth to me) to add unto this exploit the greatest flattery possible. For when teret in Anihe had taken land after he was was come out of the Isle of CY PRUS, he would in no wife have the ship he came in, to come near the shoar, but commanded them to ride at Anchor, and no man so hardy to leave the ship: but he himself got into a little boat, and went unto Ansigonus, who all this while was in a marvellous fear and perplexity for the fuccels of this battle, as men may eafily judge they are which hope after to great uncertainties. Now when word was brought him that Ariftodemus was coming to him all alone, then was he worfe troubled then afore, infomuch that he could frant keep within doors himself, but sent his servants and friends one after another to meet Aristodemus, to ask him 4 what news, and to bring him word prefently again how the world went. But not one of them could get any thing out of him, for he went on ftill fair and fortly with a fad countenance, and very denurely, speaking never a word. Wherefore Antigonus heart being cold in his belly, he could stay no longer, but would him go and meet with Arifodemus at the gate, who had a marvelous prace of people following of him, befides those of the Court which ran out to hear his answer. At length when he came near unto Antigonus, holding out his right, hand unto him, he cried out aloud: God fave thee, O King Antigonus: we have overcome King Ptolomy in battle by sea, and have won the Realm of Cyprus, with ixteen thousand and eight hundred prisoners. Then answered Anisonus: And God fave the too. Truly Arifodan us thou haft kept us in a trance a good while, but to punish thee for the pain thou haft put us to, thou shalt the later receive the reward of thy good The first time news. Then was the first time that the people with a loud voice called Antigonus and Demetrins Antigonus and Kings. Now for Antigonus, his friends and familiars did at that instant put on the royal band or Dia-Demetrias were dem upon his head: but for Demetrias, his father fent it unto him, and by his Letters called him King. They also that were in ÆGY PT with Prolomy, understanding that, did call and falute him by the name of King : because it should not feem that for one overthrow received, their hearts were dead. Thus this ambition by jealoufie and emulation went from man to man to all Alexanders successors. For Lysimachus then also began to wear the Diadem, and likewise Selencus, as often as he spake with the GRECIANS: for before that time, he dealt in matters with the barbarous people as a King. But Caffander, though others wrote themselves Kings, heonely subscribed after his wonted manner. Now this was not onely an encrease of a new name, or changing of apparell, but it was such an honour, as it lift up their hearts, and made them frand upon themselves : and besides, it so framed their manner Note the force of life and conversation with them, that they grew more proud and stately then ever they were before: like unto common Players of Tragedies, who apparelling themselves to play their partsupon the Stage, do change their gate, their countenance, their voice, their manner of fitting at the tale, of flattery by and their talk also. So that afterwards they grew more cruel in commanding their subjects, when they had once taken away the vizor and diffigulation of their absolute power, which before make Antigons and them far more lowly and gentle in many matters unto them. And all this came through one vile flatterer, that brought such a wonderfull change in the world. Antigonus therefore puffed up with journy against the glory of the victory of his fon Demetrine, for the conquest of Cyprus, he determined forthwith to fet upon Prolomy. Himself led the Army by land, having his son Demetrius still rowing by the Medius dream. Shore side with a great Fleet of ships. But one of his familiars called Medius, being alleep, had a vision one night that told him, what should be the end and success of this journey. He thought he saw Amigonus run with all his Army, who should have the upper hand; and that at the first he ran with great force and fwiftness, but that afterwards his strength and breath failed him so much, that when he should return, he had scant any pulse or breath, and with much ado retired again. And even so it chanced unto him. For Antigonus by land was efficient in great danger: and Demetriat alto by fea was often in hazard to leave the coast, and by storm and weather to be cast into places where was neither Haven, Creeks, nor Harbour for thips. And at length having loft a great number of his ships, he was driven to return without any attempt given. Now Antigonus was at that time little less then fourfcore years old, but yet his fat and corpulent body was more cumberson to him then his years: therefore being grown unmeet for wars, he used his son in his place. Who sor that he was fortunate, as also skillul through the experience he had gotten, did wifely govern the weightieft matters. His father befides did not pals for flis youthfull parts, lavish expences and conmon drunkennels he gave himfelf unto. For in time of peace, he was given over to all these vies: but in time of War, he was as fober and continent as any man fo born by nature. And therefore it is reported, that Lamia being manifestly known to be mistress over him, one day when he was come from hunting, he came (as his manner was) to kils his father: and that Antigonus fmiling upon him, faid: What, how now fon, doest thou think thou are kissing of Lamia? Another time Demefon Demetriat. Trias was many days together drinking and rioting, and faw not his father: and then to excuse him-

felf unto him, he told him he had gotten a Rheume that made him keep his chamber, that he could

not come to him. So I heard, faid Antigonus, but was it of THASOS or CHIOS that Rheume be

Spake of ? because that in either of those two Islands, there were excellent good wines. Another

time Demetrias fent his father word, that he was not well : thereupon Antigonus went to fee him,

and coming thinher, he met a fair young boy at his door. So he went up to his chamber, and

fitting down by his beds fide, he took him by the hand to feel his pulfe. Demetrist told him that his

Feaver had left him but a little before. I know it well (faid Antigonus) for I met the young boy c

ven at the door as I came in. So Ansigonus did gently bear with his fons faults, in respect of the

many other vertues he had. The voice goeth, that the SCYTHIANS, when they are disposed to drink drunk together, do divers times twang the strings of their bows, as though that would serve to A strange cu keep the strength of their courage and hardines, which otherwise the pleasantness of the wine stome of the would take from them. But Demetrius gave himself to one thing onely at one self time: sometime to Sejthians in rake his pleasure, fometime to deal in matters of weight; and in all extremity heever used but one of nels. them, and would never mingle the one with the other: and yet this notwithstanding, he was no less politick and circumspect to prepare all manner of munition for wars. For as he was a wife Captain Demetrius a politick and circumpect to project to project to project to the politic and politic to lead an Army, fo was he also very carefull to provide all things meet for their furniture, and would skilled Captuber have too much then too little. But above all, he exceeded in fumptious building of fhips, and thin, and an army the project of the framing of all forts of engines of battery, and especially for the delight he took to invent and devise wright. them. For he had an excellent naturall wit to devife such works as are made by wit and hand, and did not befrow his wit and invention in handy-crafts, in trifling toys and bables : as many other Kings that have given themselves to play on Flutes, others to paint and draw, and others also to Turners craft. As «Егоры King of Macbon, who delighted to make fine tables and pretty lamps. And Sundrydelights Attalus, firnamed Philometor (to fay, lover of his mother) that would plant and fet Phylicall Herbs, of Pinces. as Helleborum , Lingwort , or Bears-foot , Hoscynamum , Henbane , Cicuta , Hemlock , Aconitum , Libardbain or Wolf-bain, and Dorycnium: for the which we have no English word: all these would he fet himself with his own hands in the Gardens of his own Pallace, and also gather them in time of the year, to know the vertue and power of them. Or as Arfaces the Kings of PARTHIA, that boafted they could themselves make their Arrows heads, and sharpen them. But the Artisicers works which Demetrins practifed, shewed that they came from a King. For his manner of workmanship had a certain greatness in it, the which even with the subtilty and fineness of his Demetrius works, shewed the trim handling of the workman: so that they appeared not onely worthy the works understanding and riches of a King, but also the forging and making by the hands of a great King, For his friends did not onely wonder at their greatness, but his very enemies also were delighted with the beauty of them. And this is more true then meet to be spoken: the enemies could not but marvell when they saw his Galleys rowing along the coast, with fifteen or fixteen banks of Oars: and his Engines of battery which they called Elepolis (as much to say, Engines to take Cities) were a spectacle of great admiration unto those whom he besseged, as the events following did throughly witness. For Lysmachus, who of all other Kings did malice Demetrius most, coming to raife the fiege from the City of SOLLI in CILICIA, the which Demetrius befieged, he fent unto him to pray him to let him fee his Engines of battery, and his Galleys rowing upon the fea. De- Demetrius bemetrius granting him, Lyfimachus returned with wonderfull admiration. The RHODIANS allo fieged Rhodes baving long time defended his fiege, at the laft made peace with him, and prayed him to leave forme one of his Engines with them, for a perpetuall testimony and remembrance both of his power, and also of their courage and valiantness. The cause why Demetrius made war with the RHODI-ANS, was, because they were consederates with King Ptolomy : he brought against their walls the The descriptigreatest Engine he had, the foot whereof was like a tile, more long then broad, and at the base on of Demetrion either fide it was eight and fourty cubits long, and threefcore and fix high, rifing ftill narrow as greatest eneven to the very top : fo that the upper parts were narrower then the nether, and within it were gine of battery many pretty rooms and places conveyed for fouldiers; The forepart of it was open towards the called Elepolis. enemy, and every room or partition had windows, out of which they bestowed all kind of shot, because they were full of armed men fighting with all forts of weapons. But now, because it was so well framed and counterpoited, that it gave no, way, nor reeled on either fide, which way foever the removed it, but that it flood faft and upright upon her foundation, making a terrible noise and found, that made the work as wonderfull to behold, as it was a marvellous pleature for men to fee it. In this war were brought unto Demetrius two notable armors weighing fourty pounds a piece, and made by one Zoilas an armorer, who to thew the hardiness and goodness of the tem-per, infered them to be proved and thot at, at fixfeore paces, with the Engines of their battery: and made of notaalbeit the armours were shot at and hit, yet were they never pierced, and but onely a little race or ble temper by feratch feen, as it were of a bodkin or penknife, and had no more hurt. Demetrius always wore one Zoilus an Ar of them in these wars, and Alcimus Albanian the other, the strongest and valiantest man he morer. had in all his hoaft, and that onely carried a compleat armour weighing fixfcore pounds, where all Alcinus Alother fouldiers wore none above threefcore. This Aleimon was flain at RHODES, valiantly fight-banian, wore at ing by the Theater. In this fiege the RHODIANS did valiantly defend themselves, that Dense-terius could do no act worthy memory. This notwithstanding, although he saw he could not prevail, weight. but lose his time, yet was he the more obstinately bent against them, to be even with them, because The discourtethey had taken a ship of his, in the which his wife Phila had fent unto him certain hangings of Tape- diane ftry , Linnen, Apparell , and Letters , and because they had sent them all unto Prolomy as soon as they The great had taken them. But therein they did not follow the honest courteste of the ATHENIANS, who courteste of the having intercepted certain currers of King Philips that made war against them, they opened all the Athenians unto letters they carried, and read them, faving onely his wife Olympia's letters the fent him, the which King Philip. they fent unto King Philip fealed, as they were when they received them. Now though this part did much grieve him and offend him, yet he could not find in his heart to ferve them in that fort, when he might have done it not long after. For by chance at that time Protogenes an excellent Painter, born in CAUNUS, did pains them the draught of the City of IALYSUS. Demetrins found this table in a house in the suburbs of the City, being almost ended. The RHODIAN'S thereupon fending an Herauld unto

THE NIANS came happily to ferve both their defires , who made peace between their with these

conditions: that the RHODIANS should be confederates with Antigonas and Democritus against all

men, but Prolomy onely. The ATHENIANS fent for Demetrius, upon Caffanders coming to lay

MOPPLES, and there overthrew him in fet barrell, and received the City of HERACLEA, which

willingly yeelded unto him, and fix thou and MACEDONIAN'S that came unto him to take his part,

him, to befeech him to spare the defacing of so goodly a work, he returned them answer, that he Protegenchorn would rather fuffer his fathers images to be burne, then so excellent and passing a work as that to in the City of be lost and brought to nothing. For it is reported, that Protogent was seven years drawing of Comme an exthe fame: and it is faid also that expeller bimself when he faw it, did to wonder at it, that his speech cellent painter. failed him, and he ftood mute a long time, and at last faid : Surely this is a wonderfull piece of work, Protogenes and of great labour, yet doth it want those graces and ornaments whereby those that I paint do rach unto heaven. This table afterwards being brought to Rome, and hanged up with others, greatly com- was in the end burnt by fire. Now as the RHODIANS were defirous to be rid of this war, mended by A- and that Demetrize also was willing to take an honest occasion to do it, the Ambassadours of the Apuller himself.

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Demetrias con siege to their City: whereupon Demetrias infinediatly hossed sail towards Athens, with three cludeth peace hundred and thirty Galleys, and a great number of men of war befides; so that he did not onely with the Rho- drive Caffander out of the Province of ATTICA, but followed him even to the ftraight of THER-

Demetrius vi-Aories in Grecce.

The names of Currifans.

So in his return back, he fer all the GRECIANS at liberty on this fide the ftraight 1 he made a league with the BOROTIANS, and took the City of CENCREES, and the Caffles of PHYLE and PAN-ACTOS, in the frontiers and confines of ATTICA, in the which Caffander had left Garrisons to keep the Countrey in subjection : and after he had driven them out of the Countrey, he rendred the forts again unto the ATHENIANS. Therefore though it feemed the ATHENIANS had before bestowed to their uttermost power all kinds of honours that could be offered him, every man striving for life to prefer the fame, yet they found out new devices to flatter and please him. For they ordained that the place behind the temple of Mineros called Parthenon (as who would say, the temple of the Virgin) should be prepared for his house to lye in : and they said, that the goddes Minerva did lodge him with her. But to say truely, he was too unchast a guest, to think that a maiden goddes would be content he should lye with her. And yet his father: Anzigonsus perceiving that they had lodged his son Philip on a time in a house, where there were three young women, he said nothing to Palip himfelf, but before he fent for the Harbinger; and faid unto him: wilt thou het remove my for out of this straight lodging, and provide him of a better? And Dimetrius, that should have reverenced the goddels Minerous, though for no other respect but because he called her his eldest sister (for Demetriarwan- fo he would fhe should be called) he defiled all the Castle where was the temple of these holy virgins, with horrible and abominable infolencies, both rowards young boys of honeft houses, as also unto young wowen of the City. So that this place feemed to be most pure and holy, at fuch timess he lay with his common Curtifans, Christis, Lamia, Demo, and Anticyra. It shall not be greatly for the honour of the City of ATHERS, to tell particularly all the abominable parts he committed there. But Democles vertue and honefty deserveth worthy and condign remembrance. This De mocles was a young boy that had no hair on his face, of whose beauty Demetrins being informed by the firname he had, as commonly called through the City, Dimedia the fair, he fought direst ways to entice him, both by fair means, large promifes and gifts, and also with threats belides But when he faw no man could bring him to the bent of his bow, and that the young boy in thend feeing him fo importunate upon him, came no more to the common places of exercise, where other children uled to recreate themselver, and that to avoid the common stoves, he went to wash hingel in another fecret flowe: Demetring warthing his tinte and hour of going thither, followed and got in to him being alone. The boy feeing bimilest alone, and that he could not resist Demetri-#3, took off the cover of the Kertle or Cauldron where the water was boiling and leaping into it drowned himself. Truely he was unworthy of fo lamentable attend, but yet shewed a noble heart, worthy of his beauty and Countrey. But he did not as another called Cleanes to, the fon of Cleamedon, who brought letters from Demetrins, directed to the people, whereby through Demetrins intercession and request, his sathers sine of sifty talents in the which he was condemned and for nonpayment remained prisoner) was clearly remitted and forgiven. But by this act , he not onely shamed and dishonoured himself, but also troubled all the City. For the people thereupon released Cleamedon of his fine, but therewith they made a decree that no Citizen should dienceforth bring any more letters from Demetrius. But afterwards understanding that Demetrim was marvelloully of fended with this decree, they did not onely revoke their first decree; but they did also pur fone of them to death, which were the procurers and authors of the decree, and others also they banished. And further they made a law that the people of ATHENS frould account all religious to the gods, and just unto all men, whatsoever it pleased Demetrius to order that appoint. Ar that time there was one of the chiefest men of the City, that said Ny aroth; was a tital man to prefer such matters, indeed quoth Democharer suttained Lucowia to the were a mad man if he were otherwise; and he fpake it because this Stratecter had many great pleisfures at Demertiag! mils for this flattery. Howbeit, Demochares being accused and condemned upon these words, he was bandhed ATHENS. See the ATHENIANS how they used themselves, who Remed to be delivered from the Garriton they had before, and to be reflored with their former liberty and freedom. From thence Dametrius went into PELOPONNESUS, and never an enginy of his durit entry his coming, but all fied

Demetrius ourney into Peloconnefus.

before him, and left him their Caftles and Towns. Thus Demetrism wan unto himself all the Country called ACTE, and all ARCHADIA, faving the City of MANTINEA : and for the fum of an hundred talents given amongst them, he delivered the Cities of ARGOS, SICYONE, and of Co-RINTH, from the Garrisons that lay amongst them. About that time fell out the great feast of Juno Demetriusman in ARCOS, called Heras. Therefore Demetrins, to honour this feast with the GRECIANS, married ried Deidamis in Arcos, called Heras. Intercept Dimetrios, wo monotoning and fifter of Pyrrhus and per. King Pyrfwaded the Sictonians, to leave their city, and to come and build in another goodly place near rous fifter, and twaded the SICYONIANS, to the same of the changed the name of the City. For in flead of Sicyon, he made it to be called DEMETRIADE. Then at a generall affem- City of Sycione bly of the flates of GREECE, which waskept in the ftraight of PELOPONNESUS, called ISTHMOS. and called it Demetrisu was chosen Lieutenant Generall of all the GRECIANS, as Philip and Alexander (both Demetriade; Kings of MACEDON) had been before him, unto whom he did not onely compare himfelf, but thought fen Generall of himself greater then they, because fortune smiled on him, and for that he had so good success in all his all Greece. affairs. Whereas Alexander did never take away the title and name of King from any other Kings, neither did ever call himself King of Kings, although he had given unto diverse of them the name and power of a King: and in contrary manner alfo, Demerisas laughed them to fcorn which called any pride, other Princes Kings but his father and himself. Moreover he took great pleasure to hear his flatterers, who being at banquets called for wine to drink to King Demetrism , and to Seleucus mafler of the Elephants, to Ptolomy Admiral, to Lyfmachus keeper of the treasure, and to Agathocles SILICIAN, governour of the Isles. All the Kings, but Lyfimachus, laughed at these toys when they were reported to him : but Lyfimachus was very angry, and thought great from that Demotrius should reckon him a gelding, for that it was an old custom commonly to give an Eustuch the charge of keeping the treasure. So Lysimachus of all other Princes did bear him most malice; and because he would finely taunt him for that he ever kept Lamia his Curtifan with him : Untill this present time, said he, I never saw harlot play in a Tragedy before. Demetrius answered him again. that his harlot was chafter then Penelope his wife. So Demetrine departing for that time out of PELO-PONNESUS, took his journey towards ATHENS, and wrote before to the ATHENIANS, that when he came thither he would be received into the fraternity of the holy mysteries, and that he meant they should shew him at one self time, all that was to be seen, even from the least to the highest secrets of their ceremonies, called Epoptices, because they made the brethren of the fraternity see them long time after that they had been first received into the lesser ceremonies; the which was not lawfull then, neither was ever heard of before. For these smaller mysteries, in old time were celebrated in the moneth of November, and the greater in the moneth of August ; and befides it was not lawfull to celebrate or tale thele ceremonies within the space of a year one of the other. When these letters were openly read, no man durft fpeak against them, but Pythodorus the Priest, who carried the torch lighted when they shewed these mysteries. Howbeit his words prevailed not, for by the device of Stratocles it was enacted at an affembly of the City, that the moneth of March in the which they were at that time . should be called and reputed Wovember. And so as they could best help it, by their ordinances of the City they did receive Demetrins into the fraternity of the mysteries : and afterwards again . this Self moneth of March which they had translated into November, became suddenly August : and in the felf fame year was celebrated the other ceremony of thele great mysteries, whereby Denetrins was admitted to fee the most straight and fecret ceremonies. Therefore Philippides the Poet inveighing against the facriledge and impiety of Religion prophaned by Stratocles, made these verses of

> Into one moneth his coming hither . Hath thrust up all the year together.

And afterwards because Stratecles was the procurer that Demetrius was lodged in the Temple of Mi- Philippides mrya within the Caftle :

Of Chaft Minerva's holy Church be makes a filthy flewes, And in that Virgins very fight his harlots doth abufe.

But yet of all the infolent parts done at that time in ATHENS (although many were committed) none Demetrius proof all the reft grieved the Athenians more, then this did: that Demetrius commanded them dig gift of they should prefently furnish him with two hundred and fifty talents. The taxation of this payment two hundred. was very hard unto them, both for the shortness of the time appointed them, as also for the im-possibility of abatime any part of it. When he had seen all this mass of manus laid on a hearth in-lent to his possibility of abating any part of it. When he had seen all this mass of money laid on a heapbe Confinence forchim he commanded it should be given to Lamia, and among his other Curtifans, to buy them buy them sope Sope. The shame the ATHENIANS received by this gift, grieved them more then the loss of their money; and the words he spake to the great contempt of them and their City did more trouble them then the payment they made. Some fay notwithstanding, that Demetrine did not alone use the ATHEMIAN'S thus shamefully, but the THESSALIANS also in the same manner. But passing this over , Lamis of her felf and through her own countenance did get a great fum of money together of Lamis made diverse persons for one supper, she made umo: Demetrius, the personation whereof was of such exceeding charge, that Lycans born in the sile of Samos, did set down the order thereof in writing. And own coll. therefore a certain Poet no less pleasant, then truely, called this Lamia, Elepolis: to wit, an engine to Lamia Elepolis take Cities. And Demochares also born in the City of SOLI, called Demetrius a fable, because he had Lamia ever with him : as in the fables which old women tell little children , there is ever lightly 18 Lamia, as much to fay, as a witch, or forcerefs. So that the great credit and authority this

DEMETRIUSO

against Anti-

Antigonus and

Demetrius figns.

Lamia had, and the love which Demetrism bare her, did not onely cause his wives to suspect and envy. hin, but made him hated also of all his friends and familiars. And sherefore certain gentlemen, whom Demerrias fent in Ambassade unto King Lysmachus, he talking samiliarly with them, and patting the time away, shewed them great wounds of the claws of a Lyon upon his Arms and Legs, telling them also how be was forced to fight with a Lyon , when through King Alexanders fory he was thut up in his den with him: they fmiling to hear him, told him that the King their mafter had also certain marks and bitings on his neck, of a wild beaft called Lamia. And to fay truly, it was a wonderfull thing, that marrying (as he did) his wife Phila fo much against his will because the was too old for him, how he was ravified with Lawin, and did fo constantly love her fo long together, considering The trying of allo that the was very old, and part the best. Therefore Dimo, firnamed Manis (as much to fay, the Done a Curil-mad woman) pleasantly answered Demetrins, asking her one night: when Lamia had played on the fan, rouching, flute all supper time, what she thought of Lamis? An old woman, O King, quoth she. Another Lamis and De. time when fruit was ferved in , after the board was taken up : Do you fee, faid Demetrins , hom many prety fine knacks Lemia fendeth me? My mother, answered Demo again, she will fend you more then thefe, if you please to lye with her. It is reported of this Lamia, that she overshrew Boccoon judgement in a matter. In ÆGYPT there was a young man that had a marvellous fancy unto a faupon a lovers mous Curtifan called Thomas: who did ask him such a great sum of money to lyewith her, that it was gream and the unpolitible for him to give it her. At length, this amourous youth being so deep in love with her, judgement repuggement reverifed by Ladreamed one night he lay with her , and enjoyed her : to that for the pleafure he took by his mit the Cur- conceipt and imagination, when he awaked, his earnest love was fatisfied. This Curtifan whom he had cast fancy to, hearing of this his dream, did put him in suit before the Judges, to be payed her hire for the pleasure the young man had taken of her by imagination. Bocchoris hearing the sum of her complaint, commanded the young man to bring before him in some vessell, at a certain day appointed, as much money as fire did ask him for to lye with her. Then he hade him to tofs it too and from his hand before the Curtifan, that the might onely have the thadow and fight of it: for quote he, imagination and opinion is but a shadow of truth. Lamia said, this was no equal judgement, The fabelility of for faid file, the shadow onely or the sight of money, did not faissie the coverousness of the Links, rever Curtifan, 2s the young mans loft, was quenched by his dream. Thus enough spoken of Lamia, But sing Buchnis now the missfortunes and oests of him we presently write of, do transfort the bustory as from a now the misfortunes and gefts of him we prefently write of, do transport the suffery, as from Comicall into a Tragicall Theater, that is to fay, from pleafant and light matter, into lamentable The conspiracy and bitter tears. For all the Princes and Kings conspired generally against Antigonus, and joyned all their force and Armies together. Therefore Demetrius departed forthwish out of GRESCE, and came to joyn with his father, whose courage he found more lively and better given to this war then his years required : befides that Demerrism coming enade him the bolder , and did lift up his heart the more. And yet it feemeth to me, that if Antigonus would but have yacided up a few trifling things, or that either he could or would have bridled his over immoderate coverous define to reign , he had both kept for himself all the time of his life , and also left after his death unto his fon, the supreamest digitity and power, above all other Kings and successors of Alexander. But he was fo cruell and fo rath of nature, and fo infolent and brave in his doings, as in his words: that thereby he firred up and brought upon him as enemies, many great and mighty Princes. For even at that prefent time he faid, that he would as entire, in any great anninging remers. For end at that prefent time he faid, that he would as entired to an advantage and feater alunder that confipiracy against him, as choughs or other little birds coming to peck up the Corn newly down, are easily fixed away with a stone or making any little noise. So he carried to the field with him, above threefcore and ten thousand footmen, ten thousand horsemen, and threefcore and fifteen Eldphants. His enemies had threefcore and four thousand footmen, and five hundred horfemen more then he , with four hundred Elephants , and fixfcore carts of war. When the rate Armies were one near unto the other, meetinks he had form imagination in his head that changed his hope, but not his courage. For in all other battels and conflicts, having commonly used to look big on the matter, to have a loud high voice, and to the brave words, and fometime alforeven in the chiefeft of all the battell to give fome pleasant mock or other, shewing a certain truff he had in himself, and contempt of his enemy: then they faw him oftentimes alone and very pentive, in inhour eiter a word to any man. One day he called all his Army together, and preferred his son arms the fouldiers, recommending him unto them, as his heir and fuccessour, and reliked with him alone in his Tent. Whereat men marvelled the more, because that he never used before to imparatio any sum the fecrets of his counfell and determination; no not to his own fon, but did all ellings of himfelf: and then commanded that thing openly to be done which he had feeretly purposed. For profit hereof it is faid, Demerrius being box a young man, asked him on a time when the Camp should remove: and that Antigonus in anger answered him , art thou afraid thou final not bear the found of the Trumper? Furthermore, there tell our many ill figns and tokens that killed their hearts. For Demerrins dreamed that Aixander the Great appeared Armed uncohimat all pieces; and that he asked him what word or fignal of the bartell they were determined to give at the day of battell : be answered that they were determined to give I upter and Villory. Then said Alexander , I will go to thine enemies that shall receive me' and afterwards at the very day of the owerdards, when all their Army were fet inbattell ray, Antigonus coming out of his Teni; shad fuch a great full, that he is the company of th fell flat on his face to the ground, another himself very forely. So when he was taken up, shen this ingup his hands to heaven, he made his prayer unto the gods, that it would place show to grant him victory, or fudden death without great pairs; before he should see thisself vanquished and him victory.

his Army overthrown. When both Armies came to joyn, and that they fought hand to hand, De-metring that had the most part of the horsemen with him, went and gave charge upon Antiochus the fon of Seleucus, and fought it out fo valiantly on his fide, that he overthrew his enemies, and put them to flight. But too fondly following the chase of them that fled, and out of time, he marred all Demetrius upand was the occasion of the loss of his victory. For when he returned from the chase, he could on the first onand was the occasion of the 1005 of the Elephants were between both. Then Selenem per let, made Annot joyn again with their footmen, because the Elephants were between both. Then Selenem per ticknet the critical and critical selections of the selection of the s one fide as though he would environ them behind, and made them afraid; yet making head as he fiv. would charge them, onely to give them leifure to come on their fide, as they did. For the most part Over rashly would charge them, onely to give that them of the first of them field every man, things the of Antigona; both did for fake him and yeelded unto his enemies; the reft of them field every man, things the of the first of them is the first of the first of the first of them is the first of the fir Antisonus was, one of them that were about him faid unto him : Your grace had need to take heed was overcome. for these men come to charge us. He answered again : but how should they know me? and if they did, my fon Demetrius will come and help me. This was his last hope, and still he looked every way if he could fee his fon coming towards him : till at the length he-was slain with Arrows , Darts , and Pikes. For of all his friends and fouldiers, there tarried not one man by his body, but Thorax of the City of LARISSA in THESSALY. Now the battell having fuch fuccess as you have heard, the The death of Kings and Princes that had won so noble a victory, as if they had cut a great body in sundry pieces, King Antigothey divided Antigonus Kingdom among them, and every man had his part of all the Provinces and Countries which Anigonus kept adding that unto their other dominions which they possessed before. Now Demetrius flying with all possible speed that might be, with five thousand footmen, and Demetrius four thousand horsemen, he got to the City of EPHESUS: where every man mistrusted, that being flight. needy of money as he was, he would not spare the temple of Diana in EPHESUS, but would rifle all the gold and filver in it. And in contrary manner also Demetrius being afraid of his fouldiers left they would spoil it against his will, he suddenly departed thence, and failed towards GREECE. putting his greatest confidence and affiance in the ATHENIANS, because he had left his wife Deidamin at ATHENS, with thips and fome money; fuppofing he could go no whither with better fafery in his adverting, then to ATHENS, of whose good wilk he thought himself afforced. Wherefore when the Ambassadours of the ATHENIANS came unto him, and found him not far from the Isle of CYCLADES, as he failed with great speed towards ATTICA, and that they had declared unto him, he should forbear to come unto their City, because the people had made an ordinance to suffer The unfaithfulno mockings to come into ATHENS, and that they had fent Deidamia his wife honourably accompanied unto the City of MEGARA: then was Demetrias for very anger and pattion of mind, clean ward Demeout of countenance, although untill that time he had patiently born his adverfity, and his heart had trius. never failed him. But this nipped him to the heart; when he faw (that contrary to expectation) the Athenians had deceived and failed him in his great need, and that in his adverfity he found their former friendship counterfeit, and altogether dissembled. Whereby most plainly appeareth, that the most uncertain and deceivable proof of the peoples good wills and Cities toward Kings Over great hoand Princes, are the immeasurable and extream honours they do unto them. For fith it is fo that nours are fight the truth and certainty of honour proceedeth from the good will of those that give it, the fear which of unconflance the common people commonly fland in of the power of Kings, is sufficient cause for them to militrust trienaship. that the people do it not with good will and from their hearts, confidering that for fear they do the felf fame things, which they will also do for love. Therefore grave and wife Princes should not pais to much for the images and flames they fet up for them, or the tables or divine honours they do decree unto them, as to regard their own works and deeds, and weighing them truely, fo to believe and receive their honours for true, or otherwise to reject and mistrust them, as things done by compulsion. For commonly it is that which maketh the people to hate Kings the more, when they do accept these immeasurable and extream honours done unto them : but those forts chiefly hate them most, that against their wills are forced to do them those honours, Demetrius seeing then how injuriously the ATHENTANS had used him, and at that time not knowing how to be revenged of them, he modeftly fent unto them onely to make his complaints, and to demand his ships, among the which was that Galley of fixteen banks of Oars. The which when he had received, he hoifed fail immediatly towards the ftraight of PELOPONNESUS , and there found all things to go against him. For in every place where he had lest any Garrison, the Captains that had the charge of them, either yeelded them up, or else revolted, and kept them against him. Therefore leaving Pyrrhus his Lieutenant in GREECE, he took sea again, and failed towards CHERRONESUS, and there with the mischiefs he did, and with the spoils he got in King Life-

afraid of him. Shortly after , Selenem fent unto Demetrim , to require his daughter Stratonice selenens rein marriage, notwithstanding that he had a fon already called Antiockins, by his wife Apama quiteth Strato-B PRASTAN. Howher he thought that his affairs and greamers of his eftate and Kingdom, was nice (Dema-able enough to maintain many fuccessours after him. And furthermore, he considered with himself marine,

machus land, he payed his men, and enriched his Army, the which began again to encrease, and to be

dreadfull to his enemies. But now for Lysmachue, the other Kings made no great account of him

neither did they flir to give him aid , because he was nothing inferiour unto Demetrius : and

for that he was of greater power and possessions then themselves, they therefore were the more

that he should have need of Demetrine alliance, because he saw Lysinguchus, himself match with one

of Prolomies daughters, and his fon Agathocles with his other daughter. Demetrie feeing this

of Cilicia.

Seleutus married Stratonice, Demotrius

The death of

Plato's Caying of riches.

ney sgainft the Athenians,

crowns.

do veeld unto Demetrius.

this Braight fiege of Athens, with beans.

good fortune offered him beyond all hope, prefently took his daughter with him, and failed with all his ships directly towards SYRIA. In the which voyage he was constrained of necessity to land sometimes, and specially in CILICIA, the which Plistarchus the brother of Cassander kept at that time, Plifterchut, the being given him by the other kings for his part and portion of the fool of Antigona, after he was brother of Galbrother of Cajoverthrown. This Plistarchus thinking that Demosrius landed not to refresh himself, but to forrage time Governor and spoil, because he would complain of Selencin for the alliance he made with their common enemy, without the confent and privity of all the other Kings and Princes confederates, he went purpofely unto his brother Cassander. Demetrius having intelligence thereof, he fuddenly invaded the land, and spoiled as far as the City of CYNDES, and carried away (which he had leavied) twelve hundred talents, which he found yet left of his fathers treasure : and then with all the speed he could possible he returned to his ships, and hoised fail. Shortly after, his wife Phile also came unto him. So Seleuens received them all near unto the City of Orossus, and there their meeting was Princely, without forrow or suspicion one of the other. First of all Seleneus did feast Demetrius in his tent, in the middeft of his Camp: and afterwards Demetrius feafted him again in his Galley, with thirteen banks of Oars. Thus they passed many dayes together, feating and rejoycing each with other, being unarmed, and having no fouldiers to wait upon them: untill at length Selences with his wife Stratestice departed, and took his way with great pomp towards the City of ANTI-OCH. Now for Demetries, he kept the province of CILICIA, and fent his wife Phila unto her brother Cassander, to answer the complaints and acculations of Plistarehus against him. In the mean time Deidamia his wife departed out of GREECE to come unto him : who after she had remained with him a few days, died of a ficknefs. Afterwards Demetrins coming again in favour with Prolomy, by Selencus his fon in laws means, he married his daughter Prolomeide. Hitherunto Selencus ufed Demetrias wite.

Demetrissionar-metrias very courteoully, but afterwards he prayed him to deliver him CILICIA again, for a fum premerinants of money that he offered him : but Demetrius plainly denied him. Then did Scheneus thew a cruell and tyrannicall covetoufnefs: for in anger, and with fierce threats and countenance he asked him the Cities of Tyre, and Sidon. But therin meethinks he lacked honefty and civility: as though he that had under his obedience and subjection all that which lay betwirt the INDIES, and the sea of wine Demetrius and Seleucus.

Lyria, was in such need and poverty; that for two Cities onely, he should drive his father in law
from him, who had sustained so hard and bitter change. But thereby he rightly confirmed Plate's faying : that he that will be rich indeed, must indeavour himself not to increase his riches, but rather to diminish his covetousnets. For he shall never be but a begger and needy, whose covetous desire hath no end. This notwithstanding, Demetring yeelded not for fear, but provided to replenish the Cities with good Garrisonsto keep thein against him : faying , that though he had been owercome to thousand times more in battell, yet it should never fink into his head that he should be contented, and think himfelf happy to buy Selencin alliance fo dear. On the other fide, being advertised that one Lachares having spied opportunity when the ATHENIANS were in civil wars one against the other, and that he had overcome them, and did tyramically usure the government, he then perfwaded himfelf that he might eafily win it again, if he came thither upon the fuddain, Thereupon he croffed the feas with a great fleet of thips, without any danger : but he had such a great florm and tempest upon the coast of ATTICA, that he lost the most part of his ships, and a great number of his men besides. But for himself he scaped , and began to make a little war with the ATHENIANS. Yet perceiving that he did no good there, but left his time, he lem flome of his men to gather a number of his ships again together, and he himitelf in the mean time went into PELOPONNESUS, tolay flege to the City of MESSINA, where his perfort was in great danger. For fighting hard by the wall, he had such a blow with a dare, that it his full in the mouth, and ran through his cheek, Notwithflanding this, after he was healed of that wound, he brought into his subjection again certain Towns that had rebelled against him. After that he returned again into ATTICA, and took the Cities of ELEUSIN , and of RHAMNUS : and then spoiled all the Country, and mok a ship fraught with corn, and hung up the Merchant, that ought it, and the mafter of the ship that brought it : thereby to terrific all other Metchants, that they should be afraidno bring any more com the ther, and to to family the City, by keeping them from all things necessary for their sufferance, and * Four crowns. fo it happened. For a buffell of falt was fold at ATHENS for * fourty filver Brachma's, and buthell of wheat for three * hundred Drachma's. In this extream necessity, the ATRENIANS has but a short joy for the hundred and hity Galleys they faw near unto A GINA, the which Prolony fent to aid them : for when the fouldiers that were in them faw that they brought santo Demotrius great number of thips out of PELOPONNESUS, out of CYPRUS, and diverse others parts, which mounted in the whole to the number of three hundred fail, they weighed their. Anchors, and fighther the Athenians prefently. Then Lucharer forfook the City, and fecretly faved himself. Now the ATHENIANS, who before had commanded upon pain of death, that no man should make any motion to the council, to treat of any peace with Demetring, they did then upon Luchener flying , prefently open the Gates next unto Demerrine Camp, and fent Ambaliadours unto him, not booking for any grage or peace but because necessity drave him to it. During this so hard and straight siege, there sail out many of Epicons, at wonderfull and firings things; but among others, 'this one is of specials note. At is reposted that the father and fon fitting in their house, voide of all hope of life, there fell ardead Run terfore them from the top of the house, and that the father and the fon fought who should have it to sat. Morsoyer, that at the felf fame fiege the Philosopher Epicores; mammained himfelf and this Scholars, by giving them a portion of Beans every day , by the which they lived. This take, City of ATHANS being

brought unto this extremity, Demetrius made his entry into it, and gave commandment to all the Citizens, that they should affemble every man within the Theater: where he made them to be compaffed in with armed Souldiers, and then placed all his guard armed about the stage. Afterwards he came down himself into the Theater, through high Galleries and entries by the which the common players used to come to play their parts in Tragedies , insomuch as the ATHENIANS were then worse afraid then before : howbeit Demetrius presently pacified their fear, as soon as he began to speak unto them. For he did not fashion his Oration with a hasty angry voice, neither did he use any sharp or bitter words: but onely after he had courteoully told them their faults and discourtefie towards Demetrius clea him he faid he forgave them, and that he would be their friend again : and furthermore, he caused ten mency unto millions of bushels of wheat to be given unto them, and stablished such governours there, as the peo- the Athenians, ple milliked not of. Then Democles the Orator, seeing that the people gave out great shouts of joy in the praise of Demetrius, and that the Orators daily contented in the pulpit for Orations, who should exceed other in preferring new honours for Demetrine, he caused an order to be made, that the havens of PIRAUS and MUNYCHIA should be put out into Demetrius hands, to use at his pleasure. This being established by voices of the people, Dimetrius of his own private authority did place a great Garrison within the fort called Mus, Eum, because the people should rebell no more against him, nor divert him from his other enterprises. Thus when he had taken ATHENS, he went to fet upon the LACEDEMONIANS. But Archidamus King of LACEDEMON, came against him with a puissant Demetrius Army, whom he discomfited in battell, and put to flight, by the City of MANTINEA. After that the Lacedame. he invaded LACONIA with all his Army, and made an inrode to the City of SPARTA, where he moniant, Once again overthrew the LACEDAMONIANS in fet battell, took five hundred of them prisoners. and flew two hundred : in fo much as every man thought he might even then go to Spart a without any danger to take it, the which had never yet been taken afore by any. But there was never King that had so often and suddain changes of fortune as Demetrius , nor that in other affairs was ever so Demetrius vaoften little, and then great: fo fuddenly down, and up again: fo weak, and ftraight fo ftrong. And riable fortune. therefore it is reported that in his great advertities when fortune turned to contrary against him, he was wont to cry out upon fortune, that which Afchylus speaketh in a place:

Thou feemest to have begotten me, of purpose for to show Thy force in lifting of me up, me down again to throw.

Now again when his affairs prospered so well, and that he was likely to recover a good force and Demetrias mil-Kingdom, newswere brought him, first that Lysimachus had taken all his Towns from him, which forunes. he held in ASIA : and on the other fide, that Prolomy had won from him all the Realm of Cyprus, the City of SALAMINA onely excepted, in the which he kept his mother and children very straightbelieged. This notwithstanding fortune played with him, as the wicked woman Archilogus speaketh of, who

Did in the one hand water show, And in the other fire bestow.

For taking him away, and (as it were) the City of SPARTA also out of his hands by these dreadfull news, even when he was certain to have won it, the prefently offered him hopes of other great and new things by this occasion following. After the death of Cassander, Philip who was the eldest of all his other fors, and left his heir and fucceffor in the Kingdom of MACEDON, reigned no long time over the MACEDONIANS, but deceased foon after his father was dead. The two other brethren also fell at great variance, and wars together; so that the one called Anipater, flew his own mother Great differni The falonicist and the other named Alexander , called in to aid him Demetrins and Pyrrhus, the one on and firife out of the Realm of EPIRUS, and the other out of PELOPONNESUS. Pyrrhus came first before of Maccdon as Demetriar , and kept a great part of MACEDON for recompence of his pains , coming to aid him terthe death arthis defire : forthat he became a dreadfull neighbour unto Alexander himlelf, that had fent for him of Callander. into his Countrey. Furthermore, when he was advertised that Demetrins did presently upon the re- Antipater an eript of his letters, fer forward withall his Army to come to aid him, the young Prince Alexander was Alexander, the twice as much more amazed and afraid; for the great estate and estimation of Dimetrius. So he went der. to him not with franding, and received him at a place called DEION, and there imbraced and welcom- Demetrius inwithin. But immediatly after , he told them that his affairs were now in fo good effate, that praifed raded Macedon. bethe godshe should not now need his presence to aid him. After these words the one began to Wilesberwitt mifruit the other. So it chanced oneday, that as Demetrins went to Alexanders lodging where Demetring. The least was prepared, there came one to him to tell him of an ambush that was laid for him and they had determined to kill him when he should think to be merry at the Banket. But Demetrins was nothing abalfied at the news, and onely went a little forther, not making fuch haft cas he did before, and in the mean time fent to command his Captains to arm their men, and to have them in readiness: and willed his gendemen and all the rest of his officers that were about him Corbich were greater number by many then those of Alexanders side) every man of them to go in with them into the hall, and to tarry there till he arose from the table. By this means the men whom Alexander hild appointed to affault him durft not, being afraid of the great train he had brought with him. Furthernione, Demerging faining that he was not well at ease at that time to make merry, he went immediatly out of the hall, and the next morning determined to depart, making him believe that he had certain news brought him of great importance : and prayed Alexander to pardon him, that he could no longer keep him company, for that he was driven of necessity to depart from him: and that another time they would meet together, with better leilure and liberty. Alexander was

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married his good will.

Physician to Selencus.

very glad to fee that Demetrius went his way out of MACEDON not offended, but of his own good will: whereupon he brought him into THESSALIB, and when they were come to the City of La-RISSA, they began again to feaft one another, to intrap each other: the which offered Demerine occasion to have Alexander in his hand as he would with himself. For Alexander of purpose would not have his guard about him , fearing left thereby he should teach Demerries also to stand upon his guard. Thus Alexander turned his practife for another, upon himfelf: and he was determined not to fuffer Demetrius to scape his hands, if he once again came within danger. So Alexander being bidden to supper to Demetrius, he came accordingly. Demetrius rifing from the board in the middeft of supper, Alexander role also, being alraid of that ftrange manner, and followed Demetrius kill him foot by toot to the very door. Then Demetrius faid but to his Warders at the gate Kill eth Alexander him that followeth me. With those words he went out of the doors, and Alexander that followed him was flain in the place, and certain of his gentlemen with him which came to refcue him; of the which, one of them as they killed him faid, that Demetrius had prevented them but one day. All that night (as it is no other likely) was full of uproar and tumult. Howbeit, the next morning the Ma-CEDONIANS being marvelloufly troubled and afraid of Demetrins great power, when they faw that no man came to affail them, but that Demetrius in contrary manner fent unto them to tell them that he would fpeak with them, and deliver them reason for that he had done: then they all began to be bold again, and willingly gave him audience. Now Demerrius needed not to use many words, nor to make any long Orations, to win them unto him: for, because they hated Anispate, as a horrible manqueller and murtherer of his mother, and because they had no better man to prefer, they eafily choic Demetrins King of MACEDON, and thereupon brought him back into Mace-Demenius poo- DON , to take possession of the Kingdom. This change was not milliked of the other MACEDO-NIANS that remained at home in their Countrey, for that they yet remembred the traiterous and wicked fact of Caffander against Alexander the Great: for which cause they utterly hated and detefted all his iffue and posterity. And furthermore, if there were any spark of remembrance in their hearts, of the bounty and goodness of their grandfather Antipater, Demetrius received the fruit and benefit, for his wife Phila's fake; by whom he had a fon that should succeed him in the Kingdom, and was a proper youth, in Camp with his father. Demerius having this great good hap and fortune come unto him, he received news also that Ptolomy had not onely raised his stege from the City of Salamina where he kept his mother and children straightly besieged: but surther, that he had done them great honour, and bestowed great gifts upon them. On the other side also hews Antischus the advertised, that his daughter Stratonice, who had before beed married unto Sciences, was now married ion of selection again unto Antiochus, the fon of the faid Selenens, and how that the was crowned Queen of all the barbarous Nations inhabiting in the high Provinces of Asia: and that it came to pass in tha manner. It chanced that this young Prince Antiochus (as love overcometh all men) became in loss with his fathers with his mother in law Stratonice, who already had a fon by Selences his father. She being young and passing fair, he was so ravished with her, that though he proved all the ways possible to make his fury and passion that way, yet he was still the weaker. So that in the end, condemning himself to death because he found his defire abominable, his pallion incurable, and his reason unterly over-come, he resolved to kill himself by little and little, with abstinence from meat and drink; and made no other reckoning to remedy his grief, faining to have fome fecret inward difeafe in his body. Yet could he not fo finely cloak it , but that Erafifratus the Physitian easily found his grief , that love, not fickness, was his infirmitie: howbeit it was hard for him to inagine with whom he was in love. Erafifratus being earnestly bent to find out the parry he loved, he sare by this young Prince all day long in his chamber ; and when any fair young boy or wife came to fee him, he earnefly remee an way rong in in channer; and which any looked Antiochus in the face, and carefully observed all the parts of the body, and outward movings, which do commonly betray the fecret palitons and affections of the mind. So having marked him divers times, that when others came to fee him, whatfoever they were, he ftill remained in one felf flate, and that when Stratonice his mother in law came alone or in company of her husband Experiments Selencus to wifit him , he commonly perceived those figns in him , which Sappho written to be Physicians care in lovers (to wir, that his words and speech did fail him, his colour became red, his eyes full to find out the rolled to and fro, and then a fuddain fweat would take him, his pulfe would beat faff and rise high; woung Prince young Prince and in the end, that after the force and power of his heart had failed him, and shewed all thele signs, suppos describ- he became like a man in an extastie and trance, and white as a kercher) he then gathering a true conjecture by these so manifest signs and declarations, that it was onely Stratonice whom this young Prince fancied and the which he forced himfelf to keep fecret to the death, though that to bewrey it to the King it would offend him much , but yet trufting to his great affection and fatherly lovebe bare to his fon, he ventured one day to tell him, that his fons fickness was no other but love, and withall, that his love was impossible to be enjoyed, and therefore that he must of necessity die, for it was incurable. Selenens was cold at the heart to hear these news: so he asked him, What is he incurable? Yea, Sir, answered the Physitian, because he is in love with my wife. Then replied Silenens again: Alas Erafiftrains, I have always loved thee as one of my dearest friends, and wouldest thou not now do me this pleasure, to let my son marry thy wife, sith thou knowes it well that I have no mo fons but be; and that I fee he is but caft away, if thoubelp me not? But your grace would not do it your felf, faid Eraffrains, if he were in love with Stratonics. O, faid Sciences to him again, that it were the will of the gods fome god or man could turn his love that way : for mine own part , I would not onely leave him the thing he loved, but I would give my

Kingdom allo to fave his life. Then Erafifratus feeing that the King fpake the word from his heart, and with abundance of tears, he took him by the right hand, and sold him plainly, your grace needeth not Erafiftratus help in this. For being father, husband, and King, your felf also may onely be the Phylician, to cure your sons disease. When Selenem heard that, he called an affembly of the people, and declared before them all, that he was determined to Crown his fon Antiochus King of the high Provinces of Asia, and Stratonice Queen, to marry them together: and that he was perswaded, that his son (who had always shewed himself obedient to his fathers will) would not scleucus love disobey him in this marriage. And as for Stratonice, if the milliked this marriage, and would not unto his son confent unto it because it was no common matter, then he prayed that his friends would perswade Antiochus, her , the should think all good and comely that should please the King : and withall that concerned the generall benefit of the Realm and Common-wealth. Hereupon Antioches and Stratonice were married together. But now to return again to the history of Demetrius. Demetrius came by the Kingdom of MACEDON and THESSALY by this means as you have heard, and did moreover poffels the best part of PELOPONNESUS, and on this fide the streight, the Cities of MEGARA and ATHENS. Furthermore he led his Army against the BOEOTIANS, who were at the first willing to make peace with him. But after that Cleonymus King of Sparta was come into the City of THEBES with his Army, the BOEOTIANS encouraged by the fair words and allurement of one Pifis, born in the City of THESPIS (who at that time bare all the fway and chief authority amongst them) they gave up their treaty of peace they had begun with Demetrins, and determined to make war. Thereupon Demetrius went to beliege the City of THERES, and laid his engines of bettery unto it : in fo much as Cleonymus for fear , stole secretly out of the City. Thereupon the The City of THEBANS being also afraid, yeelded themselves unto Demetrius mercy: who putting great Gar- Thebes yeelded trifons into the Cities, and having leavied a great fum of money of the Province, left them Hiero-Hieronymus the wimmi the Historiographer, his Lieutenant and governour there. So it appeared that he used them Historiographer very courteoully, and did them many pleasures, and specially unto Pifis. For when he had taken pher, Demetrihim prisoner, he did him no hurt but received him very courteously, and used him well: and fur- as Lieutenane, thermore, he made him Polemarchus (to wit, Camp-mafter) in the City of THES PIS. Shortly after these things were thus brought to pass, King Lysimachus by chance was taken by another barbarous Prince, called Dromichetes. Thereupon Demetrins, to take such a noble occasion offered him. went with a great Army to invade the Country of THRACIA, supposing he should find no man to withstand him , but that he might conquer it at his pleasure. Howbeit, so soon as Demetrius back was turned, the BOEOTIANS revolted again from him, and therewithall news was brought him. that Lysimachus was delivered out of prilon. Then he returned back with all speed, marvellously offended with the BOEOTIANS, whom he found already discomfitted in battell by his son Antigonal and went again to lay fiege to the City of THEBES, being the chief City of all that Province of BOEOTIA. But at that prefent time, Pyrrhus came and forraged all THESSALY, and entred even to the ftraight of THERMOPILES. Therefore Demetrius was conftrained to leave his fon to continue the fiege at THEBES, whilft he himself went against Pyrrhus, who suddenly returned again ento his Realm. So Demerrius left ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen in THESSALY to defend the Country, and returned with the rest of his Army to win THEBES. Thereupon he brought his great Engine of battery called Elepolis, against the wall, as you have heard before, the which was thrust forward by little and little, with great labour, by reason of the weight and heavinels of it : fo that it could scant be driven forward two furlongs in two moneths. But the BOEO-TIANS and the THEBANS did valiantly defend themselves; and Demetrius of a malicious mind and defire of revenge (more oftner then needfull, or to any purpose) compelled his men to go to the affault, and to hazard themselves : so that there were daily a great number of them slain. Antigonus his fon perceiving it: Alas, faid he, why do we thus fuffer our men to be flain and caft away to no purpole? Wherefore Demetrius angrily answered him again: What needeft thou to care? Is there may come to be diffributed to those that are dead? But notwithstanding, because men should not *Com "Think he fill meant to put others in danger, and durft not venure himself, he fought with them, till monthly diffinith he fill meant to put others in danger, and durft not venure himself, he fought with them, till monthly diffinite her was four as him from the burse to the at length he was shot through the neck with a sharp Arrow-head, that was shot at him from the buted to the wall. Wherewithall he fell very fick , but yet raised not his fiege , nor removed his Camp, but took fouldiers as the City of THERES again by affault : the which being not long before again replenished with people, was in ten years space twice won and taken. Now he put the THEBANS in a marvellous fear, by his cruel threats he gave them at his coming into THEES: to that they looked to have received the extreamed: punishment the vanquished could have, through the just wrath and anger of the conquerour. Howbeit after Demetrius had put thirteen of them to death, and banished some, he pardoned all the rest. About that time fell out the celebration of the feast called Pythia: in the honour of Apollo: and because the RTOLIANS kept all the high-ways to bring them unto the City of DELDHOS, in the which of old time they did use to celebrate those spores aforesaid, he caused them to be kept and solemnized at AT HENS, as in a place where this god in reason should be best honoured and reverenced, because he was patron of the City, and for that the ATHENIA NS maintained that he was their progenitor. From thence he returned into MACHOON, and knowing that it was against his nature to live idly, and in peace, and being on the other fide allo that the MACEDON IANS did him more service, and were more obsolicit to him in wars, and that in time of peace they grow sedicious, full of vanity and quarrels, he went to make war with the ETOLIANS: and after he had spoiled and destroyed their Countrey, heleft Pantanebus his Liemenant there, with a great part of his Army. Demetrius himfelf

Demetrius

went in the mean time with the reft of his Army against Pyrrhow, and Pyrrhow also against him; but they missed of meeting each with other. Whereupon Demetrius passed surther into the Realm of journey against Epinus, the which he spoiled and forraged. Pyrrbus on the other side went on so far that he met with Pantanchus, Demetrius Lintenant, with whom he fought a battell, and came to the fword with him: so that he did both hurt him, and was also hurt by him. But in the end Pyrthue had the upper hand, put Pantauchus to flight, and flew a great number of his men, and took five thousand prisoners; the which was the chief overthrow of Demetrius. For Pyrrhus wan not the MACEDONIAN'S ill will fo much for the mischiess and hurts he had done unto them, as he got himself great fame and renown with them, because himself alone had with his own hands done all the noble exploits of war in that journey: for the which he was afterwards had in great estimation among the MACEDONIANS. Now many of them began to fay, that he was the onely King of all others, in whom the lively image of the hardinels and valiantnels of Alexander the Great was to be feen : and that all the reft (but specially Demetrism) did but counterfeit his gravity and Princely countenance; like players upon a Stage, that would counterfeit his countenance and gefture. And to fay truly, there was much fineness and curiofity about Demetries, to make him a playing stock in common playes. For some say, that he did not

Demetrius cloak drawn with the figure

of the world, and stars.

Ambaffador Sparta, unto

Azius fl.

The praise of King Philips The bold Speech of a poor woman King Philip. The chiefest office of a King.

led a Fortgainer.

onely wear a great hat with his Diadem upon his head, and was apparelled in purple Gowns imbroidered with gold : but also that he did use to wear certain woollen shoes on his seet died in purple colour, not woven, but falhioned together like a felt, and guilt upon it. And furthermore, he had long before caused a cloak to be made of a marvellous rich and sumptuous piece of work. For upon it was drawn the figure of the world, with frars and circles of heaven, the which was not throughly finished, by the change of his fortune. But there was never King of MACEDON after him that durft wear it: albeit there were many proud and arrogant Kings that succeeded him. Now the MACEDONIANS were not onely forry, and offended to fee fuch things as they were not wont to be acquainted withal; but they much more milliked his curious manner of life, and specially because he was ill to come to, and worfe to be spoken with. For he gave no audience, or if he did , he was very rough, and would sharpely take them up that had to do with him. As, he kept the Ambassadours of the ATHENIANS two years, and would give them no answer: and yet made as though he loved them better then any other people of GREECE. Another time also he was offended, because the LACEDAMONIANS had fent but one man onely Ambassadour unto him, taking it that they had done it in despite of him, And so did the Ambassadour of the LACEDAMONIANS answer him very gallantly, after the LACG-NIAN manner. For when Dometrins asked him, how chanceth it that the LACED & MONIANS do fend but one man unto me? No more but one, said he, O King, unto one. On a time he came abroad more plainly and popular like, then he was wont to do : whereby he put the people in good hope that they might the easilier speak with him, and that he would more courteously hear their complaints, Thereupon many came, and put up their humble supplications and bills of petition unto him. He received them, and put them up in the lap of his cloak. The poor fuiters were glad of that and waited upon him at his heels, hoping they should quickly be dispatched but when he was upon the bridge of the River of Axiss, he opened his cloak, and cast them all into the River. This went to the hearts of the MACEDONIANS, who then thought, they were no more governed by a King, but oppressed by a tyrant : and it grieved them so much the more, because they did yet remember (elther for that they had feen themselves, or otherwise heard their forefathers say) how courteous king Philip was in all fuch matters, and how that one day as he paffed through the fireet, a poor old woman pluckt him by the Gown, and eitfoons humbly befought him to hear her, but he answered her he was not then at leifure. Whereupon the poor woman plainly cried out to him, Leave then to be King. This word so netled him, and be took such a conceit of it, that he returned himself to his pallace, and fetting all other matters apart, did nothing elfe many days but gave himfelf to hear all fuits, and began with this poor old woman. For truly nothing becometh a Prince better, then to minister justice: for Mars (as Timorbeas faith) fignifieth force, and is a tyrant : but justice and law, according to Pisdarus, is Queen of all the world. Moreover the wife Poet Homer faith not that Princes and Kings have received the cuftody of Engines, and of munition, neither also firong and mighty thips of The piter, to keep them to deftroy Towns withall : but with them to maintain law and juffice. And therefore he calleth not the cruel and bloody King, but the just and mercifull Prince, Jupiters friend and Scholar. And Demetrius boasted that he had a name and title contrary to Jupiter, whom they called Pelieus, or Polienchus, fignifying Protector and preferver of Cities: and that he was called Polioreeres, a Fort-gainer. Thus the ill was taken for the good, and vice preferred for vertue : because he could not discern the truth from falshood, which turned his injustice to glory, and iniquity to honour. But now to return where we left : Demetrins fell into a great and dangerous ficknels in the City of Pella, during which time he almost lost all MACEDON, by a sudden invasion Pyrrhus made, who in manner rode it all over, and came as far as the City of EDESSA, Howbeit fo foon as he Demetriar Ar- recovered health again, he easily drave him out, and afterwards made peace with him, because he my and prepa- would not fighting with him (whom he should have daily at his doors still skirmishing sometimes here, ration for the sometimes there) lose the opportunity and weaken himself to bring that to pass which he had deter-recovering of mined. For he had no small matters in his head, but thought to recover all the Realms his father his Realm a Shad : and befides , the preparation be made was no lefs fufficient then the purpose of such an imaginasion required. For he had leavied and affembled an Army of fourfcore and eighteen thouland footmen: and unto them he had also well near twelve thousand horsemen, and had besides gotten above five hundred fhips together , which were built part in the haven of PIREUS , part at CORINTH, part

in the City of CHALCIS, and part about PELLA. He himself in person went through their workhouses, and shewed the Artificers how they should make them, and did help to devise them: so that every man wondered not onely at his infinite preparation, but at the greatness and sumptuousness of his works. For at that time there was no man living that ever faw a Galley of diffeen or fixteen or ms works. Tot as an attempt in the hanks of Oars. But this is true, that afterwards Ptolomy, furnamed Philopater, built a Galley of fourty banks of Oars, the which was two hundred and eighty cubits long, and from the Keel in height to Ptolomy's wonthe top of the Poop, fourty eight cubits; and to look to the tackle and guide, her, did require four hunderfull Galley the top of the Pour, tout yet carry a of fourty dred Marine's, and four thousand watermen to row her; and believes all that, the could yet carry a of Ours. bove the hatches, well near three thouland fighting men. Howbeit this Galley never ferved to other purpose but for shew, and was like to a house that never stirred : and it was never removed out of the place where it was built but with marvellous ado, and great dangers, more to make men wonder as then for any fervice or commodity it could be imployed unto. But now the beauty of Dimetrial ships did nothing hinder their fwiftness and goodness for fight, neither did the hugeness of their building.

take away the nie of them , but their initines and nimbleness deserved more commendation , then

their sumptuousness and stateliness. Thus as this great power and preparation was in hand, being fuch as never King before (fince the time of Alexander the Great) had affembled a greater to invade

and Pyrrhus upon the borders of Epirus , confining with the Realm of MACEDON, they entred

with a great Army, and spoiled and sacked all as they went, Thereupon Demetrius leaving his son

Antigonus in GREECE, he returned with all possible speed into MACEDON, to go first against Lysimathus. But as he was preparing to go against him, news were brought him that Pyrrhus had already

taken the City of BERRHOEA. This news being blown abroad amongst the MACEDONIANS, all

Demetrins doings were turned topfie turvy. For all his Camp was straight full of tears and complaints.

and his men began openly to shew their anger against him, speaking all the ill they could of him, so that

they would tarry no longer, but every one prayed leave to depart, pretending to look to their bufines at home, but in truth to go and yeeld themselves unto Lysimachus. Wherefore Demetrius

thought it best for him to get him as far from Lysimachus as he could, and to bend all his Army against

Pyryhas: because the other was their Countreyman, and familiarly known among the most of them, for

that they had ferved together under Alexander the Great, and that as he thought, the MACEDO-

NIANS would not prefer Pyrrhus a stranger before him, But there his judgement failed him: for as

foon as Pyrrhus had pitched his Camp hard by him, the MACEDONIANS that had ever loved va-

liantness, and had of ancient time efteemed him worthier to be King that was the best fouldier and va-

liantest in the field; and furthermore had heard the report of his great elemency and courtesie he had

Thewed to the prisoners he had taken: they having had good will of long time, fought but good occa-

fion to forfake Demetrins, and to yeeld themselves unto Pyrrhus, or to any other Prince what loever

he were. Then they secretly began to steal away one after another, by small companies at the first : but

afterwards there rose such a general tumult against him throughout all the Camp, that some of them

were fo desperare to go into his tent to bid him flie, and fave himself, because the MAGEDONIANS

Were too weary with fighting for his curiofity. And yet Demetrius found these words more gentle

When this was known in the Camp, many of his fouldiers ran to his tent to rifle it, and every man

took fuch hold of it to have his part; that they tare it in pieces, and drew their, swords to fight for it. But Pyrrhus coming in the middest of the tumult, pacified this stir, and presently without blow

given, wan all Demetrius Camp : and afterwards he divided the Realm of MACEDON with Loft-

machus, in the which Demetrius had quietly reigned the space of seven years. Now Demetrius

being thus miferably overthrown, and turned out of his Realm, he fled unto the City of CASSAN-

DRIA. There he found his wife Phila, who took it marvellous heavily, and could not abide to

fee him again a private man, driven out of his Kingdom, and the most miserable Kingthat ever

parison Menetans maketh of his fortune, in one of the Tragedies of Sophocles, in these verses:

was of all other. Wherefore intending no more to follow vain hope, and detelting the fortune of Phila, Demetri-

her husband, the being more constant in calamity then in prosperity, killed her self with poyson she as wife posson-

took. Demetring went from thence into GREECE, purpoling to gather together the reft of his fhip. either felf. wracks : and there affembled all his Captains and friends that he had. So it feemeth to me, the com-

Asia, these three Kings, Prolomy, Selenem, and Lysimachus, did all joyn together against him. And ASIA, there thice Kings, 10 they fent Ambassadours unto Pyrhiu in the name of them all, to draw him to their. Three Kings. fide, alluring him to come into MACEDON, periwading him not to repole any truft in the peace Des Stlenes, Ptolo

interim had made with him, to make account of it as a good and fure peace : for , they faid that Dime my and Lylma-The did not give him pledge that he would never make war with him, but rather first took opportrius did not give him preage that the washes and preage that the washes good. Pyrrhus confidering so much, and finding against Demetheir words true', there role a sharp and cruel war on every side against Demetrius, who tracted him, and flayed yet to begin. For at one felf time, Ptolomy with a great Fleet of ships came down into GREECE, and made all GREECE revolt from him: and Lysimachus also on Thracia's side.

and modelt, in respect of the vile and cruel words which others gave him. So he went into his tent, Demetrins Arand caft a black cloak about his face, in flead of his rich and flately cloak he was wont to wear, not my forfaketh like unto a King, but like a common player when the play is done; and then fecretly ftole away, him and go

My flate doth turn continually about on Fortun's wheel . Whoff double dealing diverfe times enfor t I am to feel :

Demetrius strange fortune Resembling right the Moon, whose face abideth at no stay Two nights together, but doth change in shape from day to day. At first foe rifeth [mall with horns , and as in age fbe grows, With fuller cheeks and bigger light a great face for forws.

And when for cometh to the full, and foineth fair and bright, Among the goodly gliftering fars the goodlieft in the night : She fades and falls away again , and runs a counter-pace ,

Until he have foregone the light, and figure of her face. This comparison might (1 say) much better be applied unto Demetrism fortune, to his rising and falling, and to his overthrow and relief again. For when every man thought his force and power utterly-overthrown, then began he to rife again by repair of fouldiers, which by little and little came unto him, and straight revived him with good hope. This was the first time that he was ever feen meanly apparelled, like a private man up and down the Countrey, without some shew or tokens of a King. And there was one that feeing him in this eftate at Thebes, pleasantly applied these verses of Euripydes unto him : Of Godimmortal, now become a mortal Wight:

Demetrius mi-

Imenus banks and Dirces ftreams he haunteth in our fight. cely happiness. Now when he began to have hope again, and was (as it were) entred into the great high way of Kings, and had gotten fouldiers about him, which made a body and shew of royall power, here-Rored the THEBANS their liberty and government again. But the ATHENIANS once more revolted from him , and did revoke the dignity and Priefthood of Diphilm , who had been that year created Priest of the saviours, instead of the Governour, which they called in old time Eponymos, as we have told you before: and made a law, that from thenceforth the ancient and common Governours of their City should be reftored again to their ancient manner : and they sent also into Ma-CEDON unto King Pyrrhus, rather to terrific Demetrius (whom they faw begin to rife again) then for any hope they had he would come and help them. Howbeit Demetrius came against them with great tury, and did ftraightly beliege the City of ATHENS. Then the ATHENIANS fent Crases the Philosopher to him (a man of great estimation and authority) who so handled him, partly by in-

locopher dell-treaty, and partly also through his wife perswasions and counsels he gave him for his profit, that veretn America Demetrius prefently raifed his siege. Wherefore, after he had gathered together so many ships as were left him, and had imbarked twelve thouland footmen, and a small number of horsemen, he prefently took fea, and Tailed towards As 1 A , meaning to take the Provinces of CARIA and LYDIA from Lyfmachus, and to make them to rebell against him. There Euridice, fifter to Phila, received him by the City of MILETUM, having with her one of Ptolomies daughters and hers, called Pto-Demetrisumar-lemaide; the which had been afore affianced to him by Selencius means. So he married Prolomaide tied Protomaide there, with the good will and confent of her mother Euridice. After his marriage he prefently went into the field again, and did fet forwards to win some Cities, whereof many willingly received him, and others he took by force. Amongst them he took the City of SARDIS, whither came diverse Captains unto him of King Lysimachus, who yeelded themselves, and brought him a great number of men and much money bendes. But Demetrius receiving advertisement that, Agashocks, Lysimachus fon, followed him with a great Army, he went thence into PHRYGIA, making account, and also hoping, that if he could win ARMENIA, hemight easily make MEDIA rebel; and then that he would fee if he could conquer the high Provinces of ASIA, where he might have many places of refuge, if fortune turned against him. Agashocles followed him very near, and yet skirmishing divers times with him, Demerries alway had the better: howbeit Agathorles did cut off his victuals from him every way, and kept him at fuch a straight, that his men durst no more stray from the Camp to forrage: wherefore they fuftained great want of victuals, and then began his men to beafraid, and to miftrust that he would make them follow him into ARMENIA and MEDIA. The famine daily increased more and more in his Army, and it chanced besides, that missing his way, and failing to gage the foord well as he passed over the River of Lyem, the fury and force of the River carried his men down the stream, and drowned a great number of them: and yet notwithstanding thefe great troubles, they mocked him besides. For one wrote at the entry and coming in to his tent, the first verie of the Tragedy of Oedipus COLONIAN, written by Sophoelis, changing onely fome word:

Thou imp of old and blind Antigonus ; To what a point half thou now carried m? But in the end, the plague began also in the middest of this famine (a common thing, and almost a matter of necessity it should be so) because that men being driven to need and necessity, do frame themselves to eat all that comes to hand: whereupon he was driven to bring back those few men that remained, having loft of all forts (good and bad) not fo few as eight thouland fully told. When he came into the Province of TARSUS, he commanded his men in no case to meddle with any thing, because the Country was subject unto King Stlenens, whom he would in no wife displease. But when he faw it was impossible to stay his men being now brought to such extremity and need, and that Agathocies had bard up the streights and passages of mount Taurus against him, he wrote a letter unto Seleucus, first declaring his miferable state and hard fortune : and then presenting his humble petition and request unto him, prayed him to take pity upon his friend, whom spiteful fortune had thrown into such mitery and calamity, that could not but move his greatest enemies

to have compassion of him. These Letters somewhat softned Selencus heart, insomuch that he wrote to his Governours and Lieutenants of those parts, to furnish Demetrius person with all things needfull for a Princes house and Victuals sufficient to maintain his men. But one Patrocles, a grave wife Patrocles stirman counted, and Seleucus faithfull friend alfo, came to tell him, that the charge to enterrain Demetrius ethup Seleucus Souldiers, was not the greatest fault he made therein, and most to be accounted of: but that he did against Demenot wisely look into his Affairs, to suffer Demetrius to remain in his Countrey, considering that hehad alway been a more fierce and venturous Prince then any other, to enterprise any matters of great importance; and now he was brought to fuch despair and extremity, that he had framed his men which were but rank cowards, (contrary to their nature) to be most desperate and hardy in greatest dangers. Seleucus being moved with these perswasions, presently took his journey into CILICIA with a great Army. Demetrias being aftonished with this sudden change, and dreading fo great an Army, got him to the ftrongest places of Mount Taurus. Then he sent unto Seleucus. first of all to pray him to suffer him to conquer certain barbarous Feople thereabouts, who lived according to their own Laws, and never had King: to the end that he might yet there with fafety according to their own Lawry, and exile, fraying at length in some place where he might be fafe. Secondly, if that liked him not, then that it would yet please him to Victuall his men for the Wimer time onely, in the fame place where they were, and not to be fo hard-hearted unto him as to drive him thence. lacking all needfull things, and so to put him into the mouth of his most cruell and mortall Enemies. But Seleucus miftrufting his demand, fent unto him that he should Winter if he thought good. two Moneths, but no more, in the Countrey of CATONIA, so he gave him the chiefest of his friends for Hostages: howbeit in the mean time he stopped up all the ways and passages going from thence into Syria. Demetrius now feeing himfelf kept in of all fides, like a Beaft to be taken in the toyl, he was driven to trust to his own strength. Thereupon he over-ran the Countrey thereabouts, and so often as it was his chance to have any Skirmish or Conflict with Selencus, he had ever the better of him; and fometime also when they drave the armed Carts with Sithes against him, he overcame them, and put the reft to flight. Then he drave them away that kept the top of the Mountains, and had barred the passages to keep him that he should not go into Syria, and so kept them himself. In fine, finding his mens hearts lift up again, and prettily encouraged, his heart alfo grew so big, that he determined to fight a Battle with Seleucus, and to set all at fix and seven. So that Selencus was at a straight with himself, and wish not what to do. For he returned back the aid which Lysimachus sent unto him, because he was afraid of him, and mistrusted him. On the Desperate men other fide also he durst not fight with Demetrins alone, being afraid to venture himself with a desperate are not to be man : and also mistrusting much his unconstant fortune, the which having brought him to great ex- sought with. treamity, raifed him up again to great prosperity. But in the mean space Demetrius fell into a great fickness, the which brought his body very weak and low, and had almost utterly overthrown his Affairs. For his Souldiers, fome of them yielded themselves to his Enemies, and others stole away without leave, and went where they lifted. Afterwards when he had hardly recovered his health, and within forty days space was prettily grown to strength again, with those few Souldiers that remained with him, he feemed to his Enemies, that he would go and invade CILICIA: but then fuddenly in the night without founding any Trumpet, he removed his Camp, and went another way; and having passed over Mount Amanus, he spoiled the Countrey under it, as far as the Region of CYRRESTACA. But Selencus followed him, and camped hard by him. Thereupon Demetrius suddenly armed his men, and went out by night to affault Selencus, and to take Demetrius deupon Demetrial numerity attended nothing. So that Selencus knew nothing of his fealing on him, but spating of his late enough, until that certain Traitors of Demetrial Camp that sled before, went quickly to sood faces, advertise him, finding him askeep, and brought him news of the danger he was in: Then Selencus affault Selections in a maze and fear withall got up, and founded the Alarm: and as he was putting on his hofe and cus by nighe; making him ready, he cried out (speaking to his friends and familiars about him) We have now a cruell and dangerous beaft to deal with. Demetrius on the other fide perceiving by the great stir and noile be heard in the Enemies Camp, that his enterprise was discovered, he retired again with speed, and the next morning by break of day, Selencus went and offered him Battle. Demetrius prepared himself to joyn with him, and having given one of his faithfull friends the leading of one of the Wings of his Army, himself led the other, and overthrew some of his Enemies on his side. But Selencus in the midft of the Battle lighted from his Horfe, and taking his Helmet from his head, he took a Target on his arm, and went to the first Ranks of his Army, to make himself known unto Demetrius men : periwading them to yield themselves unto him, and to acknowledge in the end. that he had so long time deferred to give them Battle, rather to fave them, then to spare Demetrius. Demetrius Souldiers hearing him fay so, they did him humble reverence, and acknowledging him for their King, they all yielded unto him. Demetrius having fundry times before proved fo ma- Demetrius ny changes and overthrows of fortune, thinking yet to escape this last also, and to pass it over, Army forfook he fled unto the Gates Amanides, which are certain Straights of the Mount Amanus. There he him, and yieldfound certain little thick Groves, where he determined to flay all night with certain Gentlemen of ed themselves to Sciences.

DEMETRIUS.

his house, and a few other of his houshold Servants and Officers which had followed him: meaning, Demetrias flya if he could possible, to take his way towards the City of Caunus, to go to that Sea Coast, hoping eth from Set to hear of his Ships there. But when it was told him, he had no Victoria nor Provision left but leaves. onely to serve him that day, he began then to devise some other way. At length one of his tamiliar friends Sofigenes came unto him, that had four hundred pieces of Gold about him in his Girdle.

Demetrius fa-

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So hoping that with the fame Money he might fly to the Sea, they took their way by night directly to the top of the Mountain. But when they perceived that the Enemies kept Warch there, and that there were great flore of fires hard by them, they then despaired to pass any further; left they should be feen. So they turned to the felf fame place from whence they came, not all of them, for fome of them fled: neither had they that remained also any life in them, as before. So one amongst the reft took upon him to fay, that there was no other way to escape, but to put Demetrius into Selenens hands. Demetrine therewithall drew our his Sword, and would have flain himself: but his friends about him would not fuffer him, but perswaded him to yield himself unto Seleneus. Thereupon he fent unto Selucus, to tell him that he yielded himfelf unto him. Selucus was 60 joyfull of the news, that he faid, it was not Demetrins good fortune that faved him, but his own : who Dewetrige viel befides many other happy good turns the had done him, gave him yet fo honourable occasion and unto Sciencus. good hap, as to make the world to know his clemency and courtefie. Thereupon immediately he called for the Officers of his houfhold, and commanded them to fet up his richeft Pavillion, and to prepare all things meet to receive him honourably. There was one Apollonides a Gentleman in Seleucus Court, who sometime had been very familiar with Demessius: him Seleucus sent immediately unto Demessius. to will him to be of good cheer, and not to be afraid to come unto the King his Mafter, for he should find him his very good friend. So foon as the Kings pleasure was known, a few of his Courtiers went at the first to meet him : but afterwards, every man strived who should go meet him first, because they were all in hope that he should presently be much made of, and grow in credit with Seleucus. But hereby they turned Seleucus pitry incoenvy, and gave occasion also to Demetrius Enemies and fpightfull men, to turn the Kings bountifull good nature from him. For they put into his head many doubts and dangers, faying, that certainly fo foon as the Souldiers faw him there would grow great stir and change in their Camp. And therefore shortly after that Apollonides was come unto Demetriat, being glad to bring him thefe good news, and as others also followed him one after another, bringing him some good news from Selenens: and that Demetrius himself after so great an overthrow (although that before he thought it a shamefull part of him to have yielded his body into his Enemies hands) changed his mind at that time, and began then to grow bold, and to have good hope to recover his state again: behold there came one of Selencus Captains called Paulanias, accompanied with a thousand Footmen and Horsemen in all, who compassed in Demerrius with Demetrias kept them, and made the rest depart that were come unto him before; having charge given him not to bring asprisoner in him to the Court, but to convey him into CHERRONESUS of SYRIA, whither he was brought Spriaby Stew and ever after had a strong Garrison about him to keep him. But otherwise, Seleucus sent him Officers, Money, and all things elle meet for a Princes house : and his ordinary Pare was to delicate, that he could with for no more then he had. And furthermore, he had places of liberty and pleasure appointed him, both to ride his Horfe in, and also pleasant Walks, and goodly Arbours to walk or fir in, and fine Parks full of Beafts where he might bunt : moreover, the King fuftered his own houfhold Servants that followed him when he fled, to remain with him if they would. And furthermore, there daily came some one or other unto him from Seleucus, to comfort him, and to put him in hope, that as foon as Antiochus and Stratonice were come, they would make fome good agreement and peace between them. Demetrins remaining in this state, wrote unto his Son Antigonus, and to his friends and Lieutenants which he had at CORINTH and ATHENS, that they should give no credit to any Letters written in his Name, though his Seal were to them : but that shey (hould keep the Towns they had in charge for his, and likewife all the reft of his Forces, as if himfelf were dead. When Antigonus heard the pitifull captivity of his Father the marvellous gricevoully took his love of Anti-bard fortune, wearing blacks for forrow, and wrote unto all the other Kings, but unto Sciences specially, befeeching him to take him as a pledge for his Father, and that he was ready to yield up all that he kept, to have his Fathers liberty. The like request did many Cities make unto him, and in manner all Princes, but Lyfinachus: who promited Selencus a great film of Moneyto pur Demerius to death. But Selencus, who of long time had no great fancy to Lyfimachus, but rather unterly de-fpifed him, did then think him the more cruell and barbarous, for this vile and wacked request he

DEMETRIUS.

made unto him. Wherefore he still delayed time, because he would have Demetriate delivered by his Son Antiochus and Stratonices means, for that Demerius should be bound to them for his delivery, and for ever should acknowledge it to them. Now for Demetrius, as he from the beginning patiently took his hard fortune, so did he daily more and more forger the misery he was in. For first of all, he gave himself to riding and hunting, as far as the place gave him liberty. Then by Denutriss little and little he grew to be very groß, and to give over fuch passimes, and therewithall he fell turned history into drunkenness and dicing: so that in that fort he passed away the most part of his time (as it tivity into should seem either to avoid the grievous thoughts of his hard fortune, which came into his mind when he was fober; or elfe under colour of drunkenness and eating, thadow the thoughts he had or elfe finding in himself that it was that manner of life he had long defired, and that through his vain ambition and folly till that time he could never attain unto; greatly surmoyling and troubling himself and others, supposing to find in Wars, by Sea and Land, the selicity and delight which he had found in ease and idleness, when he neither thought of it, nor looked for it. For what better end can evil and unadvised Kings and Princes look for, of all their troubles, dangers, and Wars? who indeed decrive themselves greatly, not onely for that they follow their pleasure and delights as their chiefest selicity, instead of vertue and bonest life; but allo, breause that in teach they cannot be merry and take their pleasure as they would. So Demerries

after he had been shut up in CHERRONESUS three years together, by ease, groffness, and drunkennefs, fell fick of a disease whereof he died, when he was four and fifty years old. Therefore was Se- The death of Lucus greatly blamed, and he himself also did much repenthim that he so suspected him ashe did, and Demetrius in that he followed not Dromichetes courtesie, a barbarous man born in THRACIA, who had so royally Cherronesia: and courteoully intreated Lysimachus, whom he had taken prisoner in the Wars: But yet there was fome Tragical Pomp in the order of his Funeral. For his Son Antigonus understanding that they brought him the ashes of his Body, he took Sea with all his Ships, and went to meet them, to receive them in the Isles: and when he had received them, he fet up the Funeral Pot of Gold (in the which were his embers) upon the poop of his Admiral Galley. So all the Cities and Towns whereby they paffed or harboured, some of them did put Garlands of Flowers about the Pot, others also sent a number of men thither in mourning Apparel, to accompany and honour the convoy, to the very Solemnity of his Funerals. In this fort failed all the whole Fleet towards the City of CORINTH, the Pot being plainly The Funerals feen far off, standing on the top of the Admiral Galley: all the place about it being hanged with Pur- of Demetries, ple : and over it, the Diadem or Royal Band; and about it, also were goodly young men armed, which ple; and over it, the Diaucia or royal paint; amanous aparts and spoul; young in that time, were as Pentioners to Demetrius. Furthermore, Xenophantus the famouted Multicain in that time, Xenophantus a being fet hard by it, played a sweet and lamentable Song on the Flute, wherewith all the Oars keep- famous Musiciing troke and measure, the found did meet with a gallant grace, as in a convoy where the Mourners and do knock their breafts at the foot of every Verse. But that which most made the People of CORINTH to weep and lament, which ran to the Pier, and all alongst the shore side to see it, was Antigonus. whom they faw all beblubbered with tears, apparelled as a Mourner in Blacks. Now after they had brought a wonderfull number of Garlands and Nofegays, and cast them upon the Funeral Pot, and had Solemnized all the honours possible for the Funerals at Coninth, Antigonus carried away the Por to bury it in the City of DEMETRIADE, the which bare the Name of Demetrius that was dead, and was a new City, that had been replenished with People, and built of little Towns which are about IO Lco's. Demetrius left two Children by his first Wife Phila, to wit, Antigonus and Stratonice: and Demetrius potwo other Sons, both of them named Demetrius, the one firnamed the lean, of a Woman of ILLY- flerity, RIA, and the other, King of the CYRENIANS, of his Wife Ptolemaide: and another by Deidamia called Alexander, who lived in ÆGYPT. And it is reported also, that he had another Son called Corrhabus, by his Wife Euridice, and that his Posterity reigned by Succession from the Father to the Son, untill the time of Perfeus: who was the laft King of MACEDON, whom the ROMANS overcameby Perfeus, the Paulus Amylius, and wan all the Realm of MACEDO N unto the Empire of Rome. Now that the last King of MACEDONIAN hath played his part, give the ROMANS also leave to come upon the Stage,

of the Posterity

The end of the Life of Demetrius.

THE

THE LIFE OF MARCUS ANTONIUS.



Ann. Mund. 3901.

Ant. Christ. 47.

Antizonus Pa-

* Because that by his death he ended the War which he unfortunately made against thole of Crest. The liberality of Antonius

Fulia the Mo-

Antonius cor-

and therefore his Wife would not let him use his liberality and frank nature. One day a friend of his coming to him to pray him to help him to some Money, having great need, Antonius by chance had no Money to give him, but he commanded one of his men to bring him some water in a Silver Bason; and after he had brought it him, he washed his beard as though he meant to have shaven it, and then found an errand for his man to fend him out, and gave his friend the Silver Bason, and bad him get him Money with that. Shortly after, there was a great stir in the house among the Servants, feeking out of this Silver Bason. Insomuch as Antonius feeing his Wife marvelloully offended for it, and that the would examine all her Servants, one after another about it, to know what was become of it, at length he confessed he had given it away, and prayed her to be contented. His Wife was Julia, of the noble house and Family of Julius Cesar: who for her vertue and chastity, was to be compared with the noblest Lady of her time. Marcus Antonius was brought up under her, being married after her first Husbands death, unto Cornelius Lennulus, whom Cicero put to death with Cethegus and others, for that he was of Catilines conspiracy against the Commonwealth. And this feemeth to be the Original cause and beginning of the cruel and mortal hate Antonius bareunto Cicero. For Antonius self faith, that he would never give him the Body of his Father-in-law to bury him, before his Mother went first to entreat Cicero's Wife: the which undoubtedly was a flat lie. For Cicero denied burial to none of them whom he executed by law. Now Antonius being a fair young man, and in the prime of his youth, he fell acquainted with Curio, whose friendship and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague unto him. For he was a dissolute man, given over to all lust and infolency, who to have Antonius the better at his commandment, trained him on into great follies, and vain expences upon Women, in rioting and banqueting : fo that in short time, he brought Antonius into a marvellous great debt, and too great

for one of his years, of two hundred and fifty Talents, for all which fum Curio was

his Surety. His Father hearing of it, did put his Son from him, and forbad him his house.

Then he fell in with Clodius, one of the desperatest and most wicked Tribunes at that time in

NTONIUS Grandfather was that famous Orator whom Marius flew because

he took Sylla's part. His Father was another Antonius firnamed * CRETAN,

who was not fo famous, nor bare any great fway in the Commowealth: how-

beit otherwise he was an honest man, and of a very good nature, and specially very liberal in giving, as appeareth by an Act he did. He was not very wealthy,

ROME: Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred great stir and mischief in ROME : but at length he foriook him, being weary of his rathness and folly, or else for that he was afraid of them that were bent against Clodius. Thereupon he left ITALY, and went into GREECE, and there bestowed the most part of his time, fometime in Wars, and other while in the fludy of Eloquence. He used a manner of phrase in his speech, called Asiatick, which carried Antonias used the best grace and estimation at that time, and was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of in his pleading oftentation, foolish bravery, and vain ambition. After he had remained there some time, Gabinius Pro-Conful going into Syria, perswaded him to go with him; Amonius told him he would not go as a private man : wherefore Gabinius gave him charge of his Horfemen , and fo took him Antonius had with him. so, first of all he tent him against Aristobulus, who had made the Jevvs to rebel, and charge of with him. So, nrit of an ine tell than against Wall of a Castle of his, and so drave Aristobulus out of Horiemen unall his holds: and with those few men he had with him, he overcame all the JEVVs in set Battel, Pro-Conful. which were many against one, and put all of them almost to the Sword; and furthermore, took going into Aristobulus himself prisoner with his Son. Afterwards Ptolomy King of AGYPT, that had been Syria. Artifornits finner printer win in Soil.

Artifornits find the Country, went unto Gabinius to entert him to go with his Army with him into Antonius sets driven out of his Country, went unto Gabinius to enter him to go with his Army with him into Antonius sets driven to put him again into his Kingdom: and promited him if he would go withhim, ten butter. thousand Talents. The most part of the Captains thought is not best to go thither, and Gabinius Antonius took himself made it dainty to enter into this War, although the coverousness of these ten thousand Ta- Aristobulus lens fluck forely with him. But Antonius that fought but for opportunity and good octafion to attempt great enterprises, and that defired also to gratifie Ptolomies request, he went about to perswade Gabinius to go this Voyage. Now they were more afraid of the way they should go, to come to the City of PELUSIUM, then they feared any danger of the War besides : because they were to pass through deep fands and defert places, where was no fresh water to be had all the Marishes through, which are called the Marishes Serbonides, which the ÆGYPTIANS call the Exhalations or Fume, by the which the Giant Typhon breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the overflowing of the red Sea, which breaketh out under the ground in that place where it is divided in the narroweft place from the Sea on this fide. Antonius was fent before into ÆGYPT with his Horlemen, who did not onely Antonius acts win that passage, but also took the City of Perusium (which is a great City) with all the Souldiers in Expre unin it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it fafe for all the reft of the Army, and the hope of det Gabinius. the Victory also certain for his Captain. Now did the Enemies themselves feel the fruits of Antonius courtese, and the desire he had to win honour : for when Ptolomy (after he had entered into the City of PELUSIUM) for the malice he bare unto the City, would have put all the ÆGYP-TIANS in it to the Sword, Antonius withftood him, and by no means would fuffer him to do it. And in all other great Battels and skirmishes which they fought, being many in number, Antonius did many noble Acts of a valiant and wife Captain : but specially in one Battel, where he compassed in the Enemies behind, giving them the Victory that fought in front, whereby he afterwards had fuch honourable reward, as his valiantness deserved. So was his great courtesse also much commended of all, the which he shewed unto Archelans : for having been his very friend, he made War Antonius courwith him against his will while he lived, but after his death he fought for his Body, and gave it honourable buriall. For these respects he wan himself great same of them of ALEXANDRIA, and dead, he was also thought a worthy man of all the Souldiers in the ROMANS Camp. But besides all this, he had a noble prefence, and shewed a countenance of one of a noble house; he had a goodly thick beard, a broad forehead, crooked nofed, and there appeared fuch a manly look in his countenance, as is commonly feen in Hercules Pictures, stamped or graved in Mettall. Now it had been a speech of old time, that the Family of the Antonij were descended from one Anton the Son of and presence. Hercules, whereof the Family took Name. This Opinion did Antonius feek to confirme in all his doings : not onely relembling him in the likenels of his Body , as we have faid before, but also in The house of the wearing of his Garments. For when he would openly shew himself abroad before many Peo- the Antonis deple, he would alwaies wear his Caffock girt down low upon his hippes, with a great Sword hanging by his fide, and upon that, fome ill-favoured Cloak. Furthermore, things that feem intollerable in other men, as to boaft commonly, to jeft with one or other, to drink like a good fel- rality. low with every body, to fit with the Souldiers when they dine, and to eat and drink with them fouldier-like, it is incredible what wonderfull love it wan him amongst them. And furthermore, being given to love, that made him the more defired, and by that means he brought many to love him. For he would further every mans love, and also would not be angry that men should merrily tell him of those he loved. But besides all this, that which most procured his rifing and advancement, was his liberality, who gave all to the Souldiers, and kept nothing for himself : and when he was grown to great credit, then was his Authority and Power also very great, the which notwithstanding himself did overthrow by a thousand other faults he had. In this place I will shew you one example onely of his wonderfull liberality. He commanded one day his Cofferer that kept his Money, to give a friend of his five and twenty Myriades, which the Ro-MANS call in their Tongue, Decies. His Cofferer marvelling at it, and being angry withal in his mind, brought him all this Money in a heap together, to thew him what a marvellous Mass of Money it was. Amonius feeing it as he went by, asked what it was : the Cofferer antwered him, It was the Money he willed him to give unto his friend. Then Antonius perceiving the spite of his man, I thought (faid he) that Decies had been a greater Sum of Money then it is, for this is but a trifle: and therefore he gave his friend as much more another time, but that was afterwards.

bune of the People, and

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Now the ROMANS maintaining two factions at ROME at that time, one against the other, of the which, they that took part with the Senate did joyn with Pempey being then in ROME: and the contrary fide taking part with the People, fent for Cafar to aid them, who made Wars in Gau: then Curio, Antonius friend, that had changed his Garments, and at that time took part with Cafar, whose Enemy he had been before, he wan Amonius; and so handled the matter, partly through the great tredit and iway he bare amongst the People, by reason of his Eloquent Tongue, and partly allo by his exceeding expence of Money he made which Cefar gave him: that Amonus was cholen Tribune, and afterwards made Augure. But this was a great help and furtherance to Cefar's practiles. For lo foon as Amonius became Tribune, he did oppose himself against those things which the Confull Marcellus preferred (who ordained that certain Legions which had been already levied and billed, should be given unto Chens Pompey, with further Commission and authority to lesy others unto them) and fee down an Order, that the fouldiers which were already levied and affembled, should be fent into Syria for a new supply unto Marcus Bibulus, who made War at that time against the PARTHIANS. And further, gave a prohibition that Pompey should ley no more men, and allo that the Souldiers should not obey him. Secondly, where Pompey's friends and followers would not fuffer Cafar's Letters to be received, and openly read in the Senate, Antonius having power and warrant by his Person, through the holiness of his Tribuneship, did read them openly, and made divers men change their minds : for it appeared to them that Cefar by his Letters required no unreasonable matters. At length, when they preferred two matters of confideration unto the Senate, whether they thought good that Pompey or Cefar should leave their Army, there were few of the Senators that thought it meet Pompey should leave his Army, but they all in manner commanded Cefar todo it. Then Antonius rifing up, asked whether they thought it good that Pompey and Cefar both, should leave their Armies. Thereupon all the Senators joyntly together gave their whole confent, and with a great cry commending Amonius, they prayed him to refer it to the judgement of the Senate. But the Confuls would not allow of that: Therefore Cefar's friends preferred other reasonable demands and requests again, but Cato spake against them; and Lemulus, one of the Consuls drave Antonius by force out of the Asterius flicth Senate, who at his going out made grievous curies against him. After that, he took a Slaves from Rome un-Gown, and speedily fled to Cefar, with Quintus Cassium, in a hired Coach. When they came to Cefar, they cried out with open mouth, that all went hand over head at ROME: for the Tribunes of the People might not speak their minds; and were driven away in great danger of their lives, as many as flood with Law and Juftice. Hereupon Cefar went incontinently into ITALY with his Army, which made Cicero say in his Philippides: That as Hellen was cause of the War of Troy, fo was Antonius the Author of the Civil Wars; which indeed was a stark lie. For Cefar was not fo fickle headed, nor fo eafily carried away with anger, that he would fo fuddenly have gone and made War with his Countrey, upon the fight onely of Antonius and Cassius, being fled to him in miserable Apparell, and in a hired Coach, had he not long before determined it with himfelf. But fith indeed Cefar looked of long time but for fome colour, this came as he withed, and gave him just occasion of War. But to fay truly, nothing else moved him to make War with all the World as he did, but one felf caufe, which first procured Alexander and Cyrus allo Alexander, C)all contended in the World; the which he could not come unto, before he had put down Pompey, and utterly overthrown him. Now after that Cofer had gotten Rome at his commandment, and had driven vertification of ITALY, he purposed first to go into Spain against the Legions Pompey had there:

Pompey out of ITALY, he purposed first to go into Spain against the Legions Pompey had there and the onely and in the mean time to make provision for Ships and marine preparation, to follow Pompey. In his ablence, he left Lepidus that was Prætor Governour of Rome: and Antonius that was Tribune, Cafe gave the he gave him charge of all the Souldiers, and of ITALY. Then was Amonian straight marvellously charge of Italy commended and beloved of the Souldiers, because he commonly exercised himlest among them, unto Antonias, and would oftentimes eat and drink with them, and also be liberall unto them, according to his ability. But then in contrary manner, he purchased divers other mens evil wills, because that through negligence he would not do them justice that were injured, and dealt very churlishly with them that had any fuit unto him: and befides all this, he had an ill name to entice mens Wives. To conclude, Cafar's friends that governed under him, were cause why they hated Cafar's Government (which indeed in respect of himself was no less then a tyranny) by reason of the great insoloneis and outragious parts that were committed: amongst whom Antonius that was of greatest power, and that allo committed greatest faults, deserved most blame. But Cafar notwithstanding, when he returned from the Wars of Spain, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put up against him: but contrarily, because he found him a hardy man, and a valiant Captain, he employed him in his chiefest affairs, and was no whit deceived in his opinion of him. So he passed over the IONI-AN Sea unto Brundusium, being but slenderly accompanied, and sent unto Antonius and Gabinim, that they should imbark their men as soon as they could, and pass them over into MACE-DON. Gabinium was afraid to take the Sea, because it was very rough, and in the Winter-time : and therefore fetched a great compass about by Land. But Antonius staring some danger might come unto Cafar, because he was compassed in with a great number of Enemies, first of all he drave away Libo, who rode at Anchor with a great Army before the Haven of BRUNDUS tum. For he manned out such a number of Pinnaces, Barks, and other small Boats about every one of his Galleys, that he drave him thence. After that, he imbarked into Ships twenty thouland Footmen, and eight

hundred Horsemen, and with this Army he hoised fail. When the Enemies saw him, they made out to follow him: but the Sea role fo high, that the billows put back their Galleys that they could keth Sea wift not come near him, and so he scaped that danger. But withall he fell upon the Rocks with his whole his Army at Fleet, where the Sea wrought very high, so that he was out of all hope to fave himself. Yet by Branduffum, good fortune, suddenly the Wind turned South west, and blew from the gulf, driving the waves and goeth unto of the River into the main Sea. Thus Antonius loofing from the Land, and failing with fafety at Cafar. his pleasure, soon after he saw all the Coasts full of Shipwracks. For the force and boisterousness of the wind did cast away the Galleys that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and splitted, and divers also cast away : and Antonins took a grear number of them Prisoners, with a great fum of Money also. Besides all these, he took the City of Lysus, and brought Casar Antonias mana great supply of men, and made him couragious, coming at a pinch with so great a power to him. hood in War. Now there were divers hot Skirmishes and Encounters, in the which Antonius fought fo valiantly, that he carried the praise from them all: but specially at two several times, when Cafar's men airsted their backs, and fled for life. For he flepped before them, and compelled them to return again to fight: fo that the Victory fellon Cafar's fide. For this cause he had the second place in the Camp among the Souldiers, and they spake of no other man unto Cofar, but of him: who shewed plainly what opinion he had of him, when at the last Battle of PHARSALIA (which indeed was the last triall of all, to give the Conqueror the whole Empire of the World) he himself did lead the right Wing of his Army, and gave Antonius the leading of the left Wing, as the valiantest Antonius led man and skillfulleft Souldier of all those he had about him. After Cafar had won the Victory, and the left Wing man and skillfulleft Souldare of altitude nemad about nim. After Lajar nau won the victory, and that he was created Dictator, he followed *Pompey step by step: howbeir, before he named *Anto* dea *Phulitis, dea *Phul mins Generall of the Horsemen, and sent him to Rome. The Generall of the Horsemen is the se-where Postgrid rond Office of Dignity, when the Dictator is in the City : but when he is abroad, he is the chiefest lost the Field, man, and almost the onely man that remaineth, and all the other Officers and Magistrates are put The Dignity down, after there is a Dictator cholen. Notwithstanding, Dolabella being at that time Tribune, and of the General a young man desirous of change and innovation, he preferred a Law which the ROMANS call No- men, was Tabulas (as much to fay, as a cutting off and cancelling of all Obligations and Specialties; and were called New tables, because they were driven then to make Books of daily receit and expence) and perswaded Anonius his friend (who also gaped for a good occasion to please and gratifie the common People) to aid him to pass this Law. But Trebelliur and Assimus disswaded from it all they could possible. So by good hap it chanced that Antonius mistrusted Dolabella for keeping of Diffention behis Wife, and took such a conceit of it, that he thrust his Wife out of his house, being his Cousin twixt Antonius German, and the Daughter of C. Annonius who was Conful with Cicero; and joyning with Ali- and Dolabella. nim, he resisted Dolabella, and fought with him. Dolabella had gotten the Market-place, where the People do affemble in Council, and had filled it full of armed men, intending to have this Law of the New tables to pass by force. Antonius by commandment of the Senate, who had given him authority to levy men, and to ule force against Dolabella, went against him, and fought so valiantly, that men were slain on both sides. But by this means he got the ill will of the common People; and on the other side, the Noble men (as Cicero faith) did not onely mislike him, but also hate him for his naughty life: for they did abhor his banquets and drunken Feafts he made at unfeafonable times, and his extream waltfull expences upon vain light houswives; and then in the day time he would fleep or walk out his drunkenness, thinking to wear away the fume of the abundance of Wine which he had taken over-night. In his house they did nothing but feast, dance, and mask: and himself passed away the time in hearing of soolish Plays, and marrying these Players, Tumblers, lefters, and furth fort of People. As for proof hereof it is reported, that at Hippins matriage, minule life. one of his Jesters, he drank Wine so lustily all night, that the next morning when he came to plead before the People affembled in Council, who had fent for him, he being queafie fromacked with his Surfeit he had taken, was compelled to lay up all before them, and one of his friends held him his Antonius laid Gown instead of a Bason. He had another pleasant Player called Sergins, that was one of the chiefest up his stomack men about him, and a Woman also called Cytheride, of the same profession, whom he loved dearly: before the he carried her up and down in a Litter unto all the Towns he went, and had as many men waiting biy. apon her Litter (fine being but a Player) as were attending upon his own Mother. It grieved ho- Antonias infometh men also very much, to see that when he went into the Countrey he carried with him a great lency. trumber of Cup-boards full of Silver and Gold Plate openly in the face of the World, as it had been the pomp or shew of some Triumph : and that effsoons in the middest of his journey he would Let up his Halls and Tents hard by some green Grove or pleasant River, and there his Cooks should prepare him a sumptuous Dinner. And surthermore, Lions were harnessed in Traces to draw his Carts: and befides also, in honest mens houses in the Cities where he came, he would have common Harlots, Curtizans, and these tumbling gillots lodged. Now it grieved men much, to see that Cafar should be out of ITALY following of his Enemies, to end this great War with such great peril and danger, and that others in the mean time abusing his name and authority, should commit such infolent and outragious parts upon their Citizens. This methinks was the cause that made the conspiracy against Cafar increase more and more, and laid the reines of the bridle upon the Souldiers necks, whereby they durft more boldly commit many extortions, cruelties and robberies. And Cafarand Leaherefore Cafar after his return pardoned Dolabella, and being created Conful the third time, he pidus. Confuls, took not Amonim, but chose Lepidus his Colleague and fellow Consult. Afterwards when Amonius ou

Fempey's house was put to open sale, Ausonim bought it : but when they asked him Money for it, house.

ANTONIUS.

home and a-

he made it very ftrange, and was offended with them; and writeth himfelf that he would not go with Cefar into the Wars of Africk, because he was not well recompensed for the service he had done him before. Yet Cafer did fomewhat bridle his madness and infolency, not fuffering him to pass his faults so lightly away, making as though he saw them not. And therefore he leit Antonias mar his diffolute manner of life, and married Fulvia that was Clodias Widow, a Woman not so basely minded to spend her time in spinning and houswivery; and was not contented to master her Husband at home, but would also rule him in his Office abroad, and commanded him that commanded Legions and great Armies: fo that Cleopatra was to give Fulvia thanks for that she had taught Antonius this obedience to Women, that learned so well to be at their commandment. Now, because Fulvia was somewhat sowre and crooked of condition, Antonius devised to make her pleafanter, and somewhat better disposed: and therefore he would play her many pretty youthfull parts to make her merry. As he did once, when Casar returned the last time of all Conquerour out of SPAIN, every man went out to meet him, and so did Antonisus with the rest. But on the fudden there ran a rumour through ITALY, that Cafar was dead, and that his Enemies came again with a great Army. Thereupon he returned with speed to ROME, and took one of his mens Gowns, and so apparelled came home to his house in a dark night, saying, that he had brought Fulvia Letters from Amonius. So he was let in, and brought to her muffled as he was, for being known : but she taking the matter heavily, asked him if Antonisa were well. Antonias gave her the Letters, and faid never a word. So when she had opened the Letters, and began to read them, Antonius ramped on her neck, and kissed her. We have told you this tale for examples sake onely, and so could we also tell you of many such like as these. Now when Casar was returned from his last War in SPAIN, all the chiefest Nobility of the City rode many days journey from Roms to meet him, where Cafar made marvellous much of Antonius above all the men that came unto him. For he always took him into his Coach with him throughout all ITALY, and behind him Brutus Albinus and Oftavius the Son of his Neece, who afterwards was called Cafar and Cafar and As- became Emperor of ROME long time after. So Cafar being afterwards cholen Conful the fifth time, tonius Confuls. he immediately chose Antonius his Colleague and Companion: and defired by deposing himself of his Consulship, to make Dolabella Consul in his room, and had already moved it to the Senate. But Antonius did stoutly withstand it, and openly reviled Dolabella in the Senate, and Dolabella also spared him as little. Thereupon Cefar being ashamed of the matter, he let it alone. Another time also when Casar attempted again to substitute Dolabella Consul in his place, Antonius cryed out, that the figns of the Birds were against it: so that at length Cafar was compelled to give him place, and to let Dolabella alone, who was marvelloully offended with him. Now in truth, Cafar made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that Cafar answered one that did accufe Antonius and Dolabella unto him for fome matter of conspiracy : Tush said he, they be not those fat fellows and fine combed men that I fear, but I mistrust rather these pale and lean men, meaning by Brut us and Cassius, who afterwards conspired his death and slew him. Antonius unawares wittingly gave afterwards gave Cafar's Enemies just occasion and colour to do as they did : as you shall hear. The ROMANS by chance celebrated the Feaft called Lupercalia, and Cafar being apparelled in his triumphing Robe, was fet in the Tribune where they use to make their Orations to the People, and from thence did behold the sport of the Runners. The manner of this running was thus: On that day there are many young men of noble house, and those specially that be chief Officers for that year, who running naked up and down the City, anointed with the Oyl of Olive, for pleasure to strike them they meet in their way, with white Leather Thongs they have in their hands. Anonius being one among the rest that was to run, leaving the ancient Ceremonies and old Customs of that Solemnity, he ran to the Tribune where Cafar was fet, and carried a Lawrell Crown in his hand, having a Royal Band or Diadem wreathed about it, which in old time was the ancient mark and token of a King. When he was come to Cefar, he made his fellow Runners with him lift him up, and Antonius Lu- fo he did put his Lawrell Crown upon his head, fignifying thereby that he had deferved to be King. persin puttern But Cafar making as though he refuted it, turned away his head. The People were so rejoiced at it, that they all clapped their hands for joy. Antonius again did put it on his head : Cafar again refuled it; and thus they were firwing off and on a great while together. As oft as Antonius did put this Lawrell Crown unto him, a few of his followers rejoyced at it : and as oft also as Cefer refuled it, all the People together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderfull thing, that they furfered all things, subjects should do by commandment of their King: and yet they could not abide the Name of a King, detefting it as the uter deftruction of their Liberty. Lefar in a rage arose out of his Sea, and plucking down the choller of his Gown from his neck, he shewed it naked, bidding any man ftrike off his head that would. This Lawrell Crown was afterwards put upon the head of one of Cafor's Statues or Images, the which one of the Tribunes pluckt off. The People liked his doing therein fo well, that they waited on him home to his house, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit Cafar did turn them out of their Offices for it. This was a good encouragement for Brutus and Caffin to Bruin and conspire his death, who sell into a consort with their trustiest friends, to execute their enterprise, but Cefor's death, yet flood doubtfull whether they should make Ansonius privy to it or not. All the rest liked of it, is-

ving Treboniss onely. He told them, that when they rode to meet Cafar at his return out of

SPAIN, Antonim and he always keeping company, and lying together by the way, he felt his mind afar off; but Amonius finding his meaning, would hearken no more unto it, and yet not with

flanding never made Cesar acquainted with this talk, but had faithfully kept it to himself. After

that they consulted whether they should kill Antonius with Cafar. But Brutus would in no wife Consultation confent to it, faying, that venturing on fuch an enterprise as that, for the maintenance of Law and about the murinflice, it ought to be clear from all villany. Yet they fearing Antonins power, and the Authority theref Antoniof his Office, appointed certain of the conspiracy, that when Cafar was gone into the Senate, as with Cafar. and while others should execuse their enterprise, they should keep Antonius in a talk out of the Senate-house. Even as they had devised these matters, so were they executed : and Cofar was flainin the middeft of the Senate. Antonius being put in a fear withall, cast a Slaves Gown upon him. and hid himfelf. Bur afterwards when it was told him that the Murtherers flew no man elfe, and that they went onely into the Capitol, he fent his Son unto them, for a pledge, and had them holdly come down upon his word. The felf fame day he did bid Caffins to Supper, and Lepidus also bad-Brutus. The next morning the Senate was affembled, and Antonius himself preferred a Law, that all things past should be forgotten, and that they should appoint Provinces unto Cassius and Brutus : the which the Senate confirmed, and further ordained, that they should cancel one of Calar's Laws, This went Antonius out of the Senate more praifed and better efteemed then ever man was, because reemed to every man that he had cut off all occasion of Civil Wars, and that he had shewed himself a marvellous wile Governour of the Commonwealth, for the appealing of these matters of to great weight and importance. But now, the opinion he conceived of himfelf after he had a little felt the good will of the People towards him, hoping thereby to make himself the chiefest man if he might overcome Brutus, did eafily make him alter his first mind. And therefore when Cafor's body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a Funeral Oration in commendation of Cafar, according to the ancient cultom of praifing noble men at their Funerals. When he saw that the People were very glad and desirous also to hear Casar spoken of, and his praises uttered, he mingled his Oration with lamentable words; and by amplifying of matters did greatly move their hearts and affections unto pitty and compassion. In fine to conclude his Oration, he unfolded before the whole Affembly the bloody Garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their Swords, and called the Malefactors, cruel and curied Murtherers. With these words he Antonius maput the People into fuch a fury, that they prefently took Cufar's Body, and burnt it in the Market- keth uproof aplace, with such Tables and Forms as they could get together. Then when the fire was kind-mong the Peoled, they took fire-brands, and ran to the Murtherers houses to set them on fire, and to make them ple tor the murther of Casar. come out to fight. Bruins therefore and his accomplices, for fafety of their persons were driven to By the City. Then came all Cefars friends unto Antonius, and specially his Wife Calpurnia putting Calpurnia, Caher trust in him, the brought the most part of her Money into his house, which amounted to the sur's Wife. Sum of four thousand Talents; and furthermore brought him all Cafar's Books and Writings, in the which were his Memorials of all that he had done and ordained. Antonius did daily mingle with them such as he thought good, and by that means he created new Officers, made new Senators, calledhome some that were banished, and delivered those that were Prisoners: and then he said, that all those things were fo appointed and ordained by Cafer. Therefore the ROMANS mocking them that were fo moved, they called them CHARONITES, because that when they were overcome, they had no other help but to fay, that thus they were found in Cafar's Memorials, who had failed fo called. in Charen's Boat, and was departed. Thus Antonius ruled absolutely also in all other matters, be- M. Antonius cause he was Consul, and Cains one of his Brethren Prator, and Lucius the other Tribune. Now Consul. things remaining in this state at ROME, Offervisue Cafar the younger came to ROME, who was the Catins Antonius Som of Julius Cafar's Necce, as you have heard before, and was left his lawfull Heir by Will, re-Lucius Antonius Cafar's though of his cases though the man their has Cating the Cating Antonius. maining at the time of the death of his great Uncle that was slain, in the City of APOLLONIA. IS Tribune, all This young mantar his first arrival went to falute Antonius, as one of his late dead Father Cafar's three Brethren. friends, who by his last Will and Testament had made him his Heir : and withall, he was prefently in hand with him for Money and other things which were left of truft in his hands; because Cafar had by Will bequeathed unto the People of Rome threescore and fifteen Silver Drachmaes to be given to every man, the which he as Heir stood charged withall. Antonius at the first made no reckoning of him, because he was very young, and faid, he lacked wit, and good friends to advise him, if he looked to take fuch a charge in hand, as to undertake to be Cefar's Heir. But when Antonius faw Variance hethat he could not shake him off with those words, and that he was ftill in hand with him for his Fa- twist Antonias thers Goods, but specially for the ready Money, then he spake and did what he could against him, and Offavius And first of all, it was he that did keep him from being Tribune of the People; and also when Otta unto Julius evius Cafan began to meddle with the dedicating of the Chair of Gold, which was prepared by Cafar. the Senate to honour Cafar with, he threatned to fend him to Prison, and moreover defifted not to put the People in an uproar. This young Cafar feeing his doings, went unto Cicero and others, which were Antonius Enemies, and by them crept into favour with the Senate: and he himfelf fought the Peoples good will every manner of way, gathering together the old Souldiers of the late Odlavies Cafar deceased Cefer, which were dispersed in divers Ciries and Colonies. Antonius being afraid of it, trienship with talked with Officias in the Capitol, and became his friend. But the very fame night Antonius had Ciccro. a ftrange Dream, who thought that lightning fell upon him, and burnt his right hand. Shortly Antonius and after word was brought him, that Cafar lay in wait to kill him. Cafar cleared himself unto him Offavins beand rold him there was no fuch matter; but he could not make Antonius believe the contrary. Whereupon they became further Enemies then ever they were: infomuch that both of them Dream, made friends of either fide to gather together all the Souldiers through ITALY, that were dispersed in divers Towns ; and made them large promises, and sought also to win the Legions on

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their fide, which were already in arms. Cicero on the other fide being at that time the chiefest man of authority and estimation in the City, he stirred up all men against Antonius: so that in the Antonia judg end he made the Senate pronounce him an Enemy to his Countrey, and appointed young Cafar's Sergeams to carry Axes before him, and such other signs as were incident to the Dignity of a Conby the Senate. ful or Prator : and moreover fent Hircim and Panfa, then Confuls, to drive Antonius out of Hirats and Panis Out of Panis Onfuls. IT ALY. Their two Confuls together with Cafar, who also had an Army, went against Amoniss that befieged the City of MODENA, and there overthrew him in Battle: but both the Confuls Antonius over- were flain there. Antonius flying upon this overthrow, fell into great mifery all at once : but the thrown in Bat- chiefest want of all other, and that pinched him most, was samine. Howbeit he was of such a strong the by the City nature, that by patience he would overcome any advertity, and the heavier fortune lay upon him, of Modera.

Antonias parithe more confrant shewed be himself. Every man that seeleth want or adversity, knoweth by Verent in adverti- tue and discretion what he should do: when indeed they are overlaid, with extremity, and be fore oppressed, sew have the hearts to follow that which they praise and commend, and much less to avoid that they reprove and millike : but rather to the contrary, they yield to their accustomed eafie life, and through faint-heart, and lack of courage, do change their first mind and purpose. And therefore it was a wonderfull example to the Souldiers, to fee Antonius that was brought up in Antonias hard- all finencis and superfluity, so easily to drink puddle water, and to eat wild Fruits and Roots: and ness in adverti- moreover it is reported, that even as they passed the Alpes, they did eat the barks of Trees, and fuch Beafts as never man tafted of their flesh before. Now their intent was to joyn with the Legions that were on the other fide of the Mountains, under Lepidus charge: whom Antonius took to be his friend, because he had holpen him to many things at Casar's hand, through his means. When he was come to the place where Lepidus was, he camped hard by him: and when he faw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venture himself, and to go unto Lepidus. Since the overthrow he had at MODENA, he fuffered his beard to grow at length and never clipt it, that it was marvellous long, and the hair of his head also without combing: and besides all this, he went in a mourning Gown, and after this fort came hard to the Trenches of Lepidus Camp.
Then he began to fpeak unto the Souldiers, and many of them their hearts yearned for pitty to fee him so poorly arrayed, and some also through his words began to pitty him : insomuch that Lepidus began to be afraid, and therefore commanded all the Trumpets to found together to ftop the Souldiers ears, that they should not hearken to Antonius. This notwithstanding, the Souldiers took the more pitty of him, and spake secretly with him by Clodius and Lalius means, whom they fent unto him disguised in Womans apparell, and gave him counsell that he should not be afraid to enter into their Camp, for there were a great number of Souldiers that would receive him, and kill Lepidus, if he would lay the word. Antonius would not fuffer them to hurt him, but the next moming he went with his Army to wade a foord, at a little River that ran between them: and himself was the foremost man that took the River to get over, seeing a number of Lepidus Camp that gave him their hands, plucked up the stakes, and layed flat the bank of their Trench to let him into their Camp. When he was come into their Camp, and that he had all the Army at his commandment, he used Lepidus very courteously, embraced him, and called him Father: and though indeed Amoni-Antonia; wan ses did all, and ruled the whole Army, yet he alway gave Lepidus the Name and Honour of the Capall Lepidus At- tain. Munacius Plancus, lying also in Camp hard by with an Army, understanding the report my from him. of Antonius courtefie, he also came and joyned with him. Thus Antonius being a foot again, and grown of great power, repalfed over the Alpes, leading into ITALE with him feventeen Legions, and ten thousand Horsemen, besides six Legions he left in Garrison among the Gauls, under the charge of one Varius, a Companion of his that would drink luftily with him, and therefore in mockery was surnamed Corylon, to wit, a bibber. So Octavius Cafar would not lean to Cicero, when he faw that his whole travell and endeavour was onely to reftore the Commonwealth to her former liberty. Therefore he fent certain of his friends to Antonius, to make them friends again: The configurey and thereupon all three met together (to wit, Cefar, Antonius and Lepidus) in an Island environed and meeting of a comparation, which a livel R liver and there remained three days together. Now as touching all other Gejar, Anno round about with a little River, and there remained three days together. Now as touching all other nius, and Lepi- matters, they were eafily agreed, and did divide all the Empire of ROME between them, as if it had been their own Inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for every one of them would kill their Enemies, and fave their Kinfmen and friends. Yet at length, giving place to their greedy defire to be revenged of their Enemies, they spurned all reverence of Blood, and holiness of friendship at their feet. For Cafar left Cicero to Antonius will, Antonius alfo forfook Lucius Cafar, who was his Uncle by his Mother : and both of them together fuffered Lepidus to kill his own Brother Panlus. Yet fome Writers affirm, that Cafar and Amonius requested Paulus might be slain, and that Lepidus was contented with it. In my Opinion there was never a more horrible, unnatural, and crueller change then this was. For thus changing murther for murther, they did aswell kill those whom they did forsake and leave unto others, as those also which others left unto them to kill; but so much more was their wickedness and cruelty great unto their friends, for that they put them to death being innocents, and having no cause to hate them. After there plot was agreed upon between them, the Souldiers that were thereabouts, would have this friendship and league betwirt them confirmed by marriage, and that Cafar should marry Chaia, the Daughter of Fulvia Antonius Wife. This marriage also being agreed upon, they condemned three hundred of the chiefest Citizens of Rome, to be put to death by proscription. And Antonine alfo commanded them to whom he had given Commission to kill Cicero, that they should strike off his

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head and right hand, with the which he had written the invective Orations (called Philippides) against Antonius. So when the Murtherers brought him Geero's head and hand cut off, he beheld Antonius cruel them a long time with great joy, and laughed heartily, and that oftentimes for the great joy he felt, ty unto Citerio. Then when he had taken his pleasure of the fight of them, he caused them to be fet up in an open place, over the Pulpit for Orations (where when he was alive, he had often spoken to the People.) as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not blemished his own fortune, shewing himself (to his great shame and infamy) a cruell man, and unworthy the Office and authority he bare. His Uncle Lucisu Cafar alfo, as they fought for him to kill him, and followed him hard, fled unto his Sifter The murderers coming thither, forcing to break into her Chamber, the flood at her Chamber door with her arms abroad, crying out still : You shall not kill Lucius Cafar, before you first kill Lucius Cafar's me, that bare your Captain in my Womb. By this means the faved her Brothers life. Now the life faved, by Government of these Triumviri grew odious and hatefull to the ROMANS, for divers respects; his Sister. but they most blamed Antonius, because he being elder then Cafar, and of more power and force in his Trium then Lepidus, gave himself again to his former riot and excess, when he lest to deal in the Affairs virate. of the Commonwealth. But fetting aside the ill Name he had for his insolency, he was yet much The praise of more hated in respect of the house he dwelt in, the which was the house of Pompey the Great : a Pompey the man as famous for his temperance, modefty, and civill life, as for his three Triumphs. For it grieved them to fee the gates commonly thut against the Captains, Magistrates of the City, and also Ambassadors of strange Nations which were sometimes thrust from the gate with violence; and that the house within was full of Tumblers, Antick Dancers, Juglers, Players, Jesters, and Drunkards quaffing and guzling; and that on them he bestowed the most part of his Money he got by all kind of possible extortions, bribery and policy. For they did not onely fell by the Cryer the goods of those whom they had out-lawed and appointed to murder, flanderoully deceiving the poor Widows and young Orphans, and also raised all kinds of Imposts, Subsidies and Taxes: but notwithstanding also that the holy Vestall Nuns had certain goods and money put in their custody to keep, both of mens in the City, and those also that were abroad, they went thither, and took them away by force. Ottavim Cesar perceiving that no Money would serve Amonius turn, he prayed that they might divide the Money between them, and to did they also divide the Army, for them both to go into MACEDON to make War against Brutus and Cassims: and in the mean time they left the Government of the City of Rome unto Lepidus. When they had paffed over the Seas, and that they began to make War, they being both camped by their Enemies, to wit, Antonius against Cassiss, and Cafar against Brutus, Cafar did no great matter, but Antonius had alway the upper Theyalianthand, and did all. For at the first Battle Cefar was overthrown by Brutus, and lost his Camp, nels of Antoniand very hardly faved himfelf by flying from them that followed him. Howbeit he writeth him- # against Brufelf in his Commentaries, that he fled before the Charge was given, because of a Dream one of his trafriends had. Antonius on the other fide overthrew Caffin in Battle, though fome write that he was not there himself at the Battle, but that he came after the overthrow, whilst his men had the Enemies in chase. So Cassius at his earnest request was slain by a faithfull servant of his own called Pin- The death of darus, whom he had infranchifed : because he knew not in time that Brutus had overcome Cafar. Cassius. Shortly after they fought another Battle again, in the which Brutus was overthrown, who afterwards also slew himself. Thus Amonius had the chiefest glory of this Victory, specially because Cefar Brutus slew was fick at that time. Antonius having found Brutus body after this Battle, blaming him much for himfelf. the murther of his Brother Caine, whom he had put to death in MACEDON for revenge of Citero's erwell death, and yet laying the fault more in Hortenfius then in him, he made Hortenfius to be flain on his Brothers Tomb. Furthermore he cast his Coat-armour (which was wonderfull rich and Sumptuous) upon Brutus Body, and gave commandment to one of his Slaves infranchifed, to de- Antonius gave fray the charge of his buriall. But afterwards Antonius hearing that his infranchifed bondmen had honourable not burnt his Coat-armour with his body, because it was very rich, and worth a great fum of rial unto Bru-Money, and that he had also kept back much of the ready Money appointed for his Funeral and this. Tomb, he also put him to death. After that, Cefar was conveyed to Rome, and it was thought he would not live long, nor escape the fickness he had.

Amonius on the other fide went towards the East Provinces and Regions to leavy money : and first of all he went into GREECE, and carried an infinite number of Souldiers with him. Now, because every Souldier was promised five thoufand Silver Drachmaes, he was driven of necessity to impose extream Tallages and Taxations. At his first coming into GREECE, he was not hard nor bitter unto the GRECIANS, but gave him- Antonius great felf onely to hear wife men dispute, to fee Plays, and also to note the Ceremonies and facrifices of courte fie in GREECE, ministring justice to every man: and it pleased him marvellously to hear them call him Greece. Philelien, (as much to fay, A lover of the GRECIANS) and specially the ATHENIANS, to whom he did many great pleasures. Wherefore the MEGARIANS, to exceed the ATHENIANS, thinking to flew Antonius a goodly fight, they prayed him to come and fee their Senate-house, and Council-hall. Amonius went thither to fee it. So when he had feen it at his pleasure, they asked him: My Lord, how like you our Hall? Methinks (quoth he) it is little, old, and ready to fall down. Furthermore he took measure of the Temple of Apollo Pythias, and promifed the Senate to finish it. But when he was once come into ASIA, having left Lucius Cersoninus Governour in GREECE, and that he had felt the riches and pleasures of the East parts, and that Princes, great Lords, and Kings, came to wait at his gate for his coming out : and that Queens and Princeffes to excell one another, gave him very rich Presents, and came to see him, curiously setting forth

themselves, and using all Art that might be to shew their beauty, to win his favour the more: (Cafor in the mean space turmoiling his wite and body in Civil Wars at home, Antonius living merrily and quietly abroad) he casily fell again to his old licentious life. For straight one Anaxemer a Player of the Cithern, Xouius a Player of the Flute, Metrodorus a Tumbler, and fuch a rabble of Minstrels The plagues of and fit Ministers for the pleasures of ASIA, (who in fineness and flattery passed all the other plagues he Italy, in tion brought with him out of ITALY) all these slocked in his Court, and bare the whole sway : and after that, all went awry. For every one of them gave themselves to riot and excess, when they saw he delighted in it : and all ASIA was like to the City Sophocles speaketh of in one of his Tragedies :

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Was full of sweet Perfumes, and pleasant Songs, With wofull weeping mingled there amongs.

Antonius fimplicity.

For in the City of EPHESUS, Women attired as they go in the Feaths and Sacrifice of Bacchus, came out to meet him with fuch Solemnities and Ceremonies, as are then used : with men and Children difguifed like Fauns and Saryrs. Moreover, the City was full of Ivy, and Darts wreathed about with 1vy, Pfalterions, Flutes and Howboys; and in their Songs they called him Bacchus, Father of mirth, courteons and gentle : and fo was he unto fome, but to the most part of men, cruell and extream, For he robbed Noblemen and Gentlemen of their goods, to give it unto vile flatterers: who oftentimes begged living mens goods, as though they had been dead, and would enter their houses by force. As he gave a Citizens house of MACKESIA unto a Cook, because (as it is reported) he dressed him a fine Supper. In the end he doubled the Taxation, and imposed a second upon Asia. But then Hybraas the Orator fent from the Estates of Assa to tell him the state of their Countrey, boildly faid unto him: If thou wilt have power to lay two Tributes in, one year upon us, thou shouldest allo have the property power to give us two Summers, two Antumus, and two Harvests. This was gallantly and pleasantly unto Antania unto Anonius power to give us two outsitutes, two outsitudes, and it pleased him well to hear it: but afterwards amplylying reaching their poken unto Antonius by the Orator, and it pleased him well to hear it: but afterwards amplylying touching their his speech, he spake more boldly, and to better purpose: As 1A hath payed thee two hundred thousand of Money anto Talents. If all this Money be not come to thy Costers, then ask account of them that levied it: but if thou have received it, and nothing be left of it, then are we utterly undone. Hybraa words netted Antonius roundly: For he understood not of the thesis and robberies his Officers committed by his Authority, in his Treasure and Affairs: not so much because he was careles, as for that he over-simply trufted his men in all things. For he was a plain man, without fubrilty, and therefore over-late found out the foul faults they committed against him: but when he heard of them, he was much offended, and would plainly confels it unto them whom his Officers had done injury unto by countenance of lis authority. He had a noble mind, as well to punish offenders, as to reward well doers: and yet he Associas mandid exceed more in giving, then in punishing. Now for his outragious manner of railing he commonly ufed, mocking and flouring of every man, that was remedied by it felf: for a man might as boldly exchange a mock with him, and he was well contented to be mocked as to mock others: but yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that those which told him so plainly and truly in mirth, would never flatter him in good earnest in any matters of weight. But thus he was callly abused by the praises they gave him, not finding how these flatterers mingled their flattery under this familiar and plain manner of speech unto him, as a fine device to make difference of Meas with tharp and tart Sauce; and also to keep him by this frantick jefting and boarding with him at the Table, that their common flattery should not be troublesome unto him, as men do easily miflike to have too much of one thing; and that they handled him finely thereby, when they would give him place in any matter of weight, and follow his counfell, that it might not appear to him they did it fo much to please him, but because they were ignorant, and understood not so much as he did. Antonisa being thus inclined, the last and extreament milchief of all other (to wit, the love of Cleoparra) lighted on him, who did waken and ftir up many Vices yet hidden in him, and were never feen to any, and if any spark of goodness or hope of rising were left him, Clas-Patra quenched it straight, and made it worse then before. The manner how he fell in love with Antonius love her was this. Antonius going to make War with the PARTHIANS, fent to command Cleopatra to Cleaning to appear performly before him when he came into CILICIA, to answer unto such Acculations as were laid against her, being this: that she had aided Cassius and Brutus in their War against him. The Melfenger fent unto Cleopatra to make this fummons unto her, was called Dellius , who when he had throughly confidered her Beauty, the excellent grace and sweetness of her Tongue, he nothing miftrufted that Antonius would do any hurt to fo noble a Lady, but rather affored himfelf, that within few days fhe should be in great favour with him. Thereupon he did her greathohour, and perswaded her to come into Cilicia, as honourably furnished as the could possible; and bad her not to be afraid at all of Amonius, for he was a more courteous Lord, then any that the had ever feen. Cleopatra on the other fide believing Dellisse words, and gueffing by the former access and credit she had with Julius Cefar, and C. Pompey (the Son of Pompey the Great) only for her beauty, the began to have good hope that the might more easily win Antonius. For Cefar and Pempey knew her when the was but a young thing, and knew not then what the World meant; but now the went to Antonism at the age when a Womans Beauty is at the prime, and she also of best judgment. So the furnished her felf with a world of Gifts, store of Gold and Silver, and of Riches and other fumpruous Ornaments, as is credible enough the might bring from so great a house, and from to wealthy and rich a Realm as ÆGYPT was, but yet the carried nothing with her wherein the

trufted more then in her felf, and in the charms and inchantment of her paffing beauty and grace; Therefore when she was sent unto by divers Letters, both from Antonius himself, and also from The wonderhis friends, the made to light of it, and mocked Antonius to much, that the diffained to fet forward full fumptuous otherwise, but to take her Barge in the River of Cydnus; the Poop whereof was of Gold, the tra Queen of Sails of Purple, and the Oars of Silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the sound of the Mu- Egypt, going fick of Flutes, Howboys, Citherns, Viols, and fuch other Instruments as they played upon in the unto Antonius. Barge. And now for the person of her self, the was layed under a Pavillion of Cloth of Gold of Cydnus fl. Tiffue, apparelled and attired like the goddess Venus, commonly drawn in Picture : and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretty fair Boys apparelled as Painters do fet forth god Cupid, with little Fans in their hands, with the which they fanned wind upon her. Her Ladies and Gentlewomen also, the fairest of them were apparelled like the Nymphs Nereides (which are the Myrmaids of the Waters) and like the Graces; fome steering the Helm, others tending the Tackle and Ropes of the Barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull passing sweet savour of Personnes, that perfumed the Wharfs fide, peftered with innumerable multitudes of People. Some of them followed the Barge all along the River fide : others also ran out of the City to see her coming in. So that in the end, there ran fuch multitudes of People one after another to fee her, that Antonius was left post alone in the Market-place, in his Imperial Seat to give audience : and there went a rumour in the Peoples mouths, that the goddels Venus was come to play with the god Bacthus for the generall good of all Asia. When Cleopatra landed, Antonius fent to invite her to supper to him. But the fent him word again, he should do better rather to come and sup with her. Antonius therefore to shew himself courteous unto her ather arrivall, was contented to obey her, and went to supper to her: where he found such passing sumptuous fare, that no tongue can express it. But amongst The sumptuous all other things, he most wondered at the infinite number of lights and torches hanged on the top of the supers of the supers of the supers of the sum the house, giving light in every place, so artificially set and ordered by devices, some round, some Gleopatra and square : that it was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discern, or that ever Books could men- Antonius. tion. The next night, Antoniss fealting her, contended to passher in magnificence and fineness: but she overcame him in both. So that he himself began to scorn the gross service of his House, in respect of Cleopatra's sumptuousness and fineness. And when Cleopatra found Antonius jests and slents to be but gross, and Souldier-like, in plain manner, she gave it him finely, and without fear taunted him throughly. Now her beauty (as it is reported) was not so passing, as unmatch- Cleopatra's able of other women, nor yet fuch, as upon present view did enamour men with her : but fo sweet beauty was her company and conversation, that a man could not possibly but be taken. And besides her beauty, the good grace she had to talk and discourse, her courteous nature that tempered her words and deeds, was a four that pricked to the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voice and words were marvellous pleafant: for her tongue was an Instrument of Musick to divers Sports and Pastimes, the which she easily turned into any Languagethat pleased her. She spake unto few barbarous People by Interpreters, but made them answer her felf, or at the least the most part of them : as the ETHIOPIANS, the ARABIANS, the TROGLODYTES, the HEBREVYS, the Syrians, the Medes, and the Parthians, and to many others also, whose Languages the had learned. Whereas divers of her Progenitors, the Kings of EGYPT, could fearce learn the a EGYPTIAN Tongue onely, and many of them forgot to speak the MACEDONIAN. Now Ansonius was so ravished with the love of Chopatra, that though his Wife Fulvia had great Wars, and much ado with Cafar for his affairs, and that the Army of the PARTHIANS (the which the Kings Lieutenants had given to the onely leading of Labienus) was now affembled in MESOPOTAMIA, ready to invade SYRIA, yet (as though all this had nothing touched him) he yielded himself to go with Cleopatra unto Alexandria, where he spent and lost in childish sports (as a man might say) with Citopatria unito Alexandria, which is spend (as Antiphon faith) and that is, Time, and idle Paftimes, the most precious thing a man can spend (as Antiphon faith) and that is, Time, and idle Paftimes, the most precious thing a man can spend (as Antiphon faith) and that is, Time, For they made an Order between them, which they called Amimetobion (as much to fay, No life an Order ter up by Antonius comparable and matchable with it) one feafting each other by turns, and in coft, exceeding all mea- and Cleopatra. fure and reason. And for proof hereof, I have heard my Grandsather Lampryas report, that ofe Antonius and Philosas a Physician, born in the City of Amphissa, told him, that he was at that present time Cleopatra in in ALEXANDRIA, and studied Physick: and that having acquaintance with one of Antonius Cooks, Agypt. he took him with him to Antonius house (being a young man destrous to see things) to shew him the wonderfull fumptuous charge and preparation of one onely Supper. When he was in the Kitchin, and faw a world of diversities of Meats, and amongst others, eight wild Bores rosted whole, he be- Eight wild gan to wonder at it, and faid: Sure you have a great number of Guefts to supper. The Cook fell a Boars tofted laughing, and answered him: No (quoth he) not many Guefts, nor above twelve in all: but yet all whole. that is boiled or rosted must be served in whole, or else it would be marred straight: for Antonius peradventure will sup presently, or it may be a pretty while hence, or likely enough he will defer it Philososa Phylonger, for that he hath drunk well to day, or elfe hath had some other great matters in hand! and scian born in therefore we do not drefs one Supper onely, but many Suppers, because we are uncertain of the porter of this trues his dupin. Philora the Phylician told my Grandfather this tale, and faid moreover, that Fees it was his dreft of the porter of this trues his dreft of the porter of this trues his dreft of the porter of the po it was his chance shortly after to serve the eldest Son of the faid Antonius, whom he had by his Philotas, Phy-Wife Fulvia: and that he fate commonly at his Table with his other friends, when he did not dine fician to the nor sup with his Father. It chanced one day there came a Physician that was so still of words, younger Antothat he made every man weary of him at the Board : but Philoson to ftop his mouth, put out this Philoson tubele fubile Proposition to him : It is good in some fort to let a man drink cold water that hath an Ague : Proposition.

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Plato writeth of four kinds of Harrery. Clcopatr1 Queen of all flatterers.

But every man that bath an Ague, hath it in some fort: Ergo, it is good for every man that hath an Ague to drink cold water. The Physician was so gravelled and amazed withall, that he had not a word more to fay. Young Ansonism burft out into luch a laughing at him, and was fo glad of it, that he faid unto him; Philoson, take all that, I give it thee: shewing him his Cupboard full of Plare, with great Pots of Gold and Silver. Philotau thanked him, and told him he thought himself greatly bound to him for his liberality, but he would never have thought that he had had power to have given to many things, and of fo great value. But much more he marvelled, when shortly after one of young Antonius men brought him home all the Pots in a Basket, bidding him fet his mark and stamp upon them, and to lock them up. Philotas returned the bringer of them, fearing to be reproved if he took them. Then the young Gentleman Antonius faid unto him: Alas poor man, why doft thou make it nice to take them? knowest thou not that it is the Son of Antonius that gives them thee, and is able to do it? if thou wilt not believe me, take rather the ready Money they come to : because my Father peradyenture may ask for some of the Plate, for the antick and excellent workmanship of them. This il have heard my Grandfather tell oftentimes. But now again to Cleopatra. Plate writeth that there are four kinds of flatery: but Cleopatra divided it into many kinds. For she (were it in sport, or in matters of earnest) still devised fundry new delights to have Antonius at commandment, never leaving him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her fight. For the would play at Dice with him, drink with him, and hunt commonly with him, and allo be with him when he went to any exercise or activity of body. And sometime also, when he would go up and down the City, difguifed like a Slave in the night, and would peep into poor mens windows and their Shops, and foold and brawl with them within the House, Cleopatra would be also in a Chamber-maids array, and amble up and down the fireets with him, so that oftentimes Antonius bare away both mocks and blows. Now though most men milliked this manner, yet the ALEXAN-DRIANS were commonly glad of this joility, and liked it well, faying very gallantly and wifely: that Antanine thewed them a Comical face, to wit, a merry countenance: and the ROMANS a Tragicall face, to fay, a grim look. But to reckon up all the foolish sports they made, revelling in this fort, it were too fond a part of me, and therefore I will onely tell you one among the reft. Astoniss fifth On a time he went to angle for Fifth, and when he could take none, he was as angry as he could, being in Agyr: cause Cleopatra stood by. Wherefore he secretly commanded the Fishermen, that when he cast in his Line, they should straight diveunder the water, and put a Fish on his Hook which they had taken before : and to fracthed up his Angling-rod, and brought up a Fish twice or thrice. Cleopara found it fraight, yet the teemed not to fee it, but wondered at his excellent fifthing: but when the was alone by her, felf among her own People, the told them how it was, and bad them the next morning to be on the water to fee the filhing. A number of People came to the Haven, and got into the Filher posts to fee the filhing. Antonius then threw in his Line, and Cleopara ftraight commanded one of her men to dive under water before Antonius men, and to put fome old Salt-fifth upon his bait, like unto those that are brought out of the Countrey of PONT. When he had hung the Fifth on his Hook, Antonius thinking he had taken a Fifth indeed, fnatched up his Line pretently. Then they all fell a laughing : Cleopatra also laughing, faid unto him : Leave us (my Lord) & CYP-TIANS (which dwell in the Countrey of PHARUS and CANOBUS) your Angling-rod: this is not thy Profession, thou must hunt after conquering of Realms and Countreys. Now Antenius delighting in these fond and childilh Pastimes, very ill news were brought him from two places. The The Warnof first from Rome, that his Brother Lucius and Fulvia his Wife, sell our first between themselves, Lucine Antoni and afterwards fell to open War with Cefar, and had brought all to naught, that they were both su, and Fattis, driven to fly out of ITALY. The fecond news, as bad as the first: that Labienus conquered all against Office. ASIA with the Army of the PARTHIANS, from the River of Euphrates, and from Syria, unto the Country of Lypia and Ionia. Then began Antonius with much ado, a little to rouse himfelf, as if he had been wakened out of a deep fleep, and as a man may fay, coming out of a great drunkennels. So first of all be bent himself against the PARTHIANS, and went as far as the Countrey of PHOENICIA: but then he received lamentable Letters from his Wife Fulvia. Whereupon he straight resurred towards I TALY, with two hundred Sail : and as he went, took up his friends by the way, that fled out of ITALY to come to him. By them he was informed, that his Wife Fulvia was the onely cause of this War: who being of a pervish, crooked, and troublesome nature, had purposely raised this uprore in IT ALY, in hope thereby to withdraw him from Chopatra. But by good fortune his Wife Fulvia going to meet with Antonius, fickned by the way, and died in the City of Sicrons: and therefore Otherins Cafar and he were the eaflier made friends again. For when 100 cents of Antonius landed in ITALY, and that men faw Cefer asked nothing of him, and that Antonius on the other fide laid all the fault and burden on his Wife Fulvis : the friends of both parties would not fuf-All the Empire Ser them to unitip any old matters, and to prove or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer of this War, searing to make matters worse between them; but they made them ded between friends together, and divided the Empire of Rous between them, making the Sea Ionium the bounds of their division. For they gave all the Provinces Eastward unso Amonius, and the Counhalf Sifter of treys Westward uno Cafar, and left AFRICK unso Lepidus; and made a Law, that they three, Official of the state of the st and Daughter formed to be a found counfell, but yet it was to be confirmed with a ftraighter bond, which or summer. fortune offered thus. There was Offeria the sides Sifter of Cefar, not by one Mother, for the Cofar Mather, came of Aucharia, and Cofor himself afterwards of Accis. At is reported, that he dearly loved

his Sifter Octavia, for indeed the was a noble Lady, and left the Widow of her first Husband Cains Marcellus, who died not long before: and it feemed also that Antonius had been Widower ever fince the death of his Wife Fulvia. For he denied not that he kept Cleopatra, neither did he confess that he had her as his Wife: and so with reason he did defend the love he bare unto this ÆGYPTIAN Gleopatra. Thereupon every man did fet forward this Marriage, hoping thereby that this Lady Octavia, having an excellent grace, wildom and honefty, joyned unto fo rare a beauty, when the were with Antonius (he loving her as fo worthy a Lady deserveth) she should be a good mean to keep good love and amity betwixt her Brother and him. So when Cafar and he had made the match be- A Law at Route tween them, they both went to Rome about this Marriage, although it was against the Law, that for marrying of a Widow should be married within ten Moneths after her Husbands death. Howbeit the Senate dif- Widows. a Widow fround be married within ten monetas are net rusbands acan. Towers as chart and Antonius marpenced with the Law, and to the Marriage proceeded accordingly. Sextus Pompeius at that time ried Odicuis. kept in Sicilia, and to made many an inrode into Italy with a great number of Pinnaces and o- Odavins Cafars ther Pirates Ships, of the which were Captains two notable Pirates, Menas and Menecrates, who half Sifter. fo scoured all the Sea thereabouts, that none durst peep out with a fail. Furthermore, Sextus Pompeius had dealt very friendly with Antonius, for he had courteoufly received his Mother when the fled out of ITALY with Fulvia; and therefore they thought good to make Peace with him. So Antoniys and they met all three together by the Mount of MISENA, upon a Hill that runneth far into the Sea : Offavius Cafir Pompey having his Ships riding hard by at Anchor, and Antonius and Cafar their Armies upon the domake peace thore fide, directly over against him. Now, after they had agreed that Sextus Pompeius should Pompeius. have SICILE and SARDINIA, with this condition, that he should rid the Sea of all Thieves and Pirates, and make it fafe for Paffengers; and withall, that he should fend a certain quantity of Wheat to Rome; one of them did feaft another, and drew cuts who should begin. It was Pompeius chance to invite them first. Whereupon Antonius asked him: And where shall we sup? There, faid Pompey; and shewed him his Admiral-Galley, which had fix Banks of Oars: that (faid he) is my Fathers House they have left me. He spake it to taunt Antonius, because he had his Fathers House. Sexias Pompeithat was Pompey the Great. So he cast Anchors enough into the Sea, to make his Galley fast, and astaunt to Anthen built a Bridge of Wood to convey them to his Galley, from the head of Mount Mifena : and tonius. there he welcomed them, and made them great chear. Now in the midft of the Feaft, when they fell to be merry with Antonius love unto Cleopatra, Menas the Pirate came to Pompey, and whileper-Sexual Pombeiing in his ear, faid unto him: Shall I cut the Cables of the Anchors, and make thee Lord not onely as being offerof SICILE and SARDINIA, but of the whole Empire of ROME besides ? Pompey having paused ed wonderfull a while upon it, at length answered him: Thou shouldest have done it, and never have told it me; great fortune, for his honesty but now we must content us with that we have: as for my self, I was never taught to break my and faith sake faith. nor to be counted a Traytor. The other two also did likewise feast him in their Camp, and refused it. then he returned into Sicile. Antonius after this agreement made, fent Ventidius before him into ASIA to flay the PARTHIANS, and to keep them they should come no further: and he himself in the mean time, to gratifie Cafar, was contented to be chosen fulius Cafar's Priest and Sacrificer, and so they joyntly together dispatched great matters concerning the state of the Empire. But in all other manner of Sports and Exercises, wherein they passed the time away the one with the other, Anzonius was ever inferiour unto Cafar, and alway loft, which grieved him much. With Antonius there was a Soothfayer or Aftronomer of ÆGYPT, that could caft a Figure, and judge of mens Nativities. to tell them what should happen to them. He either to please Cleopatra, or else for that he found it so Antonius told by his art, told Antonius plainly, that his fortune (which of it felf was excellent good, and very great) by a Soothfaywas altogether blemished and obscured by Casar's fortune: and therefore he counselled him utterly to er, that his forleave his company, and to get him as far from him as he could. For thy Demon, faid he, (that is to fay, riour unto Octhe good Angel and Spirit that keepeth thee) is afraid of his: and being couragious and high when he trouis Cafars. is alone, becometh fearfull and timorous when he cometh near unto the other. Howfoever it was, the events enfuing proved the ÆGYPTIAN'S words true; for it is faid, that as often as they two drew cuts for pastime, who should have any thing, or whether they played at dice, Antonius alway lost. Oftentimes when they were disposed to see Cock-fight, or Quails that were taught to fight one with Antonius unanother, Galar's Cocks or Quails did ever overcome. The which spighted Antonins in his mind, al- fortunate in though he made no outward shew of it : and therefore he believed the EGYPTIAN the better. In sport and carfine, he recommended the affairs of his house unto Cafar, and went out of ITALY with Offavia his neft, against Wife, whom he carried into Greece after he had had a Daughter by her. So Antonius lying all the Orthographic Oracle King of Winter at ATHENS, news came unto him of the Victories of Ventidius, who had overcome the PAR- Partition THIANS in Battle, in the which also were flain Labienus and Pharnabates, the chiefest Captains King Orodes had. For these good news he seasted all ATHENS, and kept open house for all the GRECI-ANS, and many Games of price were plaid at ATHENS, of the which he himfelf would be Judge. Wherefore leaving his Guard, his Axes, and tokens of his Empire at his house, he came into the Shewplace or Lifts (wherethese Games were plaid) in a long Gown and Slippers after the GRECIAN fathion, and they carried tipftaves before him, as Marthals men do carry before the Judges, to make place: Ventidius notaand he himself in person was a stickler to part the young men, when they had fought enough. After ble victory of that, preparing to go to the wars, he made him a garland of the holy olive, and carried a veffel with him the Parthians. of the water of the fountain Clepfydra, because of an Oracle he had received, that so commanded him. The death of In the mean time, Ventidius again overcame Pacorus (Orodes Son, King of PARTHIA) in a Battle King of Parfought in the Country of CYRRESTICA, he being come again with a great Army to invade SYRIA : this's Son. at which Battle was flain a great number of the PARTHIANS, and among them Pacorus the Kings

New difoles-

The words of Macenas and Agrippa.

Plato calleth the horse of the mind. Antonius fent for Cleopatra Antigonus

own Son. This noble exploit as famous as ever any was, was a full revenge to the ROMANS of the shame and loss they had received before the death of Marcus Crassus: and he made the PARTHIANS fly, and glad to keep themselves within the Confines and Territories of MESOPO-TAMIA and MEDIA, after they had thrice together been overcome in several Battles. Howbeit, Ventidius durst not undertake to follow them any farther, fearing left he should have gotten Antonisu displeasure by it. Notwithstanding, he led his Army against them that had rebelled, and conquered them again : amongst whom he besieged Antiochus King of COMMAGENA, who offered him to give a thousand Talents to be pardoned his rebellion, and promifed ever after to be at Antoniu commandment. But Vemidius madehim answer, that he should fend unto Antonius; who was not far off, and would not fuffer Ventidius to make peace with Antiochus, to the end that yet this little exploit should pass in his name, and that they should not think he did any thing but by Lieutenant Ventidius. The Siege grew very long, because they that were in the Town, seeing they could not be received upon any reasonable compassition, determined valiantly to defend themselves to the last man. Thus Antonius did nothing, and yet received great shame, repenting him much that he took not their first offer. And yet at the last he was glad to make Truce with Ansiochus, and to take three hundred Talenis for composition. Thus after he had set order for the State and Affairs of SYRIA, he returned again to ATHENS: and having given Ventidius such honours as he deserved, he fent him to ROME, to triumph for the PARTHIANS. Ventidius was the onely man that ever triumphed of the PARTHIANS untill this present day, a mean man born, and of no noble House the Roman, or Family: who onely came to that he attained unto, through Antonius friendship, the which delithat triumphed vered him happy occasion to atchieve great matters; and yet to fay truly, he did fo well quit himfelf in all his Enterprise that he confirmed that which was spoken of Antonius and Cafar, to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made War by their Lieutenants, then by themselves. For Soffins one of Antonius Lieutenants in Syria, did notable good fervice: and Canidius whom he had also left his Lieutenant in the borders of Armenia, did conquer it all. So did he also overcome the Kings of the IBERIANS and ALBANIANS, and went on with his Conquefts unto Mount Canidius Con- Caucalus. By these Conquests, the same of Antonius Power increased more and more, and grew dreadfull unto all the barbarous Nations. But Antonius notwithstanding, grew to be marvellously offended with Cafar, upon certain reports that had been brought unto him: and so took Sea to go towards ITALY with three hundred Sail. And because those of BRUNDUSIUM would not receive his Army into their Haven, he went farther unto TARENTUM. There his Wife Othavia that Official cafer came out of GREECE with him, belought him to fend her unto her Brother, the which he did. Official via at that time was great with child, and moreover had a fecond Daughter by him, and yet she per her felf in journey, and mer with her Brother Octavius Cafar by the way, who brought his two chief friends, Macenas and Agrippa withhim. She took them aside, and with all the instance she could possible, intreated them they would not fuster her that was the happiest Woman of the World, to become now the most wretched and unfortunatest creature of all other. For now, faid she, every mans eyes do gaze on me, that am the Sifter of one of the Emperors, and Wife of the other. And if the worst counsell take place (which the gods forbid) and that they grow to Wars: for your felves, it is uncertain to which of them two the gods have affigned the victory or overthrow. But for me, on which side soever the victory fall, my state can be but most miserable still. These words Official pact- of Officialo formed Cafer's heart, that he went quickly unto Tarentum. But it was a noble fieth the quar- fight for them that were prefent, to fee fo great an Army by Land not to ftir; and fo many Ships arei betwirtt ditterinis and float in the Road, quietly and fafe; and furthermore, the meeting and kindness of friends, lovingly embracing one another. First, Antonius feasted Cafar, which he granted unto for his Sisters Oftavius Cafir fake. Afterwards they agreed together, that Cafar thould give Antonius two Legionsto go against the PARTHIANS: and that Antonius should let Cafar have an hundred Galleys armed with brazen Spurs at the Prows. Befides all this, Octavia obtained of her Husband twenty Brigantines for her Brother: and of her Brother for her Husband, a thouland armed men. After they had taken leave of each other, Cafar went immediately to make War with Sextus Pompeius, to get SICILIA into his hands. Amonius alfo leaving his Wife Ottavia and little Children begotten of her, with Cefar, and his other Children which he had by Fulvia, went directly into Asia. Then began this peftilent plague and milchief of Cleopatra's love (which had slept a long time, and seemed to have been utterly forgotten, and that Antonius had given place to better counfell) again to kindle, and to be in force, fo foon as Antonius came near unto SYRIA. And in the end, the horse of the mind as Plato termeth it, that is so hard of rein (I mean the unreined lust of concupiscense) did put out of Antonius head all honest and commendable thoughts : for he sent Fonteins Capito to bring Chepatra into Syria: unto whom, to welcome her, he gave no trifling things; but unto that she had already, he added the Provinces of PHENICIA, those of the neithermost Syria, the Isle of Cyprus, and a great part of CILICIA, and that Countrey of Juny where the true Balm is, and that part Antonius gave of ARABIA where the NABATHEIANS do dwell, which stretcheth out toward the Ocean. These great Provinces unto Cite. great gifts much misliked the ROMANS. But now, though Amonism did eafily give away great Seigniories, Realms, and mighty Nations unto some private men, and that also he took from other Kings their lawfull Realms (as from Aneigonus King of the JEVVS, whom he openly beheaded, where King of Jury, never King before had fuffered the like death:) yet all this did not fo much offend the Romans, as the unmeasurable honours which he did unto Cleopatra. But yet he did much more aggravate their malice and ill will towards him, because that Cleopatra having brought his two Twins, a a Son and a Daughter, he named his Son Alexander, and his Daughter Cleopatra; and gave them to their firnames, the Sun to the one, and the Moon to the other. This notwithstanding, he that Antonius twins could finely cloak his shamefull deeds with fine words, said, that the greatness and magnificence of by Guoparra the Empire of ROME appeared most, not where the ROMANS took, but where they gave much : names. and Nobility was multiplyed amongst men by the Posterity of Kings, when they left of their feed in divers places; and that by this means his first Ancestor was begotten of Hercules, who had not left the hope and continuance of his Line and Posteriry in the womb of one onely woman, fearing Solons Laws, or regarding the Ordinances of men touching the procreation of children: but that he gave it unto nature, and established the foundation of many noble Races and Families in divers places. Now Phragres flew when Phraortes had flain his Father Orodes, and possessed the Kingdom, many Gentlemen of PAR- his Father O-THIA forfook him, and fled from him. Amongst them was Moneses a Nobleman, and of great rodes King of Authority among his Countreymen, who came unto Antonius that received him, and compared his Paribia. fortune unto Themistocles, and his own riches and magnificence unto the Kings of Persia. For he gave Monefes three Cities, LARISSA; ARETHUSA, and HIERAPOLIS, which was called before BOMBICE. Howbeit the King of PARTHIA shortly after called him home again, upon his faith and word: Antonius was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to fteal upon Phraortes unprovided. For he fent unto him, and told him that they would remain good friends, and have peace together, to he would but onely redeliver the Standards and Enfigns of the ROMANS (which the PAR-THIANS had won in the Battle where M. Craffin was flain) and the men also that remained yet Prisoners of this overthrow. In the mean time he sent Cleopatra back into EGYPT, and took his way towards ARABIA and ARMENIA, and there took a general muster of all his Army he had together, and of the Kings his Confederates that were come by his commandment to aid him, being a marvellous number : of the which, the chiefest was Artanasdes King of ARMENIA, who did furnish him with six thousand Horsemen, and seven thousand Footmen. There were also of the Ro- Antonius great MANS about threefcore thousand Footmen, and of Horsemen (Spaniards and Gauls rec- and puissant koned for ROMANS) to the number of ten thousand; and of other Nations thirty thousand men. Army. reckoning together the Horsemen and light armed Footmen. This so great and puissant Army (which made the Indians quake for fear, dwelling about the Countrey of the BACTRIANS, and all A. Antoniusdrunk SIA also to tremble) served him to no purpose, and all for the love he bare to Cleopatra. For the ear- of Cleopatra. nest great desire he had to lie all Winter with her, made him begin this War out of due time, and for hafte to put all in hazard : being fo ravished and enchanted with the sweet poison of her love, that he had no other thought but of her, and how he might quickly return again, more then how he might overcome his Enemies. For first of all, where he should have wintered in ARMENIA to refresh his men, wearied with the long journey they had made, having come 8000 furlongs, and then at the beginning of the Spring to go and invade MEDIA before the PARTHIANS should stir out of their Houses and Garisons: he could tarry no longer, but led them forthwith unto the Province of ATRO-PATENE, leaving ARMENIA on the left hand, and foraged all the Countrey. Furthermore, making all the hafte he could, he left behind him Engines of battery which were carried with him in 300 Carts (among the which also there was a Ram fourscore foot long) being things most necessary for him. and the which he could not get again for money, if they were once loft or marred. For the high Provinces of Asia have no trees growing of fuch height and length, neither strong nor streight enough to make such like Engines of battery. This notwithstanding, he left them all behind him, as an hinderance to bring his matters and intent speedily to pass: and left a certain number of men to keep them, and gave them in charge unto one Tatianus. Then he went to beliege the City of PHRAATA, being the chiefest and greatest City the King of MEDIA had, where his wife and children were. Then Autonius be he straight found out his own fault, and the want of his Artillery he lest behind him, by the work fieged the City be had in hand: for he was fain for lack of a breach (where his men might come to the Sword with of Phrasts in their Enemies that defended the wall) to force a mount of earth hard to the walls of the City, the which by little and little with great labour, rose to some height. In the mean time King Phraortes came down with a great Army, who understanding that Antonius had left his Engines of battery behind him, he fent a great number of Horsemen before, which environed Tatianus with all his carriage, and flew him, and ten thousand men he had with him. After this the barbarous People took these Engines The Parthians of battery and burnt them, and got many Prisoners, amongst whom they took also King Polemon, took Antonius This discomfiture marvellously troubled all Antonius Army, to receive so great an overthrow (be- Engines of yond their expectation) at the beginning of their Journey: infomuch that Artabazus King of the Ar-MENIANS, despairing of the good success of the ROMANS, departed with his men, notwithstanding that he was himself the first procurer of this War and Journey. On the other fide, the PARTHIANS came couragiously unto Antonius Camp, who lay at the Siege of their chiefest City, and cruelly reviled and threatned him. Antonius therefore fearing that if he lay still and did nothing, his mens hearts would fail them; he took ten Legions, with three Cohorts or Enfigns of the Prators (which are Companies appointed for the guard of the General) and all his Horfemen, and carried them out to forage, hoping thereby he should easily allure the PARTHIANS to fight a Battle. But when he had marched about a days journey from his Camp, he faw the PARTHIANS wheeling round about him to give him the onfet, and to skirmish with him, when he would think to march his way. Therefore he fet out his fignall of Battle, and yet caused his Tents and Fardels to be truffed up, as though he meant not to fight, but onely to lead his men back again. Then he marched before the Army of the barbarous People, the which was martialled like a Cressant or half Moon:

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Butle berwire The PARTHIANS flood in Battle-ray, and beholding the countenance of the ROMANS as they good order in their march.

the Parthians marched, took them for Souldiers indeed, for that they marched in as good array as was possible: and Antenias. For in their march they kept their ranks a little space one from another, not stragling out of order. and shaking their Pikes, speaking never a word. But so soon as the Alarum was given, the Horse-

AN, TONIUS.

and commanded his Horsemen, that as soon as they thought the Legions were near enough unto

their Enemies to fet upon the Vaward, they should fet spurs to their Horses, and begin the Charge.

men fuddenly turned head upon the PARTHIANS, and with great cries gave Charge on them : who at the first received their Charge couragiously, for they were joyned nearer then within an Arrows fhoot. But when the Legions also came to joyn with them, shouting out aloud, and rating of their Armours, the PARTHIANS Horses and themselveswere so assaud and amazed withall, that they all turned tail and fled, before the ROMANS could come to the Sword with them. Then Antonius followed them hard in chase, being in great hope by this conflict to have brought to end all or the most part of this War. But after that his Footmen had chased them fifty furlongs off, and the Horsemen also thrice as far, they found in all but thirty persons taken, and about four core men onely flain : which did much discourage them, when they considered with themselves, that obtaining the victory, they had slain so few of their Enemies: and when they were overcome, they lost so many of their men, as they had done at the overthrow when their carriage was taken. The next morning Antonius Army truffed up their carriage, and marched back towards their Camp: and by the way in their return they met at the first a few of the PARTHIANS; then going on further, they met a few more. So at length when they all came together, they reviled them, and troubled them on every fide, as freshly and couragiously as if they had not been overshrown: so that ROMANS very hardly got to their Camp with safety. The MEDES on the other side, that were besieged in their chief City of PHRAATA, made a falley out upon them that kept the Mount which they had forced and cast against the Wall of the City, and drave them for fear from the Mount Decimation a they kept. Antonius was fo offended withall, that he executed the Decimation. For he divided his Martial punish- men by ten Legions, and then of them he put the tenth Legion to death, on whom the lot fell : and for the other nine, he caufed them to have Barley given them instead of Wheat. Thus this War fell our troublesome unto both parties, and the end thereof much more fearfull: for Antonias could look for no other of his fide but famine, because he could forage no more, nor fetch in any Victuals, without great loss of his men : and on the other fide, Phraertes knew well enough that the PARTHIANS would do any thing rather then lie in Camp abroad in the Winter. Therefore he was afraid, that if the ROMANS continued their Siege all Winter long, and made War with him still, that his men would for sake him, and specially because the time of the year went away apace, and the air waxed cloudy and cold in the Equinoctiall Autumn. Thereupon be called to mind this device : He gave the chiefest of his Gentlemen of the PARTHIANS charge, that when they met the ROMANS out of their Camp, going to forage, or to water their Horse, or for some other Proagainst the Re- vision, that they should not diffres them too much, but should suffer them to carry somewhat man. away, and greatly commend their valiantness and hardiness, for which their King did esteem them the more, and not without cause. After these first allurements, they began by little and little to come nearer unto them, and to talk with them on Horseback, greatly blaming Antonius self-will, that did not give their King Phraertes occasion to make a good Peace, who defired nothing more thento fave the lives of fo goodly a company of valiant men; but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greatest and most dreadfull Enemies he could have, to wir, Winter and Famine, the which they could hardly away withall, though the PARTHIANS did the best they could to aid and accompany them. These words being oftentimes brought to Antonius, they made him a little pliant, for the good hope he had of his return : but yet he would not fend unto the King of PARTHIA, before they had first asked these barbarous People that spake so courteously unto his men, whether they fpake of themselves, or that they were their Masters words. When they told them, the King himself faid fo, and did perswade them further not to fear or miftruft them, then Antonius fent fome of his friends unto the King, to make demand for the delivery of the Enfigns and Priloners he had of the ROMANS fince the overthrow of Graffu, to the end it should not appear, that if he asked nothing, they should think he were glad that he might onely cleape with safety out of the danger he was in. The King of PARTHIA answered him, that for the Ensigns and Prisoners be demanded, he should not break his head about it, but if he would depart presently and without delay, he might do it peaceably, and without danger. Wherefore Antonius after he had given his men some time to truss up their carriage, he raised his Camp, and took his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very proper to entertain his Souldiers and men of War, and that he could passingly well do it, as well or better then any Captain in his time: yet for shame he would not speak unto them at his removing, but gave the charge thereof to Domitins Andrews. Many of them took this in very ill part, and thought that he did it in diffiding of them: but the most part of them prefently understood the truth of it, and were also ashamed. Therefore they thought it their duties to carry the like respect unto their Capeain that their Captain did unto them; and fo they became the more obedient unto him. So Antonius was minded to return the fame way he came, being a plain barren Countrey without Wood. But there came a Souldier to him, born in the Countrey of the MARDIANS, who having been long familiar with the PARTHIANS, knew their fashions very well, and had also shewed himself very true and faithfull to the ROMANS in the Battle where Antonias engines of battery and carriage were

taken away. This man came to Antonian, to counsell him to beware how he went that way, and to make his Army a prey (being heavily armed) unto fo great a number of Horfemen, all Archers in the open field, where they should have nothing to let them to compals him round about ; and that this was Phraortes fetch, to offer him to friendly conditions and courteous words, to make him raife his fiege, that he might afterwards meet him as he would in the Plains: howbeit, if he thought good he would guide him another way on the right hand, through woods and mountains, a far nearer way. and where he should find great plenty of all things needfull for his Army. Antonius hearing what he faid, called his Council together to confult upon it. For after he had made peace with the PAR-THIANS, he was loth to give them cause to think he mistrusted them : and on the other fide also. he would gladly shorten his way, and passby places well inhabited, where he might be provided of all things necessary: therefore he asked the MARDIAN what pledge he would put in, to perform that he promifed. The MARDIAN gave himfelf to be bound hand and foot, till he had brought his Army into the Countrey of Armenta. So he guided his Army thus bound, two days together, without any trouble or fight of Enemy. But the third day Antonias thinking the PARTHIANS would no more follow him, and trufting thereto, fuffered his Souldiers to march in diforder as every man lifted. The MARDIAN perceiving that the dams of a River were newly broken up, which they should have paffed over, and that the River had overflown the banks, and drowned all the way they should have gone, he gueffed straight that the PARTHIANS had done it, and had thus broken it open, to stav the ROMANS for getting too far before them. Therefore he bade Antonius look to himself, and told him that his Enemies were not far off. Antonius having fet his men in order, as he was placing of his Archers and Slingmen to refult the Enemies, and to drive them back, they descried the PARTHI- The Parthiant ANS that wheeled round about the Army, to compais them in on every fide, and to break their do fee up ranks, and their light armed men gave charge upon them. So after they had hurt many of the Roa Antonias in his MANS with their Arrows, and that they themselves were also hurt by them with their Darts and return. Plummets of Lead, they retired a little, and then came again and gave charge, untill that the Horsemen of the GAUL sturned their Horfes, and fiercely galloped towards them, that they disperfed them fo, as all that day they gathered no more together. Hereby Antonius knew what to do, and did not onely strengthen the Rereward of his Army, but both the Flanks also with Darts and Sling-men, and made his Army march in a square Battle: commanding the Horsemen, that when the Enemies should come to affail them, they should drive them back, but not follow them too far. Thus the PARTHI-ANS four days after, feeing they did no more hurt to the ROMANS, then they also received of them, they were not so hot upon them as they were accustomed, but excusing themselves by the Winter that troubled them, they determined to return back again. The fifth day Flavins Gallus, a va- The bold aft liant man of his hands, that had charge in the Army, came unto Antonius to pray him to let him have of Flavini Galfome more of his light armed men then were already in the Rereward, and some of the Horsemen that 144. were in the Vaward, hoping thereby to do some notable exploit. Antonius granting them unto him. when the Enemies came according to their manner to fet upon the tail of the Army, and to skirmish with them, Flavine couragiously made them retire, but not as they were wont to do before, to retire and joyn presently with their Army; for he over-rashly thrust in among them to fight it out at the

Sword. The Captains that had the leading of the Rereward, feeing Flavius stray too far from the

Army, fent unto him to will him to retire, but he would not hearken to it. And it is reported also,

that Titisus himself the Treaturer, took the Ensigns, and did what he could to make the Ensignbearers return back, reviling Flavius Gallus, because through his folly and desperateness he caufed many honest and valiant men to be both hurt and slain to no purpose. Gallus also fell out with

him, and commanded his men to flay. Wherefore Titim returned again into the Army, and Gal-

lus ftill overthrowing and driving the Enemies back whom he met in the Vaward, he was not aware that he was compassed in : and seeing himself environed on all sides, he sent unto the Army, that

ness and lack of consideration, they had like to have made all the Army sty, if Antonisa himfelf had not come from the Front of the Battle with the third Legion, the which cause through the midft of them that fled, untill they came to affront the Enemies, and stayed them from chasing any

farther. Howbeit at this laft conflict there were flain no less then three thousand men, and five thou-

fay truly, there was not at that time any Emperor or Captain that had so great and puissant an

they should come and aid him, where the Captains that led the Legions (among the which Canidiss., a man of great estimation about Antonius made one) committed many faults. For where Canidius fault, they should have made head with the whole Army upon the PARTHEANS, they sent him aid by Antonia Cap-small Companies: and when they were slain, they sent him others also. So that by their beastli-tain.

fand befides brought fore hurt into the Camp, and amongst them also Flowing Galles, whose body Flowing Galles, was that through in four places, whereof he died. Antenius went to the Tents to vilit and comfort the fick and wounded, and for pities fake he could not refrain from weeping: and they also of them that shewing him the best countenance they could, took him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be were wounded. dreffed, and not to trouble himself for them, most reverently calling him their Emperor and Cap-tain: and that for themselves, they were whole and safe, so that he had his health. For indeed to

Army as his together, both for lufty youths and courage of Souldiers, as also for their patience to away with fo great pains and trouble. Furthermore, the obedience and reverence they shewed unto Thelove and their Captain, with a marvellous earnest love and good will, was so great, and all were indifferently reverence of (as well great as small, the Noblemen, as mean men, the Captains as Souldiers) so earnestly unto Antenian,

bent to effect Antenius good will and favour, above their own life and fafety, that in this point

The care and

The King of Parthia never

The Romans teftudo , and covering 2-gainst shot-

of Martiall Discipline, the ancient ROMANS could not have done any more. But divers things were caule thereof, as we have told you before: Antonius Nobility and ancient Houle, his eloquence, his plain nature, his liberality and magnificence, and familiarity to sport and be merry in company: but specially the care he took at that time to help, vifit, and lament those that were fick and wounded, feeing every man to have that which was meet for him, was of fuch force and effect, as it made them that were fick and wounded to love him better, and were more desirous to do him fervice then those that were whole and found. This Victory so encouraged the Enemies (who otherwife were weary to follow Antonius any farther) that all night they kept the Fields, and hovered about the ROMANS Camp, thinking that they would prefently fly, and that then they should take the spoil of their Camp. So the next morning by break of day, there were gathered together a far greater number of the PARTHIANS then they were before. For the rumour was, that there were not much fewer then forty thousand Horse, because their King sent thither even the very Guard about his Person, as unto a most certain and assured Victory, that they might be partners of the spoil and booty they hoped to have had : for as touching the King himself, he was never in any Conflict or Battle. Then Antonius destrous to speak to his Souldiers, called for a black Gown to appear the more pitifull to them: but his friends did diffwade him from it. Therefore he put on his Coat-armour, and being fo apparelled, made an Oration to his Army: in the which he highly commended them that had overcome and driven back their Enemies, and greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backs. So that those which had overcome, prayed him to be of good chear: the other also to clear themselves, willingly offered to take the lot of Decimation if he thought good, or otherwise to receive what kind of punishment should please him to lay upon them, so that he would forget any more to millike, or to be offended with them. Antonius feeing that, did lift up his hands to heaven, and made his Prayer to the gods, that if in exchange of his former Victories, they would now fend him some bitter adversity, then that all might light on himself alone, and that they would give the Victory to the reft of his Army. The next morning, they gave better order on every fide of the Army, and so marched forward: so that when the PARTHIANS thought to return again to affail them, they came far short of the reckoning. For where they thought to come, not to fight, but to spoil and make havock of all, when they came near them, they were fore hurt with their Slings and Darts, and fuch other Javelins as the Romans darted at them, and the Parthi-ANS found them as rough and desperate in fight, as if they had been fresh men they had dealt withall, Whereupon their hearts began again to fail them. But yet when the ROMANS came to go down any steep Hills or Mountains, they would set on them with their Arrows, because the ROMANS could go down but fair and foirly. But then again, the Souldiers of the Legion that carried great Shields, returned back, and inclosed them that were naked or light armed, in the middeft among them, and did kneel on one knee on the ground, and so fet down their Shields before them: and they of the second rank also covered them of the first rank, and the third also covered the second, and fo from rank to rank all were covered. Infomuch that this manner of covering and shading themselves with Shields, was devited after the fathion of laying tiles upon Houses, and to fight was like the degrees of a Theatre, and is a most strong desence and Bulwark against all Arrows and Shor that falleth upon it. When the PARTHIANS faw this countenance of the ROMAN Souldiers of the Legion which kneeled on the ground in that fort upon one knee, supposing that they had been wearied with travell, they layed downtheir Bowes, and took their Spears and Launces, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the ROMANS suddenly rose upon their feer, and with the Daris that they threw from them, they flew the foremost, and put the rest to flight, and so did they the next days that followed. But by means of these dangers and lets, Amonius Army could win no way in a day, by reason whereof they fuffered great famine: for they could have but little Corn, and yet were they driven daily to fight for it, and befides that, they had no inftrument to grind it, to make Bread of it. For the most part of them had been left behind, because the Beafts that carried them were either dead, or elfe employed to carry them that were fore and wounded. For the Grest Famine Famine was fo extream great, that the eighth part of a bushell of Wheat was fold for fifty Drachma's, and they fold Barley-bread by the weight of Silver. In the end they were compelled to live of Herbs and Roots, but they found few of them that men do commonly eat of, and were enforced to taste of them that were never eaten before : among the which, there was one that killed them, and made them out of their wits. For he that had once eaten of it, his memory went from him, and he knew no manner of thing, but onely buffed himfelf in digging and hurling of ftones from one A deadly herb, place to another, as though it had heen a matter of great weight, and to be done with all possible with a supposition of the suppos speed. All the Camp over, men were bushly stooping to the ground, digging and carrying of stones from one place to another : but at the laft, they caft up a great deal of choler, and died fuddenly, because they lacked Wine, which was the onely Soveraign remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that Amonius feeing fuch a number of his men die daily, and that the PARTHIANS left them not, Thevalianmes neither would suffer them to be at rest, he oftentimes cried out fighing, and said : O ten thousand! of ten thousand He had the valiantness of ten thousand GRECIANS in such admiration, whom Xenophos brought away after the overthrow of Gyru: because they had come a farther Journey from Babylon, and had also fought against much more Enemies many times told, then themselves, and yet came home with fafety. The PARTHIANS therefore feeing that they could not break the good order of the Army of the ROMANS, and contrarily, that they themselves were oftentimes put to flight, and welfavouredly beaten, they fell again to their old crafty fubtilities. For when they found any of the

ROMANS scattered from the Army to go forrage, to feek some Corn, or other Victuals, they would come to them as if they had been their friends, and shew them their Bows unbent, faying, The Parthian that themselves also did return home to their Countrey as they did, and that they would follow them very subtle and no farther : howbeit that they should yet have certain MEDES that would follow them a days jour- crafty People. ney or two, to keep them that they should do no hurt to the Villages from the high-ways; and so holding them with this talk, they gently took their leave of them, and bad them farewell, so that the ROMANS began again to think themselves safe. Antonism also understanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plain Countrey, because also they should find no water in the Mountains, as it was reported unto him. So as he was determined to take his course, there came into his Host one Mithridates, a Gentleman from the Enemies Camp, who was Cousin Mithridates a unto Moneses that fled unto Antonius, and unto whom he had given three Cities. When he came Parthian, beto Amonius Camp, he prayed them to bring him one that could speak the PARTHIAN or Sy- wrayeth unto RIAN Tongue. So one Alexander ANTIOCHIAN, a familiar of Antonius, was brought unto Antonius the him. Then the Gentleman told him what he was, and faid that Monefes had fent him to Antonius, his own Counto requite the honour and courtefie he had shewed unto him. After he had used this ceremonious treymen aspeech, he asked Alexander if he saw those high Mountains afar off, which he pointed unto with his gaint him, finger. Alexander answered he did. The PARTHIANS (faid he) do lie in ambush at the foot of those Mountains, under the which lieth a goodly plain champion Countrey; and they think that you being deceived with their crafty fubtle words, will leave the way of the Mountains, and turn into the Plain. For the other way, it is very hard and painfull, and you shall abide great thirst, the which you are well acquainted withall : but if Antonius take the lower way, let him affure himself to run the same fortune that Marcus Craffus did. So Mithridates having said, he departed. Antonius was marvelloufly troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, and therefore called for his friends. to hear what they would fay to it. The MARDIAN also that was their guid, being asked his opinion, answered, that he thought as much as the Gentleman Mithridates had faid. For, faid he, admit that there were no Ambulh of Enemies in the Valley, yet it is a long crooked way, and ill to hit: where taking the Mountain way, though it be ftony and painfull, yet there is no other danger, but a whole days travelling without any water. So Antonius changing his first mind and determination. removed that night, and took the Mountain way, commanding every man to provide himself of water. But the most part of them lacking Vessels to carry water in, some were driven to fill their Sallets and Murrians with water, and others also filled Goats skins to carry water in. Now they marching forward, word was brought unto the PARTHIAN'S that they were removed: whereupon, contrary to their manner, they prefently followed them the felf-fame night, fo that by break of day they overtook the Rereward of the ROMANS, who were so lame and wearied with going and lack of fleep, that they were even done. For beyond expectation, they had gone that night, two hundred and forty furlongs, and further, to fee their Enemies fo fuddenly at their backs, that made them utterly despair: but most of all, the fighting with them increased their thirst, because they were forced to fight as they marched, to drive their Enemies back, yet creeping on still. The Vaward of the Army by chance met with a River that was very clear and cold water; but it was falt A falt River, and venemous to drink: for straight it did gnaw the guts of those that had drunk it, and made them marvellous dry, and put them into a terrible ach and pricking. And notwithftanding that the MARDIAN had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thrust them back that would have kept them from drinking, and so drank. But Antonius going up and down amongst them, prayed them to take a little patience for a while, for hard by there was another River that the water was excellent good to drink, and that from thenceforth the way was from and ill for Horsemen, that the Enemies could follow them no further. So he caused the Retreat to be founded to call them back that fought, and commanded the Tents to be fet up, that the Souldiers might yet have shadow to refresh them with. So when the Tents were set up, and the PARTHI-ANS also retired according to their manner, the Gentleman Mithradates before named, returned again as before, and Alexander in like manner again was brought unto him for Interpreter. Then Mithridates advised him, that after the Army had reposed a little, the ROMANS should remove forthwith, and with all possible speed get to the River: because the PARTHIANS would go no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. Alexander carried the report thereof un-Antonius great to Antonius, who gave him a great deal of Gold Plate to bestow upon Mithridates. Mithrida- liberality unto tes took as much of him as he could well carry away in his Gown, and so departed with speed, So Mibbridates so Antonius railed his Camp being yet day light, and caufed all his Army to march, and the PARTHI- the care he had ANS never troubled any of them by the gray, the among the perfect is the care had any of them by the gray, the among the perfect is the care had been delicated. ANS never troubled any of them by the way: but amongst themselves it was as ill and dreadfull a The tumult of night as ever they had. For there were villains of their own company, who cut their fellows throats Antonius Soulfor the Money they had; and belides that, robbed the Sumpters and Carriage of fuch Money as diers through they carried, and at length they fet upon Antonius Slaves that drave his own Sumpters and Carri-covetousnels. age, they brake goodly Tables and rich Plate in pieces, and divided it among themfelves. Thereupon all the Camp was straight in tumult and uproar: for the refidue of them were afraid it had been the PARTHIANS that had given them this Alarm, and had put all the Army out of order. Insomuch that Antonius called for one Rhamnus, one of his Slaves enfranchifed that was of his Guard, Antonius defand made him give him his faith that he would thrust his Sword through him when he would bid perate mind. him, and cut off his head, because he might not be taken alive of his Enemies, nor known when he were dead. This grieved his friends to the heart, that they burst out a weeping for forrow.

Araxes fl.

The MARDIAN also did comfort him, and affured him that the River he sought for was hard by, and that he did guels it by a fweet moift wind that breathed upon them, and by the air which they found fresher then they were wont, and also for that they setched their wind more at liberty; and moreover, because that fince they did fet forward, he thought they were near their journeys end, nor lacking much of day. On the other fide allo Amonius was informed, that this great tumult and trouble came not through the Enemies, but through the vile covetouiness and villany of certain of his Souldiers. Therefore Antonius to fet his Army again in order, and to pacific this uproar, founded the Trumpet that every man should lodge. Now day began to break, and the Army to fall again into good order, and all the hurly burly to cease, when the PARTHIANS drew near, and that their Arrows lighted among them of the Rereward of his Army. Thereupon the fignall of Battle was given to the light armed men, and the Legioners did cover themselves as they had done before with their Shields, with thewhich they received and defended the force of the PARTHIANS Arrows, who never durst any more come to handy strokes with them : and thus they that were in the Vaward, went down by little and little, till at length they efpied the River. There Antonius placed his armed men upon the fands fo receive and drive back the Enemies, and first of all, got over his men that were fick and hurt, and afterwards all the reft. And those also that were left to refift the Enemies, had leifure enough to drink fafely, and at their pleafure. For when the PARTHIANS faw the River, they unbent their Bows, and bad the ROMANS pals over without any fear, and greatly commended their valiantness. When they had all passed over the River at their ease, they took a little breath, and so marched forward again, not greatly trufting the PARTHIANS. The fixth day after this last Battle, they came to the River of Araxes, which divideth the Countrey of Araxes NIA from MEDIA; the which appeared unto them very dangerous to pass, for the depth and fwiftness of the ftream. And furthermore there ran a rumour through the Camp, that the PAR-THIANS lay in ambush thereabouts, and that they would come and set upon them whilest they were troubled in pailing over the River. But now, after they were all come fafely over without any danger, and that they had gotten to the other fide, into the Prayince of Armenia, then they worthipped that Land, as if it had been the first Land they had feen after a long and dangerous voyage by Sea, being now arrived in a fafe and happy Haven: and the tears ran down their cheeks, and every man imbraced each other for the great joy they had. But now, keeping the Fields in this fruitfull Countrey to plentifull of all things, after to great a famine and want of all things, they to crammed themselves with such plemy of victuals, that many of them were cast into Fluxes and Dropsies. There Antonius multring his whole Army, found that he had loft twenty thousand Footmen, and four thousand Horsemen, which had not all been slain by their Enemies: for the most part of them diet of fickness, making seven and twenty days journey, coming from the City of PHRAATA in Ar-Bighteen feve- MENIA, and having overcome the PARTHIANS in eighteen feveral Battles. But these Victories were not throughly performed nor accomplished, because they followed no long chase: and thereby fought with the it easily appeared, that Artabazus King of Armenia had kept Antonius from ending this War. The treathery For if the fixteen thouland Horsemen which he brought with him out of MEDIA, had been at these of Artabagar Battles (confidering that they were armed and apparelled much after the PARTHIANS manner, and King of Arms acquainted also with their fight, when the Romans had put them to flight that had fought a Baule mis unto Anse with them, and that these Armenians had followed the chase of them that fled) they had not ga thered themselves again in force, neither durst they also have returned to fight with them so often after they had been so many times overthrown. Therefore all those that were of any credit and countenance in the Army, did perswade and egg Antonius to be revenged of this ARMENIAN King: but Antonius wifely diffembling his anger, he told him not of his treachery, nor gave him the worfe countenance, nor did him less honour then he did before : because he knew his Army was weak, and lacked things necessary. Howbeit afterwards he returned again into ARMENIA with a great Army, and fo with fair words, and fweet promites of Meffengers, he allured Artabazus to come to him: whom he then kept Prisoner, and led in triumph in the City of ALEXANDRIA. This greatly of umphed of Ar. fended the ROMANS, and made them much to millike it, when they faw that for Cleopatra's fake rabraw King he deprived his Countrey of her due honour and glory, onely to gratific the ÆGYPTIANS. But of Armania, in this was a pretty while after. Howbeit then, the great hafte he made to return unto Cleopatra, caufed him to put his men to fo great pains, forcing them to lie in the field all Winter long when it fiew unreasonably, that by the way he lost eight thousand of his men, and so came down to the Seaside with a small company, unto a certain place called BLANC BOURG: which standeth betwire the Ci-Antonius pined ties of BERYTUS and SIDON, and there tarried for Cleopatra. And because the tarried longer then away looking he would have had her, he pined away for love and forrow: fo that he was at fuch a straight, that he for Cheputer. wift not what to do, and therefore to wear it out, he gavehimfelf to quaffing and feafting. But he Clespara came was fo drowned with the love of her, that he could not abide to fit at the Table till the Featt was endto Biamburg ed: but many times while others banquetted, he ran to the Sea fide to fee if she were coming. At length the came, and brought with her a world of Apparell and Money to give unto the Souldiers. But some tay notwithstanding, that the brought Apparell and no Money, and that she took of Antinins Money, and caused it to be given amongst the Souldiers in her own name, as if the had given it

them. In the mean time it chanced that the King of the MEDES, and Phraories King of the PAR-THIANS, fellat great Wars together, the which began (as it is reported) for the spoils of the Ro-

MANS: and grew to be so hot between them, that the King of the MEDES was no less arraid, then

alfo in danger to lose his whole Realm. Thereupon he sent unto Antonius, to pray him to come

ANTONIUS.

Wars betwirt the Parthians and Medes.

ANTONIUS.

and make War with the PARTHIANS, promiting him that he would aid him to his uttermoft power. This put Antonius again in good comfort, confidering that unlooked for, the onely thing Wars betwire he lacked (which made him he could not overcome the PARTHIANS, meaning that he had not the Parthians brought Horsemen, and men with Darts and Slings enough) was offered him in that fort, that it did and Medes. him more pleasure to accept it, then it was pleasure to the other to offer it. Hereupon, after he had fpoken with the King of Menes at the River of Araxes, he prepared himself once more to go through ARMENIA, and to make more cruel War with the PARTHIANS, then he had done before. Now whilest Antonius was busie in this preparation, Octavia his Wife, whom he had left at ROME, would needs take Sea to come unto him. Her Brother Octavius Cafar was willing to it, not for his respect at all (as most Authors do report) as for that he might have an honest colour to make War with Antonius, if he did misuse her, and not esteem her as she ought to be. But Offavia, Antowhen the was come to ATHENS, the received Letters from Antonius, willing her to ftay there untill nius Wife, his coming, and did advertise her of his journey and determination. The which though it grieved her came to Athens much, and that the knew it was but an excuse: yet by her Letters to him of answer, the asked him him. whether he would have those things sent unto him which she had brought him, being great store of Apparell for Souldiers, a great number of Horfe, fums of Money and gifts, to bestow on his friends and Captains he had about him: and besides all those, she had two thousand Souldiers chosen menall well armed like unto the Prætors Bands. When Niger, one of Antonius friends whom he had fent unto ATHENS, had brought these news from his Wife Ottavia, and withall did greatly praise her, as the was worthy, and well deferved : Cleopatra knowing that Octavia would have Antonius from her, and fearing also that if with her vertue and honest behaviour (besides the great power of her Brother Cafar) the did add thereunto her modelt kind love to please her Husband, that the would then be too strong for her, and in the end win him away: she subtilly seemed to languish for the love of Antonius, pining her body for lack of meat. Furthermore, the every way to framed her countenance, that when Antonius came to fee her, the cast her eyes upon him, like a woman ravished for joy, Straight again when he went from her, the fell a weeping and blubbering, looking rufully on the matter, and still found the means that Antonius should oftentimes find her weeping; and then when the came fuddenly upon her, the made as though the dried her eyes, and turned her face away, as if The flickering the were unwilling that he should fee her weep. All these tricks the used, Anonius being in rea-enticements of diness to go into Syria, to speak with the King of Medes. Then the statterers that furthered Cleopara, unto Cleopetra's mind, blamed Antonius, and told him that he was a hard natured man, and that he had Antonius. fmall love in him, that would fee a poor Lady in fuch torment for his fake, whose life depended onely upon him alone. For Oltavia, faid they, that was married unto him as it were of necessity, becaule her Brother Cafar's Affairs fo required it, hath the honour to be called Antonius lawful Spoule and Wife : and Cleopatra, being born a Queen of to many thoulands of men, is onely named Antonius Leman, and yet that the distained not so to be called, if it might please him she might enjoy his company, and live with him; but if he once leave her, that then it is impossible she should live. To be short, by these their flattries and entirements, they so wrought Antonias essential mind, that searing lest she would make her self away, he returned again unto ALEXANDRIA. and referred the King of MEDES to the next year following; although he received news that the PARTHIANS at that time were at civil Wars among themselves. This notwithstanding, he went afterwards and made Peace with him. For he married his Daughter which was very young. unto one of the Sons that Cleopatra had by him e and then returned being fully bent to make War The occasion with Cefar. When Ottovia was returned to Rome from Athens, Cefar commanded her to go of civil War out of Antonius House, and to dwell by her self, because he had abused her. Ottovia answered bestier. Antohim again, that the would not for lake her Husbands House, and that if he had no other occasion to The love of make War with him, the prayed him then to take no thought for her; for faid the, it were too Offavit unto shamefull a thing, that two so famous Captains should bring in Civil Wars among the ROMANS, Antonius her the one for the love of a woman, and the other for the jealousse betwirt one another. Now as she Husband, and fpake the word, so did the also perform the deed ; for the kept still in Antonius House, as if he her wife and had been there, and very honeftly and honourably kept his Children, not onely those the had by haviour, him, but the other which her Husband had by Fulvia. Furthermore, when Antonius fent any of his men to ROME, to fue for any Office in the Commonwealth, the received them very courteoully, and so used her self unto her Brother, that she obtained the things she requested. Howbeit thereby thinking no hurt, the did Antonius great hurt. For her honest love and regard to her Husband, made every man hate him, when they faw he did so unkindly use a noble Lady: but the grea- Antonius arrotest cause of their malice unto him, was for the division of Lands he made among his Children in the gantly divideth City of ALBXANDRIA. And to confess a troth, it was too arrogant and infolent a part, and done divers Provin-(as a man would fay) in derifion and contempt of the ROMANS. For the affembled all the People cesunto his in the Shew-place, where young men do exercise themselves, and there upon a high Tribunall silvered, he fer two Chairs of Gold, the one for himself, and the other for Gleopatra, and lower Chairs Cafarina the for his children, then he openly published before the Assembly, that first of all he did establish Cleopa- supposed Son tra Queen of AGYPT, of CYPRUS, of LYDIA, and of the lower SYRIA; and at that time also of Casar by Cafarian King of the fame Realms. This Cafarian was supposed to be the Son of Julius Cafar, who Cleopatra Cejarion King of the fame Realms. This (ejarion was supposed to be the non of Julius Cejar, who Alexander and had left Chopara great with child. Secondly, he called the Sons he had by her the Kings of Kings, and Pictomy, Antogave Alexander for his portion, ARMENIA, MEDIA, and PARTHIA, when he had conquered the nine Sons by Countrey ; and unto Prolomy for his portion, PHOE NICIA, and SYRIA, and CILICIA. And there- Cleopatra.

withall he brought out Alexander in a long Gown after the fashion of the MEDES, with a high coptunk Har on hishead, narrow in the top, as the Kings of the Medes and Armenians do ule to wear them: and Prolomy apparelled in a Cloak after the MACEDONIAN manner, with Slippers on his feet, and a broad Har, with a Royall Band of Diadem. Such was the Apparel and old Attire of the ancient Kings and Successors of Alexander the Great. So after his Sons had done their humble duties, and kiffed their Father and Mother, prefently a company of ARMENIAN Souldiers, fer there of purpole, compassed the one about, and a like company of MACEDONIANS the other. Now for Cloparra, the did not onely wear at that time (but at all other times elfe when the came abroad) the Apparel of the goddefs Isis, and so gave audience unto all her Subjects, as a new Isis. Oltovim Cafar reporting all these things unto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole betwirt Offa- People and Affembly in ROME, he thereby stirred up all the ROMANS against him. Antonius on the visa Gar, and other fide fem to Rome likewife to accuse him, and the chiefest points of his accusations be charged him with, were the c. First, that having spoiled Sextus, Pompeiss in SICILE, he did not give him his part of the Isle. Secondly, that he did detain in his hands the Ships he lent him to make that War, Thirdly, That having put Lepidss their companion and Triumvirate out of his part of the Empire, and having deprived him of all honours, he retained for himfelf the Lands and Revenues thereof, which had been assigned unto him for his part. And last of all, That he had in manner divided all ITALY amongst his own Souldiers, and had left no part of it for his Souldiers. Otherius Cefer answered him again: That for Lepidus, he had indeed deposed him, and taken his part of the Empire from him, because he did over-cruelly use his Authority. And secondly, For the Conquests he had made by force of Arms, he was contented Antonius thould have his part of them, fo that he would like wifelet him have his part of ARMENIA. And thirdly, That for his Souldiers, they should feek for nothing in ITALY, because they possessed MEDIA and PARTHIA, the which Provinces they had added to the Empire of ROME, valiantly fighting with their Emperor and Captain. Amonius hearing these news, being yet in ARMENIA, commanded Canidius to go presently to the Sea side with his fixteen Legions be had : and be himfelf with Cleopatra, went unto the City of EPHESUS, and there gathered together his Galleys and Ships out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the great Ships of burthen : and of those Cleopatra furnished him with two hundred and twenty thouland Talents befides, and Provision of Victuals also to maintain all against of a whole Army in this War. So Antonius, through the perswasion of Domitius, commanded as Cosa. Cleopatra to return again into £GYPT, and there to understand the success of this War. But Cleopatra fearing left Antonius should again be made friends with Ottavius Cefar, by the means of his Wife Offavia, the fo plied Canidisa with Money, and filled his purfe, that he became her Spoks-man unto Antonism, and told him, there was no reason to fend her from this War, who defrayed to great a charge: neither that it was for his profit, because thereby the ÆGYPTIANS would then be utterly discouraged, which were the chiefest strength of the Army by Sea: consider. ing that he could fee no King of all the Kingstheir Confederates, that Chopatra was inferious unto, either for wildom or judgement, feeing that long before the had wifely governed to great a Realm 25 ÆGYPT; and besides that, she had been so long acquainted with him, by whom she had lear-Antonius car- ned to manage great Affairs. These fair perswasions wan him : for it was predeftinated that the rieth Cleanurs Government of all the World should fall into Ollavius Cafar's hands. Thus, all their Forces being with him to the joyned together, they holfed Sail towards the Isle of Samos, and there gave themselves to Fealis Wars, against events, against and folace. For as all the Kings, Princes, and Commonalties, People, and Cities from Syria, and kept great unto the Marthes Mzotides, and from the ARMENIANS to the ILLYRIANS were fent unto, to feeling at the fend and bring all Munition and warlike preparation they could : even fo all Players, Minftrels, Tumblers, Fools, and Jefters, were commanded to affemble in the Isle of Samos. So that, where in manner all the World in every place was full of lamentations, fighs and tears, onely in this life of SANOS there was nothing for many days space but finging and piping, and all the Theatrefull of these common Players, Minstrels, and Singing-men. Besides all this, every City sent an Ox shither to facrifice, and Kings did strive one with another who should make the noblest Feasts, and give the richest Gifts. So that every man faid, What can they do more for joy of Victory, if they win the Battle, when they make already such sumptious Feasts at the beginning of the War? When this was done, he gave the whole rabble of these Minstrels, and such kind of People, the City of PRI-ENE to keep them withall, during this War. Then he went unto the City of ATHENS, and there gave himfelf again to fee Plays and Pastimes, and to keep the Theatres. Cleopatra on the

other fide, being jealous of the Honours which Ottowia had received in this City, where indeed the

was marvellously honoured and beloved of the ATHENIANS, to win the Peoples good will also at ATHENS, the gave them great Gifts: and they likewife gave her many great Honours, and ap-

pointed certain Ambassadors to carry the Decree to her House, among the which Antonius was

one, who (as a Citizen of ATHENS) reported the matter unto her, and made an Oration in the

full great preparation of Antonism, he was not a little aftonied at it (fearing he should be driven to fight

behalf of the City. Afterwards he lent to ROME to put his Wife Offavia out of his House, who Antonise put bis Wife Office (as it is reported) went our of his House with all Antonises Children, faving the eldest of them he via our of his had by Fulvia, who was with his Father: bewailing and lamenting her curfed hap, that had brought Houle at Rome her to this, that the was accounted one of the chifest causes of this Civil War. The ROMANS did pity her, but much more Antonius, and those specially that had seen Cleopatra: who neither excelled Official in beauty, nor yet in young years. Official Cafar understanding the sudden and wonder

that Summer) because he wanted many things, and the great and grievous exactions of Money did fore oppreis the People. For all manner of men elle were driven to pay the fourth part of their Goods Odavius Cafar and Revenue, but the Libertines (to wit, those whose Fathers or other Predecessors had sometime exacteth grieheen Bondmen) were selfed to pay the eighth part of all their Goods at one payment. Hereupon there of the Romant arose a wonderfull exclamation and great uproar all LTALY over, so that amongst the greatest faults that ever Antonius committed, they blamed him most for that he delayed to give Cafar Battle. For he gave Cafar leifure to make his preparations, and also to appeale the complaints of the People, When such a great sum of Money was demanded of them, they grudged at it, and grew to mutiny upon it : but when they had once payed it, they remembred it no more. Furthermore, Titius and Plancus (two of Antonius chiefest friends, and that had been both of them Confuls) for the great Titius and injuries Cleopatra did them, because they hindered all they could that she should not come to this War, from Antonius they went and yielded themselves unto Casar, and told him where the Testament was that Antonius and do yield to had made, knowing perfectly what was in it. The Will was in the custody of the Vestall Nuns: of Cast. whom Cafar demanded it. They answered him, that they would not give it him: but if he would go and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereupon Cafar went thither, and having read it first to himself, he noted certain places worthy of reproach : fo affembling all the Senate, he read it before them all. Whereupon divers were marvellously offended, and thought it a strange matter. that he being alive, should be punished for that he had appointed by his Will to be done after his death. Cafar chiefly took hold of this, that he ordained touching his buriall : for he willed that his body, though he died at Rome, should be brought in Funerall pomp through the middest of the Market-place, and that it should be sent into ALEXANDRIA unto Cleopatra. Furthermore, among divers other faults wherewith Antonius was to be charged for Cleopatra's fake, Calvilius one of Calar's friends reproved him, because he had frankly given Cleopatra all the Libraries of the Roy- Asamous Liall City of PERGAMUM, in the which she had above two hundred thousand several Books. Again brary in the alfo, that being on a time fet at the Table, he suddenly role from the Board and trod upon Cleopa- City of Pergatra's foot, which was a fign given between them, that they were agreed of. That he had also mum. suffered the EPHESIANS in his presence to call Cleopatra their Soveraign Lady. That divers times fitting in his Tribunal and Chair of State, giving audience to all Kings and Princes, he had received Love-Letters from Chopatra, written in Tables of Onyx or Christall; and that he had read them, fitting in his Imperiall Seat. That one day when Furnius a man of great account, and the Furnius an ethem, fitting in his Imperial ocat. That one way which a more a man of Cleopatra by chance coming loquent Ora-eloquentest man of all the Romans, pleaded a matter before him. Cleopatra by chance coming loquent Orathrough the Market place in her Litter where Furniss was a pleading, Antonius straight rose out Romans. of his Seat, and left his Audience to follow her Litter. This notwithstanding, it was thought Calvifius devifed the most part of all these Accusations of his own head. Nevertheless they that loved Antonius, were interceffors to the People for him, and amongst them they fent one Geminius unto Geminius sent Antonius, to pray him he would take heed that through his negligence his Empire were not taken from Rome to from him, and that he should be counted an enemy to the People of ROME. This Geminius being Antonius, to arrived in GREECE, made Cleopatra jealous straight of his coming, because she surmised that he came not but to speak for Octavia. Therefore she spared not to taunt him all supper time; and moreover to fpight him the more, the made him to be fet lowest of all the Board; the which he took patiently, expecting occasion to speak with Antonius. Now Antonius commanding him at the Table to tell him what wind brought him thither, he answered, That it was no Table-talk. and that he would tell him to morrow morning fafting; but drunk or fafting, howfoever it were, he was fure of one thing, that all would not go well on his fide, unless Cleopatra were fent back into EGYPT. Antonius took these words in very ill part. Cleopatra on the other fide answered him, Thou doest well Geminius, faid she, to tell the truth before thou be compelled by torments: but within few days after, Geminius stole away, and fled to ROME. The Flatterers also to please Many of An-Chopatra, did make her drive many other of Antonius faithfull fervants and friends from him, who tonius friends could not abide the injuries done unto them: among the which these two were chief, Marcus Syl-Lanus, and Dellius the Hiftoriographer, who wrote that he fled because her Physician Glancus told him, that Cleopatra had fet some secretly to kill him. Furthermore, he had Cleopatra's displeasure, because he said one night at Supper, that they made them drink sowre Wine, where Sarmentus at ROME drank good Wine of FALERNA. This Sarmentus was a pleafant young Boy, fuch as the Lords at ROME are wont to have about them to make them pastime, which they call their joyes, and he was Oftavius Cafar's Boy. Now after that Cafar had made fufficient preparation, he proclaimed open War against Cleopatra, and made the People to abolish the Power and Empire of Antonius, because he had before given it up unto a Woman. And Casar said surthermore, that pinetakensions Antonius was not Master of himself, but that Cleoparra had brought him beside himself by her him. charms and amorous poylons: and that they that should make War with them, should be Signs and won-Mardian the Eunuch, Photinus, and Iras (a Woman of Cleopatra's Bed chamber, that frizeled ders before the her hair, and dreffed her head) and Charmion, the which were those that ruled all the Affairs twite Antonius of editionius Empire. Before this War, as it is reported, many figns and wonders fell out, and offering first of all, the City of Pisaurum which was made a Colony to Rome, and replenished Casar. with People by Amonius, standing upon the Shore fide of the Sea Adriatick, was by a terrible Pifaro, a City Earth-quake funk into the ground. One of the Images of Stone which was fet up in the honour of in Italy, funk into the ground. Amonius in the City of Alba, did sweat many days together: and though some wiped it a- by an Earth-

way, yet it left not fweating ftill. In the City of PATRAS whilest Antonine was there, the Temple quake:

of the Giants against the gods is fet out in Imagery, the Statue of Bacchus with a terrible wind was

thrown down in the Theatre. It was faid, that Antonius came of the race of Hercules (as you have

heard before) and in the manner of his Life he followed Bacchns, and therefore was called the new

Bacchns, Furthermore, the same bluftering from of wind overthrew the great monftrous Images

as ATHENS, that were made in the honour of Eumenes and Attalus, the which men had named and intituled, The Antonians : and yer did they hurt none of the other Images, which were many befides. The Admirall Galley of Cleoparra was called Antoniade, in the which there chanced a marvellous ill

fign : Swallows had bred under the Poop of her Ship, and there came others after them that drave

among which there were many Galleys that had eight and ten banks of Oars, the which were fumptu-

forelacted by away the first, and plucked down their nests. Now when all things were ready, and that they Swallows bree- drew near to fight, it was found, that Antonius had no less then five hundred good Ships of War, Antonius Pow oully furnished, not so meet for Fight, as for Triumph : an hundred thousand Footmen, and twelve er against OHz. thouland Horsemen; and had with him to aid him these Kings and Subjects following: Bocchus King viss Cafer.

Antonius had of Lybia, Tarcondemus King of high Cilicia, Archelaus King of Cappadocia, Philadel. right Kings phus King of Paphlagonia, Mithridates King of Comagena, and Adalias King of Thra-

minions.

Offsvius Ca-

and their Pow-CAA. All which were there every man in person. The residue that were absent, sent their Armies: as er, to sid him. Pokemon King of PONT, Manchus King of ARABIA, Herodes King of JURY; and furthermore, A. The Army and myntae King of Lycaonia and of the Galatians: and befides all thefe, he had all the aid the King of Medes sent unto him. Now for Cafar, he had two hundred and fifty Ships of War, eighty gainst Antonis thousand Footmen, and well near as many Horsemen as his Enemy Antonius. Antonius for his part, had all under his dominion from ARMENIA and the River of Euphrates, unto the Sea IONIUM and Anterius Do. ILLYRICUM. Offavius Cefar had also for his part, all that which was in our Hemisphere or half part of the World, from ILLY RIA unto the Ocean Sea upon the West; then all from the Ocean unto Mare Siculum : and from AFRICK, all that which is against ITALY, as GAUL and SPAIN, Furthermore, all from the Province of Cyrenia to Ethiopia, was subject unto Antonias. far's Domini-Now Antonius was made fo subject to a womans will, that though he was a great deal stronger by much ruled by Land, yet for Cleopatra's fake he would needs have this Battle tried by Sea: though he faw before his eyes, that for lack of Water-men, his Captains did press by force all forts of men out of GREECE that they could take up in the Field, as travellers, muletters, reapers, harvest-men, and young boys and yet could not sufficiently furnish his Galleys: so that the most part of them were empty, and could fcant row, because they lacked Water-men enough. But on the contrary fide, Cafar's Ships were not built for pomp, high and great, onely for a fight and bravery, but they were light of yarage, armed and furnished with Water-men as many as they needed, and had them all in readiness in the Havens of TARENTUM and BRUNDUSIUM. So Ottavius Cafar fent unto Antonius, to will him to delay to more time, but to come on with his Army into ITALY; and that for his own part he would give him fafe harbour to land without any trouble; and that he would withdraw his Army from the Sea, as far as one Horfe could run, untill he had put his Army ashore, and had lodged his men. Antonius on the other fide bravely fent him word again, and challenged the combat of him, man for man, Antonius rode though he were the elder : and that if he refuted him to, he would then fight a Battle with him in the Fields of Pharsalla, as Julius Cefar and Pompey had done before. Now whilest Antonius role the head of A at Anchor, lying idly in Harbour in the head of ACTIUM, in the place where the City of NICOPOdism: where LIS standeth at this present, Casar had quickly passed the Sea Ionium, and taken a place called To-the City of Mi. R N R, before Amonius understood that he had taken Ship. Then began his men to be afraid, be-capilly its natural control of the Amonius Indiana Casar Russ Clanaria making light of it. And what danger I near ESPONIUM COLOR CAUSE his Army by Land was lest behind. But Cleopatra making light of it; And what danger I pray this tout can- you, faid the, if Cafar keep at * TORYNE? The next morning by break of day, his Enemis conot properly be ming with full force of Oars in Battle against him, Antonins was afraid that if they came to joyne, expressions they would take and carry away his ships that had no men of War in them. So he armed all his waother longue, other Longue, ter-men, and fet them in order of Battle upon the fore-Castle of their Ships, and then lift up all his equivocation of ranks of Oars towards the Element, as well on the one fide as on the other, with the Prows against this word To-the Enemies, at the entry and mouth of the gulf, which beginneth at the point of ACTIUM: and syst, which fig. fo kept them in order of Battle, as if they had been armed and furnished with Water-men and Soulnifictha City diers. Thus Oftwie Cafar being finely deceived by this Stratagem, retired prefently, and there of Albania, and silo a ladle to withall Antonius very wifely and fuddenly did out him off from fresh water. For understanding that foum the por the places where Ottavius Cafar landed had very little store of water, and yet very bad, he shut them with : as it the in with strong ditches and trencheshe cast, to keep them from failing out at their pleasure, and so to means Cafar go feek water farther off. Furthermore, he dealt very friendly and courteously with Demities, and fitte by the fire against Channel Court of the Cafar against Channel Cha the cumming against Cleopatra's mind. For he being sick of an Ague when he went and took a little Boat to go of the por.

auto Cefer's Camp, Antonius was very forry for it, but yet he sent after him all his carriage, train, Domitius forfa and men : and the same Domitius, as though he gave him to understand that he repented his open treaketh Antonius. fon, died immediately after. There were certain Kings also that for look him, and turned on Cafar's and goeth unto four, and management and Deserans. Furthermore, his Fleet and Navy that was unfortunate in all things Amyntas and and unready for service, compelled him to change his mind, and to hazard Battle by Land. And Deinture, do Canidius alio, who had charge of his Army by Land, when time came to follow Antonius determination, he named him clean contrary, and counfelled him to fend Cleopatra back again, and himfrom Annair, felf to retireinto MACEDON, to fight there on the main Land. And furthermore told him, that Dicomes King of the GETESpromifed to aid him with a great Power: and that it should be no

shame nor dishonour to him to let Cefar have the Sea, because himself and his men both had been well practifed and exercised in Battles by Sea, in the War of SICILIA against Sexten Pomprius but rather that he should go against all reason (he having so great skill and experience of Battles by Land as he had) if he should not imploy the force and valiantness of fo many lusty armed Footmen as he had ready, but would weaken his Army by dividing them into Ships. But now, notwithfranding all these good persuasions, Cleopatra forced him to purall to the hazard of Battle by Sea : considering withher self how she might shy and provide for her safety, not to help him to win the Victory, but to fly more easily after the Battle loft. Betwirt Antonius Camp and his Fleet of Ships, there was a great high point of firm Land that ran a good way into the Sea, the which Antoning used often for a walk, without mistrust of fear or danger. One of Cafar's men perceived its and told his Mafter that he would laugh if they could take up Antonim in the middeft of his walk. Thereupon Calar fent some of hismen to lie in ambush for him, and they miffed not much of taking him (for they took him that came before him) because they discovered too soon, and so Antonius nim (for they took than that came octobe man) became they discovered too toon, and to Antonius ger of taking fraped very hardly. So when Antonius had determined to fight by Sea, he fet all the other Ships on at Adium. fire, but threefcore Ships of EGYPT, and referved onely the best and greatest Galleys, from three banks unto ten banks of Oars. Into them he put two and twenty thousand fighting men, with two thousand darters and slingers. Now as he was setting his men in order of battle, there was a Captain, a valiant man, that had ferved Antoniau in many Battles and Conflicts, and had all his body hacked and cut : who, as Antonius paffed by him, cried out unto him, and faid : O noble Emperor, how cometh it to pass that you trust to these vile brittle Ships? What, do you mistrust these Antonius res woulds of mine, and this Sword? let the AGYPTIANS and PHOENICIANS fight by Sea, and gardeth no fet us on the main Land, where we use to conquer, or to be slain on our feet. Antonism passed sel of his by him and faid never a word, but onely beckened to him with his hand and head, as though he wil- fouldiers. led him to be of good courage, although indeed he had no great courage himself. For when the Mafters of the Galleys and Pilots would have let their Sails alone, he made them clap them on ; faying to colour the matter withall, that not one of his Enemies should scape. All that day and the three days following, the Sea role fo high, and was to boilterous, that the Battle was put off. The fifth day the florm ceased, and the Sea calmed again, and then they rowed with force of Oars in Battle one against the other: Anonius leading the right Wing with Publicola, and Calius the left, Battle by Sea and Marcin Octavini, and Marcin Justeins the midft. Oftavins Cafar on the other fide had placed at Actium, be-Agrippa in the left Wing of his Army, and had kept the right Wing for himself. For the Armies twist Antonius by Land, Canidius was General of Antonius fide, and Taurus of Cafar's fide: who kept their men in Battle-ray, the one before the other, upon the Sea fide, without ftirring the one against the other. Further, touching both the Chieftains: Antonisa being in a fwift Pinnace, was carried up and down by force of Oars through his Army, and spake to his People to encourage them to fight valiantly. as if they were on main Land, because of the steadiness and heaviness of their Ships : and commanded the Pilots and Mafters of the Galleys, that they should not ftir, none otherwise then if they were at Anchor, and so to receive the first Change of their Enemies, and that they should not go our of the Streight of the Gulf. Cafar betimes in the morning going out of his Tent, to fee his Ships throughout, met a man by chance that drave an Als before him : Cafar asked the man what his Alucky fign name was. The poor man told him his name was Eutychus, to fay Fortunate: and his Affes name unto Odavins Nicon, to say Conqueror. Therefore Cefar, after he had won the Battle, fetting out the Europhys Nicon. Therefore Cefar, after he had won the Battle, fetting out the Europhys Ni-Market-place with the Spurs of the Galleys he had taken, for a sign of his Victory, he caused con, fortunate also the Man and his Als to be set up in brass. When he had visited the order of his Army Conqueror. throughout, he took a little Pinnace, and went to the right Wing, and wondered when he faw his Enemies lie still in the Streight, and stirred not. For differening them afar off, men would have thought they had been Ships riding at Anchor : and a good while he was fo perswaded. So, he kept his Galleys eight furlongs from his Enemies. About noon there arose a little gale of wind from the Sea, and then Anionium men waxing angry with tarrying fo long, and trufting to the greatness and height of their Ships, as if they had been invincible, they began to march forward with their left Wing. Cafar feeing that, was a glad man, and began a little to give back from the right Wing, to allure them to come farther out of the Streight and Gulf, to the end that he might with his light Ships well manned with Water-men, turn and environ the Galleys of the Enemies, the which were heavy of yarage, both for their bignels, as also for lack of Water-men to row them. When the Skirmish began, and that they came to joyn, there was no great hurt at the first meeting, neither did the Ships vehemently hit one against the other, as they do commonly in fight by Sea. For on the other fide, Antonius Ships for their heaviness could not have the strength and swiftnels to make their blows of any force: and Cafar's Ships on the other fide took great heed not to ruth and thock with the fore-Castles of Antonius Ships, whose Prows were armed with great brazen Spurs. Furthermore, they durft not flank them, because their points were easily broken, which way foever they came to fet upon their Ships, that were made of great main fquare pieces of Timber, bound together with great iron pins: fo that the Battle was much like unto a Battle by Land, or to speak more properly, to the affault of a City. For there were always three or four of Cafar's Ships about one of Antonius Ships, and the Souldiers fought with their Pikes, Halbards and Darts, and threw Halbards and Darts With fire. Amount Ships on the other fide bestowed among them, with their Crofstows and Engines of battery, great flore of thos from their high Tow-ers of wood that were fet upon their Ships. Now Publicela feeing Agrippa put forth his left Wing

more room, and to go a little at one fide, to purthole farther off that were afraid, and in the middeft of the Battle : for they were fore diftreffed by Arrunnins. Howben the Battle was yet of even hand, and the Victory doubtfull, being indifferent to both; when fuddenly they faw the threefcore Cleopatra Birth Ships of Cleopatra builty about their Yard-marts, and holding Sail to fly. So they fled through the midden of them that were in fight, for they had been placed behind the great Ships, and did marvel-

loully disorder the other Ships. For the Enemies themselves wondered much to see them fail in that fort, with full fail towards PELOFOMNESUS. There Anonius shewed plainly, that he had not onely loft the courage and heart of an Emperour, but also of a valiant man; and that he was not his The foul of a own man (proving that true which an old man spake in mirch, That the foul of a lover lived in anolover lived in ther body, and not in his own) he was fo carried away with the vain love of this woman, as if he

another body. had been gloed unto her, and that she could not have removed without moving of him also. For Antonius flicth had occupanted; Ship under Sail, he forgot, forfook, and betrayed them that fought for after Cleopatra. when he law Cleopatra's Ship under Sail, he forgot, forfook, and betrayed them that fought for him, and imbarked upon a Galley with five banks of Oars, to follow her that had already begin. to overthrow him, and would in the end be his destruction. When she knew his Galley afar off, she lift up a fign in the Poop of her Ship , and fo Ansenins coming to it, was pluckt up where Cleaparra was: howbeit he faw her not at his first coming, nor she him, but went and fate down alone in the Prow of his Ship, and faid never a word, clapping his head between both his hands. In the mean time came certain light Brigantines of Cefer's, that followed him hard. So Antonius fraight turned the Prow of his Ship, and prefently put the reft to flight, faving one Entrycles a LACEDE-MONIAN, that followed him near, and preffed upon him with great courage, shaking a Dart in his hand over the Prow, as though he would have thrown it unto Antonius. Antonius feeing him,

came to the fore-Caftle of his Ship, and asked him what he was that durft follow Antonism fo near? I am, answered he, Eurycles the Son of Lachares, who through Cafar's good fortune feeken to revenge the death of my Father. This Lachares was condemned of felony, and beheaded by Antonius. But vet Eurycles durft not venture upon Antonius Ship, but fet upon the other Admirall-Galley (for there were two) and fell upon him with fuch a blow of his brazen Spur that was fo heavy and big, that he turned her round, and took her, with another that was loaden with very rich fluff and carriage. After Euryeles land leit Antonius, he turned again to his place, and fate

down, speaking never a word, as he did before; and so lived three days alone, without speaking to any man. But when he arrived at the head of Tanarus, there Cleopatra's women first brought Antonia and Cleopatra to speak together, and afterwards to sup and lie together. Then began there again a great number of Merchants Ships to gather about them, and some of their friends that had etcaped from this overthrow, who brought news, that his Army by Sea was overthrown, but that they thought the Army by land was yet whole. Then Antenius fent unto Canidius, to return with his Army into Asia by MacEDON. Now for himself, he determined to cross over

Autonizalicen into AFRICK, and took one of his Carects or Hulks loaden with Gold and Silver, and other rich feth his friends carriage, and gave it unto his friends, commanding them to depart, and feek to fave themselves, to depart, and They answered him weeping, that they would neither do it, nor yet for fake him. Then Amenius given thems. giveth them a very courteoully and lovingly did comfort them, and prayed them to depart; and wrote unto Theo-Ship loaden very courteouny and covering that, that he would fee them fafe, and help to hide them in some secret with Gold and philms Governour of Coring the metastand page with Tester. This Theophilus was the Father of Hibplace, until they had made their way and peace with Gefar. This Theophilas was the Father of Hip-

parchus, who was had in great estimation about Antonius. He was the first of all his enfranchiled Bondmen that revolted from him, and yielded unto Cafar, and afterwards went and dwelt at Co-RINTH. And thus it flood with Antonius. Now for his Army by Sea, that fought before the head or foreland of Actium, they had held out a long time, and nothing troubled them more then a great boilterous wind that role full in the Prows of their Ships , and yet with much ado his Navy was at Antonian Na- length overthrown, five hours within night. There were not flain above five thousand men: but

y overthrown tength overthrown; her bounderd Ships taken, as Ollawing Cefar writeth himself in his Commentaries, by Cefar:

Many plainly law Antonius fly, and yet could very hardly believe it, that he that had nineten Legistic Many plainly law Antonius fly, and yet could very hardly believe it, that he that had nineten Legistic Many plainly law Antonius fly, and yet could very hardly believe it, that he that had nineten Legistic Many plainly law Antonius fly, and yet could very hardly believe it, that he that had nineten Legistic Many plainly law Antonius fly and yet could very hardly believe it, that he that had nineten Legistic Many plainly law Antonius fly and yet could very hardly believe it, that he that had nineten Legistic Many plainly law Antonius fly and yet could very hardly believe it, that he that had nineten Legistic Many plainly law Antonius fly and yet could very hardly believe it, that he that had nineten Legistic Many plainly law Antonius fly and yet could very hardly believe it, that he that had nineten Legistic Many plainly law Antonius fly and yet could very hardly believe it, that he that had nineten Legistic Many plainly law Antonius fly and yet could very hardly believe it, that he that had nineten Legistic Many plainly law Antonius fly and yet could very hardly believe it. and have fled to coveredly, as if he had not often times proved both the one and the other forume, and that he had not been throughly, acquainted with the divers changes and fortunes of Bantis. And yet his Souldiers still wished for him, and ever hoped that he would come by some means or

other unto them. Furthermore, they shewed themselves so valiant and saithfull unto him, that after they certainly knew he was fleth they kept themselves whole together seven days. In the end

Canidius, Antonius Lieutenant, flying by night, and forfaking his Camp, when they faw them.

Antonius Legi- felves thus defituue of their Heads and Lenders, they yield themselves unto the stronger. This done, Cafar failed towards ATHENS, and othere made peace with the GRECIANS, and divided the rest of the Corn that was taken up for Antennus Arthy, unto the Towns and Cities of GREECE, the which had been brought to extream milery and powerty, clean without Money, Slaves, Horie, and other Beaths of extraoge. So that my Grandfather Nieuwine told, that all the themselves an-

Citizens of our City of CHERGINER: (not one; exterpsed) were driven themselves to carry a certain measure of Corn on their shouldets tooker Sex side, that, west directly over against the life of ANTI-CYRA, and yes were they driven thinker with which! They carried at this but once: for the fecond time that they were charged again to make the like carriage, all the Corn bring ready to be carried, news came that Amenius had loft the Battle, and in keaped our poor City. For Amenius Souldiers

and Deputies fled immediately, and the Citizens divided the Corn amongst them. Antonius being arrived in Lybia, he fent Cleopatra before into EGYPT from the City of PARATONIUM; and he himself remained very solitary, having onely two of his friends with him, with whom he wandred no and down, both of them Orators, the one Aristocrates a GRECIAN, and the other Lucilius a Lucilius fooken

ROMAN: of whom we have written in another place, that at the Battle where Brutus was over- of in Brutus thrown, by the City of PHILIPPES, he came and willingly put himself into the hands of those Life. that followed Brutus, faying that it washe: because Brutus in the mean time might have liberty to fave himself. And afterwards, because Antonins faved his life, he still remained with him, and was The fidelity of very faithfull and friendly unto him till his death. But when Antonius heard, that he whom he had Antonius

trufted with the Government of Ly BIA, and unto whom he had given the charge of his Army there, had vielded unto Casar, he was so mad withall, that he would have slain himself for anger, had not his friends about him withstood him, and kept him from it. So he went unto ALEXANDRIA, and there found Cleopatra about a wonderfull enterprize, and of great attempt. Betwixt the red Sea, and the Sea between the Lands that point upon the Coast of ÆGYPT, there is a little piece of Land The wonderfull that divideth both the Seas, and separateth AFRICK from ASIA: the which Streight is so narrow attempt of

at the end where the two Seasare narrowest, that it is not above three hundred furlongs over. Cleo-Gleopaira. patra went about to lift her Ships out of the one Sea, and to hale them over the bank into the other Sea: that when her Ships were come into the Gulf of ARABIA, the might then carry all her Gold and Silver away, and so with a great company of men go and dwell in some place about the Ocean

Sea, far from the Sea Mediterraneum, to scape the danger and bondage of this War. But now, because the ARABIANS dwelling about the City of PETRA, did burn the first Ships that were brought to Land, and that Antonius thought, that his Army by Land which he left at ACTIUM was

yet whole, the left off her enterprize, and determined to keep all the ports and paffages of her Realm. Antonius, he for fook the City and company of his friends, and built him a house in the Sea, by the Isle of PHAROS, upon certain forced mounts which he caused to be cast into the Sea, and dwelt there, as a man that banished himself from all mens company: saying that he would lead Timons life, because Antonius folhe had the like wrong offered him, that was before offered unto Timon; and that for the unthankful- loweth the life

nels of thole he had done good unto, and whom he took to be his friends, he was angry with all and example of men, and would trust no man. This Timon was a Citizen of ATHENS, that lived about the War thropos the Aof Peloponnesus, as appeareth by Plato and Aristophanes Comedies: in the which they moc-thenian.

ked him, calling him a viper and malicious man unto mankind, to flun all other mens companies. Plate and Aribut the company of young Alcibiades, a bold and infolentyouth, whom he would greatly feaft and stophanes tellimake much of, and kiffed him very gladly. Apemantus wondering at it, asked him the cause what Milanthropes,

he meant to make so much of that young man alone, and to hate all others: Timon answered him, what he was, I do it, faid he, because I know that one day he shall do great mischief unto the ATHENIANS. This Timon formetimes would have Apemantus in his company, because he was much like of his nature

and conditions, and also followed him in manner of life. On a time when they folemnly celebrated the Feaft called Choze at ATHENS (to wit, the Feafts of the dead where they make Sprinklings and Sacrifices for the dead) and that they two then feasted together by themselves, Apemantus faid unto the other: O here is a trim Banquet Timon, Timon answered again: Yea, faid he, so thou wert not here. It is reported of him also, that this Timon on a time (the People being assembled in the

Market-place about dispatch of some affairs) got up into the Pulpit for Orations, where the Orators commonly use to speak unto the People: and silence being made, every man listening to hear what he would fay, because it was a wonder to see him in that place, at length he began to speak in this manner: his ofhood

My Lords of ATHENS, I have a little yard at my house where there groweth a Fig-tree, on the which the Athonian many Citizens have hanged themselves: and because I mean to make some building on the place, I thought good to let you all understand it, that before the Fig-tree be cut down, if any of you be defpe-

rate, you may there in time go hang your felves. Hedied in the City of HALES, and was buried upon the Sea fide. Now it chanced so, that the Sea getting in, it compassed his Tomb round about, that no man could come to it: and upon the fame was written this Epitaph: Here lies a wretched corfe, of wretched foul bereft :

The Epitaph of Timon Mifanthropes.

Seek not my name : a plague consume you wicked wretches left. It is reported that Timon himself, when he lived, made this Epitaph: for that which is commonly rehearfed, was not this, but made by the Poet Callimachus:

Here lie I Timon, who alive all living men did hate:

Pass by and curse thy sill: but pass, and stay not here thy gate.

Many other things could we tell you of this Timon, but this little shall suffice at this present. But now to return to Antonius again. Canidius himself came to bring him news, that he had lost all his Army by Land at ACTIUM: on the other fide he was advertised also, that Herodes King of Juny, who had also certain Legions and Bands with him, was revolted unto Casar, and all the other Kings in like manner: fo that faving those that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwith- Antonius riorstanding did nothing trouble him: and it seemed that he was contented to forgo all his hope, and so ing in Alexanto be rid of all his cares and troubles. Thereupon he left his folitary house he had built by the Sea driaster his which he called Timoneon, and Chopatra received him into her Royal Palace. He was no fooner great lots and come thither, but he straight set all the City on riotting and banquetting again, and himself to Toga virilis, liberality and Gifts. He caused the Son of Julim Cefar and Cleopatra, to be enrolled (according

Antyllus the el-

Alexas treafon justly pu-nished.

to the manner of the ROMANS) amongst the number of young men: and gave Antyllus, his eldest Son he had by Fulvia, the mans Gown, the which was a plain Gown without gard or embroide. acit Sonot An ronder, by his ry, of Purple. For these things, there was kept great feasting, banquetting and dancing in Alexanwife Falvit. DRIA many days together. Indeed they did break their first order they had set down, which they Anodetreefa called Animetobion (asmuch to fay, No life comparable) and did fet up another, which they called eably Anionius Synapothanumenon (fignifying the order and agreement of those that will die together) the which in and cropara, exceeding sumpruousness and cost was not inferior to the first. For their friends made themselves to thanumenon, be enrolled in this order of those that would die together, and so made great Feasts one to another: for every man when it came to his turn, feafted their whole Company and Fraternity. Cleopatra in the mean time was very carefull in gathering all forts of poilons together, to deftroy men. Now to Animerobion. Make proof of those poilons which made men die with least pain, she tried it upon condemned men in prison. For when she saw the poisons that were sudden and vehement, and brought speedy death ving the force with grievous torments: and in contrary manner, that fuch as were more mild and gentle, had not that quick speed and force to make one die suddenly: she afterwards went about to prove the stinging of Snakes and Adders, and made some to be applied unto men in her fight, some in one sort, some The property of the biting of proved fo fit as the biting of an Alpick. : the which cauleth onely a heaviness of the head, without fwouning or complaining, and bringeth a great defire also to sleep, with a little sweat in the face. and so by little and little taketh away the senses and vitall powers, no living creature perceiving that the Patients feel any pain. For they are so forry when any body awaketh them, and taketh them up, as those that be taken out of a found sleep, are very heavy and desirous to sleep. This notwith-Antonies and flanding, they fent Ambassadors unto Octavine Cafar in Asia, Cleopatra requesting the Realm of Ambassadors EGYPT for her children, and Antonius praying that he might be suffered to live at ATHENS like a private man, if Cafar would not let him remain in ÆGYPT. And because they had no other men of estimation about them, for that some were fled, and those that remained, they did not greatly trust. they were enforced to fend Euphronius the Schoolmafter of their children. For Alexas LAODICI-AN, who was brought into Antonius House and favour by means of Timagenes, and afterwards was in greater credit with him, then any other GRECIAN (for that he had ever been one of Cleopatra's Ministers to win Antonius, and to overthrow all his good determinations to use his Wife Offavia well :) him Antonius had fent unto Herodes King of Juny, hoping still to keep him his friend, that he should not revolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed Antonius. For where he should have kept Herodes from revolting from him, he perswaded him to turn to Cafar: and trusting King Herodes, he prelumed to come in Cefar's prelence. Howbeit Herodes did him no pleasure, for he was presently taken Prisoner, and sent in chains to his own Countrey, and there by Casar's commandment put to death. Thus was Alexas in Antonius life time put to death, for betraying of him. Furthermore, Cafar would not grant unto Antonius requests : but for Cleopatra, he made her answer, that he would deny her nothing reasonable, so that she would either put Antonius to death, or drive him out of her Countrey. Therewithall he fent Thyreus one of his men unto her, a very wife and discreet man : who bringing Letters of credit from a young Lord unto a noble Lady, and that besides greatly liked her beauty, might easily by his eloquence have perswaded her. He was longer in talk with her then any man else was, and the Queen her felf also did him great honour: insomuch as he made Antonius jealous of him. Whereupon Antonius caused him to be taken and well-favouredly whipped, and so sent him unto Casar: and bade him tell him, that he made him angry with him, because he shewed himself proud and disdainfull towards him; and new specially, when he was easie to be angred, by reason of his present misery. To be short, if this mislike thee (faid he) thou haft Hipparchus one of my enfranchifed Bondmen with thee : hang him if thou wilt, or whip him at thy pleasure, that we may cry quittance. From henceforth Cleopatra, to clear her felf of the sufpition he had of her, made more of him then ever she did. For first of all, where she did solemnize the day of her birth very meanly and sparingly, fit for her present missortune, she now in contrary manner did keep it with fuch folemnity, that the exceeded all measure of sumpruousness and magnificence: fo that the Guests that were bidden to the Feasts, and came poor, went away rich. Now things passing thus, Agrippa by divers Letters sent one after another unto Casar, prayed him to return to Rome, because the Affairs there did of neceffity require his person and presence. There-Peteufium was upon he did defer the War till the next year following: but when Winter was done, he returned ielded up to again through Syria by the Coast of Africk, to make Wars against Antonius, and his other Offavim Cafar Captains. When the City of PELEUSIUM was taken, there ran a rumour in the City, that Selencus (by (leopatra's consent) had surrendred the same. But to clear her self that she did not, Cleopatra brought Seleucus Wife and Children unto Antonius, to be revenged of them at his pleasure. Furthermore, Cleopatra had long before made many fumptuous Tombs and Monuments, as well for Monuments for excellency of workmanship, as for height and greatness of building, joyning hard to the Temple of up by the Temple of Ifit. Ifit. Thinther the caufed to be brought all the Treasure and precious things the had of the ancient Kings her Predecessors: as Gold, Silver, Emeralds, Pearls, Ebony, Ivory, and Cynamon, and besides all that, a marvellous number of Torches, Fagots, and Flax. So Ottavius Cafar being afraid to lose such a Treasure and masse of Riches, and that this woman for spight would set it on fire and burn it every whit, he always sent some one or other unto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whilest he in the mean time drew near the City with his Army. So Cafar came and pitched his Camp hard by the City, in the place where they run and manage their Horses. Antonius made a falley upon him, and

fought very valiantly, so that he drave Cafar's Horsemen back, fighting with his men even into their Camp. Then he came again to the Palace, greatly boafting of this Victory, and sweetly kissed Cleo-Datra. armed as he was when he came from the Fight, recommending one of his men of Arms unto her. that had valiantly fought in this Skirmilh. Cleopatra to reward his manliness, gave him an Armour and Head-piece of clean Gold: howbeit the man at Arms when he had received this rich gift. stole away by night, and went to Cafar. Antonius fent again to challenge Cafar, to fight with him hand to hand. Cafar answered him, That he had many other ways to die then fo. Then Antonius feeing there was no way more honourable for him to die, then fighting valiantly, he determined to fet up his rest. both by Sea and Land. So being at Supper (as it is reported) he commanded his Officers and Houshold Servants that waited on himat his Board, that they should fill his Cups full, and make as much of him as they could: for faid he, you know not whether you shall do so much for me to morrow or not, or whether you shall serve another Master : and it may be you shall see me no more, but a dead body. This notwithstanding, perceiving that his friends and men fell a weeping to hear him fay so: to salve that he had spoken, he added this more unto it; that he would not lead them to Battle, where he thought not rather fafely to return with Victory, then valiantly to die with honour. Furthermore, the self-same night within a little of midnight, when all the City was quiet, full of fear and forrow, thinking what would be the iffue and end of this War, it is faid, that quiet, full of fear and forrow, thinking what would be the mue and that of this twar, it is raid, that fuddenly they heard a marvellous fweet harmony of fundry forts of Infruments of Mufick, with the Strange noise heard, and no ery of a multitude of People, as they had been dancing, and had fung as they use in Bacchus Feasts, thing seen. with movings and turnings after the manner of the Satyrs: and it feemed, that this Dance went through the City unto the Gate that opened to the Enemies, and that all the troop that made all this noise they heard, went out of the City at that Gate. Now, such as in reason sought the depth of the interpretation of this wonder, thought that it was the god unto whom Antonius bare fingular devotion. to counterfeit and refemble him, that did forfake them. The next morning by break of day, he went to fet those few Footmen he had in order upon the hills adjoyning unto the City: and there he flood to behold his Galleys which departed from the Haven, and rowed against the Galleys of the Enemies, and fo stood still, looking what exploits his Souldiers in them would do. But when by force of rowing they were come near unto them, they first faluted Cafar's men; and then Cafar's men re-faluted them also, and of two Armies made but one: and then did all together row toward the City. When Antonius Na-Antonius faw that his men did for lake him, and yielded unto Cafar, and that his Footmen were brothemselves unken and overthrown, he then fled into the City, crying out that Cleopatra had betrayed him unto them to Cefar, with whom he had made War for her take. Then fie being airaid of his fury, fled into the Tom the Combins orest. which he had caused to be made, and there she locked the doors unto her, and shut all the springs of thrown by Octhe locks with great bolts, and in the mean time fent unto Antonius to tell him, that she was dead. tavius Cafar. Antonius believing it, faid unto himfelf: What doeft thou look for further, Antonius, fith fpightinto her Tomb full fortune hath taken from thee the onely joy thou hadft, for whom thou yet referveft thy life? or Monument. When he had faid these words, he went into a Chamber and unarmed himself, and being naked, faid thus : O Cleopatra, it grieveth me not that I have loft thy company, for I will not be long from thee: but I am forry, that having been so great a Captain and Emperour, I am indeed condemned to be judged of less courage and noble mind then a woman. Now he had a man of his called Eros, whom he loved and trusted much, and whom he had long before caused to swear unto him, that he should kill him when he did command him : and then he willed him to keep his promife. His man drawing his Sword, lift it up as though he had meant to have ftricken his Mafter: but turning his head on one fide, he thrust his Sword into himself, and fell down dead at his Masters foot. Then faid Antonius: Eros, Antonius O noble Eros, I thank thee for this, and it is valiantly done of thee, to shew me what I should do to Servant, slew my felf, which thou couldest not do for me. Therewithall he took his Sword, and thrust it into his himself. belly, and so fell down upon a little bed. The wound he had, killed him not presently, for the blood through his flinted a little when he was laid: and when he came formewhat to himself again, he prayed them that Sword into were about him, to dispatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out tor- himfelf, but menting himself: untill at the last there came a Secretary unto him (called Diomedes) who was com- died not premanded to bring him into the Tomb or Monument where Cleopatra was. When he heard that the Amonius carriwas alive, he very earnestly prayed his men to carry his body thither, and so he was carried in his ed unto Cleomens arms into the entry of the Monument. Notwithstanding, Chopatra would not open the Gates, parater Tomb, but came to the high windows, and cast out certain chains and ropes, in the which Antonius was truly fed : and Cleopatra her own felf, with two women onely, which the had fuffered to come with her into these Monuments, trifed Antonius up. They that were present to behold it, faid they never faw A lamentable to pitiful a fight. For they plucked up poor Antonius all bloody as he was, and drawing on with fight to fee pangs of death; who holding up his hands to Cleopatra, raifed up himself as well as he could. It was Antonius and a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him up: but Cleopatra Rooping down with her head, put-Cleopatra ting too all her frength to her uttermost power, did lift him up with much ado, and never let go her hold, with the help of the women beneath that bade her be of good courage, and were as forry to fee her labour fo, as the her felf. So when the had gotten him in after that fort, and laid him on a bed, the rent her Garmen's upon him, clapping her breaft, and scratching her face and stomach. Then she dried up his blood that had bewrayed his face, and called him her Lord, her Husband, and Emperor, forgetting her own milery and calamity, for the pitty and compassion she took of him. Antonius made her cease her lamenting, and called for wine, either because he was a thirst, or else for that he thought thereby to haften his death. When he had drunk, he earnestly prayed her, and perswaded

down again, and face by her beds fide: Cleopatra began to clear and excuse her felf for that the

had done, laying all to the fear she had of Amonius. Cafar in contrary manner, reproved her in

every point. Then she suddenly altered her speech, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she

but not forme (poor foul) to fet out my felf withall, but meaning to give fome pretty Prefents and Cafar.

Gifts unto Octavius and Livia, that they making means and interceffion for me to thee, thou might-

elt yet extend thy favour and mercy upon me. Cefar was glad to hear fay so, perswading him-self thereby that she had yet a desire to save her life. So he made her answer, that he did not onely

give her that to dispose of at her pleasure, which she had kept back, but further promised to use her more honourably and bountifully, then the would think for: and to he took his leave of her, hup-

for the last Oblations of the dead, unto the foul of Amonius. This being granted her, she was car-

"and kept from tearing and murdering this captive body of mine with blows, which they carefully

"guard and keep, onely to triumph of thee look therefore henceforth for moother honours, of-ferings, nor facrifices from me : for these are the last which Cleopatra can give thee, fith now they

"carry her away. Whilest we lived together, nothing could sever our companies; but now at our

Too many Cafats minot good. Alluding unto a certain Verse of Homer, that faith: Too many Lords do not well.

The faying of Arrive the Phi-

Therefore Cafar did put Cafarion to death, after the death of his Mother Cleopatra. Many Princes. great Kings and Captains did crave Antennas body of Otherina (afar, to give him honourable bu. Cafarion. Cicorial: but Cafar would never take it from Cleopatra, who did funntuoully and coyally bury him. Patra's Son. with her own hands, whom Cefer fuffered to take as much as the would to befrow upon his Fune. Dut to death. rals. Now was the altogether overcome with former and passion of mind, for the had knocked her cth Antonius. breaft so pitifully, that the had martyred it, and in divers places had raised ulcers and inflammations.

fo that the fell into a feaver withall: whereof the was very glad, hoping thereby to have good colour to abstain from meat, and that so the might have died easily without any trouble. She had a Physician called Olympus, whom she made privy to her intent, to the end he should help to rid her out of her life : as Olympus writeth himself, who wrote a Book of all these things. But Cefar mis-Olympus, Clea-

trufted the maxter, by many conjectures he had, and therefore did put her in fear, and threatned her paira's Physica put her children to shamefull death. With these threats, Cleopatra for sear yielded straight, as cian, the would have vielded unto strokes: and afterwards suffered her self to be cured and dieted as they lifted. Shortly after, Cafar came himself in person to see her, and to comfort her. Cleopatra be- Cafar came to

ing layed upon a little low bed in poor estate (when the saw Cafar come into her Chamber) suddenly see Cleopatra, role up, naked in her smock, and fell down at his feet marvelloully disfigured : both for that she had plucked her hair from her head, as also for that she had martyred all her face with her nails; and Cleopatra, a

besides, her voice was small and trembling, her eyes sunk into her head with continual blubbering, martyred creaand moreover, they might fee the most part of her stomach torn in funder. To be short, her bo- ture through dy was not much better then her mind: yet her good grace and comelines, and the force of her beauty was not altogether defaced. But notwithflanding this ugly and pitfull flate of hers, yet fine flowed her felf within, by her outward looks and countenance. When Cafar had made her lye

were afraid to die, and defirous to live. At length, the gave him a brief and memorial of all the ready money and treasure she had. But by chance there stood one Selenens by, one of her Treasure selenens, one of zers, who to feem a good Servant, came ftraight to Cafar to disprove Cleopatra, that she had not set Cleopatra's in all, but kept many things back of purpole. Cleopatra was in such a rage with him, that she flew Treasurers. upon him, and took him by the hair of the head, and boxed him well-favouredly. Cafar fell a laughing and parted the fray. Alas, said she, O Casar: is not this a great shame and reproach, that thou before Offavire. having vouchfafed to take the pains to come unto me, and done me this honour, poor wretch, and Cafar eastiff creature, brought into this pirifull and miferable flate: and that mine own Servants should Cicopatra's come now to accuse me ? though it may be I have referved some Jewels and trifles meet for women, words unto

pofing he had deceived her, but indeed he was deceived himself. There was a young Gentleman, Cleopatra fine-Curnelius Dolabella, that was one of Cafar's very great familiars, and befides did bear no ill will unto ly deceive he Choparia. He fent her word fecretly (as she had requested him) that Cafar determined to take his Only and the control of the co journey through Syria, and that within three days he would fend her away before with her Chil- as though the dren. When this was told Cleopatra, the requested Cefar that it would pleafe him to suffer her to of- defired to live.

ried to the place where his Tomb was, and there falling down on her knees, embracing the Tomb with her women, the tears running down her cheeks, the began to speak in this fort: O my dear Cleophre's list. Lord Antonius, it is not long fithence I buried thee here, being a free woman and now I offer unto the the funeral sprinklings and oblations, being a captive and prisoner; and yet I am forbidden Tomb.

her, that the would feek to fave her life, if the could positible, without reproach and dishonour : and that chiefly the should trust Proculeise above any man else about Cefar. And as for himself, that she thould not lament nor forrow for the miterable change of his fortune at the end of his days; but rather that she should think him the more fortunate, for the former Triumphs and Honours he had received; confidering that while he lived, he was the nobleft and greateft Prince of the World; and that now he was overcome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a Roman by another Roman. As Ansanins gavethe laft gasp, Proculeius came that was sent from Cefar. For aster Amonius had thrust his The death of Sword in himlelf, as they carried him into the Tombs and Monuments of Cleopatra, on of his guard (called Dercetaus) took his Sword with the which he had striken himself, and hid it: then he secretly ftole away, and brought Offwiss Cefar the first news of his death, and shewed him his Sword that Officeins Cafar was bloodied. Cafar hearing this news, straight withdrew himself into a secret place of his Tem, Uncount Caper and there burst out with tears, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune, that had been his friend and lamenteth Astrains death. Brother-in-law, his equall in the Empire, and companion with him in fundry great Exploits and Battles. Then he called for all his friends, and shewed them the Letters Antonium had written to him, and his Answers also sent him again, during their quarrell and strife: and how fiercely and proudly the other answered him, to all just and reasonable matters he wrote unto him. After this, he sent

Procultius fent Proculeius, and commanded him to do what he could possible to get Cleopatra alive, tearing left otherby Odlawia wife all the Treafure would be loft : and furthermore, he thought that if he could take Cleopatra, Whe an the Treather would be followed by the World marvelloully beautifie and fet out his Triumph. But Cleo-Cleophra slive pairs would never put her felf into Proculeius hands, although they spake together. For Proculeius came to the Gates that were thick and ftrong, and furely barred, but yet there were some cranies, through the which her voice might be heard, and so they without understood, that Cleparra demanded the Kingdom of ÆGYPT for her Sons: and that Proculeius answered her: That she should be of good chear, and not be afraid to refer all unto Cefar. After he had viewed the place very well, he came and reported her answer unto Cefar : who immediately fent Gallus to speak once again with her, and bad him purpofely hold her in talk, whilft Proculeius did fet up a Ladder against the high window by the which Antonius was trifed up, and came down into the Monumen with two of his men hard by the gate, where Cleoparra ftood to hear what Gallas faid unto her. One of her women which was shut up in her Monuments with her, saw Proculeius by chance as he came down, and shrieked out : O poor Cleopatra, thou art taken. Then when she saw Proculeius behind Glessatzansken her, as she came from the gate, she thought to have stabbed her felf with a short dagger she wore of purpose by her fide. But Proculeius came suddenly upon her, and taking her by both the hands, said unto her: Cleopatra, first, thou shalt do thy self great wrong; and secondly, unto Cefar, to deprive him of the occasion and opportunity, openly to shew his bounty and mercy, and to give his Enemies caule to accuse the most courteous and noble Prince that ever was, and to appeach him, as though he were a cruel and mercileis man, that were not to be trufted. So even as he spake the word, he took her dagger from her, and shook her cloaths for fear of any poyfon hidden about her. Afterwards, Cafar fent one of his infranchifed men called Epaphroditus, whom he ftraightly charged to look well

unto her, and to beware in any cale that the made not her felf away : and for the reft, to use her with Cefor took the all the courtefie possible. And for himself, he in the mean time entred the City of ALEXANDRIA, City of Alex and (as he went) talked with the Philosopher Arrins, and held him by the hand, to the end that his Countreymen should reverence him the more, because they saw Casar so highly efteen and honour characteristics. Then he went into the Shew-place of Exercises, and so up to his Chair of State which was preriss the Philo- pared for him of a great height; and there according to his commandment, all the People of ALEX-

ANDRIA were affembled, who quaking for fear, fell down on their knees before him, and craved mercy. Cefar bad them all fland up, and told them openly that he forgave the People, and pardoned the felonies, and offences they had committed against him in this War. First, for the Founderstake of the fame City, which was Alexander the Great: fecondly, for the beauty of the City, which he much efteemed and wondred at: thirdly, for the love he bare unto his very friend Arriss. Thus did Philoftramathe Cafar honour Arrins, who craved pardon for himself and many others, and specially for Philoftraented O. 111, the eloquentest man of all the Sophisters and Orazors of his time, for prefent and sudden speech a howbeit, he falfly named himfelf an Academick Philosopher. Therefore Cefar that hated his nature

time, for pre- and conditions, would not hear his fuit. Thereupon he let his gray beard grow long, and followed fent fpeech up-

faid unto him:

May by a wise man have the better speed.

Cafar understancing this, not for the defire he had to deliver Philostratus of his fear, but to rid Ar-Anylus. An. riss of malice and envythat might have fallen our against him, he pardoned him. Now touching Antonius Sons, Amyllus, his eldest Son by Fulvia was slain, because his Schoolmaster Theodorus did Son by Falvia, betray him unto the Souldiers, who strake off his head. And the Villain took a precious Stone of great value from his neck, the which he did fow in his girdle, and afterwards denied that he had it : but it was found about him, and fo Cafar truffed him up for it. For Clopatra's Children, they were very honourably kept, with their Governours and Train that waited on them. Bux for Cafarian, who was faid to be Jalim Cofor's Son, his Mother Cleoperra had fent himunto the INDIANS through & THI-OPIA, with a great fum of Money. But one of his Governours also called Rhodan, even such another as Theodorus, periwaded him to return into his Countrey, and told him that Cafar fent for him to give him his Mothers Kingdom. So, as Cefar was determining with himself what he should do, Arrius

Arrius step by step in a long morning gown, still buzzing in his ears this Greek Verse:

A wife man, if that he be wife indeed

"death, I fear me they will make us change our Countreys. For as thou being a ROMAN, haft "been buried in ÆGYPT : even fo wretched creature I an ÆGYPTIAN, shall be buried in ITALY, " which shall be all the good that I have received by thy Countrey. If therefore the gods where thou er art now have any power and authority, fith our godshere have forfaken us, fuffer not thy true friend "and lover to be carried away alive, that in me they triumph of thee : but receive me with thee, " and let me be buried in one self-Tomb. For though my griefs and mileries be infinite, yet none hath grieved memore, nor that I could lefs bear withall, then this finall time that I have been driven to live alone without thee. Then having ended these dolefull plaints, and crowned the Tomb with Garlands and fundry Nolegayes, and marvellous lovingly embraced the fame, the commanded they

should prepare her Bath, and when she had bathed and washed her self, she sell to her meat, and

was sumpruously served. Now whilst she was at dinner, there came a Countreyman and brought her was rumpruounty recrea. Now wante in was a same a coomic and bad in his Basket. The Souldiers that warded at the gates, asked him straight what he had in his Basket, Heoa basket. The Sounders mat warded at the gates, asked ministrateges what it must not no basket. He opened his basket, and took out the leaves that covered the figs, and flowed them that they were figs be brought. They all of them marvelled to fee fo goodly figs. The Countreyman laughted to hear them, and bad them take some if they would. They believed he told them truly, and so bad him carry them, and bad them take some if they would. them in. After Chopatra had dired, the fent a certain Table written and fealed into Cafar, and commanded them all to go out of the Tombs where the was, but the two women; then the flut the doors manurer them an to go one and this Table, and began to read her lamentation and petition, requelting to her. Cafar when he received this Table, and began to read her lamentation and petition, requelting to ner. (a ser would let ber be buried with Antonius, found straight what she meant, and thought to have gone thither himself: howbair, he sent one before in all haste that might be, to see what it was. Her death was very sudden: for those whom Cafar fent unto her, ran thinker in all haste possible, and deam was very manufactured in the gate, miftrufting nothing, nor understanding of her death. But when they had opened the doors, they found Cleopatra flark dead, laid upon a bed of Gold, attired and

The death of Cleopatra.

Of Antonius

Cleoparas awa arrayed in her Royal Robes, and one of her two women, which was called Irus, dead at her feet: and Cicoping stroy arrayed in net royal record, and one of bed and or wolling, which was a carried; and waiting women her other woman (called Charmion) half dead, and trembling, trimming the Diadem which Chopatal and the contract of the contr dead with her. 174 wore upon her head. One of the Souldiers feeing her, angrily faid unto her: Is that well done Charmion? Very well, faid she, and mettor a Princes descended from the race of so many noble Kings: she said no more, but fell down dead hard by the bed. Some report, that this Aspick was Kings: the 1ato no more, our ten wown used hat on the commanded them to hide it under the fig-leave, brought unto her in the basket with figs, and that the had commanded them to hide it under the fig-leave, orought unto ner in the basic with ingreated that when the thould think to rake out the figs, the Afpick thould bite her before the should fee her; howbeit, that when the would have taken away the leaves for the figs, the perceived it, and faid, Art nowbett, that when the would have careful and the put it to the Afpick to be bitten. Office again, and that the did prick and thrust it with a spindle of gold, so that the Aspick being of an Aspick. angred withall, leapt out with great fury, and bit her in the arm. Howbeit few can tell the troth. For angreu winian, maps the had hidden poyfon in a hollow razor which the carried in the hair of her head; and yet was there no mark feen on her body, or any fign diferented that she was poisoned, neither also did they find this Serpent in her Tomb: but it was reported onely, that there were feet certain field they find this Serpent in her Tomb: but it was reported onely, that there were feet certain field they find this Serpent in her Tomb fide towards the Sea, and specially by the door fide. Some fay also, that they found two little pretty bitings in her arm, feant to be differented: the which it The Images of feemeth Cefar himself gave credit unto, because in his Triumph he carried Cleopatra's Image, with an Citespan, car- Afpick biting of her arm. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now Cefar, though he was married in the mind and courage, and there fore commanded the should be nobly buried, and laid by Antonius: and willed also that her two woan Africk biting of herarm. men fhould have honourable buriall. Cleopatra died being eight and thirty years old, after the hid reigned two and twenty years, and governed about fourteen of them with Antonius. And for Antonins, forne fay that he lived three and fifty years: and others fay, fix and fifty. All his Statues, Images, and Mettals, were plucked down and overthrown, faving those of Cleoparra, which frood fill in their places, by means of Archibins one of her friends, who gave Cafar a thouland Talents that they should not be handled as those of Antonius were. Antonius lest seven children by three wives, of the which, Cafar did put Anyllus (the eldeft Sonhe had by Fulvia) to death. Off avia his wife took all the reft, and brought themp with hers; and married Cleopatra, Antonius Daughter, unto King ja-ba, a marvellous courteous and goodly Prince. And Antonius (the Son of Fulora) came to be fo great, that next unto Agrippa, who was in greatest estimation about Cefar; and next unto the children of Livia, which were the second in estimation : he had the third place. Furthermore, Oltavia having had two Daughters by her first husband Marcellus, and a Son also called Marcellus, Cefar married his Daughter unto that Marcellus, and fo did adopt him for his Son. And Offavia also married one of her Daughters unto Agrippa. But when Marcellus was dead, after he had been married awhite. Oftavia perceiving that her Brother Cafar was very buffe to choose some one among his friends, whom he trufted beft, to make his Son-in-law, the perfwaded him, that Agrippa thould marry his Daughter (Marcellus widow) and leave her own Daughter, Cofar first was contented withall and then Agrippa and so the afterwards took away her Daughter and married her unto Antonius; and Agrippa married Julia, Cefar's Daughter. Now there remained two Daughters more of Offavia and Antonius: Domitius Anobarbus married the one; and the other, which was Antonia, fo fair and vertuous a young Lady, was married unto Drufus the Son of Livia, and Son-in-law of Cefar. Of this marriage came Germanicus and Clodius: of the which, Clodius afterwards came to be Emperor. And of the Sons of Germanicus, the one whose name was Cains, came also to be Emperor: who after he had licentioully reigned a time, was flain, with his Wife and Daughter. Agrippina also (having a Son by her first Husband Anobarbus, called Lucius Domitius) was afterwards married unto Clodius, who adopted her Son, and called him Nero Germanicus. This Nero was Emperor in our time, who flew his own Mother, and had almost destroyed the Empire of ROME, through his madness and wicked life, being the fifth Emperor of ROME after Antonius.

The end of the Life of Antonius.

THE COMPARISON OF DEMETRIUS with ANTONIUS.



THE

w, fithence it falleth out, that Demetrius and Antonius were one of them much like to the other, having fortune alike divers and variable unto them, let us therefore come to confider their Power and Authority, and how they came to be fo great. First of all, it is certain that Demetrius Power and Greatness fell unto him by inheritance from his Father Antigonus : who became the greatest The Power of and mightieft Prince of all the Successors of Alexander, and had won the most Antonius and Antonius. part of Asia, before Demetrin came of full age. Antonius in contrary manner, born of an honest man, who otherwise was no man of War, and had not

left him any means to arise to fuch greatness, durit take upon him to contend for the Empire with Ca-fer, that had no right unto it by inheritance, but yet made himself Successor of the Power, the which the other by great pain and travel had obtained, and by his own industry became so great, without the help of any other, that the Empire of the whole World being divided into two parts, he had the one half, and took that of the greatest countenance and power. Antonius being ablent, oftentimes overtame the PARTHIANS in Battle by his Lieutenants, and chaled away the barbarous People dwelling bout Mount Caucasus, unto the Sea Hyrcanium, insomuch as the thing they most reprove him for, did anost witness his greatness. For Demetrius Father made him gladly marry Phila, Antipater's Daughter, although the was too old for him : because the was of a nobler House then himself. Antonius on the other fide was blamed for marrying of Cleopaira, a Queen that for her Power and Nobility of Blood, exceeded all other Kings in her time, but Arfaces: and moreover, made himself so great, that others thought him worthy of greater things, then he himself required. Now for the desire that mo- Demetries and ved the one and the other to conquer Realms, the defire of Demetrius was unblameable and just, defire-Antonius amwater one and the other to complete recamp, the other or so and defired to be governed by Kings, birio ing to reign over People which had been governed at all times, and defired to be governed by Kings, vern. But Antonius desire was altogether wicked and tyrannical, who fought to keep the People of ROME in bondage and subjection, but lately before rid of Cofar's reign and government. For the greatest and most famous Exploit Antonius ever did in Wars (to wit the War in the which he overthrew Coffine and Brutus) was begun to no other end, but to deprive his Countreymen of their Liberty and Freedom, Demetriss in contrary manner, before Fortune had overthrown him, never left to fet GREECE at liberty, and to drive the Garifons away, which kept the Cities in bondage, and not like Antonius that boafted he had flain them that had fet ROME at liberty. The chiefest thing they commended in Antonius was his liberality and bounty, in the which Demerium excelled him fo far, that he gave more to The liberality his Enemies, then Antonius did to his friends: although he was marvelloufly well thought of, for the and bounty honourable and sumptuous Funeral hagave unto Brutus body. Howbeit Demetrius caused all his E- Demetrius and nemies to be buried that were slain in Battle, and returned unto Ptolomy the Prisoners he had taken, Antonius.
with great Gifts and Presents he gave them. They were both in their prosperity, very riotoully and Demitrius and licentiously given : but yet no man can ever fay, that Demetrius did at any time ever let slip any oppor- Ansonius tiots, tunity or occasion to follow great matters, but onely gave himself indeed to pleasure, when he had nothing elfe to do. And further, to fay truly, he took pleasure of Lamia, as a man would have a delight eo hear one tell tales, when he had nothing effe to do, or is defirous to fleep: but indeed when he was to make any preparation for War, he had not then Ivy at his Darts end, nor had his Helmet perfumed, nor came out of the Ladies Closets picked and princt to go to Battle : buthe let all dancing and sporting alone, and became as the Poet Euripides faith :

The Souldier of Mars, cruel and bloody.

DEMETRIUS and ANTONIUS

Taphofiris fl.

Demetrius and Antonius

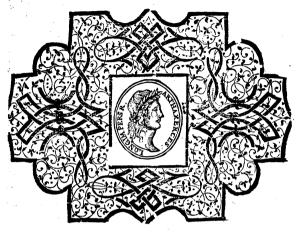
ever married

bood of Demetrius and Antonius.

But to conclude, he never had overthrow or misfortune through negligence, nor by delaying time to but to conclude, he never has overthelow or anisotratic mooga in page to be dealth away Heren-follow his own pleafure; as we fee in painted Tables; where Omphale fecretly flealeth away Heren-les Club, and took his Lions skin from him; even fo Cleopatra of tentimes unarmed Antonius, and enticed him to her, making him lofe matters of great importance, and very needfull Journeys, to come and be dandled with her, about the Rivers of Canobus, and Taphofiris. In the end, as Para fled from and be dandled with ner, about the review of a most seven fo did he in Clepatra's arms; or to speak the Battle, and went to hide himself in Helens arms; even fo did he in Clepatra's arms; or to speak more properly, Paris hid himself in Helens Closet, but Amonias (to follow Cleopatra) fled and nore property, Furthermore, Demerrial had many Wives that he had married, and all at one time: ton the which was not difallowable or not forbidden by the Kings of MACEDON, but had been used from the which was not unanowant a sale of the control o first of all married two Wives together, the which never Roman durft do before, but himself. Secondly, he put away his first ROMAN Wife, which he had lawfully married, for the love of a strange Woman, he fondly tell in fancy withall, and contrary to the Laws and gether. ried, for the love of a trange woman, at toward a Marriage never hurt him, for any wrong he had Demetrius laf. Ordinances of ROMS. And therefore Demetrius Marriages never hurt him, for any wrong he had Demetrius laf. Ordinances of ROMS. And therefore Demetrius Marriages never hurt him, for any wrong he had Orthmanics of the Antonius contrarily, was undone by his Wives. Of all the lafetitious parts Amonius played, none were so abominable, as this onely fact of Demetrius. For the Historiografered in Athens amounts prayed, note would not furfier dogs to come into the Caffle of ATRENS, because of all Beasts Castle, because phers write, that they would not furfier dogs to come into the Castle of ATRENS, because of all Beasts he is too buffe with butchery: and Demetring, in Minerva's Temple it felf lay with Curtizans, and ne is too dime with one litery and Democrams, in Cartery was a comple to ten lay with curticans, and there defiled many Citizens Wives. And besides all this, the horrible vice of cruelty, which a man would think were least mingled with these wanton delights, is joyned with Demetrius concupiscence; wound intered (or more properly, compelled) the goodlieft young Boy of ATHENS, to die amoft piwith numerous the himself from violence, being taken. And to conclude, Antonius by his incontituited death, to save himself from violence, being taken. nency, did no hurt but to himfelf, and Demetrius did hurt unto all others. Demetrius never hurt a nency, and not man be a sufficient of the sufficient of the friends; but Antonius suffered his Uncle by his Mothers side to be slain, that he might have his will of Cierro to kill him: a thing to damnable, wicked, and cruel of it felf, that he hardly deferuis will of there to an unit will be had killed Gieero, to have faved his Uncles life. Now where they vento nave occupationing, anough in a making Artabazus priloner, and the other killing Alexander.

Anonius out of doubt had best cause, and justest colour: for Artabazus had betrayed him, and forfakenhim in Media. But Demetrius (as divers do report) devised a falle matter to accuse Alexander, to cloak the murder he had committed: and fome think that he did accuse him, to whom he himself Demetriar and had done injury unto: and was not revenged of him, that would do him injury. Furthermore, Demetrini himself did noble feats of War, as we have recited of him before: and contrarily, Amonius when he was not there in person, wan many samous and great Victories by his Lieutenants: and were both overthrown being perfonally in Battle, but yet not both after one fort. For the one was forfaken of his men, being MACEDONIANS, and the other contrarily for fook his that were ROMANS: for he fled, men, being man and any in the man and left them that ventured their lives for his honour. So that the fault the one did, was, that he made them his Enemies that fought for him: and the fault in the other, that he fo beaftly left them that lord him beft, and were most faithfull to him. And for their deaths, a man cannot praife the one or theomin Deits, and were more and the more reproachfull : for he suffered himself to be taken Prisoner, ther, but yet Demetrius death was the more reproachfull : and when he was fent away to be kept in a strange place, he had the heart to live yet three years longer, to ferve his mouth and belly, as brute Beafts do. Antonius on the other fide, flew himfelf (to confes a troth) cowardly, and milerably, to his great pain and grief: and yet was it before his body came into his Enemies hands.

THE LIFE OF ARTAXERXES.



Anno Mundi.

Ant. Christ.



Reaxerxes, the first of this Name of all the Kings of Persia, a Noble and courteous Prince as any of all his House, was firnamed Long-hand. because his right hand was longer then his left : and he was the Son of King Xerxes. But the fecond, whose Life we prefently intend to Write, was firnamed Mnemon, as much to fay, Great memory : and he was The Parentage the Son of the Daughter of the first Artaxerxes. For King Darius, and of Artaxerxes his Wife Pary fatis, had four Sons, of the which, the eldeft was this Ar- Mnemon. taxerxes, the fecond Cyrus, and two other younger, Oftanes and Oxathres. Cyrus from the beginning bare the Name of the former Ancient Cyrus , which in the PERSIAN Tongue fignifieth the Sun. But Arta-

xerxes was called before Arlicas, although Dinon writeth, that he was called Oarles. Howbeit it is unlikely, that Cressas (although his Books otherwise be full of Fables, and as untrue as they are fond) should forget the Name of the Prince with whom he dwelt , whom he served , and continually followed, both him, his Wife and Children. Grus from his cradle was of a hot ftirring mind, and Artaxerxes in contrary manner, more mild and gentle in all his actions and doings. He was of natures be married to a very fair Lady, by his Father and Mothers commandment; and afterwards kept her twist Cyrus and against their wills, being forbidden by them. For King Darim his Father, having put his Sons Wives ATLANETES. Brother to death, he would also have put her to death: but her Husband with tears made such humble fuit to his Mother for her, that with much ado, he did not onely get pardon for her life, but grant also that the should not be put from him. This notwithstanding, his Mother always loved Cyrus better then him, and prayed that he might be King after his Fathers death. Wherefore Cyrus being in his Provinces of Asia by the Sea fide, when he was fent for to come to the Court, at what time his Father lay fick of the Disease he died : he went thither in good hope his Mother had prevailed with his Father, that in his Will he would make him his Heir of the Realm of PERSIA. For his Mother Paryfat is alledged a matter very probable, and the which in old time did help King Xerwes in the like cafe, through Demaratus counsell. She said that Arficas was born before her Husband Darius was King, and Cyrm after he was crowned King. All this could not prevail : for her eldest Son Arficas , fitnamed Artaxerxes, was affigned King of PERSIA, and Cyrus Governour of LyDIA, and the Kings Arlicas firms-Lieutenant-Generall of all the low-Countries of As I A toward the Sea fide, Shortly after King Darius med Artaxerdeath, the new King Artaxerxes went unto Pajargades, there to be confecrated and anointed King by tobe King of the Priests of the Countrey of PERSIA. The place of this Pafargades, is a Temple dedicated unto Perfia. Minerva the goddels of Battels, as I take it, where the new King must be consecrated; and when he

THE

of Perfix, at Pafargades.

Artaxerxes.

Cyrus lay in wait to kill Note the flattery and diffi-Woman.

> Artaxerxes courteous, and eafie to have accels unto.

Artaxerxes poor man that gave him a little water.

Tiribazus lightneis, and Artuxerxes liberality.

> Artaxerxes Wife

cometh into the Temple, he putteth off his Gown, and putteth on that which the old Ancient Cyrm wore before he was King. Furthermore, he must eat of a certain Tart or Fricacy made of of confectuing Figs with Turpentine : and then he must drink a Drink made with Vineger and Milk. There are allo certain other fecret Ceremonies which they must keep, and none do know, but the very Priess themselves. Now Artagerzes being ready to enter into all these Ceremonies, Tifaphernes came unto him, and brought him one of the Priefts that had been Cyrus School-mafter in his youth, and had taught him Magick; who by reason should have been more offended then any man else, for that he was not appointed King. And this was the cause why they beleered him the better , when he Cyrur accused accused Cyrus; for he said: That Cyrus had conspired treason against the King his Brothersown unto his Broperfon, and that he meant traiteroully to kill him in the Temple, when he should put off his
ther AtuserGown. Some do report, that Cyrus was apprehended upon this simple accusation by word of mouth. Others write also, that Cyrus came into the Temple, and hiding himself, he was taken with the manner, and bewrayed by the Prieft. So, as he was going to fuffer death, his Mother took Cyrus in her armes, and wound the hair of her head about his neck, and tied him straightly to her; and withall she wept to bitterly, and made such pitifull moan unto the King her Son, that through her intercession; the King granted him his life, and sent him again into his Countrey and Government. But this satisfied not Cyrus, neither did he so much remember the King his Brothers favour unto him, in granting this his life, as he did the despite he had offered him, to be made prifoner. Infomuch that for this grudge and evill will, he ever after had a greater defire then before to be King. Some Writers alledge, that he entred into actuall rebellion against his Brother by force of arms , because he had not sufficient revenue to defray the ordinary expence of his House: howbeit it is a meer folly to fay fo. For, though he had no other help but his Mother, he might have had of her what he would have taken and defired. Again, to shew that of himfelf he had ability enough, we need but alledge the Souldiers and ftrangers he gave pay unto in divers places, (as Xrnophon writeth.) For he brought them not altogether into one Army, because he desired to keep his enterprife as fecret as he could: but he had friends and Servants that leavied them in divers places, and under divers colours. And furthermore, he had his Mother alway about the King, that cleared all fuspicions conceived against him. He himself also on the other fide, whilest he made these preparations, wrote very humbly unto his Brother, fometime asking fomewhat of him, and another time acculing Tisaphernes: all to blind the King, to make him think that he bent all his malice and fpire against him: besides that, the king of his own nature was somewhat dull and slow, which the common Peoplethought to proceed of his courtefie and good nature. At his first coming to the Crown, he followed the first Artaxerxes goodness and courtesse, by whom he had his Name, For he gave more easie audience unto Suiters: he did also more honourably reward and recompence those that had deferved well: and he used such moderation in punishing of Offenders, that it appeared he did it not of any malicious mind and defire of revenge, nor yet of will to hurt any man. When he had any thing given him, he took it asthankfully, as they offered it him, and did as willingly and frankly also give again. For, how little a thing soever was offered him, he took it well. And it is reported, that one Romifes on a time presenting him a marvellous faire Pomegranate: By the Sun faid he) this man in a short time, of a little Town would make a great City, if he were made Governour of it. Another time there was a poor Labourer feeing every man give the King a prefent, fome one thing, fome another, as he passed by them: he having nothing at hand to give him, ran to the Rivers side, and took both his hands full of water, and came and offered it him. King Anaxerxes was fo glad of it, that he fent him in a Cup of Massie Gold, a thousand Dareckes, which were pieces of Gold so named, because the Image of Darius was stamped upon them. And unto one Euclidu a Lacedemonian, that prefumed to give him bold words, it pleafed him to answer by one of his Captains: Thou maift say what thou lift; and I as King, may say and do what I lift. Another time as he was an hunting, Tiribazin flewed the King his Gown that was all to tattered : Well, faid the King, and what wouldest thou have me to do? Tiribazin answered him, I pray your Grace take another, and give me that you have on. The King did fo, and told him: Tiribazus, I give the my Gown, but I command thee not to wear it. Tiribazus took it, and cared not for the Kings commandment that he should not wear it; not that he was any evill disposed man, but because he was a fond lightheaded fellow that cared for nothing: thereupon he straight put the Kings Gown on his back, and not contented therewith, he did befides fet on many Jewels of Gold which Kings onely are wont to wear, and Womens Trinkets and Ornaments. Therewithall every man in the Court murmured at him , because it was a presumption, directly against the Laws and Ordinances of PERSIA. Howbeit the King but laughed at it , and told him : I give thee leave Tiribazus to wear those Womens gawds as a Woman, and the Kings Robe as a soole. Furthermore, where the manner was in PERSIA, that no Person sate at the Kings Board, but his Mother and Wife, of the which, his Mother fare uppermoft, and his Wife lowermoft : Areaxerxes made his two Brethren Offianes and Oxathres fit at his own Board : but yet he pleafed the PERSIANS best of all because he was content his Wife Statyra (hould fit openly in her Chariot, and that she might be seen and reverenced by the other Ladies of the Countrey. And this made him fingularly beloved of the People. Now, fuch as defired innovation and change, and that could not away with quiet life, gave out that the Realm of PERSIA required such a Prince as Cyrus, that was liberall of nature, given to arms, and greatly rewarded his Servants; and that the greatness of the Empire of Persia stood in need of a King whole mind was bent to high attempts and noble enterprises. So Cyrus thereupon began to make War upon his Brother, not onely trufting unto them that were of the low Countries about him, but hoping of those also in the high Provinces near unto the King. Furthermore he wrote Cyrut maketh also unto the LACEDEMONIANS, to pray them to fend him men of War, promising to give War sgainst also unto the LACEDAMONIANS, to play them to tells mind of the profiling to give his Brother the Footmen they sent, Horses; and to Attacerses. those that had Villages, to give them Cities: besides all this, that for the ordinary wages of them Crius wonderthat should serve him in this War, he would not pay them by account, but by full measure. And full promites boafting largely of himfelf, he faid he had a greater mind then his Brother; that he could better away with hardness then he, that he understood Magick better then he; and that he could drink more Wine then he, and carry it better: and that the King his Brother in contrary manner was fo womanish and fearfull, that when he went a hunting, he durst scarce get up upon his Horse back: and when he went to the Wars, he would hardly take his Chariot. When the LACEDEMONI-ANS had read his Letters, they fent a little scrole unto Clearchus, commanding him to obey Cirus in any thing he would command him. So Cyru did fet forward to make War against his Brother, having leavied a great number of fighting men of barbarous Nations, and of GRECIANS, little less then thirteen thouland men : fometime advertifing one cause, fometime another, why he leavied fuch a multitude of men. But his purpose could not be long diffembled : for Tisaphernes went himfelf unto the Court, to bring news of his attempt. Then all the Court was straight in an uproar withall. Many men also did accuse the Queen-Mother, for the practise of this War, and all her friends and Servants were vehemently suspected to be Conspiratours with Cyrus : but the greatest thing that troubled Pary fatis most, was Queen Statira her Daughter-in-law, who stormed marvelloufly to fee this War begun against King Artaxerxes her Husband, and incessantly cried out on her: O, where is the Faith thou vowedst by Oath? whereto are thy intercessions come, thou madest for the pardon of his life, who now conspireth his Brothers death? By saving of his life, art not thou now the cause of this War and troubles we see at hand? after this reproach and shame received by Statira, Parylatis being a cruell and malicious woman of nature, fo hated her, that from thenceforth the fought all the ways she could to put her to death. And Dinon the Historiographer faith, that during this War, fhe did executeher wicked purpose upon her : but Ctesiphas writeth , that it was after the War. And therefore it is liker that he being daily in the King of Persia's Court, should certainly know the time when she did execute her Treason against her; and also there is no cause why he should rather write in any other time, then in that which the fact was done : although in many other places he commonly useth to fain, and to write devices of his own head. Therefore let us leave the report of this fact to the felf-same time and place as he hath written it. Now when Cyrus drew near unto his Brothers Countrey, he had newes, and a rumour ran through his Camp, that the King was not determined to come and fight with him to foon: and that he meant first to go further into PERSIA, and to tarry there till he had gathered his Army together out of all parts. And for proof hereof, the King having cast a great Trench of ten yards broad, and as many high, the space of four hundred Furlongs in length: he left it without guard, and let Cyrus win it, who came on further without any refistance, even to the very City it felf of BABYLON. Howbeit in the end, Tiribazus (as it is reported) was the first man that durst tell the King, that he should not flie fight in that fort, nor hide himself in the farthest part of PERSIA, leaving his Enemy and Realms of ME-DIA, BABYLON, and Susa: confidering also that he had many more Souldiers in readiness then his Enemy, and an infinite number of Captains more skilfull, and able to give counsell, and to fight, then he was. These words of Tiribaziu made the King alter his mind, and to determine to give Battell as foon as he could. Thereupon he marched forward against his Enemy, with nine hundred Artaxtrats thousand fighting men, excellently well armed, and marching in very good order. That marvellous- Army of nine ly aftonied Cyrus men, and made them afraid at the first when they saw them in so excellent good hundred thouorder before them: for that they were dispersed straggling here and there without any order, and fund fighting men unarmed, trufting too much in themselves in despising of their Enemy : so that Cyrus had his Brother much ado to fet his men in Battell-ray, and yet was it with great noise and tumult. But the GRE- CITHE. CIANS wondered most of all other, when they faw the Kings Army march in lo good order of Battell without any noise: for they thought to have seen a wonderfull great disorder and consusion, in such an infinite multitude of People; and supposed they would have made such a noise, that one of them should not have heard another. Where indeed to the contrary, all was so well martialed specially because he had placed before his Battell the best Carts he had, armed with Sithes, and drawn with the strongest and biggest Horses he had in all his Army : hoping by the sierceness and sury of their carier, to break into the Ranks of the Enemies, before they could come to joyn with theirs, But fith this Battell is described by divers Historiographers, and specially by Xenophon, who hath (as a man would fay) lively fet it out to the eye; and fetteth it forth to the Reader, Xenophon the not as a Battell already fought, but presently a fighting, stirring up their minds, as if themselves missioning were in the action and instant danger (he hath so passingly set it down) it were but a folly there-pher excellentfore of me to take upon me to make any further description of it, saving to touch some specials by describeth points worthy of note, which he peradventure hath left out. As, the place where the Battell was between Arts. fought, is called COUNAXA, five hundred furlongs from BABYLON; and how that before the xerxes and his Battell Clearching gave Cyrus counfell to keep behind the fquadron of the GRECIANS, and not Brother Cyrus. to hazard his person among the first : and that Cyrus answered him , What sayest thou Clearchus? wouldest thou have me that strives to be King, to shew my felf unworthy to be a King? But Cyrus having made this fault, not standing upon his fafety and guard, but overrashly thrusting

nerall, requifice in Battell. Clearchus cowardliness re-

himself into great danger, Clearchus self also committed as a great fault (if it were not worse) Sifety in a Ge. when he would not fet his men in order directly against the Battell of the Enemies, where the Kings Person stood, but went and pend them up by the Rivers side, being asraid least they should have been compassed in behind. For if he would have looked to straightly to himself, and have provided every way for his fafety, that no man might come to hurt him, he should have kept himself at home, and not have firred one foot out of the doors. But fith he had come to far, as from the low Countries of Asia, unto the place where the Field was fought, and uncompelled, onely to put Cyrus in his Fathers Seat and Imperiall Crown ; to go chuse a place in the Battell, not where he might do his Lord best service that had hired him, but rather where he might fight more at his eale, and at less danger, it was even as much, as if through cowardliness his wits had been taken from him when he should have fought, or that through treason he had forsaken his Enterprise. For, to prove that the Troops which were about the Kings person, had never been able to have received the charge of the GRECIANS, and that those being overthrown, the King had been flain in the field, or else forced to flie, and that Cyrus had won the Field, and by this Victorian ry had been King, the fuccess of this Battell doth plainly shew it. And therefore Clearchus over-curious respect, deserved more blame for the loss of this Battell , then Cyrus over hardinels. For if King Artaxerxes would have chosen or wished a place where the GRECIANS might have done him less hurt, he could not have devised a fitter place that was so far from him, and from whence the GRECIANS could neither fee nor hear what was done where he was, asit fell out in the fequel. For Cyrus was slain before he could prevail by Clearchus Victory, he was fo far from him: and furthermore, Cyrus therein knew before what was meetest to be done For he commanded Clearchus to place himself with his company in the middeft of the Battell: who answered him , he should take no thought for any thing , for he would see all things well ordered. And when he had faid fo, he marred all afterwards : for where the GRECIANS were, they overthrew the barbarous people that made head against them, and had them in chase while they were weary of following them. Cyrus being mounted upon a hot firring Horse, that had a hard head, and was very fierce and dogged, called Pajacas, as Ctefias writeth, Artagerfes, the Governour Pafacas , Cyrus of the Province of the CADUSANS, spied him a far off, and when he had found him, clapped fpurs to his Horle, and came with full carrier unto him, and cried out: O Traytour, and most Arragerfesthe Governour of unfaithfull and desperate man, thou now dishonourest the name of Cyrus (which is the goodliest and most honourable name of all the Persians,) for that thou hast brought so valiant Grethe Province CIANS hither to fo wicked an enterprise, to spoil the PERSIANS goods, in hope to destroy giveth charge thy foveraign Lord and onely Brother, who hath an infinite number of flaves and Servants far upon Cyrus. honester men then thou wilt be while thou livest; and that thou shalt presently know by proof, for thou shalt die before thou see the King thy Brothers face : and therewithall he threw his Dart at him with all the force he had. But Cyrus Armour was fo good, that it pierced him not : yet the blow came with fuch good will, that it made him stagger on his Horse back. When Artagerse had given him that blow , he presently turned his Horse. But Cyrus therewithall threw a Dart at him so happily, that he flew him right in the place above the bone that joyneth the two shoulders together : so that the head of his Dart, ran quite through his neck. Now, that Cyrus slew Ariagersis with his own hands in the Field, all the Historiographers do agree upon it: but for the death of Cyrus, because Xenophon toucheth it but a little by the way, for that he was not present in the very place where he Ártagerfes, was flain, it shall not be hurtfull particularly to set down the manner thereof, both according to the report of Dinon, and also of Cresias. First, Dinon writeth, that after Cyrus had flain Arragofes, he went with great fury, and flew in amongst the Troop of them which were nearest unto the Cocks, because Crefias , to couch in few words that which Dinon reporteth at large, faith : that Cyrus after he had

Cyrus flew

of Catulia

Dinone report of Cyrus death.

The Carians

Kings Perfon, and that he came fo near the King that he flew his Horfe stark dead under him, and the King fell to the ground withall. But Tribazus that was hard by him, ftraight mounted the King again upon another Horfe, and faid unto him : Your Grace will remember this Battell another day, for it is not to be forgotten. And Cyrus clapping spurs again to his Horse, threw another Dart at Artaxorxes, and hit him. But at the third charge, the King told them that were about him, he could not abide this, and that he had rather die then fuffer it : fo therewithall he spurring his Horse to charge Cyrus (who came fiercely and desperately, having an infinite number of blows with Darts thrown at him on every fide) threw his Dart at him alfo. So did all those that were about his Person: and so was Cyrus flain in this Conflict. Some fay, that he was flain with the wound his Brother the King gave him. Others fay, that it was a man at arms of the Countrey of CARIA, unto whom the King for reward of his good service, gave the honour in all Battels to carry before the first Rank, a Cock of Gold on the top of a Spear: for the PERSIANS do call the CARIANS Cocks, because in the Wars they use to wear crests in the top of their Head-pieces. And this is Dinons report. But they west flain Artagerfes, galloped on the spur against the King himself, and the King against him, and credit on their not a word between them both. Arieus one of Cyrus statterers, threw the first Dart at the King, Head opicer. Crefes report but killed him not: and the King with all his force again threw his Dart, thinking to have hit Cyof Grus death. rus, but he miffed bim, and flew Tifaphernes, one of the valiantest and stoutest men Cyrus had about Artisteres: him, who fell down dead. Then Cyrus hit Artaxerxes fo fore a blow on his Breaft, that he pierbut by Crus. ced his Armour, and entred into his flesh two fingers deep. The King with this blow fell down to the ground : therewithall the most part of his men about him were to afraid , that they forfook him and fled. Howbeit he got up again , with the help of others that were about him,

amongst whom Cressas said he was one, and so recovered a little Hill afat off to take a little . breath. In the mean time; Cyrus Horse that was hot in the mouth, and hard headed, as we have told you, carried his Master in spite of his heart far from his men, among his Enemies, and no man knew hing, because it was night, and his men were very busie in seeking for him. But Crrus hoping he had won the Victory, being of a hot stirring nature, and valiant, he went up and down in the thickest of his Enemies , crying out in the PERSIAN Tongue: Save your selves poor men. fave your felves. When they heard him fay so, some made a lane for him to pass by them, and did him reverence : but by evill fortune his Tiara (which is the high Royall Hat after the PERSIAN manner) tell off from his head. Then a young Persian called Mithridates, palling by him, hit him ablow with his Dart upon one of his Temples, hard by his Eye, not knowing what he was. His wound fraight fell on a marvellous bleeding. Whereupon, Cyrus fraggering at it, fell on the ground Cyrus him. in a fwound, and his Horle ran away from him: but the Capariton he had upon him fell to the ground all bloudied, and his Page that had hurt him, took it up. Shortly after Cyrus being come to himself again, some of his Eunuchs (which were men gelt , and Grooms of his Chamber) that were about him, did lift him up, thinking to fer him upon another Horse, and to get him out of the preass: but he was not able to fit on his Horse. Thereupon he proved if he could better go on foot, and the Eunuchs held him up by the arms, and led him amazed as he was, not able to frand on his feet; although he thought he had won the Battell, because he heard his Enemies flying about him cry, The gods fave King Cyrus, and they prayed him to pardon them, and to receive them to mercy. But in the mean time, there came certain poor men of the City of Caunus, who followed the Kings Camp, getting their living as drudges and flaves, to do most vile Service. They joyned with the Troop where Cyrus was, supposing they had been the Kings men: but when they perceived in the end by the red Coats they wore upon their Armours, that they were Enemies, for that the Kings men wore white Coats, there was one among the rest that valiantly strake at Cy- Cyrus miserable rus behind with his Partizan, not knowing indeed that it was Cyrus. The blow lighted full on the ham deftiny, of his Leg, and cut his finews fo, that Cyrm fell withall; and falling, by misfortune fell upon a great stone with his brow, where he had been hurt before, that he died forthwith. Thus doth Ctefirst report it, where me thinketh he cutteth his Throat with a dull edged Knife, he hath fuch ado to bring Cyrus to his end. Now after Cyrus was dead, Arta (yras, one of King Artaxerxes Eunuchs whom they called the Kings Eye in the Court) paffing by on horsback, knew Cyrus Eunuchs that mourined very pitifully, lamenting the death of their Mafter. So he asked the Eunuch whom Cyrus loved belt: Who is that that is dead, O Parifese, that thou weepelt to bitterly? Parifese answered him again, Seeft thou not Artalyras that it is Cyrus but newly dead ? Artalyras wondered much when he faw him. So he comforted the Eunuch, and willed him in no case to go from the body, and in the mean time he galloped apace to the King, who thought he had loft all, and was very ill besides, both for the great thirst he suffered, as also for the wound he had on his breast. Now when the Eunuch came unto the King, and told him with a smiling countenance the news, how behad feen Cyrus dead : the King was fo joyfull at the news, that he was desirous himself forthwith to go unto the place where he lay to fee him, and commanded Arta/yras to bring him thither. But after he had considered better of it, he was counselled not to go thither himself for sear of the GRECIANS, who they faid won all, and were yet chafing and killing them in the Field, that fled : but rather that he thould fend a good company of men thither , to bring him just report, whether the news were true of his death or not. Upon this advice he stayed, and sent thither thirty men, every man with Torches in their hands. In the mean time, one of the Eunuchs called Statibarzanes, ran up and down to fee if he could get any water for the King, that was almost dead for thirst: for there was no water near unto him where he was, and besides, his Camp was far from him. His Eunuch having run up and down a great way to feek it, met by chance with these poor Slaves and Porters the CAUNIANS, among the which one of them carried in an old ragged Goats Skin, about eight glafs-fuls of naughty ftinking water. So he prefently carried King Attathe fame to the King, who drank it up every whit. When the King had drunk it, the Eunuch xerxer beings asked him, if that naughty water did him no hurt. The King fware by the gods unto him, that thirld drake he never drank better Wine, nor fweeter water then that was, nor that pleafed him better then that flinking puldid; and therefore, faid be, I befeech the gods, if it be not my hap to find him that gave thee faid he never this water to reward him, yet that it will please them to send him good fortune. As the King taffed sweeter. was talking thus with the Eunuch , the thirty men with their Torches returned unto him , who altogether with joyfull countenance, confirmed the good news he looked not for : and then there were come together again a greater number of Souldiers about him, and still came more one after another, that he began again to be couragious. Then he came down into the Plain, with a world of Lights and Torches about him, and went straight to the place where his Brother Cyrus Body lay. There following the ancient manner of the PERSIANS against Traytours to the The manner King, he caused his head and right hand to be stricken off, and then made his head be brought in War, unto him, the which he took by the hairs of his head (for Gyrus wore them long and thick) against a and did himself shew it unto them that fled still and were afraid, to encourage them again. They Traytour to wondering to fee it, did him humble reverence, and so gathered by companies about the King, the Kingthat in a small time there were gathered together about him , threescore and ten thousand fig ting men, with the which he took his way again towards the Camp. Indeed Cressas faith, that he had but four hundred thouland fighting men in all : but Dinon and Xenophon fay more. And

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Plutarch reproveth Ctcfi.ss for a lyar.

The punish ment of him that flew Cy-

Paryfatis Arange cruelty in putting the Carian to

for the number of them that were flain , Ctefas faith , that word was brought to the King , that there were not above nine thousand flain , how beit that to fight they feemed to be no leis then twenty thouland: but for that point, be might be talked withall, in either of both. And furthermore, where he faith that the King did fend him with Phayllus ZACYNTHIAN unto the GRECI-ANS, and others with him, that is a flat lie. For Xenophos knew right well, that this Crefia waited upon the King, because he speaketh of him in divers places of his History: if he had been appointed by the King to carry report unto the GRECIANS of fo weighty a matter, it is like enough Xent. phon would not have concealed it, when he nameth Phaylum ZACYNTHIAN. But Crefiar (25 itappeareth by his Writings) was a very ambitious man, and partiall unto the LACEDEMONIANS, but specially unto Clearchus: and is glad when he can get any occasion to speak of himself for his glory, of LACEDEMON, and of Charebus. Now after this Battell, King Artaxerxes fent goodly rich Gifts unto Artager et Son, whose Father Cyrus had slain with his own hands : and (as it is reporded the good, ted) did also greatly honour Ciessa, and many others : and did not forget also to cause the poor CAUNIAN flave to be fought out, that had given him the water to be carried to him, which faved his life : and when he had found him out, of a poor wretch unknown before, he made him a rich Nobleman. He severely punished those also that had offended the Martiall Law, as amongst others Arbaras, one of the MEDES: who (when the Battell was joyned) fled first to Cyrus fide, and then , when he understood he was slain, he returned again to the Kings side. For, supposing that it was rather timoroufnefs and cowardly nature, then for treason or ill will he bare him, he compelled him to carry a Whore on his back stark naked, all day long about the Market-place. And to another (who befides he had yeelded himfelf to his Enemies, fallly boafting that he had flain two) he made his Tongue to be boared through in three feverall places with a Cordwainers Awl. Now the King being of opinion that it was himself that had stain his Brother Grus with his own hand, and being defirous that every man should so think and say, he sent Presents unto Mithridates, that had hurt him first in the jorehead, and commanded him that carried the Gifts unto him, to tell him from the King: The King doth fend thee thele Prefents , because thou finding first the Capacifon of Cyrus Horse, diddest bring it unto the King. The CARIAN also, that had cut the ham of his Leg wherewith Cyrus fell down, asked his Gift likewife: which the King gave him, and bad the Meffenger tell him The King doth give thee this, because thou wast the second person that brought him the good news: for Artaffras was the first, and thou the second, that brought him news of the death of Cyrm. Now Mithridates, albeit he was not well pleafed in his mind with these words, he went his way, and faid nothing then, nor made any thing ado: but the unfortunate CARIAN fondly fell into a foolish vein , common unto men. For, the suddain joy he felt (as it seemeth) to see such a goodly rich Present before him , as the King sent him , made him so forget himself , that he began to aspire , and to presend greater things then became his Effate and Calling. And therefore he would not take the Kings Gift, as in respect that he had brought him word of Cyrn, death : but began to from , and to rage, calling the gods to witness, that it was he onely, and none other, that flew Cyrus; and that they did him great wrong, to take this honour from him. The King being told of it, took it lo angrily, that he prefently commanded them to ftrike off his head. But Paryfais (the Queen Mother) being prefent when the King gave this commandment, the prayed him not to put him to death in this fort : for the villain (faid the) let me alone, I will chastile him well enough for his presumption and rash speech. The King was contented she should have him. Thereupon she sent the Strgeant to take this curfed CARIAN, and made him be hanged upon a Gibbet ten days together, and at the ten days end caused his eyes to be pulled out of his head : and last of all , poured molten Mettall into his ears, and so killed the Villain with this kind of torment. Mithridates also shortly after, died miserably by a like folly. He was bidden to supper at a Feast, whither came also the King and Queen Mothers Eunuchs: and when they came, Mithridates fate down at the Board in the Kings golden Gown he gave him. When they had fupped, and that they began to drink one to another, one of Parylatic Eunuchs faid unto Mishridates: The King hath indeed given the a goodly rich Gown Mishridates, and goodly Chains and Carcanets of Gold, and fo is the Sword very rich and good he gave thee , fo that when thou haft that by thy fide, there is no man (I warrant thee) but will think thee a happy man. Mithridates then , the Wine furning into his brain , answered straight: What meanest thou by that , Speramines? I deserved better then this when the Battell was fought. Then Sparamixes laughing on him, answered, I do not speak it for any furt or evil will I bare thee , Mithridates : but to fpeak frankly among our felves , because the Gascisns have a common Proverb, that Wine telleth true, I pray thee tell me, what valiant Act was it to take up a Caparison of a Horse that sell on the ground, and to carry it to the King? which the Eunuch spitefully put forth unto him, not that he was ignorant who did it; but to provoke him to speak, and to put him in a rage, knowing that he was a hafty man of nature, and could not keep his tongue. and leaft of all when he had drunk fo well as he had done; and fo it fell out indeed. For Mithrida tes could not bite it in , but replied fireight : You may talk as long as you lift of the Capaciton of a Horse, and such train, but I tell you plainly , that Cress was slain with mine own bands; and with see the permit of hellineftof no mans elfe. For I hit him not in vain as Artegrafes did, but full in the forehead hard by the eye, and firske him through and through his head again, and so overthrew him, of which blow he died. He had no fooner spoken these words , but the rest that were at the Board , cast down their eyes, forefeeing the death of this poor and unfortunate Mithridars. But then the Mafter of the Feaft began to speak, and faid unto him : Friend Mithridates, I pray thee let us drink and bemerry, and reARTAXBRXES

verence and thank the good forume of our King; and for the reft, let this talk go, it is too high for us. When the Banuch went from thence, he told Paryland (the Queen Mother) what Mithridates had faid before them all: and fine went and told the King of it. Who was marvellously offended withall to be so belied, and to lose the thing that was most honourable, and best pleased him in his Victory. For it was his mind, that all the World (both GRECIANS and barbarous People.) should certainly believe, that in the Battell betweet him and his Brother he was hurt, but yet that he flow Cyrns with his own hand. So the King commanded that Mitbridges should suffer the pains of The terrible death in Boats, the which is after this manner. They take two Boats made of purpole so even, death of offenthat the one is neither broader nor longer then the other, and then lay the offender in one of them ders, in Boats upon his back, and so cover him with the other, and do sow both Boats together : so that the or Troughs feet, hands, and head do come out at holes made of purpole for him, the reft of his body is all among the hidden within. Now they give him Meat as much as he will eat, and if he will not eat, they Perfune. force him to it, by thrusting Awles in his eyes: then when he hath eaten, they give him Honey to drink mingled with Milk, and they do not onely pour it into his mouth, but also all his face over turning him full into the Sun, fo that his face is all covered with Flies: and furthermore, being driven to do his needs in that Trough, of his excrements there ingender Worms that eat his body to the very Privities. Then , when they fee the man is dead , they take off the uppermoft Boar , and find The milerable all his fielh devoured with Vermine ingendred of him, even to his very entrails. So, when Mithri- death of Midates had miferably languished in this manner, seventeen days together, at length he died in extream thridates. torments. Now Parylatis (the Queen Mother) lacked no more to accomplish her wicked defire. but Melabates, one of the Kings Eunuchs that had cut off Cyrus head and hand : and feeing that be was very wary and circumspect in his behaviour, that she could not take him at any advantage, in the end the deviled a fine way to intrap him. She had a marvellous wit, and among other things craft of Parcould play passingly well at all Games at Dice, and did many times play with the King her Son be-first, and her force the Wars: and after the Wars also, when he had made peace, she did play at Dice with great skill and him as the had done before, infomuch as the knew all his fecret love, and fuffered him to enjoy it, cunning at To be short, she would never be out of his fight but as little as she could, and would let his Wife Dice. Statira have as little time with him as might be, that the might govern and rule him as the would : both because she hated her of all creatures living, and also for that she would bear the greatest sway and credit about him. When she saw the King oneday at leasure, not knowing how to pass the time away, the inticed him to play a thousand Dareckes at Dice, and was contented to lose them willingly, and paid the thouland Dareckes down, feeming notwithstanding to be angry with her loss. So she prayed him alfo to play one of his Eunuchs with her: and the King was well contented with it. But before they would play, they agreed between them that they should both name and except five of the sruftieft and chiefest Eunuchs they had : and then, which of them lost, should presently deliver unto the Winner his choice of all the other Eunuchs he would demand. Thus they fell to play, and the imploying all the cunning the had, and playing as warily as the could possible, besides that the Dice ran on her fide, her luck ferved her fo, that the wan : and then the requireth Mejabates for her Winnings, because none of those the King had excepted. When she had him delivered her, she Perstatic craft gave him to the Hangman, and willed him to flea him alive, and then that they should crucifie him, and cruelty. and nail him to a Crofs, and hang his Skin upon another piece of Timber by him: the which was done accordingly. The King was marvellous angry withall when he knew it and grievoully offen and with his Mother. Howbeit the sported it out, and laughing told him: Indeed it becomes thee well to be angry for losing an old gelded Villain, where I lost a thousand Dareckes quietly, and faid never a word. So there came no other thing of it, faving that the King was a little angry, and repented him that he had played so fondly, and was so finely mocked. But Queen Statira on the other fide (belides that the was against ther in all other things) spared not to tell the Queen Mother plainly, that it was wickedly done of her, to put the Kings good and faithfull Servant fo cruelly to death, for Cyrus fake. But now, after that Tisabiernes (King Artaxernes Lieutenant) had deceived Clear Tisabiernes be-ghus, and other. Captains of Greece: detectably fallifying his word he had given them, and that trayed the he had fent them bound unto the King , Crefias faith , that Clearches prayed him to help him to a Captains of Comb; and that having had one by his means, and so combed his head, it pleased him so well, Greece. that to requite his good will, he gave him his Seal of Arms from his finger wherewith he Sealed his Letters, for a witness of the great friendship that was between them two. He faith also, that in the shope of this Ring there was graven the Dance of the CARYATIDES. And furthermore, that the other Souldiers which were prisoners with Clearehm, did take away the most part of the Victuals that were fent to him, and left him little or nothing; and that he did remedy all this procuring a greaser quantity to be fent unto them, and that they should put Clearches Portion apart, and all the other Souldiers parts by themselves. This he did, as he saith, by Parylatic confent and command-ment, who knowing that amongst other Victuals they daily sent Clearchus a gammon of Bacon, the gold him one day he flould do well to hide a little Knife in this gammon of Bacon, and to fend it him, to the end that the life of fo noble and valiant a man as he was , should not fall to the cruelty of the Clearchus and King. Howbeit, that he was afraid to meddle withall, and durft not do it: and that the King Iware, other Captains and promited his Mother (who was an earnest futter to him for Clearchus) that he would not put him of Greece put to death. This notwithstanding, the King being afterwards procured; and perforated to the control to death by trary, by Queen Stating his Wife, he put them all to death, but Menon. Therefore Pary att xxxxxx (Queen Mother) aftier that time (faith Crefias) deviled all the ways the could to poylon the Queen Co fair vanity.

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Seatife, and to make her dut of the way. But me thinken this finelleth like a lie; this Parffate should intend fo wicked and dangerous an Act, as to put the Kings lawfull Wife to death, by whom he had Sons that were to inherit the Crown, onely for the love and respect of Charebur; and it is too plain that he coyned that, to honoist and magnifie Clearchut memory the more. But to prove is a man may easify find it by the life site addeth afterward unto it : saying , that after the Captains were flain, all the bodies of the reft were torn in pieces by Dogs and Powls: and also that there catica boilterous wind, and covered all Clearchin body with a great Hill of duft; and that our of this Hill of doft, flortly after there forung up many Palm-Trees, which made a pretty thick Grove, that it shadowed all that place. Infomuch that the King himself did afterwards marvellously repent him for putting him to death, for that he was an honeft man, and beloved of the gods. This was not for Clearchus fake, burfor an old cankered malice Parylata had long born in her heart against Ouen Statista: because the faw well enough, that the credit and authority her felf had with the King, was in respect of a Sons duty and obedience to his Mother; and in contrary manner, Stating, Paryfatis hate tire's credit and authority had a better ground and foundation, because it came of the love and goodwill the King did bear her. And this is the onely cause that made her to practise the death of Queen Daughter in Stativa, having determined that her felf., or Daughter-in-law, must needs die. Now the Queenlaw Statira. Mother had one of the Women of her Chamber called Gigis, that was of great credit about her, and whom the onely trufted. Dison writeth, that this Gigis did help Paryfats to make the poylon: but Cteffas writeth contrarily, and faith, that the onely knew it, but otherwise that it was against Parysatis prapoyfon Queen her will: and that he that made the Poyfon, was one Belitaras, but Disson called him Melanta, her will: and that he that made the Poyfon, was one Belitaras, but Disson called him Melanta, her will: and that he that made the Poyfon, was one Belitaras, but Disson called him Melanta, her will a subject to the poyfon of the po ten all malice between them, and that they began again one of them to keep company with the other, and did eat and drink together: yet one of them miltrufted the other, and took great heed to themselves, both of them eating one self Meat, and in one dish together, and were both served with one felf Officers and men. In PERSIA there is a little Bird, of the which all the Parts are ex-Kynthers a Bird of Persia, cellent good to eat, and are full of fat within; so that it is thought it liveth by Air and Dew, and in the Persian Tongoe they call it Ryntaces, Parplatie, as Ctefias faith, took one of thele Birds , and cut it in the middeft with a little Knife , the which was poyloned onely on one of the fides, that hath no and gave that half which was poyloned unto Statira. Yet Dinon writeth, that it was not Parjfats her felf that gave it her, but her Carver Melantas that carved her Mear, and ftill gave Qeen Statists of that Meat which the fide of his poyloned Knife had touched. So Queen Statists prefently fell fick of the Difease whereof she died, with grievous pange and gripings in her bowels , and found plainly that the was poyfored by Parylatin means : whereupon the told the King as much, who was of the fame opinion, and thought it was his Mother, because he knew her cruel revenging mind, that never pardoned any against whom she conceived any grudge. The King therefore to know the troth, when his Wife Statira was dead, apprehended all his Mothers hould hold Servants and Officers, and did put them to torments, to make them confess the troth, faving Gigir whom the Queen-Mother kept close in her Chamber a long time , and would never suffer the King to have her: who earneftly requested her to deliver her unto him. Notwithstanding, Gigit her left at length prayed the Queen-Mother to give her leave one night to go home to her house. The King understanding it, laid wait for her, and intercepted her by the way: and when she was taken, he condemned her to fuffer the pains of death ordained for Poyfoners, the which in Per-\$1 A is executed in this manner. They make them put their head upon a great plain stone, and with another stone they press and strike it to long, till they have dashed the brains of the Maleiachours out of their heads. After this fort was Gigis put to death. Now for Pary atis his Mother, the King did her no other hurt, nor faid any more unto her, but confined her to BABYLON according to her defire , and sware , that whileft the lived , he would never see BABYLON. In this state stood the Affairs of the King. But now, Artaxrace having done the utmost he could to have overcome the Grecians which came to make War with him in the heart of his Realm, and would have been a glad of that, as he was to have overcome Cyrm, and to keep his Crown and Realm: he could never prevail against them. For, though they had lost Cyrm that gave them entertainment, and all their private Captains that led them, they faved themselves notwithstanding, being in the heart of his Realm, and shewed the Persians by experience, that their doings was nothing but Gold and Silver, curiofity, and fair Women, or otherwife, nothing but pomp and va-nity. Hercupon all the Grecians became couragious, and despited the barbarous People; informuch that the LACEDEMONIANS thought it a great shame and dishonour unto them, if they did not deliver the GRECIANS that dwelt in ASIA, from the flavery and bondage of the PERSIANS, and keep them from the open violence and cruelty of the barbarous People. For they traving at other times attempted to do it by their Captain Timbren; and afterwards also by Dereil-

lidas, whom they fent thinher with an Army, and having done nothing worthy memory, at length they determined to fend their King Agefilans thinher in perfors, who paffing through A 51A with

tenant) in Battell, and made the most part of the Cities of GREBCE that are in ASIA, to rebell

against him. Areaxerxee looking into this War., and wifely confidering what way and means

hewas to take, to make War with the GRECIANS, he fent into GREECE one Hermseratt' 2.

RNODIAN (of great credit about him) with a marvellous fum of Gold and Silver , bounts

Aifeth to

Statira.

The punishment for poy-Perfis.

Ring of Little and Junys, organ presently to make hot War against the Persians as soon as ever he had landered makes ded his Army. For, at the first Consist he overthrew Tisaphereis (the King of Persia's Lieuwar with the tenant) in Battell, and made the most narr of the Cirice of Connect the King of Persia's Lieuwar of the Cirice of Connect the King of Persia's Lieuwar of the Cirice of Connect the King of Persia's Lieuwar of the Cirice of Connect the King of Persia's Lieuwar of the Cirice of Connect the King of Persia's Lieuwar of the Cirice of Connect the King of Persia's Lieuwar of the Cirice of Connect the King of Persia of Connect the King of Connect the King of Persia of Connect the King of Connect the

ARTAXERXES

fully to bestow in Gifts among the Nobility and chief Rulers of the Cities of GREECE, to make all the other GRECIANS to rife against the LACEDEMONIANS. Hermocrates wilely executed his Commission, for he made the chiefest Cities of GREECE to rebell against LACEDAMON: so that all PELOPONNESUS being up in arms, and in great garboile, the Ephori at LACEDEMON Were enforced to fend for Agefilans home again. Agefilans being forry to depart out of Asia. faid unto his friends, that the King of Persia had driven him out of his Realm with thirty thousand The Persua Archers: because that the Persian Coyn is stamped with an Archer, having a Bow in his hand. Coyn how it Artaneries and the Lacedemonians out of all their juridiction by Sea, by the means is flamped.

Artaneries all of drave the Lacedemonians, whom Pharmabaras (one of his Lieucenans) had wone free the Lacedemonians and with the control of the Artaneries (one of his Lieucenans) had wone free the Lacedemonians and the control of the Artaneries (one of his Lieucenans) had wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) had wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) had wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) and wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) and wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) and wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) and wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) and wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) and wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) and wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) and wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) and wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) and wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) and wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) and wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) and wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) and wone free the Lacedemonians (one of his Lieucenans) and the lacedemonians (one of his Lieuc to take his part. For Conon, after he was overthrown in Battell at a place called the Goats River, damonians keptever after in the Isle of Cyprus, not so much for the safety of his Person, as also for that it from all their was a meet place to ftay in, untill the Wars of GREECE were appealed. He, knowing that the de- Dominion by vice he had in his head, lacked power to put it in execution; and on the contrary fide, that the power Sea. of the King lacked a man of deep judgement to be employed: wrote Letters unto him of his advice what he thought to do, firaightly charging him whom he delivered his Letters unto that if he could possibly, he should cause the same to be delivered unto the King by Xenon the CRETAN, one of the Kings Dancers, or by one Polycritus his Physician, born in the City of MENDE: and in both their absences, then to give it unto Ciestas, to deliver it unto the King. It chanced so, that this Letter came to the hands of Ciefias who (as it is reported) added moreover unto the contents of the Letter, that the King should fend him to Conon, because he was a necessary man to be imployed in his service, but specially by Sea. Cresias saith not so: but writeth that the King of his own voluntary motion gave him this charge. Now, after Arraxerxes had through the leading of Conon and Pharnabazus, won the Battell by Sea near the Isle of GNIDUS, and that thereby he had driven Gnidus Inf. all the LACEDEMONIANS from their jurisdiction by Sea, all GREECE had him in marvellous great estimation: fo that he gave unto the GRECIANS with such conditions as he would, that so famous Peace, called Antalcidas Peace. This Antalcidas was a Citizen of SPARTA, the Son of one Leon, whose favouring King Areaxerxes Affairs, procured by the treaty of this Peace, that the Peace, LACEDEMONIANS left unto Artaxerxes all the Cities of GREECE in Asia and all the Isles contained in the fame, to enjoy quietly, making them pay Tribute at his pleasure. This Peace being concluded with the GRECIANS (if to shamefull a treason, reproach and common infamy to all GREECE may be called Peace, as never War fell out more dishonourable and infamous for the vanquished) King Artaxirxes, that otherwise hated the LACEDEMONIANS to the death, and that efteemed them (as Dinon writeth) the impudentest men living , did notwithstanding love Antalcidas passing well, and entertained him very honourably when he came into Persia unto him. It Antalcidas Lais reported, that the King one day took a Garland of Flowers, and did wet it with the most precious and codemonian fweetest Oyl of Persume that was prepared for the Feast, and sent the same unto Antalcidas: intomuch as every man marvelled to fee the King fet fo much by him. Indeed he was a meet man to follow the vanity and curiofity of the PERSIANS, and had well deferved fuch a Garland to be fent him : who was fo bold to dance a Dance before the PERSIANS , mocking and counterfeiting Le- The Perfians onidas and Callicratidas, two of the valiantest men that ever were in GREECE. Therefore one full of vanity faid at that time in the presence of King Agefilaus: O how unhappy is poor GREECE at this day, and curiofity. when the LACEDEMONIANS come to follow the Persians? But Agefilans prefently answered him again, Not so, faid he: but rather the PERSIANS follow the LACED. EMONIANS. Notwithflanding, this wife answer Agefilaus made, did not take away the shame of the Fact : and shortly after, the LACEDEMONIANS lost the Battell of LEUCTRES, and therewith also the signiority and Principality they had kept of long time over all GREECE, although they had loft their estimation before, for consenting to so shamefull and dishonourable peace. When SPARTA florifhed most, and was chief of all the other Cities of GREECE, fo long did Artaxerxes continue still to make much of Antalcidas, and called him, his friend. But after that the LACEDEMONIANS had loft the Battell of LEUCTRES, having received fo great an overthrow, and wanting Money, they fent Agefilaus into EGYPT, and Antalcidas into PERSIA unto King Artaxerxes, to pray him to aid and help the LACEDEMONIANS. Howbeir, the King made to small account of him, and disdained him so much, denying him his requests, that he returned back to SPARTA, as a man knocked on the head, without any thing done with the King. And there also seeing that his Enemies mocked him; and fearing that the Ephor, would commit him to Prison, he killed himself with The death of famine. About that time also, the THEBANS after they had won the Battell of LEUCTRES, fent columnian. Imenias and Pelopidas into PERSIA, unto King Artaxerxes, where Pelopidas did nothing unworthy of himself. Howbeit, Ismenias being commanded to kneel to the King, he let fall his Ring at his feet, and stooped to take it up, whereby he was thought of some, that he did it to kneel to the Timagotas A-King. Another time Areaxerxes liking a fecret advertisement very well sent him from Timagoras the thenian, be ibed ATHENIAN, he gave him ten thousand Dariackes by his Secretary called Belluris. And because he by King Anahad a fickly body, and was driven to drink Cows Milk to restore him, the King therefore fent four xerxer. Score milch Kine with him, to give Milk to the Pail, to have fresh Milk every day. Furthermore, he fent him a Bed throughly furnished with all things necessary, and Grooms of the Chamber to make his bed, faying, that the GRECIANS could not tell how to make it : and did also let him have men to carryhim upon their arms to the Sea fide, because he was fick; and whilest he was at the Court, he entertained him very honourably and bountifully. So Oftanes the Kings Brother, faid

put to death for taking bribes and Gifts of the in again with his Mother fent for her to come to the Court.

for no small matter thou art thus made of. This word was rather to cut him for his Treason, then for any remembrance of the benefit received. So the ATHENIANS afterwards condemned the Timageras was fame Timageras to die, because he had taken bribes and money of the King of PERSIA. But Artaxerxes in recompence of fo many other things that he had done to despite the GRECIANS with, did one thing that pleafed them marvelloufly, when he did put Tisaphernes to death, who was the dreadfulleft Enemy the GRECIANS had. Parfais the Queen Mother did help to bring this topals, aggravating the accusations brought in against him: for the King kept not his anger long against his Mother, but fell in again with her, and fent for her, knowing that she had an excellent wit and noble King Artaxer- courage to govern a great Kingdom: and befides, that there was nothing now to lett them to come king Artaxer- courage to govern a great Kingdom of icaloufic or malice to any person. So ever the courage to govern a great kingdom of icaloufic or malice to any person. So ever the courage to govern a great kingdom of icaloufic or malice to any person. So ever the courage to govern a great kingdom of icaloufic or malice to any person. after, his Mother Pary (asis endeavoured her felf to feed the King her Sons humour every manner of way, feeming to millike nothing that he did: whereby the grew in fo great credit with him, that he denied her nothing whatfoever the asked him. So the perceived that the King was extreamely in love with one of his own Daughters, that was called Atoffa: howbeit that he diffembled his love the best he could, and kept it secret, chiefly for fear of her, although some write, that indeed hebad already had her Maiden-head. Now Parylatis having found his love, the began to make more of his Daughter then she did before, and talking with her Father, sometime she praised her beauty, another time her grace and good countenance, faying that fix was like a Queen and noble Printes; of that at length by little and little she perswated him to marry her openly, not passing for the Laws and Opinions of the GRECIANS, confidering that God had given him unto the PERSIANS, to stablish Laws unto them , to decide right from wrong , and the good from the bad. Some Historiographers do write, and amongst them Heraclides of Cumes, that Artaxerxes did not onely marry ele eldest of his Daughters, but the second also called Amestrue, of whom we will speak hereaster. Now when he had married the eldeft , Atolja, he loved her so entirely well, that though the fell fick eldelt Daugh of the difeafe commonly called Vitiligo, that ran over all her body, he loved her not the worse for it, tee droft. but prayed continually for her unto the goddefs Juno, honouring no other goddefs but her onely, and fell down on his knees before her Image; and fent by his friends and Lieutenants fo many offerings, that all the way from his Court Gates unto the Temple of Juno (which was fixteen Furlongs off) wasfull of Gold, Silver, Rich Purple, Silks, and Horse that were sent thinher. He began to make War also with the ÆGYPTIANS, and made Pharnabazus and Ifhicrates ATHENIAN, his Lieu-

against the Cadulians.

Artaxerxes

mind, that followeth evil

tenants, who did no good, because they fell at variance the one with the other. But asterwards, xerxes journey Artaxerxes himself went in person to conquer the CADUSIANS with three hundred thousand Pootmen , and ten thouland Horsemen. So he invaded their Countrey, which was a very rude Countrey, alway dark and cloudy: the earth bringeth forth nothing that man foweth, but doth onely feed the inhabitants with Pears, Apples, and fuch like Fruit, and yet themen be very ftrong and valiant notany very bar- withfranding. So when he was entred far into the Countrey before he was aware, he fell into great want of Victuals, and was also in great danger. For his Souldiers found nothing in all the Country that was good to eat; and worst of all, no Victuals could come unto them from any place, because Great famine of the hardness and naughty ways of the Countrey: fo that his Camp lived onely with the Flesh in ATHENEVIEW of their Beafts of Carriage, and yet they fold it dearly; for, an Affes head was fold for threefcore Silver Drachmaes. To conclude, the famine was fo great, that provision failed for the Kingsowa mouth , and there were but few Horfes left , for all the reft were eaten. Then Tiribazum , that had oftentimes been chief about the King, because he was a valiant man, and that through his folly was many times also out of favour, as at that present time, when he had no authority nor estimation, he devifed a Stratageme, whereby he faved the King and all his Camp. In this Countrey of the CADUS IANS, there were two Kings in the Field with their Armies, both of them camped alun-Tiribagus fira- der, one from the other. Tiribazus, after he had spoken with King Artaxerxes, and had told him tageme faved what he meant to do, he went unto one of the Kings, and at the felf fame time also fecretly fent his Artaxersers and Son unto the other King, and told either of them, that the other King had fent Ambassadours unto Areaxerxes to make peace with him, unwitting to his Companion; and therefore he counfelled them, if they were wife, one of them to feek to prevent another with all the possible speed he could; and promifed them both, one after another, to help them the beft he could. Both the one and the other of the Kings gave credit to his words, either of them both miftrufting one another: fo that the one speedily sent his Ambassadours unto King Artaxerxes, with Tiribaxus, and the other also his Ambassadours with his Son. But Tiribazus tarrying long in his journey, King Artaxerxer began somewhat to suspect him: his Enemies also did accuse him in his absence, and the Note, that foft King grew very cholerick, and repented him that he had trufted him fo far, and was willing to hear every man that spake against him. Howbeit, Tiribazm at length returned, and his Son also, Riches, make and either of them brought with them the Ambassadours of the CADUSIANS, and to Peace was taken with them both. Then was Tiribazus aloft again, and in greater credit then ever he was effeciments, but and fo departed with the King. The King then shewed plainly, that cowardlines proceedesh a vile bate not of Pomp and curiosity, as some take it, believing that it doth effectionate mens hearts; but not of Pomp and curiosity, as some take it, believing that it doth effectionate mens hearts; but rather of a vile base mind, that commonly followeth evill, and the worst counsell: for neither the Jewels of Gold, the Kingly Robe, nor other fumptuous Ornaments which the King ever wore about him, worth twelve thousand Talents (asit is reported) did not hinder him at that time to travell, and to take as much pains as any man in all his Army. For he himself marched on foot the foreARTAXERXES.

the Country besides was naked and barren, so that there was not a Tree a great way from thence

feeing that, fell every man of them also to hewing: so that in a very short time they had provided themselves well with Wood, and made them great Fires in every place, and so past over the night quietly by the Fires fide. This notwithstanding, he lost a great number of valiant men in this Vov-

age, and almost all his Horses. Therefore, thinking his men would mock him because he did fail

of his purpose, he began to grow mistrustfull, and to suspect the chiefest Noblemen he had about

him, fo that in a rage he put many of them to death, but many more of them remained whom he

miffrusted. For there is nothing more cruell, nor a greater bloud-sucker, then a cowardly Ty-

rant : as in contrary manner, nothing is more courteous, and less suspicious then a valiant and

hardy man. And therefore bruit Beafts, that be never made tame nor maftered, are commonly

cowardly and timorous: and the other on the contrary, that are Noble and couragious, are bold, and

do come straight to know a man, because they have no fear, neither do they flie from their clapping

and making much of them as they do. Afterwards, King Artaxerxes being grown very old, heard that there was great stir and contention between his Sons, which of them should be

Heir after his death, and that this contention fell out also among his friends and men of great

his Sifter Atoffa, whom he loved and honoured, promifing to marry her, and to make her Queen, if he might come to be King after his Fathers decease. And besides, there went a report abroad

that in their Fathers life time he fecretly kept her : howbeit Artaxerxes never understood it.

Now, because he would betimes put his Son Ochus out of all hope to succeed him in his King-

dome, left this expectation might make him go about to practife that which Cyrus did, and that

Gift of him that proclaimeth him Successour. The which the other doth grant him, whatso-

ever it be that he asked, so it be not impossible. Darius then asked his Father a Concubine cal-

when Cyrus offered to play and be merry with them, giving every one of them some pleasant word,

and they made it not coy. But A/pasia stood on her feet by the Table, and said never a word :

and norwithstanding that Cyrus called her, she would not come at him. Moreover, when one of the

Grooms of his Chamber would have taken her to have brought her to him: The first, faith she, that

layeth hands on me shall repent it. Thereupon all those that were present, faid she was a foolish

thing, and fimply brought up, and could not tell what was comely for her. Howbeit Cyrus being glad

of it, passed it over with laughing, and told him that had brought them unto him : Doest thou not

fee, that of all these thou hast brought me, there is not an honest Woman but she? After that, Cirus

began to make much of her, and loved her better continually then all the rest, and called her

Aspasia the wife. This Aspasia was taken among the spoiles of Cyrus Camp after he was over-

thrown; and Darius as we have told you, did beg her of his Father, who was very angry with

he had also three hundred and threescore patting fair Concubines: and yet when his Son Darius

asked Afrasia of him, the King answered, she was a free Woman born, and therefore if she would,

he was content he should have her : but if she were unwilling to go to him , then he would not

have him force her by any means. So Aspasia was sent for , and she was asked with whom she had

rather be. She answered, with Darius: contrary to King Artaxerxes expectation, who both by

the Custome, and also the Law, was compelled to let him have her. But shortly after he took her from him again, faying that he would place her in a Nunnery of Diana, in the Countrey of ECBA-

TANA, where they call her Anith, there to serve the goddes, and to live chast all the days of her

life: supposing by this means to punish his Son, not rigorously, but moderately, with grief mixt

with sport and earnest. Howbeit his Son took it not so patiently, either because he was deeply

most man, carrying his own truss in a Scarf upon his shoulders, and his Target on his arm. and travelled through high ftony Mountains. So that, his Souldiers feeing the courage and pain the The courage King himself took, they marched so nimbly, that it seemed they had Wings: for he daily mar- of King Arta ched about two hundred Furlongs. Now the King at length by fore travell came to one of his own xerxes, and his ched about two hundred Furlongs. Now the Ming at length by lot. Traven came to one of his own great pains in Houses where there were goodly Arbors and Parks, with goodly Trees pattingly set forth: but all marching.

and it was marvellous cold. The King suffered his souldiers to hew down the goodly Pines and King Artaxor-Cypres Trees in his Parks: and because they durst not presume to touch them, he himself as he xes courtese to

was, took an Ax in his hand, and began to hew down the goodlieft Tree there. The Souldiers his Souldiers,

Calling. The wifest of them wished, that he himself came unto the Crown, as his Fathers eldeft Son: so, that he likewise should after his death leave it unto his eldest Son called Darius. But the younger, which was called Ochus, being a valiant man, and of a hot stirring nature, had fome in the Court also that took his part, and hoped to attain to his purpose, by the means of Sons.

by this means his Realm should grow into faction and civil Wars: he proclaimed his eldest Artaxerxes Son Darius (being fifty years old) King after his death; and furthermore, gave him leave from proclaimeth thenceforth to wear the point of his Hat right up. In PERSIA the custome is, that when any his Sc cometh to be proclaimed Successour and Heir apparent to the Crown, he should require a

led Afpafia, who was first with Cyrus, and in greatest favour with him above all the rest, but Afpafia Yonian. then was for the Kings own Body. She was born in the Countrey of IONIA, of free Parents: one of Artiand being vertuously brought up, she was brought one night unto Cyrus as he was at supper, with xerxes Concuother Women, who fate them down without too curious bidding hard by him, and were very glad bines.

it in his mind. For the barbarous People of all other things are marvellous jealous of their Women, The barbarous fo that not onely he should be put to death, that durst but speak to, or touch any Concubine of the People cannot Kings but in sport : but also whosoever came near them, or near their Coaches as they travelled away with ri-The Kings Daughter Atoffa, whom he had married against all Law, was yet living, and besides her vality in love.

in love with Afpafia, or else for that he saw his Father mocked him in that point, Tiribazus finding this, and perceiving that Darius took it very grievoully : he aggravated his anger against his Father, Tribagui in knowing the pattion of love in Darius, by his own upon the like occasion. King Artaxerxes had Enfech Darius muny Daughters, and had promifed Pharnabasus one of them, called Apama: unto Orentes, Rodo-Father Arts- goune : and to Tiribazus, Amestris. The King performed the other two marriages, and did put Tiribazus by his Wife. For the King himself married his own Daughter Amestria; and for her, he promifed Tiribazus the younger, Ato [a: with whom also he himself fell in love, and married her. Tiri-Tiribayusman- bazos hercupon was in fuch a rage with the King, that he hated him to the death; not because he was any Traytour or feditious man in nature, but a mad hare-brain'd fellow. For fometimes he was aloft. and in as good credit and authority as the beft; fuddainly again he would play fome mad part to anger the King, and then he was in as much difgrace, and out of countenance: and could away with neither fortune. For when he was in authority, he made every man hate him for his pride; and being in difgrace, he could not humble himfelf, but lookt bigger then before. Now there was Fire and Brimstone met, when Tiribazus took part with Darius. For he daily blew into his ears, that it was to no purpole for him to wear his Hat right up, if his affairs also went not rightly forward : and that he deceived himself much, if he did not know that his Brother (by means of the Woman he kept) fecretly alpired to the Crown: and that his Father being so unconstant as he was, he must not trust in any fort to succeed his Father in the Kingdom, what Proclamation soever he hath made in his behalf to the contrary. For , faid he , he that for a GRECIAN Woman hath broken and violated the holy. Law that was in PERSIA: thou must not look that he will perform that he hath promised thee. And furthermore, he perswaded him, that it was not a like repulse unto Ochus, to be denied that which he looked for : as it was for him to be turned out of all that ever he had gotten. For faid he, If it please Ochus to live like a private man, he may fasely do it, and no man will trouble him, but for himfelf that was already proclaimed King, he must of necessity make himself King, or else he must not live. So, the Poet Sophocles his faying most commonly proveth true:

Ill counsel easily takes place. For the way is large and plain for a man to believe as he lift, and men commonly are given rather to beleeve the evil then the good, because most men know what goodness meaneth. But now belides these perswasions, the greatness of the Kingdom, and the fear Darius stood in of his Brother Ochus , took great force and effect with him : and it may be also , that Venus her felf did some-Datius consti- what in the matter, for the malice and spite that Alpasia was taken from him. But whatsoever the cause was , thus was it handled : that Darius flatly confpired against his Father Artaxerxes, together with Artistrate his Tiribazut. Now, they having gotten many Conspiratours to joyn with them, one of the Kings Ennuchs perceiving it, ran and told the King of it, and how they had fuddenly determined to affail him, knowing certainly that it was agreed among themselves, that they should kill him in his bed in the night. Artaxerxes receiving this advertisement, thought it was not good to be careless of a matter of to great importance, as his life: and also that it were too great lightness in him so suddenly to believe his Eunuch, without better proof or knowledge. So he took this way with himself. He commanded the Eunuch that had given him this information, to keep company still with the Conspiratours, and to how to prevent follow them whereforeer they went, to fee their doings: and in the mean time he beat down his wall behind his bed, and made a door through, and fet up a hanging of Tapeftry before it. When the time was come, as the Eunuch had advertised the King, that the Traytours meant to do their feat: Artaxerxes being laid on his bed, rose not up, till he had seen every Traytour of them in the face that came to kill him. Then, when he faw them coming towards him with their Swords drawn, he suddenly lift up the hanging, and got into his inner Chamber, and shut the door after him, making an out-cry, Murder, murder. So, the Traytours being plainly feen and known by the King, fled the fame way they came, and failed of their purpose, and bad Tiribazus fave himself, because he was known. So they dispersed themselves, and scaped by flying. But Tiribacus was taken tardy, although he had slain divers of the Kings guard, valiantly defending himself: yet they took him not, till he Traytor , flain. was ftricken with a Dart a good way off , which flew him. Darins was also taken and apprehended, and brought priloner with his Sons: and the King referred him to be judged by his Peers. For the King himfelf would not be prefent to give judgement of him, but deputed others in his place to accuse him: howbeit he commanded his Secretaries to set down in writing, the opinion and sentence of every one of the Judges, and to bring it to him. In fine, they all cast him, and condemned him to die. Then the Officers laid hold on him, and brought him into a Chamber of the Prison, where the Hangman came with a Razor in his hand, with the which he used to cut mens Throats so condemned to die. So the Hangman coming into the Chamber, when he faw it was Darius, he was afraid, and came out of the Chamber again, his heart failing him, and durst not lay hands upon the

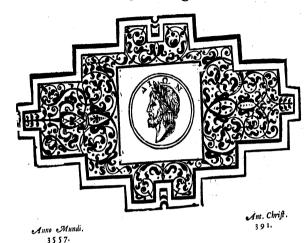
person of the King. But the Judges that stood without the Chamber, bad him go and do it, unless he would have his own Throat cut. So the Hangman then came in , and took Darius by the hair of the head, and made him hold down his head, and fo cut his neck with his Razor he had in his other hand. Others do write, that this fentence was given in the prefence of King Artaxerxes felf, and that Darius feeing himfelf convicted by manifest proofs brought in against him, he fell down at his Fathers feet, and befought him to pardon him: and then that his Father being angry, role up, and drew out his Curtleax and wounded him in fo many places withall, that at length he flew him. Then returning into his Court, he worthipped the Sun, and turning him to his Lords that were about him, he faid unto them: My Lords, God be with you, and be merry

fave himfelf.

at home in your houses, and tell them that were not here, how the great Oromazes hath taken revenge of them, that practifed treason against me. This was the end of Darius treason. Now Darius being dead, Ochus his brother stood in good hope to be next heir to the Crown, and the rather through the means and friendship of his lifter Atola: but yet of his legitimate brethren, he fear- King Attaed Ariaspes, who was onely left of all the rest that were ligitimate; and of his bastard brethren, Ar- xerxes sons. fames : not because Ariaspes was elder then be, but for that (he being of a soft and plain nature) her Persians therefore defired he might be their King. On the other fide, Arlams was wife, and valiant: and Ochus faw that his father loved him dearly. So he determined to intrap them both. Now Ochus being a fubrile and malicious natured man, he first shewed his cruelty upon Arlames, and his malice upon Ariafper his legitimate brother. For , because he knew he was but simple and plain, he fent daily some of the Kings Eunuches unto him, who brought him threatning words and meffages; as from the King: telling him, that he had determined to pur him to a shameful and cruel death. So, forging these news continually as things very secret, they did so terrisse poor Ariaspes, telling him, that the King was fully bent to put some of his threats in execution out of hand; and that he was put in such fear and despair of his life, that he prepared himself a poison, and drank it, to rid himself of his life. King Artaxerxes understanding of his death took it very heawily, and began to miftrust the cause that made him to make himself away : howbeit, he could not feek the proof of it, for his extream age. But this chance made him love Arfames better then before shewing plainly that he trusted him better then Ochus, and did make him privy to all things. Ochus could no longer abid to defer his intent, and therefore inticed Harpaces, Tiribazan fon, to kill his baltard Arasmes, the which he did. Now Artaxernes was so extream old, that he was as good as King Artaxer done with age: but after he heard his fon Arfames was murthered, he could bear it no longer, but xes. took it so to heart for sorrow, that when he had lived fourscore and fourteen years, and raigned three- Artaxerxes force and two, he died. When he was dead they then found that he had been a gracious and cour. was ninety four teous Prince, and one that loved his people and fubjects; when they faw the proof of his fucceffour year old at his death. Ochus, that passed all men living, in cruelty and severity.

The end of Artaxerxes Life.

THE LIFE OF DION.



ke as Simonides (O Siffice Senecio) faith, that the City of Illium was not offended with the CORINTHIANS, for that they came to make war with them with other GRECIANS, because Glaucus (whose first anceftors came from CORINTH) had taken arms , and lovingly fought for the fame : even fo methinkes, that neither the GRECIANS, nor Ro-MANS have cause to complain of the Academy, fith they be both alike praised of the same in this present book, in the which are contained the lives of Don and Brutm. Of the which, the one of them having been very familiar with Plate himself, and the other from his childhood brought up in Plato's doctrine: they both (as it were) came out of one felf Schoolhouse to attempt the greatest enterprises amongst men. And it is no mar-

Dion and Brutus both Platomous in the Commonwealth.

vell if they two were much alike in many of their doings, proving that true, which their Schou mafter Plato wrote of vertue; that to do any noble act in the Government of a Common-wealth, How mens acts which should be famous and of credit, authority, and good fortune, must both meet in one self should be famous in the person, joyned with justice and wisdom. For as a certain Fencer (called Hippomachus) laid, shather than the person, joyned with justice and wisdom. knew his scholars far off, if he did but see them coming from the Market with meat in their hands so it must needs follow, that men having been vertuoully brought up, must needs be wife in all their do-It must needs to now, that men naving oven vertuously prought up, must needs be when all iter up, and befule that it bringeth them to civility and honefty, even so it frameth their conditions much like one to another: furthermore, their fortunes having also fallen out both alike, more by make then by any reason, do make their lives very like each other; for they were both of the share the property of the proper A wicked spirifilly appeared unto either of them; albeit there be some that cannot abide those opinions, and do maintain, that thefe fights and evill spirits do never appear to any man that hath his right wits, but mon Diss and that they are fancies of little children, or old women, or of fome men whose wits are weakned by sicknets, and fo have a certain imagination of fuch fittings fights, being of this fuperfittious mind, that have a wicked fiprit, and an evil angel in them. But if *Dion* and *Brutus*, both of them grave the best of the state of t and learned Philosophers, and very constant men, not overcome by any suddain passion or imagina-The performed and the performed by fuch fights and for its and have also told it unto their friends: I cannot tell whether we shall be enforced, to grant the most strange and old opinion of this, which shall be the performed by the most strange and old opinion of this, which shall be and foreign which are the performed by the performance of the performa That there be evil fpirits which envying the vertue of good men to withdraw them from their godly minds, to make them afraid with these fearfull fights, inticing them to forfake their godliness, lest that perfilting therein, they should be rewarded with better life in the world to come, then theirs is. But let us refer this disputation to some other book: and now in this twelfth couple of these famous mens lives compared, let us first begin to write the life of him that is the elder of these two men we speak of.

Diorifius the elder, after he had the Government of SICILIA in his hands, he married the Dughter of Hermocrates, a Citizen of Syracusa. But yet not being throughly Dissiplier married the Tryranny, the Syracusans did Rebell against him, and did so cruelly tied Hermocrate and abominably handle the Body of his Wife, that she willingly posioned her self. So, after he had established himself in his Government with more surety then before, he married again two other Wives together, the one a stranger of the City of LOCRES; called red again two other vives logarint, and one a stage of the one of the Doride; and the other of the Country is felf, called Arifornacie, the Daughter of Hipportune parisms the chiefest man of all Syra.cusa, and that had been companion with Dionysius, the Doride of Lofastit time he was chosen Generall. It was said that Dionysius married them both in one day, arts. Arifornations. and that they could never tell which of them he knew first: but otherwise, that he made the of syratusa, as much of the one, as he did of the other. For they commonly fate together with him Hippirman at his table, and did either of them lie with him by turns; though the Syracusans daughter and would have their own Country-woman preferred before the stranger. Howbeit, the strange woman had this good hap, to bring torth Dionyfine his eldest Son, which was a good countenance to delend her being a Forrainer. Aristomache in contrary manner, continued a long time with Dionjfins without Fruit of her Womb, although he was very defirous to have children by her : to that he put the LOCRIAN womans mother to death, accusing her that she had with Sorceries and Witchcraft, kept Aristomache from being with child. Died being the Brother of Aristomache, was had in great estimation at the first, for his Dions kindred Sifters fake; but afterwards the Tyrant finding him to be a wife man, he loved him then with Diensfint. for his own fake. Infomuch , that among many fundry things and pleasures he did for him: he commanded his Treasurers to let him have what money he asked of them, so they made him acquainted withall the felf fame day they gave him any. Now, though Dion had ever before a noble mind in him by Naure, yet much more did that magnaninity increale, when Plato (by good fortune) arrived in Sicile. For his coming thirder furely was no mans device (as 1 take it) but the providence of fome god : who (bringing far off the first beginning and foundation of the Liberty of the SYRACUSANS, and to overthrow the tyrannicall state) fent Plato out of ITALIE unto the City of SYRACUSA, and brought him Plato came out acquainted with Don, who was but a young man at that time, but yet had an apter wit to offeaty unto syacquanted with Dogod will to follow vertue, then any young man elfe that followed Pla-tacuft.

to; as Plato himself writeth, and his own doings also do witness. For Dion having from Etholat. a child been brought up with humble conditions under a Tyrant, and acquainted with a fervile a chied been brought up with a proud and infolent raign, with all vanity and curiofity, as placing chief felicity in covetoulness: nevertheless, after he had felt the sweet Reasons of Philolophy, teaching the broad way to vertue, his heart was enflamed straight with an earnest desire to follow the same. And because he found that he was so easily perswaded to love Vertue and Honesty, he simply thinking (being of an honest plain nature) that the self same perswasions would move a like affection in Dionysiu, obtained of Dionysius, that being at leifure, he was contented to fee Plato, and to fpeak with him. When Plato came to Dionysiu, all their talk in manner was of Vertue, and they chiefly reasoned, what was Plato and Dio-Fortitude : where Plato proved that Tyrants were no Valiant men. From thence passing nystus the elder farther unto justice, he told him, that the Life of Just men was happy; and contrarily, he talke together, Life of unjust men, unfortunate. Thus the Tyrant Dionysius perceiving he was overcome, durst no more abide him, and was angry to see the standers by make such estimation of Pla-70, and that they had such delight to hear him speak. At length he angrily asked him. What business he had to do there ? Plato answered him , he came to seek a good man, Donyfius then replied again; What in Gods name, by thy speech then it seemeth thou haft found none yet. Now Dion thought that Dionyfins anger would proceed no further, and therefore at Plato's earnest request, he sent him away in the Galley with three banks of Oars, the which Pollis a LACEDEMONIAN Captain carried back again into GREECE. Howbeit. Dionylius secretly requested Pollis to kill Plato by the way, as ever he would do Dionyliu mahim pleasure : if not , yet that he would sell him for a slave , howsoever he did : for , said lice unto Plato. he he shall be nothing the worse for that; because, if he be a just man, he shall be as happy to be a flave, as a freeman. Thus (as it is reported) this Pollis carried Plato into the Isle of EGINA, and there fold him. For the EGINETES having made war at that time with the ATHENIANS, made a Decree, that all the ATHENIANS that were taken in their Isle, should be sold. This notwithstanding, Dionysius resulted not to honour and the sold in trust Dion, as much as ever he did before, and did also send him Ambassadour in matters. Against the sold of orest weight; as when he sent him panto the Carthaganthas who he behaved. of great weight : as when he fent him unto the CARTHAGINIANS, where he behaved himself so well, that he wan great reputation by his journey: and the Tyrant could well Dions boldness away with his plain speech. For no man but he, durft fay their minds so boldly unto in speaking him, to speak what he thought good: as on a time he reproved him for Gelon. One day plainly to the when they mocked Gelons Government before the Tyrans face, and that Dionysius himself faid Tyrant, finely descanting on his name, which signifieth laughter) that he was even the very laughing- eth laughter. stock it felf of Sicile. The Courtiers made as though they liked this encounter and interpretation of laughter passing well; but Dien not being well pleased withall, said unto him: For his fake men trufted thee, whereby thou camest to be Tyrant : but for thine own fake

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Subtrofine and goodly a thing as could be to fee a City governed by an absolute Prince: but Dionysius by his Govern-Arete, the daughters of Dionyfius the

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ground a timing as count of the country and the country of the cou wife, three children: and by Ariftomache, four: of the which, two were daughters, the one called So. wire, time timuten; and by any more than Dionfine eldeft lon married Sophrofine, and Arete was Arijiomache. Porojjar, and the other Theorides: after whose death Dios married her, being his Necce. Now when Dion marriero mari cu unio nis promise de la fick, not like to escape, Dien would have spoken with him for his children his Necce A- Dionysias her father fell fick, not like to escape, Dien would have spoken with him for his children his Neece A Dionyfus her tather ten nek, not need creape; Dion would never poster wat in the mean rete, the dough- he had by his fifter Ariftomache. Howbeit the Phylicians about him, to curry favour with the next ter of Dionyfus, heir and fucceffor of the tyranny, would never let him have any time or opportunity to fpeak with and finisher, him. For (as Timens written) they gave Dionyfus the elder (as he had commanded them) a strong Ariftomache. Opiat-drink to cast him in a sleep, and so thereby they took from him all his senses, and joyned death with his fleep. Notwithflanding in the first counsel and assembly holden by his friends, to consult about the state and affairs of the younger Dionystus, Dion moved matter to necessary and profitable for that prefent time, that by his wifedom he sheweth they were all but children, and by his bold and frank speech made them know, that they were but slaves of the tyranny: because they beafily and cowardly gave such counsel and advice, as might best please and feed the young tyrants he mour. But, he made them most to wonder at him, when they fearing above all other things, the danger Di nyfins state was in , by reason of CARTHAGE , he did promise them , that if Diagfins would have peace, he would then go forthwith into Africk, and find the means honour ably to quench the wars : or , if otherwise he better liked of war , that he would furnish him at any to querien the wars. . . . , his own proper costs and charges, fifty Gallies ready to rowe. Dionyfus wondred greatly at the noble mind of Dios, and thanked him much for the good will be bare unto him, touching lisefate. Burall men elle taking Dions noble offer to be a reproach of their avarice; and his credit and authority, an impair unto theirs: they prefently upon this liberal offer took occasion to acuse us the young the property of the form of the property of the p for they complained of him, and faid, that he cunningly practifed to possess the tyranny, making himself strong by Sea, going about by his Gallies to make the tyranny fall into the hands of the children of Arifomache his Sifter. But the chiefest cause of all why they did malice and have him, was his strange manner of life, that he neither would keep company with then, nor live after their manner. For they that from the beginning were crept in favour ad friendship with this young ill-brought-up Tyrant, by flattering of him, and feeding him with vain pleafures, fludied for no other thing, but to entertain him in love-matters, and other vain exercises, as to riot and banquet, to keep light women company, and all such other vile victous passines and recreations: by the which the tyranny became like iron folined by fire; and feemed to be very pleasant unto the subjects, because the over great Majesty and se verity thereof was fomewhat milder, not fo much by the bounty and goodness, as by the felly and wreachlesness of the Lord. Thus, this little care and regard increasing more and more, sill winning way with the young tyrant, did at length melt and break afunder those strong Dumond Chains, with the which Dionyfins the elder made his boalt that he left his Monnchy and tyranny chained to his fon. For fometime he would be three days together without intermission, still banqueting and being drunk: and all that time his Court Gates were kept thut unto grave and wife men , and for all honest matters ; and was then full of drunkards,, of common plays, dancings, masks, and mummeries, and full of all fuch trumpery and disolute pastimes. And therefore Dion undoubtedly was much envied of them, because he gave himfelf to no sport and pleasure : whereupon they accused him, and misnamed his verures, vices, being fomewhat to be refembled unto them; as in calling his gravity, pride; his plainness and boldness in his oration, obstinacy, if he did perswade them, that he accused them; and because he would not make one in their fond pastimes, that therefore he delpited them. For , to fay truely, his manners by nature had a certain haughtiness of mind and severity, and he was a fowre man to be acquainted with : whereby his company was not onely trouble fome, but also unpleasant to this younger Dionysiu, whose ears were so fine, that they could not away to hear any other thing but flattery. And furthermore, divers of his very friends Dione manners and familiars (that did like and commend his plain manner of speech and noble mind) did too grave and yet reprove his sternness, and austere conversation with men : for it seemed unto them, that he spake too roughly, and dealt over hardly with them that had to do with him, and more then became a civill or courteous man. And for proof hereof , Plate himself fometime wrote unto him (as if he had prophefied what should happen) that he should beware of obstinacy, Oblinocy, lel- che companion of foliarinels, that bringeth a man in the end to be forfaken of every one.

best provide for the safety and quietness of the Tyranny, the which stood then in tickle

stare. Now Dion knew well enough, that he was not fo well taken and esteemed through

the good will of the Tyrant, as against his will, and for the necessity of the state and time.

So Dion supposing the ignorance, and want of knowledge in Dionysia was the cause, he

devised to put him into fome honeft trade or exercise, and to teach him the liberal Sciences, to frame him to a civil life, that thenceforth he should no more be afraid of vertue, and should

also take pleasure and delight in honest things. For Dionysius of his own nature, was none

younger.

fevere.

low and com. This notwithstanding, they did more reverence him at that time, then any man clie, be-panion of foli-cause of the state and Government, and for that they thought him the onely man that could

of the worlt fort of tyrants, but his father fearing that if he came once to have a feeling and conceit of himself, or that he companied with wife and learned men, he would go near to enter into pra-Aife, and put him out of his feat; he ever kept him locked up in a Chamber, and would fuffer no man to speak with him. Then the younger Dionysius, having nothing else to do, gave himself to make little Chariots, Candlesticks, Chairs, Stools, and Tables of wood: for his father Dionylius was so fearful and miftrufful of every body, that he would fuffer no man with a pair of Barbers Cizers to pole the hair of his head, but caused an image-maker of earth to come unto him, and with a hor burning cole to burn his goodly bush of hair round about. No man came into his Chamber where Dionvilus the he was with a Gown on his back, no not his own brother nor fon, but he was driven (before he elder a marvelhe could come in) to put off his Gown, and the Guard of his Chamber to strip him naked, what to loss timorous ever he was : and then they gave him another Gown to cast upon him, but not his own. One day and suspicious his brother Leptines going about to describe unto him the situation of some place, he took a Hal-man. bard from one of the Guard, and with the point thereof began to draw out a plot of the same upon the ground. Dion yfins was terribly offended with him, and did put the fouldier to death that gave him his Halbard. He faid, he was afraid of his friends, yea and of the wifeft of them; because he knew that they desired rather to rule, then to be ruled, and to command, then to obey. He slew one of his Captains called Marsas (whom he had preferred and had given him charge of men) because he Marsas dream: dreamed, that he killed him : faying , that he dreamed of this in the night , because that waking in the day he had determined to kill him. Now Diony firs that was fo timorous; and whose mind through fearfulnels was ftill milerably occupied, was notwithstanding marvellously offended with Plato, be- Dion perswadcause he did not judge him to be the noblest and valiantest man alive. Dion therefore seeing (as we eth the younghave faid) the younger Dianysius clean marred, and in manner cast away for lack of good education , er Dianysius to perswaded him the best he could to give himself unto study, and by the greatest intreaty he could fill to study. possibly make, to pray the Prince of all Philosophers to come into Sicile. And then, when through his intreaty he were come, that he would refer himself wholly unto him, to the end that reforming his life by vertue and learning, and knowing God thereby (the best example that can be possible, and by whom the whole world is ruled and governed, which otherwise were out of all order and confused) he strould first obtain great happiness to himself, and consequently unto all his Citizens; who ever after through the temperance and justice of a father, would with good will do these things, which they then unwillingly did for the fear of a Lord. And in doing this; from a tyrant he should come to be a King : for, the chains of a Diamond to keep a Realm in safety, were not force The sflured and fear as his father Dionylius held opinion: neither the great multitude of young fouldiers, nor the guard of Pringuard of ten thousand barbarous people: but in contrary manner, that they were the love and good ces, is the love will of their fubjects, which the Prince obtaineth through vertue and justice; the which chains though of their fubthey be flacker then the other that are fohard and fliff, yet are they stronger, and will last longer jects. time, to keep a Realm and Kingdom in fafety. And furthermore, the Prince (faid he) is not defirous of honour, neither is a man that deserveth greatly to be praised and commended, that onely studieth to wear fumptuous apparel, and that glorieth to fee his Court richly furnished, and himself curiously served; and in the mean time doth not frame himself to speak better, to be wifer; and to carry a greater Majesty then any other mean or common person; not esteeming to adorn and beautiste the Princely Pallace of his mind, as becometh the Royal Majesty of a King. Dion oftentimes rehearling these exhortations unto Dionysius, and otherwhile enterlacing between, some reasons he had learned of Plato, he graffed in him a wonderful and (as it were) a vehement defire to have Plato in his company, and to learn of him. So, fundry letters came from Dionyfius unto ATHENS, divers requests from Dion, and great intreaty made by certain Pythagorean Philosophers, that prayed and perswaded Plate to come into Stelle, to bride the light disposition of this young man, by his grave and wife infructions: who without regard of reason, led a dissolute and licentious life. Therefore Plate (as himfelf reporteth) bluffning to himfelf, and fearing left he should give men cause to think, that it was but Plato goeth inthe opinion men had of him, and that of himfelf he was unwilling to do any worthy act: and further, to state, to the opinion men nad of mim, and that of infinitely the was miniming to do any worthy act. The flould the poing that doing good but unto one man alone; who was the onely guide of all the reft, he flould the younger. (as it were) recover all SICILE from her corruption and ficknels, he performed their requests that fent unto him. But Dions enemies fearing the change and alteration of Dionysius, they perswaded him to call Philiftus the Historiographer home again from banishment, who was a learned man, and had been brought up and acquainted with the tyrants faction: to the end he should serve as a counterpoile, to withftand Plato and his Philosophy: for this Philistus, from the first time that the teranny Historiograbegan to be established , did shew himself very willing and conformable to the stablishment thereof, pher. and had of long time kept the Caftle: and the voice went, that he kept the mother of Dionylius the elder, and as it was supposed, not altogether without the tyrants knowledge. But afterwards . Leptines having had two daughters by one woman, whom he entited to folly, being another mans wife, he married one of these his daughters unto Philisus, and made not Dionysius privy to it before. The tyrant Philisus the therewith was so offended, that he put Leptines woman in prison fast locked up, and drave Philiftin Historiograout of SICILE. He being banished thus, repaired unto some of his friends that dwelt about the pher banished Adriatick Sea, where it feemeth, he wrote the most part of all his History, being then at good out of Sicile by leafure. For he was not called home again during the life of Dionyfins the elder: but after his death, elder. the malice the Courtiers bare unto Dion, caused them to procure Philistus calling home again (as we have told you) as the man they thought would flick floutly in defence of the tyranny. So. Philifter no fooner returned, but he stoutly began to defend the tyranny : and others in contrary

ment of a few

manner, deviled acculations to the Tyrant against Dion, accusing him that he had practifed with Theodotes and Heraclides, to overthrow the tyranny of Dionylius. For Dion (in my opinion) hoped by Plato's coming to bridle and leffen a little the over-licentic us and imperious tyranny of Disnyfins, and thereby to frame Dionysim 2 wise and righteous governour. But on the other side, if he saw he Democratia the would not follow his counfell, & that he yeelded not to his wife inftructions, he then determined to put him down, and to bring the Government of the Commonwealth into the hands of the SYRACUS ANS: not that he allowed of Democratia (to wit, where the people govern) but yet certainly thinking Diss allowed not popular that Democratia was much better then the tyranny, when they could not come unto Ariffocratia (to the Ariffocratia with the Government of a few of the Nobility.) Now things being in this state, Plato arrived in Sisisting govern. CILE, where he was marvellously received and honoured by Dienysius. For when he landed on the fhore, leaving his Galley that brought him, there was ready for him one of the Kings rich and fumpruous Chariots, to convey him to the Caftle: and the tyrant made facrifice to give the gods thanks for his coming, as for fome wonderful great good hap chanced unto his feigniory. Furthermore, the wonderfull modelty and temperance that was begun to be observed in feasts and banquets, the Court younger. clean changed, and the great goodnels and clemency of the tyrant in all things, in ministring justice. The change of the change of to every man; did put the Syracusans in great good hope of change; and every man in the Distribute upon Court was very desirous to give himself to learning and Philosophy: so that (as men reported) the tyrants pallace was full of fand and duft, with the number of students that drew plats and figures of Geo. metry. Shortly after Pl.10 was arrived, by chance the time was come about to do folemn factifice within the Castle, at which facrifice the Herauld (as the manner was) proclaimed aloud the folema prayer accustomed to be done: That it would please the gods, long to preserve the state of the tyranny. Whereat Dionysius being hard by him, faith unto him, What, wilt thou not leave to cure me? This word grieved Philissus and his companions to the heart, thinking that with time, by little and little, Plato would win fuch estimation and great authority with Dionysius, that afterwards they should not be able to refift him: confidering that in so short a time as he had been with Dionysius, he had so altered his mind and courage. And therefore they now began, not one by one, nor in hugger mugger, but all of them with open mouth together to accuse Dion: and faid, that it was case to be Philistus accu. feen, how he charmed and inchanced Dionysius through Plato's eloquence, to make him willing to Emulius accurately relign his government, because he would transfer it to the hands of the children of his fifter Anista mache. Others feemed to be offended, for that the ATHENIANS having come before into Sici-LI a with a great Army, both by sea and land, they were all lost and cast away, and could no win the City of Syracusa: and that now by one onely Sophister, they utterly destroyed and overthrew the Empire of Dionyfins , perfwading him to discharge the ten thousand fouldiers he had about him for his guard, to forfake the four hundred Galleys, the ten thousand horfemen, and as many mo footmen, to go to the Academy to feek an unknown happinels never heard of before, and to make him happy by Geometry, refigning his prefent happines and selicity (to be a great Lord, to have money at will, and to live pleafantly) unto Diss and his Nephew. By fuch like acculations and wicked tongues, Dionyfins began first to mistrust Dion, and asterwards to be openly offended with him, and to frown upon him. In the mean time they brought letters that Dies wrote fecretly unto DISM SERVED. the Governours of the City of CARTHAGE, wishing them, that when they would make peace with Dionysing, they should not talk with him unless he stood by : affuring them that he would help them to fet things in quietness, and that all should be well again. When Dionysins had read these letters with Philifius, and had taken his advice and council what he should do, as Timens said; he deceived Dion under pretence of reconciliation, making as though he meant him no hurr, and trying that he would become triends again with him. So he brought Dies one day to the fea fide under his Castle, and shewed him those letters, burdening him to have practised with the CARTHAGINI-ANS against him. And as, Dien went about to make him answer to clear himself , Dienssius would Dies fent away not hear him, but caufed him to be taken up as he was, and put into a Pinnace, and commanded the Mariners to fet him a land upon the coaft of ITALY. After this was done, and that it was known abroad in the City, every man thought it a cruel part of Dionylius, infomuch that the tyrants pallace was in a marvellous peck of troubles, for the great forrow the women made for the departure of Dies. Moreover, the City felf of Syracus a began to look about them, looking for fome fuddain great change and innovation, for the tumult and uproar that would happen by means of Dions banishment; and for the mistrust also that all men would have of Dionysius. Dionysius contidering this, and being afraid of fome misfortune be gave his friends and the women of his pallace confortable words, telling them that he had not banished him, but was contented that he should absent himfelf for a time : being afraid that in his fuddain angry mood he might peradventure be compelled to do him fome worfe turn if he remained, because of his obstinacy and self-will. Furthermore, he gave unto Dions friends two ships, to carry as much goods, money, and as many of Dions fervants as they would, and to convey them unto him into PELOPONNESUS. Dien was a marvellous rich man, and for the pomp of his service, and sumptuous moveables of his house, they were like unto the per-

fon of a tyrant. All these riches Dions friends brought aboard upon those ships, and carried them un-

to him; besides many other riches which the women and his friends sent unto him; so that by means of his great riches, Dies was marvelloully effeemed among the GRECIANS : who by the riches of

a banished Citizen, conjectured what the power of a tyrant may be. But now concerning Plate. When Dion was exiled, Diony fine caused him to be lodged in his Castle, and by this means craftily placed (under cloak of friendship) an honourable guard about him, because he should not return

ten frequenting his company (as a wild beaft is made tame by company of man) he liked his talk fo well, that he became in love with him, but it was a tyrannical love : for he would have Plate to love none but him . and that he should esteem him above all men living, being ready to put the whole Dionysius the Realm into his hands, and all his forces, fo that he would think better of him then of Dion. Thus rannical love was this passionate affection of Dionysius grievous unto Plato: for he was so drowned with the love to Plato. of him. as men extreamly jealous of the women they love, that in a moment he would fuddainly fall out with him, and straight again become friends, and pray him to pardon him. And to say truely, he had a marvellous detire to hear Plato's Philosophy: but on the other fide, he reverenced them that did diffusade him from it, and told him, that he would spoil himself, if he entred over-deeply Dionysias sent into it. In the mean time fell out war, and thereupon he fent Plato again away, promifing him, Plato from that the next Spring he would fend for Dion home. But he brake promife therein, and yet fent him him, his revenues: and prayed Plato to pardon him, though he had not kept promife at his time appointed. For he alledged the war was the cause; and that so soon as he had ended his war, he would fend for Dion; whom in the mean time he prayed to have patience, and not to attempt any ftir or alteration against him, nor to speak evil of him among the GRECIANS. This Plate fought to bring Diens life in to pals, and brought Dion to study Philosophy, and kept him in the Academy at ATHENS, Dion Greece, lay in the City of ATHENS with one Galippus, whom he had known of long time; howbeit, he bought him a house in the Country, to lie there sometime for his pleasure; the which he gave afterwards (at his return into SICILE) unto Spenippus that kept him company, and was continually with him more then with any other friend he had in ATHENS, through Plato's counsel: who to foften and recreate Dions manners, gave him the company of some pleasant conceited man, knowing that this Spenippus could modeftly observe time and place to be pleasant and merry . for which respect, Timon in his satyricall jests, calleth Speusippus, A good jester. Now Plato himself having undertaken to defray the charges of common playes in the dancing of young children . Dion took the pains to teach, and exercise them; and moreover, himself was at the whole charge of these playes, Place Suffering him to bestow that liberality and courtesse upon the ATHENIANS ; the which wan Dion a great deal more good will, then Plato honour. Dion kept not ftill at ATHENS, but went al-To to fee the other good Cities of GREECE, passing his time away. He being at common feasts and affemblies with the chiefest men, and best learned in matters of state and government, and never shewing any light parts, nor fign of any tyrannical pride in this manner of life, nor of a man that had been brought up with all pomp and pleasure, but like a grave vertuous man, and well studied in Philosophy, whereby he grew to be generally beloved and esteemed of all men : the City granted him publike honours, and fent him decrees of his glory, made in their councils and affemblies. Furthermore, the LACEDEMONIANS made him a SPARTAN and Burgels of the City, not pal- plons verues fing for Diony size displeasure, though at that time he had given them great aid, in the war they made and honours against the THEBANS. Some report, that Dion on a time was intreated by Ptaodorus MEGARI- done unto him AN, to come and fee him at his house, and Dien went thither. This Ptaodorm was a marvellous by the Grecians great rich man, and therefore Dion feeing a great number of people standing at his gates, and that it was a hard thing to come and speak with him, he had such great business : he turned unto his friends that did accompany him, who were angry they made him tarry to long at the gate, and faid unto them : What cause have we to think evil of him, fish we did the like when we were at Syra-CUSA? But Dionypius being incenfed with envy against him, and searing the goodwill the GRECI-ANS bare him, he kept back his revenue, and would no more fend it him; and feized all the goods, the which he gave to his receivers to keep. Furthermore, because he would clear himself of the infamy he had gotten amongst the Philosophers for Plato's sake, he fent for divers wise and learned men. and vainly covering to excell them all in wildom, he was driven improperly, and out of time, to alledge many wife fayings, he had learned of Plate. Thereupon he began again to wifh for him, and to condemn himself, for that he had no wit to use him well when he had him at his commandment, and that he had not heard him so much as he should have done : and like a tyrant as he was, madly carried away with light defires, and eafily changing mind from time to time, a fuddain vehement defire took him in the head, to have Plato again. So he fought all the means and ways he could de-vife, to pray Archyea the Pythagorean Philosopher, to tell him that he might boldly come; and to Archytas 1 Pybe his furery unto him for that he would promife him: for first of all they were acquainted together inservan Phi-by his means. Therefore Archytas fent thither Archydamus the Philosopher. Dionysius also sent cer-losopher. tain Gallies, and fome of his friends thither, to pray Plato to come to him, and he himself wrote specific get hagain for cially and plainly, that it should not go well with Dion if Plato came not into SICILE: but if he Plato to come would be perswaded to come, that then he would do what he would have him. Many letters and re-into Sicile. quests came unto Dion from his wife and fifter, infomuch as Dion so used the matter, that Plato Plato's third obeyed Dionyfine without making any excuse at all. So Plate writeth himself, that he was driven to journey into Sicile. come again the third time into the streight of SICILE;

To trie, if once he could Charybdis dangers pafs.

Now Plato being arrived in SICILE, he made Diony sim a great joyful man, and filled all SICILE again with great good hope: for they were all very defirous, and did what they could, to make Plate overcome Philisten and the tyranny with his Philosophy. The women of Dionysius Court did

he knew maliced him of long time, and fought to kill him, because he did perswade Dionysius to leave his tyranny, and to live without his Guard. Plato being in this inftant danger, Archytat fent

Ambassadours torthwith unto Dionysus, in a Galley of thirty Oars, to demand Plate again:

declaring that Plato came again to Syracusa upon his word and caution. Dionyfus to excuse

himself, and to shew that he was not angry with him, at his departure from him, he made him

all the great chear and feafts he could, and to fent him home with great flews of good will. One

day among the rest, he said unto Plato : I am afraid Plato (said he) that thou wilt speak evill of

me when thou art among thy friends and companions in the Academy. Then Plate smiling, an-

fwered him again: The gods forbid, that they should have such scarcity of matter in the Academy, as that they must needs talk of thee. This was Plato's return (as it is reported) although

that which he himfelf writeth, agreeth not much with this report. Thele things went to Dions heart,

fo that shortly after he shewed himself an open enemy unto Dionysius, but specially when he heard

how he had handled his wife. Plato under covert words fent Diony fins word of it by his letters : and

thus it was. After Dion was exiled, Dionysius returning Plate back again, he willed him secretly

liked not his marriage, and could not live quietly with his wife. Therefore when Plato was at A-

THENS, and told Dion of all things, he wrote a letter unto Dionyssus the tyrant, and did set all

other things down fo plainly, that every man might understand him; but this one thing onely so

darkly, that he alone and none other could understand him, but he to whom he had written : declaring unto him, that he had spoken with Dion about the matter he wrote of, and that he did

let him understand he would be marvellous angry if Dionysins did it. So at that time, because there

more hope to return into favour again, and that he had also fent home Plate in disgrace and displea-

entertain Plate the best he could: above all, Dionysius seemeth to have a marvellous trust and asfiance in him, and more then in any other of all his friends. For he suffered Plato to come to him without fearthing of him, and oftentimes offered to give him a great fum of money: but Plato would Arifippus (aymithout fearching of him, and ottentimes onercu to give him agreed a that time in the tyrants Court in Simig of Dionifius take none of it. Therefore Arifippus CYRENIAN being at that time in the tyrants Court in Simig of Dionifius take none of it. CILE, faid, that Dienyfins bestowed his liberality surely: for, to us that ask much, he giveth little, and much unto Plato, that requireth nothing. After Dionysius had given Pleto his welcome, hebegan to move him again of Dion: Dionysius on the other fide, at the first did use him with fine delays, but afterwards he thewed himfelf angry indeed, and at length fell out with Plate, but yet fo covertly that others faw it not: for Dionyfins diffembled that; but otherwise in all other things he did him as much honour as he could devile, practifing thereby to make him to forfake Dians friendship. Now Plate found him at the first, that there was no trust to be given to his words, and that all were but lies and devices he either faid or did: howbeit he kept it to himself, and ever patiently bare all things, hoping for the best, and made as though he believed him. They two thus finely diffembling with each other, thinking to deceive all men, and that none should understand their secrets: Hilycon CYZICENIAN, one of Plato's friends, did Prognoficate the Eclipic of the Sun. The same Helycon, a Mafalling out as he had Prognofticated, the tyrant efteemed marvelloully of him, and gave him a filver talent for his labour. Then Ariftippm (porting with other Philosophers, faid, he could tell them of a franger thing to happen then that. So when they prayed him to tell them what it was: I do prognosticate (faid he) that Plato and Dionyssus will be enemies ere it be long. In the end it came to país, that Dionysius made port-fale of all Dions goods, and kept the money to himselft, and lodge ed Plato (that before lay in the next Court to his Pallace) among the souldiers of his guard, whom

thematician.

Aristippus di-

Distribut mat-ried Distribut to feel Distribution, whether he would not be angry that his wife should be married to another man; ried Dioni wile to anotherman, because there can a rumour abroad (whether it were true, or invented by Dioni enemies) that he

was great hope of reconciliation between them, the tyrant did nothing lately touching his filter, but was great hope of reconciliation between them, the tyrant did nothing lately touching his filter, but when they were to far out, that there was no fuffered her ftill to remain with Dions fon. But when they were to far out, that there was no fure, then he married his fifter Arete (Dions wife) against her will, unto one of his friends called respectations. Timerenes, not following therein his fathers justice and lenity. For Polyxenus that had married father Dissiplies his fathers fifter Thefta, being also become his enemy, fled out of SICILE. Dissiplies the elder fifter. Thefta, being also become his enemy, fled out of SICILE. Dissiplies the elder fifter. Thefta, and took her up very sharply, for that she knowing her husband would filter. The noble and the state of the state

tent for his fifter Theffa, and took ner up very marply, for that his historial and account of the noble and file, did not come and tell him of it. Theffa nobly answered him again, and never was afraid nor fiver of Theffa absoluted. When Themas does thou think me a woman to faint-hearted and beaftly, that if I had ower of torpia abailted: Why, Dionyfins, doeft thou think me a woman to faint-hearted and beaftly, that if I had

the clier. both have run one fortune together? Truely, I knew not of his departure till he was gone; for it had been more for my honour, to have been called the wife of the banished Polyxenus, then the fifter of thee a tyrant. Dionysius marvelled to hear his fifter speak thus boldly, and the Syra-CUSANS wondered at her noble courage: infomuch, that when the tyranny was utterly destroyed, they did not reinfe to do her all the honour they could devife, as unto a Queen. And when the was dead alfo; all the Citizens of Syracus a by a common decree, did accompany her body ather burial. This little digreffion from our History, is not altogether unprofitable. But now again to our matter. Dion from thenceforth disposed himself altogether unto war, against Plato'; counsell and ad-Die beginneth vice: who did his best endravour to perswade him from it, both for the respect of Dienysius good entertainment he had given him, as also for that Dion was of great years. Howbeit, on the other against Diony fide, Spensppns and his other friends did provoke him unto it, and perswaded him to deliver SICILE from the flavery and bondage of the tyrant, the which held up her hands unto him, and would reseive him with great love and goodwill. For whilest Plate lay at SYRACUSA, Sprafippus keeping the Citizens company more then Plate did, he knew their minds better then he. For at the first, they

were afraid to open themselves unto him, and frankly to speak what they thought mistriofting he was a spie unto the tyrant, sent amongst them to feel their minds: but within thort time they began to truft him, and were all of one mind; for they prayed and perswaded Dion to come, and not to care otherwise for bringing of ships, souldiers, nor horses with him, but onely to bire a ship, and to lend the SICILIANS his body and name against Dionysius. Spensippus reporting these news unto Dion, did put him in good heart again: whereupon he began fecretly to leavy men by other mens means The Philosoto hide his purpose and intent. The Philosophers do set forward Dions wars amany Citizens dealing phers advanin the affairs of the Common-wealth , did aid him , and divers of them also that onely gave their ced Dions war. minds to the fludy of Philosophy: and among them, Endemus CYPRIAN (on whose death Aristotle Aris wrote his Dialogue of the foul) and Timonides LEUCADIAN went with him. Furthermore, there logue, De aniiovned also with him Miltas THESSALIAN, a Soothsayer, and that had been his companion in mil. ftudy in the Academy. Now, of all them whom the tyrant had banished (which were no less then a thousand persons) there were but onely five and twenty that durst accompany him in this war: for all the other were fuch daftards, that they for fook him, and durft not go with him. The place where they appointed to meet, was the Isle of ZACINTH, where they leavied all their fouldiers, that were not above eight hundred in all; but all of them brave fouldiers and valiant men, and excellently well trained in wars : and to conclude, fuch lufty men, as would encourage all the Army Dion hoped of at his arrival in Sicile, to fight like valiant men with them. These hired fouldiers, the first time that they understood it was to go into SICILE, to make war with Dionysim, they were amazed at the first, and misliked the journey, because it was undertaken rather of malice and spight that Dion had to be revenged, then otherwise of any good cause or quarrel; who having no better hope, took upon him desperate and impossible enterprises. Therefore the fouldiers were offended with their Captains that had pressed them, because they had not told them of this War before. But, after that Dion by a notable Oration had told them, how tyrannies have evil foundations, and are subject unto ruine: and that he led them not into SICILE fo much for fouldiers, as he did to make them Captains of the SYRACUSANS and the other SICILIANS, who of long time defired nothing more then occasion to rise: and, when after him also Alcimenes (a companion with him in this war, and the chiefest man of all the ACHAIANS, both for nobility and estimation) did speak unto them in like manner; then they were all contented to go whither they would lead them. It was then in the heat of Summer, and the wind blew, called the GRECIAN wind, the Moon being at the full; and Dien having prepared to make a fumptuous facrifice unto the god Apollo, he led all his men armed with white corflets in procession into the temple : and after the facrifice done , he made them a feast in the Park or shew-place of the ZACINTHIANS. There the Tables were laid, and the souldiers wondered to see the great state and magnificence of the great number of pots of gold and silver, and such other furniture and preparation, as passed a private mans wealth: then they thought with themselves, Dione sumptuthat a man being so old, and Lord of so great a good, would not attempt things of such danger, with- our fare in seaout good ground, and great affurance of his friends aid and help. But after his oblations of wine, and sting. common prayers made to the gods at feafts, fuddainly the Moon eclipfed. Dion thought it not strange to see an Eclipse, considering the revolutions of the Eclipses, and knowing very well it is a shadow that falleth upon the body of the Moon, because of the direct interposition of the earth betwixt her and the Sun. But because the souldiers that were afraid and astonied withall, stood in need of some the Moon, and comfort and encouragement, Miltan the Soothfayer standing up in the midst among them, faid unto cause of the them : My fellow fouldiers, be of good chear, and affure your felves that we shall prosper : for God Belipse. doth foreshew us by this fight we see, that some one of the chiefest things now in highest place and dignity shall be Eclipsed. And at this present time, what thing carrieth greater glory and same, then the tyranny of Dionyfius? Therefore you must think, that to soon as you arrive in Sicile your selves thall put out his light and glory. This interpretation of the Eclipse of the Moon, did Miltas the Soothfaver make, before all the whole company. But touching the swarm of Bees that lighted on the poop ed to Dion, of Dions ship, he told him and his friends privately : That he was afraid his acts (which should fall out famous and glorious) should be but a while, and flourishing a few days, would straight consume away. It is reported also, that Dieny firm in like manner had many strange figns and wonderful tokens from above. Among others, there came an Eagle, that fnatched a Partifan out of a fouldiers hand, and car- Wonders apried it quite away with her, and then let it fall into the fea. The fea also beating against the walls of pearing to Diethe Caftle, was as fweet to drink a whole day together, as any conduit or running water; as those that nystee. tafted of it, found it true. Furthermore, a Sow farrowed Pigs that lacked no part of their body but onely their ears. This the Soothfayers faid, did fignifie rebellion and disobedience of his subjects: and that the Citizens would no more hear him, nor obey his tyranny. Furthermore, they told also, that the lweetness of the falt water prognosticated to the Syracusans change of cruell and evill time, unto good and civill government : and that the Eagle, Jupiters Minister; and the Partisan, the mark and token of the Kingdom and Empire; did beteken, that Jupiter (the chief of all the gods) had determined to deftroy and put down the tyranny. Theopompus reporteth this matter thus. So, Dions fouldiers were imbarked into two great ships of burden, and another third ship that was not very great, and two Pinnaces with thirty Oars, followed them. For their armour and weapon, be-fide those the fouldiers had, he carried two thousand targets, a great number of bowes and arrowes, of Dions preparadarts, of pikes, and plenty of victuals: that they should lack nothing all the time they were upon tion. the fea, confidering that their journey stood altogether at the courtefie of the winds and fea; and for that they were afraid to land, understanding that Philiftus rode at Anchor in the coast of ApuGLIA,

Pubynus the foreland of Si-

the fea against Dion.

A Wolf carried away the

with a Fleet of ships that lay in wait for their coming, So having a pleasant gale of wind, they failed the space of twelve days together, and the thirteenth day they came to the foreland of Sttanca the space of twelve days together, and the thirteenth day they came to the toreland of Si-Cile called *Pachynus*. There the Pilot thought it best they should land presently: for if they wil-lingly looffed into the sa, and lost that point; they were sure they should lose also many nights and days in vain in the midth of the fea, being then Summer time, and the wind at the South. But Dies being afraid to land to near his enemies, he was defirous to go farther, and to past by the foreland of Pa-CHYNUS. Then the Northwind role to big and great, that with great violence it drave back their thips from the coasts of Sicile. Furthermore, lightning and thunder mingled withall (because it was at that time when the Star Arthur w beginneth to shew)it made so terrible a tempest, and powred down fuch a fore shower of rain upon them, that all the Mariners were amazed withall, and knew not whither the wind would drive them, till that fuddenly they faw the ftorm had caft them upon the If the of CERCINA (which is on the coaft of Ly BIA) and specially where it is most dangerous to arrive for the Rocks; for their ships were like to have run upon them, and to have made shipwrack. But with much ado they bare off the ships with their great long potes, and wandred up and down the sea, not knowing whither they went until the storm ceased. Then they met a ship, whereby they knew that they were in the flat, which the Mariners call, The heads of the great S. rte. Thus they wandring up and down, being marvellous angry that the fea was calm, there 5. r.e. 1105 they wanting up and down, being marvinous angry that the sea was cann, there a little South wind from the land, although they leaft looked for any fuch wind at that time, and little thinking it would fo have changed: but feeing the wind rife bigger and bigger, they packed on all the fails they had, and making their prayers unto the gods, they croffed the fea, and failed from the cost of Lybia, directly unto Sicile, and had the wind folucky, that at the fifthday they were near unto a little village of SICILE, called MINOA, the which was subject to the CAR-THAGINIANS. Synalus CARTHAGINIAN, being at that time Captain and Governour of Synatur. Cap the Town of MINOA, and Diens friend, was there by chance at this prefent, who being ignorant of Synatur, cap the rown of retroya, and Dissi thereby was there by that a time pretent, who come growth that of Alinos his enterprife and coming, did what he could to keep Dissi fouldiers from landing. But they not for the Caribae withflanding fuddainly leapt on land armed, but flew no man: for Diss had commanded them the retrieval. contrary, for the friendship he bare the Captain: and they following the Townsmen hard that fled before them, entred the Town hand over head amongst them, and so wan the Market-place. When both the Captains mer, and that they had spoken together, Dion delivered the Town into Synalus hands again, without any hurt or violence offered him. Synalus on the other fide, did endeavour himself all he could to make much of the fouldiers, and holp Dies to provide him of all things necessary. But this did most of all encourage the fouldiers, because Dionysius at their arrival, was not then in Si-CILE: for it chanced fo, that not many days before he went into ITALY with fourfcore faile. Therefore when Dion willed them to remain there a few days to refresh themselves, because they had been fo fore fea beaten a long time together, they themselves would not, they were so glad to imbrace the occasion offered them, and prayed Dion to lead them forthwith to Syracus A. Dion leaving all his fuperfluous armour and provision in the hands of Synalsus, and praying him to fend them to him when time ferved, he took his way towards Syracusa. So by the way, two hundred horfemen of the ARGENT (NES, which dwell in that part called ECNOMUS, came first to joyn with him, and after them, the GELOIANS. The rumour of their coming ran straight to Syracusa; thereupon Timocrates that had married Arete, Diens wife, and Dionylius the fathers fifter, and to whom Dionyfine the younger had left the charge and government of all his men and friends in the City: he prefently dispatched a post with letters , to advertise Diony size of Dions coming. He himself also in the mean time had taken such order, that there rose no tumult nor mutiny in the City, though they all of them lacked no good will to rebel; but because they were uncertain whether this rumor were true or false (being afraid) every man was quiet. Now there chanced a great misfortune unto the mellenger which carried the letters unto Dionysim. For after he had passed the straight, and that he was arrived in the City of RHEG10 of ITALIE fide, making hast to come to the City of CAULONIA, where Dienssia was, he met by the way one of his acquaintance that carried a Mutton but newly facrificed. This good fellow gave him a piece of it, and the mellenger spurred away withall the spread he could possible: but when he had ridden the most part of the night, he was so weary and drowsie for lack of fleep, that he was driven to lye down: fo he lay down upon the ground in a wood hard by the high way. The favour of this flesh brought a Wolf to him that carried away the flesh and the Portmantle it was wrapt in , and in the which also were his letter of advertisement , which he carried unto Disayfus. When he awoke out of his fleep, and faw that his Portmantle was gone, he enquired for it, and went wandring up and down a long time to feek it: howbeit, all in vain, for he could never find it. Therefore he thought it was not good for him to go to the Tyran without his letters, but rather to flie into some unknown place, where no body knewhim. Thus overlate received Dionyliss advertisement by others of this war, which Dion made in SICILE. In the mean time, the CAMARINIANS came and joyned with Dions Army, in the high-way towards Syracusa: and fill there came unto him alfo a number of the Syracusans that were up in Armes, which were gotten into the field. On the other fide, certain CAMPANIANS and LEONTINES, which were gotten into the Castle of EPIPOLES with Timocrates of purpose to keep it, upon a falle rumour Dion gave out (and which came unto them) that he would first go againft their Towns: they for looke Timocrates, and went to take order to defend their own goods.

Dismoderflanding that, being lodged with his Army in a place called MACRA, he prefendly removable for the property of the Company has a dark park. ed his Camp, being dark night, and marched forward till he came unto the River of Anaput, which

is not from the City above ten furlongs off : and there ftaying a while, he facrificed unto the River. and made his prayer and worshipped the rising of the Sun. At the self-same instant also, the Soothfayers came and told him, that the gods did promife him affured victory. And the fouldiers also seeing Dien wear a Garland of Flowers on his head, which he had taken for the ceremony of the facrifice, all of them with one felf goodwill took every man of them (being no less then five thoufand men that were gathered together by the way, and but flenderly armed with fuch things as came first to hand; howbeit, supplying with goodwill their want of better furniture and armour:) and when Dion commanded them to march, for joy they ran, and encouraged one another with great cries, to shew themselves valiant for recovery of their liberty. Now for them that were within the City felf of Syracus A, the Noblemen and chief Citizens went to receive them at the Gates, in their best Gowns. The common people on the other side, ran and set upon them that took part with the Tyrant, and spoiled them that were called the PROSAGOGIDES (as much to fay, The with the Tyrant, and ipoiled them that were called the Prosacotories (as much totaly) in Dionyfini pick-common Promooters of men) the detestablest villains, hatefull to the gods and men: for they like thanks flain. Sycophants and bufie tale-bearers, would jet up and down the City, and mingle among the Citizens, having an oar in every mans matter, being foll of prittle prattle, and busic headed, to know what every man faid and did, and then to go carry it to the tyrant. These men were they that had their payment first of all, for they killed them with dry blows, beating them to death with staves. When Timocrates could not enter into the Castle with them that kept it, he took his horse back, and fled out of the City; and flying, made all men afraid and amazed where he came, enlarging Dions power by his report, because it should not feem, that for fear of a trifle, he had for faken the City. In the mean time, Dion came on towards the City with his men, and was come fo near, that they might fee him plainly from the City, marching foremost of all, armed with a fair bright white corfelet, having his brother Megacles on the right hand of him , and Calippus ATHENIAN on the left hand crowned with Garlands of Flowers : and after him also there followed an hundred souldiers that Dion received were strangers, chosen for his guard about him, and the rest came marching after it in good order of into Syracuja. battell, being led by their Captains. The SYRACUSANS faw him coming, and went out and received him as a holy and bleffed procession, that brought them their liberty and popular state again, the which they had loft the space of eight and fourty years. When Dion was come into the City , by Dion refloreth the which they had for the space of eight and tourly years. Which some and the carly soy the Syraculans the gate called Menitide, he caused his trumpeter to found, to appeale the rumour and tumult of the to liberty. people. Then he commanded an Herauld to proclaim aloud: That Dion and Megacles, who were come to put down the tyranny, did fet all the SYRACUSANS at liberty, and all the other SICI-LIA NS also from the bondage and subjection of the tyrant. And because Dion himself was desirous to speak unto the people, he went to the upper part of the Town , called ARCADIAN. The SYRACUSANS, all the streets through as he passed by , had on either hand of him prepared facrifices, and fet up tables and cups upon them: and as he paffed by their houses, they cast flowers and fruits on him, and made prayers unto him, as if he had been a god. Now, under the Castle there was a place called Pentapyla (a clock, to know by the Sun how the day went) the which Dionyfins Dionyfins clock, had caused to be made, and it was of a good pretty height. Dien got up upon it, and from thence made his oration to the people that were gathered round about him, exhorting and perswading his Countrymen to do their endeavour to recover their liberty again, and to maintain it. They being in a marvellous joy withall, and defirous to please Dion , did choose him and his brother Mesacles their Lieutenants General, with absolute power and authority. Afterwards also, by the consent of Dion himself and his brother, and at their requests in like manner, they chose twenty other Captains, of the which the most part of them had been banished by the tyrant, and were returned again with Dion. The Soothfayers and Prognosticatours liked it well, and faid it was a good fign for Dion, that he trode the sumptuous building and workmanship of the tyrant under his teet, when he made his Oration : but because the hand of the Diall did shew the course of the Sun, which newer leaveth going, upon the which he got up when he was chosen Lieutenant General with absolute The predictipower and authority, they were afraid again, that it was a fign Dions affairs should have a suddain ons of the change of fortune. After this, Dion having taken the caftle of EPIPOLES, he fet all the Citizens at liberty, which were kept there as prisoners in captivity by the tyrant, and environed the Caftle round about with a wall. Within feven days after , Dionyfine returned by fea to the Caftle of SYRACUSA, and therewithall also came the Carts loaden with armour and weapons to SYRACUS-SA, which Dien had left with Sinalus: the which Dion caused to be distributed among the Citizens of SYRACUSA that had none. Others did furnish themselves as well as they could, and shewed that they had courage and goodwill to fight for the maintenance and defence of their liberty. In the Dionyflus sent mean time, Dionysius fent Ambassadours, first unto Dion privately, to see if he would yeeld to any Ambassadours composition. But Dien would not hear them, but bade them tell the SYRACUSANS openly unto Dien. what they had to fay, being men that were free, and enjoyed liberty. Then the Ambaffadours spake in the behalf of the tyrant, unto the people of Syracusa, promiting them with mild and gentle words, that they should pay no subsidies and taxes, but very little, and should be no more troubled with wars, other then fuch as they themselves should like of. The SYRACUSANS made a mockery at those offers, and Dion also answered the Ambassadours, and willed Dionisyus to send no more to the SYRACUSANS, before he had disposses himself of his tyranny : and, fo that he would leave it, he would be his mean to obtain all things just and reasonable of the people. Diony sins liked very well of his good offer: and therefore fent his Ambaffadours again to pray the Syracusans, that

they would appoint fome amongst them to come to the Castle ; to talk with him for the benefit and

commodity of the Common-wealth; that he might hear what they would alledge, and they also

what answer lie would make. Dion chose certain whom he sent unto him. Now there ran a

rumour in the Cay among the Syracus ans, which came from the Caftle, that Dionyfus would

willingly of hindelf, rather then by reason of Dions coming, depose himself of the tyranny. But this was but a falle slarm, and crafty fetch of Dionyfius, to intrap the SYRACUSANS by. For those that were fent him from the City, he kept them prifoners every man of them, and one morning having made his fouldiers drink wine luftily, which he kept in pay to guard his perfon, he fent them with great fury to affault the wall the SYRACUSANS had built againft the Cafele. Now, because the SYRACUSANS looked for nothing lefs, then for the fuddain affault, and for that thefe barbarous people with a wonderfull courage and great tumult overthrew the wall, and others of them also did fer upon the Syracusans, there was not a man of them that durft make head to fight with them, faving the fouldiers that were strangers, whom Dion had brought with him. Who, when they heard thenoile, ran ftraight to repulie them, and yet they themselves could not well tell what they should do upon that fuddain. For they could hear nothing for the great noife and hurly burly of the Syra-CUSANS, which fled with great diforder, and came and mingled themselves amongst them. Till at length, Dion perceiving he could not be heard; to fhew them by deed what they should do, he went first himself against these barbarous people, and about him there was a cruel and bloody fight: for his enemies knew himas well as his own men, and they all ran upon him with great cries. Now for Dien fighteth Dien himself, indeed because of his age, he was heavier then was requisite for one that should away with Dionifus. with the pains of fuch battels: but he had fuch a valiant courage in him, that he went through with all luftily, and flew them that did affail him. Yet he had his hand also thrust through with a pike, and very hardly did his curaces hold out the blows of the darts and thrufts by hand which he received on them, they were fo mangled and hacked with fuch a number of darts and pikes passed through his thield and broken on him, that in the end he was beaten down : howbeit his fouldiers refued him straight. Then he made Timonides their Captain, and he himself took his horseback, and went up and down the City, staying and quieting the flying of the SYRACUSANS. Then he fent for his fouldiers the strangers, which he had put in Garrison in that part of the City called the Acaa-DINE to keep it, and brought them being fresh, against the barbarous people of the Castle that were wearied, and almost all of them discouraged to attempt any further enterprise. For they had made this fally out, in hope to have taken all the City at the first onset, onely running up and down: but when contrary to their expectation, they met these valiant souldiers, and fresh supply, they then began to retire again into the Caftle. And the GRECIAN fouldiers on the other fide, perceiving they gave back, they canie the fafter upon them, fo that they were compelled to turn their backs, and were driven within the walls, after they had flain threefcore and fourteen of Dions men, and lost a great number of their own. This was a noble victory, and therefore the SYRACUSANS gave the fouldiers that were strangers, an hundred filver Minaes, in reward for their good service: and they gave Dion their Generall a crown of gold. After this, there came letters to Dion by a Trumpet from the Caftle, written from the women of his house: and among the packet of letters, there was one of them directed, To my father, the which Hipparinus wrote unto him. For that was Hipparinus, Di. Dient fons name, though Timan writeth he was called Aretem, after his mothers name Arete. But in fuch matters, me thinks Timonides is better to be credited, because he was his friend and companion in arms. All the other letters that were fent, were openly read before the affembly of the Syra-CUSANS , and did onely concern requests of these women unto Dion. The SYRACUSANS would not have the supposed letter of his son to be openly read ; but Dion against their minds open-Dionyfius craft ed it, and found that it was Dionyfius letter; who by words, made the direction of it unto Dion, but in effect, he spake unto the Syracusans. For in sight, it seemed a manner of request and justification of him; but in truth, it was written of purpole to accuse Diem. First of. all, he remembred him of the things he had done before, for the establishing and prefervation of the tyranny; and afterwards, of cruel threats against those whom he should love best, as his wife, his son, and fister: and last of all ; full of most humble requests and intreaties, with forrow and lamentation. But that

Heraclides , Heraclides te turneth to Sy racufa.

which most moved Dion of all other, was, that he required him not to destroy the tyranny, but rather to take it for himself, and not to fer them at liberty that hated him, and would always remember the mischief he had done unto them: and that he would himself take upon him to be Lord, saving by that means the lives of their parents and friends. When these letters had been read before the whole affembly of the people, the SYRACUSANS thought not how to reverence (as they ought) with admiration, the inflexible constancy and magnanimity of Dion, that stood firm and fast for justice and verue against such vehement intreaty and perswasion of his Kinssolk and friends: but they constraily began to be afraid, and to mistrust him, as he that of necessity should be forced to pardon the tyrant, for the great pledges and hoftages he had of him. Wherefore, they began to chule them new governours, and the rather, because they heard that Herachides was coming unto them, whom they loved fingularly well. This Heractides was one of them that had been banished, a good fouldier and Captain, and well efteemed of for the charge and office he bare under the tyrants: howbeit, a very was unconstant man in everything, and would not continue long in a mind, and least constant in wars where he had great charge of honour in hand. He had fallen out with Dion in PELOFONNESUS; wherefore he determined to come with a power by himfelf, and with his own Fleet against the tyrant. So he arrived at length in SYRACUSA, with fever. Gallies, and three other Thips: were he found Dionypus again shut up into his Castle with a wall, and the SYRACUSANS also to have the better

Then he began to curry favour with the common people all the ways he could possibly devife, having by nature a certain pleafing manner to win the common people, which feek nothing else but to be flattered. Furthermore, he found it the easier for him to win them, because the people did already millike Dion's feverity, as a man too fevere and cruel to govern a Commonwealth. For they had now their will so much, and were grown so strong headed, because they saw themselves the fronger, that they would be flattered (as commonly the people be in free Cities, where they onely be Lords, and do rule) before they were fully fet at liberty. Therefore first of all, not being called together by the authority of the Governours, they ran in a fury, of their own light heads, unto the place of common affemblies, and there chose Heraclides Admiral. Then Dion understanding this, came The great actions to complain of the injury they had done him, declaring unto them, that to give this power now unto do the Hera-Heraclides, was to take that away which they had first given unto him: because he should no more be elides Admiral General, if they chose any other Admiral by Sea then himself. The SYRACUSIANS then, as it were to spite Dion. against their wills, did revoke the power they had given unto Heraclides: but afterwards Dion fent for Heraclides, to pray him to come home to him. When he came, he rebuked him a little, and told him. it was not honeftly, nor profitably done of him, to fue to the people, and to contend for honour against him in so dangerous a time, when the least occasion in the world was enough to have marred all. Afterwards, Dion himself called an affembly again of the City, and established Heraclides Admiral: and perswaded the Citizens to give him souldiers, as he had indeed. Heraclides outwardly seem- Heraclides. ed to honour Dion, and confessed openly that he was greatly bound unto him, and was at his heels very diffembler, pralowly, being ready at his commandment : but in the mean time ; secretly he inticed the common Etising to make people to rebell, and to stir up those whom he knew meet men to like of change. Whereby he the people reprocured Dion such trouble, and brought him into such perplexity, that he knew not well which way Dion. to take. For, if he gave them advice to let Dionysius quietly come out of the Castle, then they accufed, and faid, he did it to fave his life: if on the contrary fide, because he would not trouble them, he continued siege still, and established nothing; then they thought he did it of purpose to draw out the Wars in length, because he might the longer time remain their Chieftain general, and to to keep the Citizens longer in fear. At that time there was one Sofis in Syracus A, a man of sofis a wicked no name, but noted among the SYRA CUSIANS for his villany and wickedness, effeeming that full man, moveth and ample liberty, when he might unchecked licentiously speak what he would, as indeed he did. sedition against For he seeking to do Dion a displeasure, first of all one day at a common Counsel he stood up on his Dion. feet, and called the Syracusians beafts (amongst many other vile words he gave them) if thew did not perceive, that being come from a fond and drunken tyranny, they had now received a fober mafter, and a wife wary Tyrant. So when he had thus openly shewed himself an enemy unto Dion, he came that day no more into the Market-place; but the next morning he was feen running up and down the City naked, his head and face all of a gore blood, as if he had been followed of men to have flain him. Thus Sofis, coming in this manner into the middeft of the Market-place, cried out that Dion's strangers had lain in wait for him, and had handled him in this fort, shewing his wound on his head. Many of the people took this matter very grievously, and cryed out upon Dion, and faid it was vilely and tyrannically done of him, by fear of murther and danger, to take away the liberty from the Citizens to speak. Now, though the whole affembly hereupon fell into an uproar withall: Dion notwithstanding came thither to clear himself of these accusations, and made them presently see, that this Softs was brother to one of Dionysius guard . who had put into his head, in Dion cleareth this fort to put the City of Syracus a in an uproar, because Dionysius had no other hope nor Sosisaccusation mean to escape, but by stirring up faction and sedition among them, to make one of them fall our against him. with another. The Chirurgions were fent for forthwith to fearch the wound of this Sofis: who found that it was rather a little scratch, then any violent wound given him. For the wounds or cuts of a fword, are ever deepest in the midst: and Sosis cut was but very little, and not deep, having had many beginnings, and given him (as it feemed) at fundry times, but for very pain, the party that cut him, was driven to leave off, and came to cut him at divers times. Furthermore, there came certain of his friends in the mean time, that brought a razor before the affembly, and reported that as they came, they met Sofis by the way all bloodied: who faid that he fled from Dions fouldiers, which had but newly hurt him. Whereupon they prefently followed them, but found no man; and onely they faw a razor, which some body had cast upon a hollow stone thereabouts, where they first faw him coming unto them. Thus, Sofis device had but evil fuccess. For besides all these proofs and tokens. Dion's houshold servants came to be witness against him, that very early in the morning he went abroad alone with a razor in his hand. Then they that before did burden and accuse Dion, knew not what to fay to the matter, but shrunk away : whereupon the people condemning Sofis to Sofis condemndeath, they were quiet again with Dion. Yet were they alwaies afraid of these souldiers that were ed to death. strangers, specially when they saw the greatest conflicts they had with the Tyrant, was by sea, after that Philiftus was come from the coast of Apuglia with a great number of Galleys to aid the Tyrant. For then they thought, that these souldiers (the strangers) being armed at all parts to fight by land, they would do him no more service by sea: because the Citizens themselves were they that kept them in safety, for that they were men practifed to fight by sea, and were also the stronger by means of their ships. But beside all this the onely thing that made them to be couragious again, was the good fortune they had at the Battle by Sea, in the which when they had overcome Philistus, they cruelly and barbarously used him. Truly Ephorus faith, that Philistus slew himself, when he

phers, repro-

faw his Galley taken. Howbeit Timonides (who was alway with Dion from the first beginning of this War) writing unto Speufppus the Philotopher, faith: that Philiffus was taken alive, because his Galley ran aland : and that the SYRACUSIANS first took off his Curaces, and stripped Philips flain, him naked, and after they had done him all the villany and spite they could, they cut off his head, and gave his body unto boys, commanding them to drag it into that part of the City called Aand gave in body and boys, commanding the common privy. Timens also to spite him the more, faith that the boys and the dead body by his lame leg, and fo dragged him up and down the City, where that the boys an incurate body by the latter tegs, and to design and to fee him dragged by where all the Syracusians did what villany to it they could, being glad to fee him dragged by the leg, that had faid: Dienysim should not fly from the tyranny upon a light horse, but that they should pall him out by the leg against his will. Now Philiftus reporteth this matter thus: not as spoken to Dionysiss by himself, but by some other. But Timens taking a just occasion and colour to speak evil of the good will, fidelity, and care that Philifins had always feemed to shew in the confirmation and defence of the tyranny, doth liberally befrow injurious words on him in this place. Now for them, whom he had indeed offended, if they of malice and spite to be revenged, did offer him cruelty, peradventure they were not much to be blamed; but for them that fince his death have written the guells, who were never offended by him in his life time, and who ought to shew themselves discreet in their writing, methinks that if they had regarded their own credit and estimation, they should not so fondly and outragiously have reproved the advertities and misfortunes, which by Fortune may as well chance to the honestest man, as unto him. Thus fondly did Ephotus praise Philistus, who although he have an excellent fine wit to counterfeit goodly excuses, and cunningly to hide wicked and dishonest parts, and eloquently to devise by honest words to defend an evil cause: yet cannot be with all the fine wit he hath, excuse himself, that he hath not been the onely man of the world that hath most favoured Tyrants, and that hath ever loved, and specially defired power, wealth, and alliance with Tyrants. But he (in my opinion) taketh the right course of an Historiographer, that neither doth commend Philift and doings, nor yet cafteth his adverficies in his teeth to his reproach. After Philistus death, Dionzsius sent unto Dion, to make an offer to deliver him the Caftle, armour, munition, and fouldiers that were in it, with money also to pay them for five moneths space. For himself, he prayed that he might be suffered to go safely into ITALY, and to lie there, to take the pleasure of the fruits of the Countrey called GYARTA, which was within the territory of Syracusa, and lieth our from the Seatowards the main land. Dion refused this ofter, and answered the Ambassadors, that they must move the SYRACUSIANS in it. They supposing they should easily take Dionyfins alive, would not hear the Ambassadors speak, but turned them away. Dionysins seeing no other remedy, left the Castle in the hands of his eldest fon Apollocrates, and having a lusty gale of Dionflat Byeth wind, he fecretly imbarked certain of his men he loved beft, with the richeft things he had, and so from Syraelfs hoiled fail, unawares to Heraclides, the Admirall of Syraecusa. The people were marvellously Apauerates of offended with Heraclides for it, and began to mutiny against him. But Heraclides, to pacific this the decition of turnult of the people, fuborned one Hippon an Orator, who preferred the law Agraria unto the people, for the division of all the Island amongst them: and that the beginning of liberty was equality and of bondage poverty, unto them that had no lands. Heraclides giving his confent to this decree, and fittring the common people to fedition against Dion, that withstood it: perswaded the Syracusians, not onely to confirm the law Hippon had propounded, but also to discharge the hired strangers, to chufe other Captains and Governours, and rid themselves of Dion's severe Government. But they supposing straight to have been rid from the tyranny, as from a long and grievous fickness, over rashly taking upon them, like people that of long time had been at liberty, they utterly undid themselves, and overthrew Dion's purpose: who like a good Physician was carefull to fee the City well ordered and governed. So when they were affembled to chuse new Officers in the Signs appear middeft of Summer, there fell such horrible thunders, and other terrible ftorms, and unfortunate ing to the \$7.4- figns in the Element, that for the space of fifteen days together, the people were still scattered and dispersed when they were assembled: insomuch, that being afraid of these signs above, they durst not at that time create any new Captains. Certain days after, as the Orators had chosen a fair time to proceed to the election of Officers, an Ox drawing in a Cart (being daily acquainted with every fight and noise) suddenly without any occasion offered, fell into a madnels against the Carter that drave him, and breaking his yoke asunder, ran straight to the Theatre, and there made the people run into every corner, to fly and fave themselves: and then flinging, and bearing all down before him that stood in his way, he ran through as much of the City, as the enemies afterwards wan of them. This norwithflanding, the SYRACUSIANS making light account of all these signs, they chose five and twenty Captains, of the which Heraclides was one: and fecretly they fent to feel the hired fouldiers, to fee if they could entice them from Dion, to cause them to take their part, and made them large promises to make them free men (as themfelves) of SYRACUSA. The fouldiers would not be entitled from him; but faithfully and lovingly took Dien amongst them with their Armour and Weapons : and putting him in the middest of

their small number; and because they did not first set upon them, but trusting on the other side to

themselves, for that they were the greater number, they came to affail them, supposing they should

eafily overcome them in the City, and kill every man of them. Dion being thus in a straight, that of

necessity he must fight against his own Countreymen, or else be slain himself with his souldiers, he

Dion dessreeth them, led him in this manner out of the City, and did no man hurt, but reproved their unthankfulout of Syracula nels and villany unto all those they met by the way. Then the Syracus I and despiting them for held up his hands to the SYRACUSIANS, and very earneftly prayed them to be contented, pointing them with his finger to the Castle that was full of their enemies, which shewed themselves upon the walls, and faw what they did. In the end, when he faw that he could not pacific their fury and tumult. and that all the City was in an uproar with the prittle practle of these seditious people, who were carried like the fea with the wind, he did yet forbid his fouldiers to give any charge upon them; who notwithstanding made a countenance with great cries, and rattling of their harness, as if they had meant to have run on them. Then the SYRACUSIANS durft not abide by it, but ran away like The cowardlistheop through the streets no man chasing them, So Dion called back again his men, and led them nels of the Sydirectly into the Countrey of the LEONTINES. Then the new Officers and Governors of Syra- racufants Cusa, perceiving the women laughed them to fcorn: because they would recover the same they had loft, they armed their men anew, and marched after Dion to fight with him; whom they overtook at a River, as he was ready to pass over. Then began their horfemen a little to skirmish with Dions company: but when they saw he did no more bear with their faults for Countries sake but frowned indeed upon them, and fet his men in battle ray against them: they turned their backs again, with more fhame and reproach then before, and fo fled unto the City of Syracusa, and had not many of their men flain. The LEONTINES received Dion very honourably, took the strangers his fouldiers, The Leontines gave them pay, and made them free Citizens with them: and fent Ambaffadors also unto the Syra- dorective Dion GUSIANS, to will them to let the strangers have their pay. The SYRACUSIANS on their fide also, fent Ambaffadors unto the LEONTINES to accuse Dion. So all their confederates were affembled in the City of the LEONTINES; and in that affembly, after both parties had been heard, to hear what they would fay, it was judged: that the SYRACUSIANS were to blame. Howbeit, they would not stand to the judgement of their confederates, for they were now grown proud and carelefs, because they were governed by no man, but had Captains that studied to please them, and were afraid also to difplease them. After that, there arrived certain Galleys of Dionysius at Syracusa, of the which Nypfins Neapolitan was Captain: which brought victuals and money, to help them that were befieged within the Castle. These Galleys were fought with, and the SYRACUSIANS obtained victory, and took four of the Tyrants Galleys with three banks of Oars a piece : howbeit they fondly abused their victory. For they having no body to command or rule them, employed all their joy in rioting and banquetting, and in fond and diffolute meetings, taking so little care and regard to their business, that Thenegligence now when they thought the Castle was sure their own, they almost lost their City. For Nypsius and troubles of perceiving that every part of the City was out of order, and that the common people did nothing the Syracufant. all day long unto dark night, but bib and drink drunk, dancing after their Pipes and Howboys and that the Governors themselves were very glad also to see such feasting, or else for that they disfembled it, and durst not command and compell them that were drunk : he wifely took the occasion offered him, and scaled the wall which had shut up the Castle, and wan it, and overthrew it. Then he fent the barbarous fouldiers into the City, and commanded them to do with them they met, what they would or could. The SYRACUSIANS then too late found their fault, and hardly gave present remedy, they were so amazed and suddenly set on: for indeed they made a right sack of the City. Here men were killed, there they overthrew the wall; in another place they carried away women and little children Prisoners into the Castle, weeping and crying out : and lastly, they made the Captains at their wits end, who could give no prefent order, nor have their men to ferve them against their enemies, that came hand over head on every fide amongst them. The Cina being thus milerably in garboil, and the ACRADINE also in great hazard of taking, in the which they put all their hope and confidence to rife again: every man thought then with himself, that Dion must be fent for, but yet no man moved it notwithstanding, being ashamed of their unthankfulness and over great folly they had committed, in driving him away. Yet necessiry enforcing them unto it, there were certain of the horsemen and of their consederates that cryed, that they must send for Dion and the PELOPONNESIANS his fouldiers, which were with him in the territory of the LEONTINES. As foon as the word was heard, and that one had the heart to tell it to the people, all the SYRACUSI-ANS cried out, There was the point : and they were fo glad of it, that the water stood in their eyes for joy, and belought the gods it would please them to bring him unto them, they were so desirous to have him again. For they called to mind how valiant and resolute he was in danger, and how that he was never afraid, but did encourage them with his manhood, in fuch fort, that being led by him, they were not afraid to fet upon their Enemies. So the Confederates of them, fent prefently Archo- The Strumfians mides and Telefides unto him : and the Noblemen that ferved on Horfeback, they fent him also five a- do fend for Dimonght them, beside Hellanicus. Who took their Horses, and posted for life, so that they came on again. unto the Ciry of the LEONTINES about Sun-fet : and lighting off from their horses, they went first of all and kneeled down at Dions feet, and weeping, told him the miserable state of the SYRACUSTENS: Straight there came divers of the LEONTINES, and many of the PELOPON-NESTAN fouldiers unto Dion (mistrusting then there were some news in hand) to see the earnest and humble fuit the Ambaffadors of Syracus a made unto him. Wherefore Dion took them prefently with him, and brought them himself into the Theatre, where the common councils and affemblies of the City were holden: thither ran every man to hear what the matter was. Then Archo-nides and Hellanicus brought in by Dion, told openly before the water affembly, the greatness of Dions Orstion nides and Hellanicus brought in by Dion, told openly before the ware allentity, the greatest of unto his foul-their milery, and requested the hired fouldiers to come and aid the Syracus IANS, forgetting diers, persuadthe injury they had received: confidering, that they had more dearly payed for their folly, then ing them to aid

they thenselves (whom they had fo injured) would have made them to have suffered. When the Syracofiars

unty man their minus, there was a great mane an angular the mane. and their him to fpeak; where and began to fpeak. But the great sears that fell from his eyes would not fuffer him to fpeak; where-

The incon-

fore the hired fouldiers being forry to fee him weep, prayed him not to trouble himself, but to be of good courage. Then Dion letting go the forrow and grief he had conceived, began to fpeak unto them good courage. Then Dien letting go the forrow and grief he had conceived, began to speak unto them this manner. "My Lords of PELOPONNESUS, and you also the Confederates: I have called you regether to consult with you, what you should do. For my self, it were no honestly for me to consult what I should do now, when the City of Syracusa standeth in perill me to consult what I should do now, when the City of Syracusa standeth in perill of destruction: and therefore if I cannot save it from destruction, yet at the least I will bury my self of destruction: "in the fire and ruine of my Countrey. But for you, if it please you once more to help us, unadvised "and most unfortunate people, you shall by your means set the poor distressed City of Syra-"CUSA again on foot, which is your deed. Or if it be fo, that remembring the injuries the SYRA-"CUSTANS have offered you, you will fuffer it to be destroyed : yet I beseech the gods, that at the "leaft they will require your valiantness, fidelity and good love you have born me untill this prefeat, "befeeching you to remember Dion, who neither forfook you at any time when you have been in-" jured, nor his Countreymen, when they were in trouble. So going on ftill with his tale, the mercenary strangers stepped forth with great notic, and prayed him to lead them to aid SYRACUSA. Then the Ambalfadors that were fent from the SYRACUSIANS falured and embraced them, and prayed the gods to blefs Dion and them, with all the good hap that might be. So when all was whifth and quiet, Dion willed them forthwith to go and prepare themselves, and that they should be there ready armed after supper, determining the very same night to go to aid Syracus A. But now at Syracus A, while day light lafted, Dionyfine Souldiers and Captains did all the mischief and villany they could in the City, and when night came, they retired again into the Castle, having lost very few of their men. Then the feditious Governors of the SYRACUSIANS took heart again unto them, hoping that the enemiss would be contented with that they had done : and therefore began anew to perfusade the Citizens to let Dion alone, and not to receive him with his mercenary fouldiers if they came to aid him, faying that they themselves were honester men then the strangers, to fave their City, and to defend their liberty without help of any other. So, other Ambassadors were fent again unto Dion; some from the Captains and Governors of the City, to flay them that they should not come; and other also from the horfemen, and noble Citizens his friends to haften his journey: whereupon by reason of this variance, Dion marched very foftly at his cafe. Now by night, Dion's enemies within the City got to the Gates, and kepr them that Dion should not come in. Nypfins on the other side made a fally out of the Casile, with his mercenary fouldiers, being better appointed, and a greater number of them then before: and with them be ftraight plucked down all the wall which they had built before the Caftle, and ran and facked the City. At this fally out of the Castle, they did not onely kill the men they met, but women and little children also, and stayed no more to spoil, but to destroy and put all to havock. For, because Dionylins law that he was brought to a straight and desperate case, he bare such mortal malice against the Syracus IANS, that fith there was no remedy but that he must needs forgo his tyranny, he determined to bury it with the utter deftruction and defolation of their City. And therefore to prevent Dion's aid, and to make a quick dispatch to destroy all, they came with burning Torches in their hands, and did fet fire on all things they could come to : and farther off, they fired their darts and Syracula let on arrows, and bestowed them in every part of the City. So, they that fled for the fire, were met withall, fireby Dinnyfast ouddiers.

and fireby Dinnyfast ouddiers.

and fell down upon them that
by force of fire: for there were a number of houses that were on fire, and fell down upon them that went and came. This mifery was the chiefest cause why all the SYRACUSIANS agreed together to set open the gates unto Dion. For when Dion heard by the way, that Dionysius fouldiers were gone again into the Caftle, he made no great hafte to march forward : but when day was broken, there came certain horfemen from Syracusa unto Dion, who brought him news that the enemies had once again taken the City. Then also came other of his enemies unto him, and prayed him to make hafter. Now their milery enere sing, fill, and they being brought into hard flate, Heractidas first fent his brother unto Dien, and then Theodotus his Uncle, to pray him to come quickly and help them: for now there was no man left to refift the enemies, because he himself was hurt, and the City also was in manner clean burnt and destroyed. When these men came to Dion, he was yet about threescore furlongs from the Town. So he told his mercenary fouldiers the danger that the Town was in, and having encouraged them, he led them no more fair and foftly, but running towards the City, and meeting messengers one in anothers neck as he went, that prayed him to make all the possible speed be could. By this means the fouldiers marching with wonderfull speed and good will together, he entred the Gates of the City at a place called Hecasompedon. First of all, he fent the lightest armed he had against the enemies, to the end that the SYRACUSIANS seeing them, they might take good heart again to them, whilft he himself in the mean time did fet all the other heavy armed fouldiers and Citizens that came to joyn with them in battle ray, and did caft them into divers squadrons, of greater length and breadth; and appointed him that should have the leading of them, to the end that setting upon the enemies in divers places together, they should put them in greater fear and terror. When he had fet all things in this other, and made his prayer unto the gods, and that they faw him marching through the City against them demises: then there role such a common noise and rejoycing, and great flout of the souldiers, mingled with yows, prayers, and perfections of the SYRACUSIANS, that they called Distriction and and sustains and the presentation solutions and fellow Citithey called Dion their god and faviour, and the mercenary fouldiers their brethren and fellow Citizens. Furthermore, there was not a Syracus IAN that to much regarded his own life and perfon,

but he seemed to be more afraid of the loss of Dion onely, then of all the rest. For they saw him the foremost man running through the danger of the fire, treading in blood, and upon dead bodies that lay Dions fight in flain in the midst of the streets. Now indeed to charge the enemies, it was a marvellous dangerous the City of syenterprise: for they were like mad beafts, and stood beside in battle ray along the wall which they had racinfa. overthrown, in a very dangerous place, and hard to win. Howbeit, the danger of the fire, did most of all trouble and amaze the strangers, and did stop their way, for on which side soever they turned them. the houses round about them were all on a fire, and they were driven to march over the burnt timber of the houses, and to run in great danger of the walls of the house sides that fell on them, and to pass through the thick smoak mingled with dust, and beside to keep their ranks with great difficulty. And when they came to affail the enemies, they could not come to fight hand to hand, but a few of them in number, because of the straightness of the place: howbeir, the Syracusians with force of cries and shouts, did so animate and incourage their men, that at length they drave Nypsius and his men to Nypsius comfor fake the place. The most part of them got into the Castle, being very near unto them : the other pelled by Dion that could not get in in time, fled firaglingly up and down, whom the GRECIAN fouldiers flew, to fly into the chafing of them. The extremity of the time did not prefently fuffer the conquerors to reap the fruit of their victory, neither the joys and embracings meet for fo great an exploit. For the SYRA CUSIANS went every man home to his own house, to quench the fire, the which could scarcely be put out all the night. When day brake, there was none of these seditious flatterers of the people that durst tarry in the City, but condemning themselves, they fled to take their fortune. Heraclides and Theodotus came together of their own good wills to yield themselves unto Dion, confessing that they had done him wrong, and humbly praying him to flew himfelf better unto them, then they had shewed themselves unto him, and that it was more honourable for him, being every way unmatchable for his vertues, to shew himself more noble to conquer his anger, then his unthankfull enemies had done : who contending with him before in vertue, did now confets themselves to be far inserior unto him. This was the fum and effect of Heraclides and Theodotus submission unto Dion. But his friends did perswade him not to pardon two such wicked men, who did malice and envy his honour: and as he would do the strangers his souldiers any pleasure, that he should put Heraclides into their hands, to root out of the Commonwealth of Syracusa, his vile manner to flatter and curry favour with root out of the Commonweath of Syracus A, and such assistant to make and curry tarous want the people, the which was as dangerous and great a plague to a City, as the tyranny. Dion pacify. his enemies, ing them, answered: Other Generals of Armies, faid be, do employ all their wits in martial exercises and the great and the and wars: but for himself, that he had of long time studied and learned in the School of the Aca-profit he took demy, to overcome anger, envy, and all malice and contention: the noble proof whereof is most by study, in the feen, not in using honest men and his friends moderately, but in shewing mercy also unto his ene- Academy at mies, and forgetting his anger against them that have offended him; and that for his part, he had rather overcome Heraclides, not in riches and wildom, but in clemency and justice; for therein chiefly confifted excellency, fith no man else in wars can challenge power and government, but fortune that ruleth most. And though Heraclides, said he, through envy hath done like a wicked man, must Dion therefore through anger blemish his vertue? Indeed by mans law it is thought meeter to revenge an injury offered, then to do an injury : but nature sheweth, that they both proceed of one felf imperfection. "Now though it be a hard thing to change and alter the evil disposition of a man, No man should "after he is once nuzled in villany: yet is not man of fo wild and brutish a nature, that his wickedness be worse by an "may not be overcome with often pleasures, when he feeth that they are continually shewed him. Di- others wickedon answering his friends thus, he forgave Heraelides; and beginning again to shut up the Castle with ness. a wall round about, he commanded the SYRACUSIANS every man of them to cut down a stake, and to bring it thither. So when night was come, fetting his fouldiers the strangers in hand withall, whilst the Syracusians slept and took their ease, by morning he had compassed the Castle round about with a pale. The next day, they that faw the greatness and sudden expedition of this work, wondered much at it, as well the enemies, as also the Citizens: and when they had buried the dead bodies, and redeemed them that were taken prisoners (which were not much less then two thousand persons) he called a Common Council of the City, in the which Heraclides made a motion, that Dion should be chosen General of Syracus A, with absolute power and authority both by Sea and Land. The chiefest men of the City liked very well of it, and would have had the people to have passed it. The froward-But the rabble of the Mariners, and other mechanical people living by their labour, would not fuffer ness of the Sy-Heraclides to be put from his Admiralship, but sell to mutiny, thinking that though Heraclides rates and no did them no pleafure elfe, yet he would ever be a more popular man then Dion, and pleafe the common gainft Dion; people better. Dion granted their defire, and made Heraclides Admiral again of the Sea: howbeit he did anger them as much another way, when he did not onely reject the earnest suit they made to have the Law Agraria pass for division of lands in equality amongst them, but did also cancel and revoke all that had been done before. Wherefore Heraclides remaining at Messing, began Heraclides at thenceforth to enter into new practiles again, and to flatter the fouldiers and featfaring men he had gain flirreth brought thither with him, and to stir them up against Dion, saying that he would make himself up the Syracu-Tyrant: and himself in the mean time secretly practifed with Dionysius, by means of a Spar. Just to rebell TAN called Pharax. The noblest men of the Syracusians mistrusted it, and thereupon there fell out great mutiny in their Camp, whereby also followed great famine in Syracusa: fo that Dion was at fuch a straight, that he could not tell what to say to it, and was reproved of all his friends for that he had again preferred so great authority against himself, to so untractable a man, and so

malicious and wicked a person as Heraclides was. Now when Pharax lay in Camp with an Army

ral cfthe Syracufians.

Heraelides friends again.

The Castle of Syrsenfs futrendred unto

The words of Aristonische unto Dion at his entry into the Castle of married to another man.

Dions tempethriftinels.

nearunto to the City of NAPLES, in the marches of the AGRIGENTINES, Dion did bring the Army of the SYRACUSIANS into the field, being yet determined not to fight with him till another time. But through Heraclides, and the Seamens crying out, that faid, he would not try this War by Battle, but would draw it out in length, because he would be still General, he was forced to give Battle, and lost it. Howbeir, the overthrow was not great, and happened rather because his men were at a jar among themselves by reason of their faction and division, then otherwise. Dion therefore prepared to fight another Battle, and gathered his men together again, encouraging them, when even at twi-light word was brought him, that Heraclides with all his Fleet was under fail towards Syracus A, meaning to take the City, and to shut Dion and his Army out of it. Wherefore he presently took with him the chiefest men of authority in the City, and the most willingest men, and rode all night with them in such haste, that they were at the Gates of SYRACUSA the next morning by nine of the Clock, having ridden feven hundred furlongs. Heraclides that had failed with all the possible fpeed he could, to prevent him with his ships, perceiving that he came short, he turned fail, and taking Gafilas Late- Seasat all adventure, by chance he met with Gafylus LACED. EMONIAN, who told him he was fent d. monitation from Laced & Mon, to be General to the Sicilians in this War, as Gylippus was fent at other times besore. He was glad he had met with him to have such a remedy and desence against Dion, and boulted of it unto the Friends and Confederates of SYRACUSA, and fent an Herauld before unto the SYRACUSIANS, fummoning them to receive Gafylus LACED. MONIAN, who was fent to be their General. Dion made answer: That the SYRACUSIANS had Governours enough; and though that their affairs did of necessity require a LACEDEMONIAN Captain, yet that himself was he; for that he was made free in SPARTA. Then Geffins perceiving he could not obtain to be General, he went unto SYRACUSA, and came to Dign, and there made Heraclides and him friends again by the great and folemn Oaths he made: and because Gafylus also did swear, that he himself would be revenged of him for Dions fake, and punish Heraclides it ever after he did once more conspire against him. After that, the SYRACUSIANS brake up their Army by Sea, because it did them no service, and was beside chargeable keeping of it, and further did also breed sedition and trouble amongst their Governours: and so went to lay straighter siege to the Castle then ever they did; and built up the wall again, which the enemies had overthrown. Then Dionysius fon seeing no aid to come to him from any part, and that victuals failed them; and further, that the fouldiers began to mutiny being unable to keep them, he fell to a composition with Dion, and delivered up the Castle into his hands, with all the armour and munition in it: and to took his mother and his fifters of Dion, and put them aboard upon five Galleys, with the which he went unto his father, through the fafe conduct of Dion. There was not a man at that time in all Syracusa, but was there to fee this fight; or if by chance there were any absent, the other that were there, called them thither as loud as they could cry, saying: That they did not fee the goodlieft day and Sunshine, which the City of SYRACUSA might fee then at her rifing, the fame being now restored again to her former liberty. If untill this present day they do reckon the slying of Dionysius for one of the rarest examples of fortunes change, as one of the greatest and notablest things that ever was : what joy (think we) had they that drave him out, and what pleafure had they with themselves, that with the least mean that could be possible, did destroy the greatest tyranny in the world? So when Apollocrates (Dionysius son) was imbarked, and that Dion was entred into the Caftle, the women within the Castle would not tarry till he came into the house, but went to meet him at the gates; Aristomache leading Diens fon in her hand, and Arete following her weeping, but very fearfull how fhe should call and salute her husband, having lain with another man. Dion first spake to his fifter, and afterwards to his fon : and then Ariftomache offering him Arete, faid unto him : "Since thy "banilhment O Dion, we have led a miferable and captive life, but now that thou are returned home " with victory, thou hast rid us out of care and thraldom, and hast also made us again bold to liftup our "heads, faving her here, whom I (wretched creature) have by force (thy felf alive) feen married unto another man. Now then, fith fortune hath made thee Lord of us all, what judgement giveft thou " of this compulsion ? How wilt thou have her to falute thee ? asher Uncle or husband ? As Aristo-Syracuja.

Diontskethhis mache spake these words, the water stood in Dions eyes: so he gently and lovingly taking his Wise Arete by the hand, he gave her his son, and willed her to go home to his house where he then remaingain which had ed, and fo delivered the Caftle to the Syracusians. He having this profperous fuccels and victory, would not reap any present benefit or pleasure thereby, before he had shewed himself thankfull to his friends, giving great gifts also unto the Confederates of SYRACUSA, and specially before he had given every one of his friends in the City, and his mercenary fouldiers the strangers, some honourable reward according to their deferts, exceeding his ability with magnanimity of mind : when he himself lived soberly, and kept a moderate diet, contenting him with any thing that came first to hand. Every man that heard of it, wondered at him, confidering that not onely all SICILE and CAR-THAGE, but generally all GREECE looked upon his great prosperity and good fortune, thinking no man living greater then he, northat any Captain ever attained unto fuch fame and wonderfull fortune as he was come unto. This notwithst inding, Dion lived astemperately and modestly in his apparel, and also in his number of servants, and service at his board, as if he had lived with Plato in the Academy at ATHENS, and had not been conversant among fouldiers and Captains, which have no other comfort nor pleasure for all the pains and danger they suffer continually, but to eat and drink their fill, and to take their pleasure all day long. Plato wrote unto him, that all the world had him in admiration. But Dion, in my opinion, had no respect but to one place, and to one City, to wit, the Academy, and would have no other Judges nor lookers into his doings, but the scholars of the same : who

neither wondred at his great exploits, valiantness, nor victory, but onely considering if he did wisely and modeltly use the fortune he had, and could so keep himself within modelt bounds, having done fo great things. Furthermore, touching the gravity he had when he spake to any body, and his inflexible severity which he used towards the people, he determined never to alter or change it : notwithstanding that his affairs required him to shew courtesie and lenity, and that Plato also reproved him for it, and wrote, that feverity and obstinacy (as we faid before) was the companion of folitariness, But it feemeth to me that Dion did use it for two respects. The first, because nature had not framed him courteous and affable to win men: fecondly, he did what he could to draw the Syracus I and to the contrary; who were over licentious, and spoiled with too much flattery. For Heraclides began again to Heraclide combe busic with him. First of all, Dion sending for him to come to councill, he sent him word he would by there again not come: and that being a private Citizen, he would not be at the common counsell amongst others "gainst Dion." when any was kept. Afterwards he accused him, for that he had not overthrown and razed the Castle: and also because he would not suffer the people to break open the tomb of Dionysius the elder, to cast out his body : and also because he sent for Counsellors to Corinan, and distained to make the Citi- Dion sent to zenshis companions in the Government of the Commonwealth. Indeed to confess a troth, Dion had the Government zenshis companions in the Government of the Commonwealth. Juacea to conters a trout, Lion had of the first for certain Cori national, which commonwealth, which commonwealth the form of a Commonwealth, which commonwealth the form of a Commonwealth to the commonwealth that the commonwealth the commonwealth that the commonwealth th he had in his mind when they were come. For his mind was utterly to break the government of De- wealth to the mocrasia (to wit, the absolute government and authority of the people in a City, not being as it were Syracustans, a Commonwealth, but rather a Fair and Market where things are fold, as Plato faith) and to effa- Dion meant to a Commonwealth, but rather a Fair and Market where things are 1010, as Fiato balli) and to that abolish Demo-blish the LACONIAN Or CRETAN Commonwealth, mingled with a princely and popular Govern abolish Demo-cratia, and to ment: and that should be Aristocratia, to wit the number of a few noblemen that should govern and advance Aridirect the chiefest and weightiest matters of state. And for that purpose he thought the CORINTHI- stocratia. ANS the meetest men to help him to frame this Commonwealth, confidering that they governed their The authority affairs more by chufing a few number of the nobility, then otherwise, and that they did not refer ma of the people ny things to the voice of the people. And because he was affured that Heraclides would be against resembled by the initial that he could not here with the results have the feet of the people. him in it all that he could, and that otherwise he knew he was a seditious, a troublesome, and a light or market. The headed fellow : he then fuffered them to kill him, who had long before done it, if he had not kept them Commonfrom it; and so they went home to his house, and slew him there. The murther of Heraclides was wealth of the much milliked of the SYRACUSIANS, howbeit Dion cauled him to be honourably buried, and brought his hady to the ground followed with all his Army. Then have do so Owning him clift, and brought the murther of his body to the ground, followed with all his Army. Then he made an Oration himself to the people, Heracides, and told them that it was impossible to avoid sedition and trouble in the City, so long as Dion and He- Callippus, Aractides did both govern together. At that time there was one Callippus an ATHENIAN, a familiar thenian, con of Dions, who (as Plato faith) came not acquainted with Dion through the occasion of his study in spireth against Philosophy, but because he had been his guide to bring him to see the secret mysteries and ceremonies Dion. of the facrifices, and for such other like common talk and company. This notwithstanding, Callippus did accompany him in all this War, and was very much honoured of him, and was one of the first of all his friends that entred into Syracus a with him, and did valiantly behave himself in all the battles and conflicts that were fought. This Callippus seeing that Dions best and chiefest friends were slain in this War, and that Heraclides also was dead, that the people of SYRA CUSA had no more any head, and besides, that the fouldiers which were with Dion did love him better then any other man: he became the unfaithfullest man, and the veriest villain of all other, hoping that for his reward to kill his friend Dion, he should undoubtedly come to have the whole Government of Sicile ; and as some do report, for that he had taken a bribe of his Enemies of twenty talents, for his labour to commit this murther. So he began to practife, to bribe and to suborn certain of the mercenary fouldiers against Dion, Note the lub. and that by a marvellous crafty and subtle fetch. For, using commonly to report unto Dion certain fe-tilty of taleditious words spoken peradventure by the fouldiers indeed, or else devised of his own head, he wan besters, fuch a liberty and boldness by the trust Dion had in him, that he might safely say what he would to any of the fouldiers, and boldly fpeak evil of Dion by his own commandment: to the end he might thereby understand the better, whether any of his fouldiers were angry with him, or wished his death. By this policy, Callippus straight found out those that bare Dion grudge, and that were already corrupted, whom he drew to his confipracy. And if any man unwilling to give ear unto him, went and told Dion, that Callippus would have inticed him to confipre against him, Dion was not angry with him for it, thinking that he did but as he had commanded him to do. Now as this treason was practifing against Dion, there appeared a great and monftrous Ghoft or Spirit unto him. By chance fitting late one even- A spirit sping all alone in a Gallery he had, and being in a deep thought with himfelf, fuddenly he heard a noise: peareduned and therewith casting his eye to the end of his Gallery (being yet day light) he saw a monstrous great Dion. woman, like one of the furies shewed in Plays, and saw her sweeping of the house with a broom. This vision so amazed and affrighted him, that he sent for his friends, and told them what a sight he had seen: and prayed them to tarry with him all night, being as it were a man befide himself, fearing left the spirit would come to him again if they left him alone, of the which notwithstanding he never heard more afterwards. Howbeit shortly after, his son being grown to mans state, for a certain light anger he had taken when he was but a boy, he cast himself headlong down from the top of the house, and so was slain. he death of Dion being in this state, Callippus went on still with his treason, and spread a rumour abroad among the Dions son, SYRACUSIANS, that Dion feeing himself now deftitute of children, was determined to fend for Apollogance erates, Dionysius son, to make him his heir and successor, being Cousin-German to his wife, and his Dionysius. fifters daughters fon. Then began Dion his wife, and fifters to miftruft Callippus practiles, and they were told it by divers and manifest proofs. But Dion being forry (as I suppose for Heraclides death

brought to bed

The punishment of Callipрив. * Картан in corrupt speech signisieth a knifeto icrape or cut is truely called lib. 10. cap. 24. Callippus flain with the fame dagger that

rather die a thousand deaths, and to offer his throat to be cut to any that would, rather then he would live in that mifery, to be compelled to take heed as well of his friends, as of his enemies. Callippus then feeing the women to buffe and inquifitive of his doings, and fearing left he should be bewrayed, he came weeping unto them, and told them, it was nothing, and that he was ready to affure them of it by any manner of way they would devile. The women then willed him to fwear by the great Oath, which was in this manner. He that mult take this Oath, cometh into the temple of the goddeffes Thefmophore; The great onth whits manner. He that mult take this Oath, cometh into the temple of the goddeffes The smooth on the purple chapter of othe 39-scoff which are, General and Proferpina: and after certain factifices done, he putteth on the purple chapter of othe 39-scoff which are the same of the the goddels Proferpina, holding a burning torch in his hand, and sweareth in this manner. Callippus having done all thele ceremonies, and made the Oath in form as I have told you, he made folight account of the goddeffes, that he tarried no longer to do the murther he had determined, but till the very feaft day of the goddels should come, by whom he had sworn : and slew him on the day of the feaft of Proferpina. Now, 1 do not think that he chose that day of set purpose, knowing right well that he did Dion Hain by a rejection. And the second time foreer he had killed his brother, being by his means specially admitted callingua Aire always fin against her, what time foreer he had killed his brother, being by his means specially admitted to the fociety and brotherhood with him, of the fraternity and mysteries of Ceres and Proferpina. Of this confpiracy there were divers. For, as Dion was fet in his chamber talking with his friends, where there were many beds to fit on, fome compaffed the house round about, others came to the doors and windows of his Chamber; and they that should do the deed to disparch him, which were the ZACYN-THIAN fouldiers came into his chamber in their coats without any fword. But when they were come in, they that were without did flut the doors after them, and locked them in, left any man should come out, and they that were within, fell upon Dion, and thought to have ftrangled him. But when they saw they could not, they called for a fword. Never a man that was within, durst open the doors, though there were many with Dien. For they thought every man to fave their own lives, by fuffering him to be killed, and therefore durft not come to help him. So the murtherers tarried a long time within, and did nothing. At length there was one Lycon a SYRACUSIA N, that gave one of the ZACYN-THIAN fouldiers a dagger in at the window, with the which they cut Dions throat, as a weather they had holden a long time in their hands, even dead for fear. The murther being executed, they caft his fifter, and wife great with child, into prison, and there the poor Lady was pitifully brought to bed of a goodly boy: the which they rather determined to bring up, then otherwise to do any thing with the child. Their keepers that had the charge of them, were contented to let them do it, because Callippus began then a littleto grow to some trouble : for at the first, after he had slain Dion, he bare all the whole fway for a time, and kept the City of Syracusa in his hands: and wrote unto ATHENS, the which next unto the immortal gods he was most afraid of, having defiled his hands in so damablea treason. And therefore (in my opinion) it was not evil spoken, That ATHENS is a City, of all other, that bringeth forth the best, when they give themselves to goodness; and the wickedest people also, when they dispose themselves to evil: as their Countrey also bringeth forth the best Honey that is, and Hemlock in like manner that quickly dispatcheth a man of his life. Howbeir, the gods and fortune did not fuffer this treason and wicked man to reign long, having come to the government of a Realm by so damnable a murther: but shortly after they gave him his payment he had deferved. For Callispon going to take a little Town called * CATANA, he loft the City of SYRACUSA: whereupon he faid, That he had loft a City and gor a Cheele-knife. Afterwards he went to affail the MESSINIANS, and there he loft a great number of his men and amongst them were slain those that killed Dian. Now Callippus finding no City in all SICILE that would receive him, but that they all did hate and abbor him, he went to take the City of RHEGIO in ITALY. There being in great diffres and need of all things, and not able to maintain his fouldiers, he was slain by Leptines and Polyperchon, with the felf-same dagger wherewith Dion before was flain : the which was known by the fashion, being short like the LACONI-AN dagger; and also by the workmanship upon it, that was very excellently wrought. And thus was Halias Pollux, the end and death of Callippus. Now for Ariftomache and Arese, they were taken out of prilon; and Iceres SYRACUSIAN, that fometimes had been one of Dions friends, took them home to his own house, and used them very well and faithfully for a certain time, but afterwards was won and corrupted by Dions enemies. So he caused a ship to be provided for them, and bare them in hand that he would fend them into PELOPONNESUS: but he gave them charge that carried them away, to kill them as they went, and to throw them over-board into the Sea. Some fay that the two women, and the little young the Syreculars boy, were cast alive into the Sea. But this reward of the finfull act that he committed, returned again upon himself, as it had done beforeunto others, For he was taken by Timoleon that put him to death: and belides, the SYRACUSIANS did also kill two of his daughters in revenge of the unfaithfulnels he his posterity.

Here endeth the Life of Dion.

THE LIFE OF MARCUS BRUTUS.



Ann. Mund. 390I.

Ant . Christ



Arcus Brutus came of that Junius Brutus, for whom the ancient ROMANS The parentage made his statue of Brass to be set up in the Capitol, with the images of the Kings, of Bruss. holding a naked fword in his hand : because he had valiantly put down the Tar-QUINES from the Kingdom of ROME. But that Junius Brutus being of a fowre ftern nature, not foftned by reason, being like unto sword blades of too hard a temper, was fo subject to his choller and malice he bare unto the Tyrants, that for their fakes he caused his own Sons to be executed But this Marcus Brutus in contrary manner, whose life we prefently write, having framed his manners Brutus man

of life by the rules of vertue, and fludy of Philosophy, and having employed his wir, which was gen- ners. tle and constant, in attempting of great things, methinks he was rightly made and framed unto vertue. So that his very Enemies which wish him most hurt, because of his Conspiracy against Julius Cefar, if there were any noble attempt done in all this Conspiracy, they refer it wholly unto Brutus, and all the cruel and violent acts unto Cassiu, who was Brutus familiar friend, but not so well given, and conditioned as he. His mother Servilia, it is thought, came of the blood of Servilius Hala; who when Sparius Melius went about to make himself King, and to bring it to pass had entited the common peoBrutus mother
ple to rebell, took a dagger, and hid it close under his arm, and went into the Market-place. When he was comethither, he made as though he had fomewhat to fay unto him, and preffed as near him as he could : wherefore Melius stooping down with his head, to hear what he would fay, Servilius stabbed bim in with his dagger and flew him. Thus much all writers agree for his mother. Now touching his father, some for the evil will and malice they bare unto Brutus, because of the death of Julius Casar, do maintain, that he came not of Junius Brutus that drave out the TARQUINES: for there were none left of his race, confidering that his two Sons were executed for Conspiracy with the TARQUINES, and that Marcus Brutus came of a mean house, the which was raised to honour and office in the Commonwealth but of late time. Posidonius the Philosopher writeth the contrary, that Junius Brutus indeed flew two of his Sons which were men grown, as the Histories do declare; howbeit that there was a third Son, being but a little child at that time, from whom the House and Family afterwards was derived: and furthermore, that there were in his time certain famous men of that family, whose stature and countenance resembled much the image of Junius Brutus. And thus much for this matter.

Marcus Cato the Philosopher was brother unto Servilia, Marcus Bruins mother : whom Bruins Servilia, Castudied most to follow of all the other ROMANS, because he was his Uncle, and afterwards he to's lister.

Empylus an O.

married his daughter. Now touching the GRECIAN Philosophers, there was no feet nor Philoso-Branu hudiet, pher of them, but he heard and liked it: but above all the reft he loved Plato's feet best, and did not much give himfelf to the new or mean Academy. (as they call it) but altogether to the old Acade-Bratus follow- my. Therefore he didever greatly eftern the Philosopher Antiochus, of the City of Ascalon: many other Philosophers, but for wisdom and courtesie, equal with the best and chiefest. Touching Emplus whom M. Braus himself doth mention in his Epistles, and his friends also in many places, the was an Orator, and left an excellent book he wrote of the death of Julius Cefar, and intituled rator, wrote a new was an analyst and book of Gafar's it, Bratus. He was properly learned in the Latine tongue, and was able to make long discourse in book of Calars at the fide that he could also plead very well in Latine. But for the Greek tongue, they do note in some death, and intititled it Brautt. of his Epiftles, that he counterfeited that brief compendious manner of speech of the LA CED.EMONI-ANS. As when the War was begun, he wrote unto the PERGAMENIANS in this fort: I under-A NS. As when the Wal was begun, he was done it willingly, you confess you have offend-frand you have given Dolabella money: if you have done it willingly, you confess you have offend-Epittles in Greek.

A build letter SA MIANS: Your countels be long, your doings be flow, confider the end. And in another Epittle to the Samians. he wrote unto the PATAREIANS: the XANTHIANS despiting my good will, have made their Countrey a grave of despair, and the PATARETANS that put themselves into my protection, have for no jot of their liberty: and therefore whileft you have liberty, either chuse the judgement of the PATAREIANS, or the fortune of the XANTHIANS. These were Bruiss manner of letters, which Bratus follow. were honoded for their briefnels. So Bratus being but a young stripling, went into Cyprus with his Uncle Cato, who was fent against Ptolomy King of EGYPT; who having slain himself, Cato staying for certain necessary business he had in the life of Rhodes, had already fent * Caninius, one of his friends before to keep his treasure and goods. But Caro searing he would be light-fingered wrote unto Brutus forthwith to come out of PAMPHILIA (where he was but newly recovered of a fickness) into Cyprus; the which he did. The which journey he was forry to take upon him, both for respect of Caninins shame, whom Caso (as he thought) wrongfully slandered : as also because he thought this office too mean and unmeet for him, being a young man, and given to his book. This mought an source too mean and maneet for min, occur a young man, and given one book. This notwithflanding, he behaved himfelf to honeftly and carefully, that Cato did greatly commend him: and after all the goods were fold and converted into ready money, he took the most part of it, and returned withall to ROME. Afterwards, when the Empire of ROME was divided into factions, and that Cafar and Pompey both were in Arms one against the other, and that all the Empire of ROME was in garboil and uproar: it was thought then that Brunni would take part with Cafar, because Pompey not long before had put his father to death. But Britis preferring the respect of his Courtrey and Commonwealth before private affection, and perswading himself that Pompey had justice. Bratustreth cause to enter into Arms, then Cesar, he then took part with Pompey; though oftentimes meetpart with Pom- ing him before, he thought foorn to speak to him, thinking it a great sin and offence in him, to fpeak to the murtherer of his father. But then fubmitting himself unto Pompey, as unto the head of the Commonwealth, he failed into SICILE: Lieutenant under Sefisse that was Governor of that Province. But when he faw that there was no way to rile, nor to do any noble exploits, and that Cefar and Pompey were both camped together, and fought for Victory: he went of himfelf unfent for, into MACEDON: to be partaker of the danger. It is reported, that Pompey being glad, and wondering at his coming, when he saw him come to him, he rose out of his chair, and went and embraced him before them all, and used him as honourably, as he could have done the noblest man that took his Britan studied part. Britan being in Pompey's Camp, did nothing but study all day long, except he were with Pompey, and not onely the days before, but the felf fame day also before the great battle was fought in the fields of PHARSALIA, where Pompey was overcome. It was in the middeft of Summer, and the Sun was very hot; befides that, the Camp was lodged near unto Marihes, and they that carried his Tent, tarried long before they came: whereupon being very weary with travel, fcane any meat came into his mouth ardinner time. Furthermore, when others flept, or thought what would happen the morrow after, he fell to his-book, and wrote all day long till night, writing a breviary of Polybim. It is reported that Cefur did not forget him, and that he gave his Caprains grand Care charge before the battle, that they should beware they killed not Brutus in fight; and if he yielded willingly unto them, that then they should bring him unto him: but if he resisted, and would not be taken, then that they should let him go, and do him no hurt. Some say he did this for Sorvilia's fake, Brutus mother. For when he was a young man, he had been acquainted with Servilia, lored Scrulia who was extreamly in love with him. And because Brutus was born in that time when their love Bruiss mother, was hotest, he perswaded himself that he begat him. For proof hereof the report goeth, that when the weightiest matters were in hand in the Senate, about the conspiracy of Catiline, which was likely to have undone the City of Rome, Cefar and Cato fate near together, and were both of contrary minds to each other and then, that in the mean time one delivered Cefar a letter. Cefar took it, and read it fofily to himfelf: but Cato cryed out upon Cefar, and faid he did not well to receive advertifements from enemies : whereupon the whole Senate began to murmur at it. Then Cefor gave Cato the letter as it was fent him, who read it, and found that it was a love letter that from his fifter Servilia: thereupon he caft it again to Cefor, and faid unto him; Hold, drunken sop. When he had done so, he went on with his tale, and maintained his opinion as he did before: fo commonly was the love of Servilia known, which she bare unto Cefar. So, after Pompey's overthrow at the battle of PHARSALIA, and that he fled to the fea,

when Cafar came to beliege his Camp, Brutiss went out of the Camp Gates unfeen of any man, and leapt into a Marsh full of Water and Reeds. Then when night was come, he crept out, and Braus laved went unto the City of LARISSA: from whence he wrote unto Cafar, who wasvery glad that he by Falius Cahad feared, and fent for him to come unto him. When Bratas was come, he did not onely par. [47, after the don him, but also kept him always about him, and did as much honour and efteem him, as any falia. man he had in his company. Now, no man could tell whither Pompey was fled, and all were marvellous desirous to know it: Wherefore Casar walking a good way alone with Brutus, he did ask him which way he thought Pompey took. (ejar perceiving by his talk that Bruins gueffed certainly whither Pompey thould be fled, he left all other ways, and took his journey directly towards AGYPT. Pompey (as Brutus had conjectured) was indeed fled into AGYPT, but there wards AGYPT. Pompey (28 Brutus usu conjectures) was marca and among Cassius and defend-he was villainoully slain. Furthermore, Brutus obtained pardon of Cassar for Cassius and defend-he was villainoully slain. Furthermore, Brutus obtained pardon of cassar for Cassius and defending allo the King * of Lybians cause, he was overlaid with a world of accusations against him .* This King howbeit, intreating for him, he faved him the best part of his Realm and Kingdom. They say beitit is true also, that Casar said, when he heard Brutus plead: I know not (said he) what this young man also, that Bruwould, but what he would, he willeth it vehemently. For as Brutus gravity and constant mind tus made interwould not grant all men their requests that fued unto him, but being moved with reason and discre-cession for Deition, did always encline to that which was good and honeft: even fo when it was moved to follow others: King of any matter, he used a kind of forcible and vehement perswasion, that calmed not till he had ob-was deprived tained his desire. For by flattering of him, a man could never obtain any thing at his hands, nor notwithstandmake him to do that which was unjust. Further, he thought it not meet for a man of calling and estima- ing of the most tion, to yield unto the requests and entreaties of a shameless and importunate futer, requesting part of his things unmeet; the which notwithstanding some men do for shame, because they dare deny no- Cossur, and thing, and therefore he was wont to fay, That he thought them evil brought up in their youth that could deny nothing. Now when Cafar took Sea to go into Africa against Cato and place were best that could deny nothing. Now when Lefar 1000 304 to go into account the Alpes, which was to be under-Scipio, he left Bruus Governour of Gall in ITALY on this fide of the Alpes, which was to be undera great good hap for that Province. For where others were spoiled and polled by the infolenture. cy and covetousness of the Governours, as if it had been a Countrey conquered, Brutus was a Casar made comfort and rest unto their former troubles and miseries they sustained. But he referred it wholly Brutus Goverup and down ITALY, the things that pleased him best to see, were the Cities under Bruss on this side the mountains. charge and Government, and Bruens himself who honoured Cafar in person, and whose company also Casar greatly esteemed. Now there were divers forts of Pratorships in ROME, and it Cassing contend was looked for, that Brutus or Cassius would make fuit for the chiefest Prætorship, which they for the Prætorcalled, The Prætorship of the City: because he that had that Office, was as a Judge to minister ship of the Ci-Justice unto the Citizens. Therefore they strove one against another, though some say, that 'y' Cassumarried there was some little grudge betwirk them for other matters before, and that this contention did Junia, Bratus fet them further out, though they were allied together: for Cassius had married Junia, Brutus sifter. Sifter. Others fay, that this contention betwirt them came by Cafar himself, who secretly gave either of them both hope of his favour. So their fuit for the Pratorship was so followed and laboured of either party, that one of them put another into fuit of Law. Brutus with his vertue and good name contended against many noble exploits in arms, which Cassim had done against the PARTHIANS. So Casar after he had heard both their objections, told his friends, with whom he consulted about this matter : Cassius cause is the juster (faid he) but Brutus must be first preferred. Thus Brutus had the first Prætorship, and Cassius the second : who thanked not Casar so much for The first cause the Pratorihip he had, as he was angry with him for that he had loft. But Brates in many other of coffice at things rafted of the benefit of Coffee's favour in any thing he requested. For if he had lifted, he live against might have been one of Casar's chiefest friends, and of greatest authority and credit about him. Casar. Howbeit, Cassius friends did disswade him from it (for Cassius and he were not yet reconciled together fithence their first contention and strife for the Pratorship) and prayed him to beware of Cafar's fweet enticements, and to fly his tyrannical favours: the which they faid Cafar gave him. not to honour his vertue, but to weaken his conftant mind, framing it to the bent of his bow. Now Cafar on the other fide did not trust him overmuch, nor was without tales brought unto him against him : howbeit he feared his great mind, authority and friends. Yet on the other fide also, he trufted his good nature, and fair conditions. For , intelligence being brought him one day , Cofur suspectthat Antonius and Dolabella did conspire against him : he answered, That these fat long haired ed Brusse men made him not afraid, but the lean and whitely faced fellows, meaning that by Brutus and Cassius. At another time also when one accused Brutus unto him: and bad him beware of him: What (faid he again, clapping his hands on his breast) think ye that Brutus will not tarry till this body die? meaning that none but Brutus after him was meet to have fuch power as he had. And furely (in my opinion) I am perswaded, that Brutus might indeed have come to have been the chiefest man of ROME, if he could have contented himself for a time to have been next unto Cefar, and to have suffered his glory and authority, which he had gotten by his great victories, to consume with time. But Cassius being a cholerick man, and hating Cassar privately, more then he did the tyranny openly, he incended Brusus against him. It is also reported, that fold Brusus against Bruens could evil away with the tyranny, and that Caffins hated the tyrant; making many comfeth Bruens a plaints for the injuries he had done him: and amongst others, for that he had taken away his Lions from him. Cassius had provided them for his sports, when he should be Ædilis, and they were

was incenfed against C.efar.

found in the City of MEGARA, when it was won by Calenus, and Cafar kept them. The ru-C. The Lions mor went, that thefe Lions did marvellous great hurt to the MEGARIANS : for when the City was taken, they brake their cages where they were tied up, and turned them loofe, thinking they would have done great milchief to the enemies, and have kept them from fetting upon them: but the Lions (contrary to expectation) turned upon themselves that fled unarmed, and did so cruelly tear some in pieces, that it pitied their enemies to see them. And this was the cause (as some do report) that made Cassius conspire against Casar. But this holdeth no water: For Cassius even from his cradle could not abide any manner of Tyrants, as it appeared when he was but a boy, and went unto the same School that Faustus the son of Sylla did. And Faustus bragging among other boys, highly boafted of his fathers Kingdom: Caffin rofe up on his feet, and gave him two good wirts on the ear. Fauftus Governours would have put this matter in fuit against Caffius: but Pompey would not fuffer them, but cataled the two boys to be brought before him, and asked them, how the matter came to pals. Then Cassim (as it is written of him) said unto the other: Go too Faustu, fpeak again and thou dareft, before this Nobleman here, the same words that made me angry with thee, that my fifts may walk once again about thine ears. Such was Caffine hot fitring nature. But for Brutus, his friends and Countreymen, both by divers procurements, and fundry rumors of the City, and by many bills also, did openly call and procure him to do that he did. For under the image of his Ancelor Junius Brutus (that drave the Kings out of ROME) they wrote: O, that it pleafed the gods thou wert now alive, Brutus ! and again, That thou wert here among us now! His tribunal or chair, where he gave audience during the time he was Prator, was full of fuch bills: Brutus thou art afleep, and art not Brutus indeed. And of all this, Cefar's flatterers were the caule: who besides many other exceeding and unspeakable honours they daily devised for him, in the night time they pur Diadems upon the heads of his images, supposing thereby to allure the common people to call him King, inftead of Dictator. Howbeit it turned to the contrary (as we have written more at large in Julius Cofar's life. Now when Caffins felt his friends, and did fite them up against Cafar; they all agreed, and promifed to take part with him, so Brutus were the chief of their conspiracy. For they told him, that so high an enterprise and attempt as that, did not fo much require men of manhood and courage to draw their fwords, as it stood them upon to have a man of such estimation as Bruins, to make every man boldly think, that by his onely prefence the fact wereholy and just. If he took not this course, then that they should go to it with fainter hearts; and when they had done it, they should be more fearfull because every man would think that Bruus would not have refuled to have made one with them, if the cause had been Cassian prayers good and honest. Therefore Cassias considering this matter with himself, did first of all speak Laplus prayers to Brutus, fince they grew strange together for the suit they had for the Pratorship. So when he was reconciled to him again, and that they had embraced one another, Cassins asked him if he were determined to be in the Senate house the first day of the month of March, because heheard fay that Cefar's friends should move the Council that day, that Cefar should be called King by the Senate. Brutus answered him, he would not be there. But if we be fent for (faid Caffies) how then? For my felf then (faid Brutus) I mean not to hold my peace, but to withfrand it, and rather die then lose my liberty. Cassius being bold, and taking hold of this word: Why quoth he) what ROMAN is he alive that will fuffer thee to die for thy liberty? What? knowest thou not that thou art Brutus? Thinkest thou that they be Coblers, Tapsters, or such like base mechanic nicall people, that write these bills and scroles which are found daily in thy Przetors Chair, and not the noblest men and best Citizens that do it? No be thou well assured, that of other Prztors they look for gifts, common distributions among the people, and for common Plays, and to see the Fencers fight at the sharp, to shew the people passime: but at thy hands, they specially re-Quire (as a due debt unto them) the taking away of the tyranny, being fully bent to fuffer any extremity for thy fake, to that thou wilt them thy felf to be the man thou art taken for, and that they hope thou art. Thereupon he kilfed Brutus, and embraced him: and fo each taking leave of other, they went both to speak with their friends about it. Now amongst Pompey's friends, there was one called * Caim Ligarius, who had been accused unto Casar for taking part with Pompes, and Casar discharged him. But Ligarius thanked not Casar for much for his discharge, as he was offended with him, for that he was brought in danger by his tyrannicall power. And therefore in his heart he was alway his mortall enemy, and was befides very familiar with Braum, who went Bruzu maketh to fee him being fick in his bed, and faid unto him: Ligarius in what a time art thou fick? Ligarius Brutts maketh rifing up in his bed, and raking him by the right hand, faid unto him: Brutts (faid he) if thou the conspiracy. haft any great enterprise in hand worthy of thy self, I am whole. After that time they began to feel all their acquaintance whom they trufted, and laid their heads together confulting upon it, and did not onely pick out their friends, but all those also whom they thought from enough to attempt any desperate matter, and that were not afraid to lose their lives. For this cause they durit They do hide not acquaint Ciero with their conspiracy, although he was a man whom they loved dearly, and the configured in acquaint Constant with comparacy, annough its was a man whom any age also having encreased seasons Color trusted best: for they were asked that he being a coward by nature, and age also having encreased seasons Color. his fear, he would quite turn and alter all their purpofe, and quench the heat of their enterprife, the which specially required hot and earnest execution, seeking by perswasion to bringall things to fuch fafety, as there thould be no perill. Brutus also did let other of his friends alone, as Statilius Epicurean, and Faonius, that made profession to follow Marcus Cato: because that having cast out words afar off, disputing together in Philosophy to feel their minds, Faonius answered, That civill War was worse then tyrannicall Government usurped against the Law. And Statilius told him alfo, That it were an unwife part for him to put his life in danger, for a fort of ignorant Civill War fools and affes. Labeo was prefent at this talk, and maintained the contrary against them both, worse then ty-But Bruts held his peace, as though it had been a doubtfull matter, and a hard thing to have been rannicall decided. But afterwards, being out of their company, he made Labeo privy to his intent; who very readily offered himself to make one. And they thought good also to bring in another Brutus to joyn with him, firnamed Albinns: who was no man of his hands himself, but because he was able to bring good force of a great number of flaves, and Fencers at the Sharp, whom he kept to shew the People pattime with their fighting besides also that Cafar had some trust in him. Cashus and Labeo, told Brutus Albinus of it at the first, but he made them no answer. But when he had spoken with Brutus himself alone, and that Brutus had told him that he was the chief Ring-leader of all this conspiracy, then he willingly promised him the best aid he tould. Furthermore, the onely Name and great Calling of Brutus, did bring on the most of them to give consent to this confoiracy: who having never taken Oaths together, nor taken nor given any caution or affurance, The wonder nor binding themselves one to another by any religious Oaths, they all kept the matter so secret full faith and to themselves, and could so cunningly handle it, that notwithstanding, the gods did reveal it by secretie of the manifest figns and tokens from above, and by Predictions of Sacrifices, yet all this would not Conspirators be beleeved. Now Brutus, who knew very well, that for his fake all the nobleft, valianteft, and of Casth. most couragious men of Rome did venture their lives, weighing with himself the greatness of the danger: when he was out of his house, he did so frame and tashion his countenance and lookes that no man could discern he had any thing to trouble his mind. But when night came that he was in his own house, then he was clean changed : for, either care did wake him against his will when he would have flept, or else oftentimes of himself he fell into such deep thoughts of this enterprise. cafting in his mind all the dangers that might happen: that his Wife lying by him, found that there was some marvellous great matter that troubled his mind, not being wont to be in that taking, and that he could not well determine with himself. His Wife Porcia (as we have told you before) was the Daughter of Cato, whom Brutus married being his coufin, not a Maiden, but a Porcis, Cato's young Widow after the death of her first Husband Bibulm , by whom she had also a young Son Daughter, young vision and also young son beginning by which had also young son beginning and called Bibulus, who afterwards wrote a Book of the acts and gets of Brutus, extant at this Wife unto Brutus. Perfent day. This young Lady being excellently well feen in Philosophy, loving her Husband well, Bibulus Book and being of a noble courage, as the was also wife: because the would not ask her Husband of Brutus Aftr. what he ayled before she had made some proof by her self: she took a little Razor, such as Porcia studieth Barbers occupy to pare mens nails, and caufing her Maids and Women to go out of her in Philosophy. Chamber gave her felf a great gash withall in her thigh, that she was straight all of a gore of Porcia, Channer gave let tell a great a whement Feaver took her, by reason of the pain of her wound. Then perceiving her Husband was marvellously out of quiet, and that he could take no rest, even in her greatest pain of all, she spake in this fort unto him: " I being, O Brutus, Great differett, even in her greater pain and in the street of the st e evill Fortune. Now for thy felf, I can find no cause or fault in thee touching our match : but Porcia's words for my part, how may I shew my duty towards thee, and how much I would do for thy sake, if I unto her Hus-"cannot constantly bear a secret mischance or grief with thee, which requireth secretie and fide-band Brutus. "lity? I confess, that a Womans wit commonly is too weak to keep a secret safely: but yet (Brutsu) good education, and the company of vertuous men, have fome power to reform "the defect of nature. And for my felf, I have this benefit moreover, that I am the Daughter of "Cato, and Wife of Brutus. This notwithstanding, I did not trust to any of these things before, "untill that now I have found by experience, that no pain or grief whatfoever can overcome me. With those words she shewed him her wound on her thigh, and told him what she had done to prove her felf. Bratse was amazed to hear what she said unto him, and lifting up his hands to Heaven, he befought the goddesses to give him the grace he might bring his enterprise to so good pass, that he might be found a Husband, worthy of so noble a Wife as Porcia: so he then did comfort her the best he could. Now, a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at what time they hoped Cafar would not fail to come, the Conspiratours determined then to put their enterprise in execution, because they might meet fafely at that time without suspicion; and the rather, for that all the noble and chiefest men of the City would be there: who when shey should see such a great matter executed, would every man set to their hands, for the desence of their liberty. Furthermore, they thought also that the appointment of the place where the Councill should be kept, was chosen of purpose by divine Providence, and made all for them. For it was one of the Porches about the Theater, in the which there was a certain place full of Seats for mento fit in, where also was set up the Image of Pompey, which the City had made and confecrated in honour of him, when he did beautifie that part of the City with the Theater he built, with divers Porches about it. In this place was the affembly of the Senate appointed to be, just on the fifteenth day of the Moneth March, which the Ro-

MANS call, Idm Martias: so that it seemed some god of purpose had brought Cafar thinher

to be slain, for revenge of Pompey's death. So when the day was come, Bratus went out of his

house with a Dagger by his fide under his long Gown, that no body saw nor knew, but his

Wife onely. The other Confgiratours were all affembled at Caffins house, to bring his Son into

straight by the hand he held his Dagger in , and cried out in Latine : O Traytor Calca , what doeft

The wonderfull constancy of the Conkilling of Ca-

Sundry miftortunes to have broken prife.

her former

Brutus with his countenance encouraged his fear-full Conforts.

* In Cafars galk without. * in Cæfsrs Cimber. of Cafar.

Life he is cal-Ied Metellus The murther Cafea the first that wounded

the Market-place, who on that day did put on the mans Gown, called Toga Virilis; and from thence they came all in a Troop together unto Pompey, Porch, looking that Cefar would ftraight come thither. But here is to be noted, the wonderfull affured conftancy of these Conspiratours, in fodangerous and weighty an enterprife as they had undertaken. For many of them being Prators, by reason of their Office, whose duty is to minister justice to every body; did not onely with great quietness and courtesse hear them that spake unto them, or that pleaded matters before them, and gave them attentive ear, as if they had no other matter in their heads : but moreover, they gave just fentence, and carefully dispatched the Causes before them. So there was one among them, who being condemned in a certain sum of Money, resused to pay it, and cried out, that he did appeal unto Cafar. Then Brutus casting his eyes upon the Conspiratours. faid : Cefar shall not lett me to see the Law executed. Notwithstanding this, by chance there iell out many misfortunes unto them, which was enough to have marred the enterprife. The first and thiefest, was Cefers long tarrying, who came very late to the Senate: for, because the figns of the Sacrifices appeared unlucky, his Wife Calparnia kept him at home, and the Soothfayers bade him beware he went not abroad. The fecond cause was, when one came unto Calca being a Conspiratour, and taking him by the hand, said unto him: O Casca, thou keepest it close from me, but Brutes hath told me all. Cases being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, and faid: Why, how now, how cometh it to pair thou art thus rich, that thou doeft fue to be Ædilis? Thus Casca being deceived by the others doubtfull words, he told them it was a thousand to one, he blabbed not out all the conspiracy. Another Senatour called Popilius Lena, after he had faluted Brutus and Cassius more friendly then he was wont to do , he rounded fosily in their ears, and told them: I pray the goddels you may go through with that you have taken in hard , but withall , dispatch I read you , for your enterprise is bewrayed. When he had faid, he prefently departed from them, and left them both afraid that their confpiracy would out. Now in the mean time, there came one of Brutus men post haste unto him, and told him his Wife was a dying. For Porcia being very carefull and pensive for that which was to come, and being too weak to away with so great and inward grief of mind, she could hardly keep within, but was frighted with every little noise and cry the heard, as those that are taken and possest with the fury of the BACCHANTES; asking every man that came from the Market-place, what Britis did, and ftill fent Meffenger after Meffenger, to know what news. At length Calars coming being prolonged (as you have heard ,) Porcia's weaknels was not able to hold out of Parcia, not any longer, and thereupon she suddenly swounded, that she had no leasure to go to her Chamber, but was taken in the middeft of her house, where her speech and senses failed her. Howbeit she soon came to her self again, and so was laid in her bed, and attended by her Women. When Brutus heard these news , it grieved him , as it is to be supposed : yet he lest not off the care of his Countrey and Common wealth, neither went home to his houle for any news he heard. Now, it was reported that Cefar was coming in his Litter : for he determined not to flay in the Senate all that day (because he was afraid of the unlucky figns of the sacrifces) but to adjourn matters of importance unto the next Session and Councill holden, sayning himself notto be well at ease. When Casar came out of his Litter, Popilius Lona (that had talked before with Brutus and Cassius, and had prayed the godders they might bring this enterprise to pass) went unto Cafar , and kept him a long time with a talk. Cafar gave good ear unto him, wherefore the Conspiratours (if so they should be called) not hearing what he said to Cessar, but conjecturing by that he had told them a little before, that his talk was none other but the very difcovery of their conspiracy, they were afraid every man of them; and one looking in anothers face, it was easie to see that they all were of a mind, that it was no tarrying for them till they were apprehended, but rather that they should kill themselves with their own hands. And when Cassius and certain other clapped their hands on their Swords under their Gowns to draw them; Brutus marking the countenance and gesture of Lana, and considering that he did use himself rather like an humble an earnest suiter, then like and accuser: he said nothing to his Companion (because there were many amongst them that were not of the conspiracy,) but with a pleasant countenance encouraged Cassius. And immediately after, Lana went from Cefar, and kiffed his hand which thewed plainly that it was for some matter concerning himself, that he had held him so long in talk. Now all the Senarours being entred first into this place or Chapter-house, where the Councill should be kept, all the other Conspiratours ftraight ftood about Cafars Chair, as if they had had fomething to fay unto him. And fome fay, Braus Albinus that Cassius casting his eyes upon Pompeys Image, made his prayer unto it, as if it had been alive. that kept An * Trebonius on the other fide , drew Antonius afide , as he came into the house where the Senate fate, and held him with a long talk without. When Cofar was come into the houle, all the Senate role to honour him at his coming in. So when he was fet, the Conspiratours flocked about him, and amongst them they presented one * Tullius Cimber, who made humble sur for the calling home again of his Brother that was banished. They all made as though they were interceffours for him, and took Cafar by the hands, and kiffed his head and breaft. Cafar at the first, simply refused their kindness and intreaties : but afterwards , perceving they still preffed on him, he violently thrust them from him. Then Cimber with both his hands plucked Co-Jars Gown over his shoulders, and Casca that stood behind him, drew his Dagger first and strake Cefar upon the shoulder, but gave him no great wound. Cefar feeling himlest hurt, took him

thou? Casca on the other fide cried in Greek, and called his Brother to help him. So divers running on a heap together to flie upon Cafar, he looking about him to have fled, faw Brutus with a Sword drawn in his hands ready to ftrike at him : then he let Casca's hand go , and casting his Gown over his face, fuffered every man to strike at him that would. Then the Confoiratours thronging one upon another, because every man was desirous to have a cut at him; so many Swords and Daggers lighting upon one body, one of them hurt another, and among them Brueus caught a blow on his hand, because he would make one in murthering of him, and all the rest also were every man of them bloudied. Cafar being flain in this manner, Brutus standing in the middest of the house, would have spoken, and stated the other Senatours that were not of the conspiracy. to have told them the reason why they had done this fact. But they as men both afraid and amazed, fled one upon anothers neck in hast to get out at the door, and no man followed them. For it was fet down, and agreed between them, that they should kill no man but Cafar onely. and should intreat all the rest to look to defend their liberty. All the Conspiratours, but Brutus, determining upon this matter, thought it good also to kill Antonius, because he was a wicked man, and that in nature favoured tyranny: besides also, for that he was in great estimation with Souldiers, having been conversant of long time amongst them; and especially having a mind bent to great enterprises, he was also of great authority at that time, being Consull with Why Antonias Casar. But Brutus would not agree to it. First, for that he said it was not honest: secondly, be-was not slain cause he told them there was hope of change in him. For he did not mistrust, but that Antonius with Cafar, being a noble-minded and couragious man (when he should know that (afar was dead) would willingly help his Countrey to recover her liberty, having them an example unto him, to follow their courage and Vertue. So Brutus by this means faved Antonius life, who at that prefent time difguifed himself, and stole away: but Brutus and his Conforts, having their Swords bloudy in their Brutus with hands, went straight to the Capitoll, perswading the ROMANS as they went, to take their liberty his Conforts again. Now, at the first time when the murther was newly done there were suddain outcries of wentunto the People that ran up and down the City, the which indeed did the more increase the fear and tu-Capitoll. mult. But when they faw they flew no man, neither did spoil nor make havock of any thing , then certain of the Senatours; and many of the People emboldening themselves, went to the Capitoli unto them. There a great number of men being affembled together one after another , Brutus made an Oration unto them to win the favour of the People, and to justify that they had done. All those that were by , faid they had done well , and cried unto them , that they should boldly come down from the Capitoll: whereupon Brutus and his Companions came boldly down into the Market place. The reft followed in Troop, but Brutus went foremost, very honourably compaf-fed in round about with the noblest men of the City, which brought him from the Capitoll, through the Market-place, to the Pulpit for Orations. When the People faw him in the Pulpit, although they were a multitude of rake-hels of all forts, and had a good will to make fome ftir : yet being afhamed to do it, for the reverence they bare unto Bruens, they kept filence to hear what he would fay: when Brutus began to speak, they gave him quiet audience: Howbeit immediatly after, they shewed that they were not all contented with the murther. For when another called Cinna would have spoken, and began to accuse Casar, they fell into a great uprore among them, and marvellously reviled him. Infomuch that the Conspiratours returned again into the Capitoll. There Bruens being afraid to be besieged, fent back again the Noblemen that came thither with him thinking it no reason, that they which were no partakers of the murther, should be partakers of the danger. Then the next morning the Senate being affembled, and holden within the Temple of the goddels Tellus, to wit, the Earth: and Antonius, Plancus, and Cicero, having made a motion to the Senate in that Affembly, that they should take an order to pardon and forget all that was past, and to establish friendship and peace again: it was decreed, that they should not onely be pardoned, but also that the Confuls should refer it to the Senate what honours should be appointed unto them. This being agreed upon, the Senate brake up, and Antonius the Confull, Honours deto put them in heart that were in the Capitoll, fent them his Son for a pledge. Upon this creed for the affurance; Brutus and his Companions came down from the Capitoll, where every man faluted and Murtherers of embraced each other, among the which, Amonius himself did bid Cassius to Supper to him: and Casar. Lepidatatio bade Brutur, and so one bade another, as they had friendship and acquaintance together. The next day following, the Senate being called again to counfell, did first of all commend Antanins, for that he had wifely stayed and quenched the beginning of a civil War: then they also gave Brutus and his Conforts great praises; and lastly they appointed them severall governidence of Provinces. For unto Brutus they appointed CRETA; AFRICK unto Cassis; Casas Will. As IA unto Trebonine BITHYNIA unto Comber; and unto the other Decine Brutus Albinus and Funerals, GABLE on this fide of the Alpes. When this was done, they came to talk of Calars Will and Testament and of his Funerals and Tomb. Then Antonins thinking good his Testament should be read openly, and also that his body should be honourably buried, and not in hugger mugger, left the

People might thereby, take occasion to be worse offended if they did, otherwise : Cassius stoutly spake

against it. But Bratus went with the motion, and agreed unto it : wherein it seemeth he com-

mitted a fecond fault. For the first fault he did, was when he would not confent to his fellow

Conspiratours, that Antohins should be slain: and therefore he was justly accused, that thereby

Brutus committed two great fault : death.

for Cafar.

The strange Cinna the

The murther of Cinns the Poer,being mistaken for another of that Name Brutus and hi Conforts do Hie from Rome.

Brutus Plays Rome in his absence.

Rome.

Brutus reproved Cicero, for taking part with Offavius

he had faved and strengthened a strong and grievous Enemy of their conspiracy. The second fault was, when he agreed that Cafars Funerals should be as Antonins would have them, the which indeed marred all. For first of all, when Cefar's Testament was openly read among them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed unto every Citizen of Roms, feventy five Drachma's a man; and that he left his Gardens and Arbors unto the People, which he had on this fide of the River Tyber, in the place where now the Temple of Fortune is built : the people then loved him, and were marvellous forry for him. Afterwards, when Cafars body was brought into the Market place, Antonins making his Funerall Oration in praife of the dead, according to the ancient Custom of ROME, nerall Cration and perceiving that his words moved the common People to compatition, he framed his Eloquence to make their hearts yearn the more; and taking Cafars Gown all bloudy in his hand, he layed it open to the fight of them all , shewing what a number of cuts and holesit had upon it. Therewithall the Peoplefell prefently into fuch a rage and mutiny, that there was no more order kept amongst the common People. For fome of them cried our , Kill the Murtherers : others plucked up Forms, Tables , and Stalls about the Market place , as they had done before at the Funerals of Clodius ; and having laid them all on a heap together, they fer them on fire, and thereupon did put the Body of Cefar, and burnt it in the middeft of the most holy places. And Furthermore, when the fire was throughly kindled, fome here, fome there, took burning Fire-brands, and ran with them to the Murtherers houses that killed him, to set them on fire. Howbeit, the Confpiratours foreseeing the danger, before had wifely provided for themselves, and sled. But there was a Poet called Cinna, who had been no partaker of the conspiracy, but was alway one of Cafar; chiefest friends : he dreamed the night before, that Cefar bad him to supper with him, and that he refusing to go, Cefar was very importunate with him, and compelled him, so that at length he led him by the hand into a great dark place, where being marvelloufly afraid, he was driven to follow him in spice of his heart. This dream put him all night into a Feaver, and yet notwithstanding, the next morning when he heard that they carried Cafars body to buriall, being ashamed not to accompany his funerals, he went out of his house, and thrust himself into the preass of the common Peoplethat werein a great uproar. And becaule some one called him by his Name, Cinna: the People thinking he had been that Cinna, who in an Oration he made, had spoken very ill of Casar, they falling upon him in their rage, flew him outright in the Market-place. This made Brutum and his Companions more afraid then any other thing next unto the change of Antonius. Wherefore is they got them out of ROME, and kept at the first in the City of ANTIUM, hoping to return again to ROME, when the fury of the People was a little affwaged. The which they hoped would be quickly, confidering that they had to deal with a fickle and unconstant multitude, easie to be carried, and that the Senare stood for them : who notwithstanding made no enquiry for them that had torn poor Cinna the Poet in pieces, but caused them to be lought for and apprehended that went with Fire-brands to fet fire on the Conspiratours houses. The People growing weary now of Assessias pride and infolency, who ruled all things in a manner with absolute power, they defired that Bruns might return again; and it was also looked for, that Bruns would come himself in Person to play the Plays which were due to the People, by reason of his Office of Prætorship. But Bratan understanding that many of Cesars souldiers which served under him in the Wars, and that also had Lands and houses given them in the Cities where they, lay, did lie in wait for him to kill him, and that they daily by fmall Companies came by one and by one into RONE, be durft no more return thinter : but yet the People had the pleafure and pastime in his absence, to see the Games and Sports he made them , which were sumptuously set forth and fornished with all things necessary, sparing for no cost. For he had brought a great number of ftrange Beafts, of the which he would not give one of them to any friend he had, but that they should all be employed in his Games; and went himself as far as BY ZANTIUM, to speak to forme Players of Comedies and Musicians that were there. And further he wrote unto his friends for one Canntists an excellent Player, that whatfoever they did, they should intreathin to play these Plays. For (faid he) it is no reason to compell any GRECIAN, unles he will come of his own good will. Moreover, he wrote also unto Cicero, and earneftly prayed him in a ny case to be at these Plays. Now the state of ROMs standing in these terms, there fell our smother Official Control of the control of t Juliu Cafars Necce, whom he had adopted for his Son, and made his Heir, by his laft Will and Testament, But when Julius Ce/ar his adopted Father was stain, he was in the City of Apollonia (where he studied) tarrying for him, because he was determined to make War with the PARTHI-ANS : but when he heard the news of his death, he returned again to ROME, where to begin to curry favour with the common People, he first of all took upon him his adopted Fathers Name, and made diffribution among them of the Money which his Father had bequeathed unto them. By this means he troubled Ansonine forely, and by force of Money, got a great number of his Fathers Souldiers together, that had ferved in the War with him. And Giver himself, for the great malice be bare Antonius, did favour his Proceedings : but Bratas marvelloufly reproved him for it, and wrote unto him, that he feemed by his doings not to be forry to have a Marter, but onely to be afraid to have been than should have him: and that all his doings in the Common wealth did wimels, that he chole to be subject to a mild and bourstous bondage, sith by his words and Writings he did commend this young man Officerin Cofee, to the a good and gentle Lord. For our

Predeceffours (faith he) would never abide to be subject to any Masters, how gentle or mild soever they were : and for his own pare, that he had never refolutely determined with himself to make War, or Peace: but otherwise, that he was certainly minded never to be slave nor subject. And therefore he wondered much at him , how Cicero could be afraid of the danger of the civill Wars, and would not be afraid of a shamefull Peace : and that to thrust Antonine out of the usurped tyranny, in recompence he went about to stablish young Ottavius Cafar Tyrant. These were the Contents of Bruttu first Letters he wrote unto Cicero. Now the City of ROME being divided into two Factions. fome taking part with Antonius, other also leaning unto Ollavius Cafar, and the souldiers making port-fale of their Service to him that would give most : Bruth seeing the state of Rome would be utterly overthrown, he determined to go out of ITALY, and went on foot through the Countrey of LUKE, unto the City of ELEA, standing by the Sea. There Porcia being ready to depart Porcia's for. from her Husband Brutus, and to return to Rome, did what the could to diffemble the grief and rowful return from her Husband Brutus, and to return to NOME, and what the cound to dimembre the grief and to Remefor the forrow the felt at her heart: but a certain painted Table bewrayed her in the end, although until ablence of her that time she shewed always a constant and patient mind. The device of the Table was taken out Husband Brisof the Greek Stories, how Andromache accompanied her Husband Hellor, when he went out 180. of the City of TROY to go to the Wars, and how Heller delivered her his little Son, and how The Story of her eyes were never off him. Porcia feeing this Picture, and likening her felf to be in the fame Heffor and Ancase the fell a weeping : and coming thither oftentimes in a day to see it, she wept still. Acident forth in paintone of Brutus friends perceiving that, rehearled the Verses Andromache speaketh to this purpose ed Tables. in Homer:

Thou Hector art my Father, and my Mother, and my Brother, And Husbandeke and all in all : I mind not any other.

Then Brutus smiling, answered again: But yet (faid he) I cannot for my part say unto Porcias as Hellon answered Andromache in the same place of the Poet :

> Tush, meddlethou with duly weighing out Thy Maids their task, and pricking on a clout.

For indeed the weak constitution of her Body, doth not suffer her to perform in shew, the valiant Acts that we are able to do: but for courage and constant mind, she shewed her self as stout in the defence of her Countrey, as any of us. Bibulus the Son of Porcia, reporteth this Story thus, Now Brutus embarking at ELEA in Luke, he failed directly toward ATHENS. When he arrived there the People of ATHENS received him with common joys of rejoycing, and honourable decrees made for him. He lay with a friend of his, with whom he went daily to hear the Lectures, of Then ifficeles the Academick Philosopher, and of Crasippus the Peripatetick, and fo would talk with them in Philosophy, that it feemed he left all other matters, and gave himself onely to study : howbeit, fecretly notwithstanding, he made preparation for War. For he sent Herofrans into MACE. How British belowed his pow, to win the Captains and Souldiers that were upon those marches, and he did also entertain all times the sent the s DON, 10 Will the Capacitis and Condense and Shortly after, he began to enter openly into arms: and being advertised that there came out of Asia mendeth a certain Fleet of ROMAN Ships that had good store of Money in them, and that the Captain of Citere's Son. those Ships (who was an honest man, and his familiar friend') came towards ATHENS: he went to meet him as far as the Isle of CARYSTOS, and having spoken with him there, he handled him so, that he was contented to leave his ships in his hands: whereupon he made him a notable banquet at his house, because it was on his Birth-day. When the Feast-day came, and that they began to drink luftily one to another, the Guests drank to the Victory of Brutus, and the liberty of the Ro-MANS. Brutus therefore to encourage them further, called for a bigger Cup, and holding it in his hand, before he drank spake this aloud :

> My destiny and Phoebus are agreed, To bring me to my finall end with freed.

And for proof hereof, it is reported, that the fame day he fought his last Battell by the City of PHILIPPES, as he came out of his Tent, he gave them for the word and fignall of Battell, Prabus so that it was thought ever fince, that this his suddain crying out at the Feast, was a Prognostication of his misfortune that should happen. After this, Antistius gave him of the Money, he carried into IT A LIE, fifty Myriades. Furthermore, all Pompeys Souldiers that straggled up and down THESSALY, came with very good will unto him. He took from Cinna also, five hundred Horsemen, which he carried into Asia, unto Dolabella. After that, he went by Sea, unto the City of DEMETRIADE, and there took a great deal of Armour and Munition which was going to And tonius: and the which had been made and forged there by Julius Cafars commandment, for the Wars against the PARTHIANS. Furthermore, Horsensus Governour of MACEDON, did resign the Government thereof unto him. Besides, all the Princes, Kings, and Noble-men thereabouts, came and joyned with him , when it was told him, and that Caise (Antonius Brother) coming out of ITALY, had paffed the Sea, and came with great speed towards the City of DYRRACHIUM, and APOLLONIA, to get the Souldiers into his hand, which Gabinim had there. Brut in therefore to

feale taketh men that are wearied with wavell.

clemency.

Antonius.

The Triumvi-

prevent him, went prefently with a few of his men, in the middeft of Winter, when it did fnow prevent unit, went pretently with a real foul Countreys, and made such speed indeed, that he hard, and took his way through hard and foul Countreys, and made such speed indeed, that he A strangedi was there long before Antonian sumptiers, that carried the Victuals. So that when he came near feat took Bins to Dyrrac Hilling, a diffeat took him, which the Physicians call Beautie, to fay, A cormorant and unfatiable appetite to cat: by reason of the cold and pains he had taken. This sickness raching.

Why by Snow chanceth often, both to men and beafts, that travell when it hath snown: either because the natu-Why by Snow mancent onen, outst to men and want of the Body, by the coldness of the Ayr hard-this hungry di- rall heat being retired into the inward parts of the Body, by the coldness of the Ayr hardning the Skin, doth straight digest and consume the Meat : or else because a sharp subtill ming the order, and areas to show when it is molten, doth pierce into the Body, and driveth out the natural heat which was cast outward. For it seemeth, that the heat being quenched out the natural near winner with the cold, which it meeters with the cold, which it meeters with all coming out of the Skin of the Body, caufeth the sweats whit me coid, which is interest we have spoken at large in other places. Bruins being very that follow the Difease. But hereof we have spoken at large in other places. that follow the Discare. But including to eat; his Souldiers were compelled to go to their England, and having nothing in his Camp to eat; his Souldiers were compelled to go to their England, mies; and coming to the Gates of the City, they prayed the Warders to help them to Bread mies; and coming to the Gates of the Chy, they brought him both meat and drink: in requitall whereof, afterwards, when he wan the City, he did not onely intreat and use the Citizens thereof courteoully, but all the Inhabitants of the City also for their sakes. Now when Cains Antonius was arrived in the City of APOLLONIA, he fent unto the Souldiers thereabours to come unto him. But when he understood that they went all to Brutus: and furthermore, that the Citizens of Apol-LONIA did favour himmuch: he then forfook that City, and went unto the City of BUTHRO-Tus; but yet he loft three of his Entigns by the way, that were flain every man of them. Then he fought by force to win certain places of strength about BYLLIS, and to drive Bratus men from thence, that had taken it before: and therefore to obtain his purpole, he fought a Battell with Cierro, the Son of Marcus Tullius Cierro, by whom he was overcome. For Brutus made the younger Cicero a Caprain, and did many notable exploits by his fervice. Shortly after having flolen upon Caius Antenius in certain Marithes far from the place from whence he fled, he would not fet on him with fusy but onely rode round about him, commanding his fouldiers to spare him and hismen, as reckoning them all his own without stroke striking; and so indeed it happened: for they yeelded themselves and their Captain Antonius, unto Brutus; so that Brutus had now a great Army about him. Now Brutus kept this Cains Antonius long time in his Office, and never rook from him the marks and figns of his Confulship, although many of his friends, and Cicero among others, wrote unto him to put him to death. But when he faw Antonius feeretly practifed with his Captains to make some alteration, then he sent him into a Ship, and made him to be kept there. When the Souldiers whom Cains Antonins had corrupted, were gotten into the City of A-POLLONIA, and fent from thence unto Brueus to come unto them, he made them answer, That it was not the manner of ROMAN Captains to come to the Souldiers, but the Souldiers to come to the Captain, and to crave pardon for their offences committed. Thereupon they came to him, and he pardoned them. So Bruins preparing to go into Asia, news came unto him of the great change at ROME: for Off-voins Cefar was in arms, by commandment and authority from the Senate, against Marcus Amonius. But after that he had driven Antonius out of ITALY, the Senate began then to be afraid of him, because he sued to be Consull, which was contrary to the Law; and kept a great Army about him when the Empire of Rome had no need of them. On the other Offering Cafer fide, Offering Cafer perceiving the Senate stayed not there, but turned to Britis that was on of ITALY, and that they appointed him the Government of certain Provinces: then he began to be afraid for his part, and fent unto Antonins to offer him his friendship. Then coming on with his Army near to ROME, he made himself to be chosen Consull, whether the Senare would or not, when Bruur accused he was yet but a stripling or springall of twenty years old, as himself reporteth in his own Comand condemnentaries. So when he was Confull, he prefently appointed Judges to accuse Brutus and his Companions, for killing of the nobleft person in Rome, and chiefest Magistrate, without Law or Judgement: and made L. Cornificus; accule Brutus, and M. Agrippa, Caffins. So the parties means, for the death of Julius accused were condemned, because the Judges were compelled to give such sentence. The voice went, that when the Herauld (according to the Custom after fentence given) went up to the Chair or Pulpir for Orations, and proclaimed Brista with a loud voice, fummoning him to appear in perfon before the Judges, the People that flood by fighed openly, and the Noblementhan were prefent hung down their heads, and durst not speak a word. Among them the tears fell from Publint Silicent Eyes: who shortly after, was one of the Proscripts or Outlaws appointed to be ilain. After that, there three Offavins Cefar. Antonini and Lepidas made an agreement between themselves, and by those Articles divided the Provinces belonging to the Empire of Rosse among themselves, and did set up Bills of Proscription and Outlawry, condemning two hundred of the noblest men of ROME to suffer death, and amongst that number, Cicero was one. News being brought thereof into Macedon, Brutus being then inforced to do it, wrote unto Horsenfins that he should put Cairs Antonius to death, to be revenged of the death of Gierre, and of the other Brusus, of the which the one was his friend, and the other a Kinsman. For this cause therefore Antonine afterwards taking Hoetensine at the Battell of PHILTPPES, he made him to be flain upon his Brothers Tomb. But when Bratus faid, that he was more afhamed of the cause for the which Cicero was flain, then he was otherwife forry for his death; and that he could not but greatly reprove his friends he had at ROME, who were Slaves more through their own fault, then through

their valiantness or man-hood which usurped the tyranny : considering that they were so cowardly and faint-hearted, as to fuffer the fight of those things before their eyes, the report whereof should onely have grieved them to the heart. Now when Brutus had passed over his Army (that was very great) into Asia, he gave order for the gathering of a great number of Ships together, as well in the Coast of BITHYNIA, as also in the City of CYZICUM, because he would have an Army by Sea; and himself in the mean time went unto the Cities, taking order for all things, and giving audience to Princes and Noblemen of the Countrey that had to do with him. Afterwards he sent unto Cassius in Syria, to turn, him from his Journey into ÆGYPT, telling him that it was not for the Conquest of any Kingdom for themselves, that they wandered up and down in that fort, but contrarily, that it was to restore their Countrey again to her liberty : and that the multitude of Souldiers they gathered together, was to fubdue the Tyrants that would keep them in flavery and fubjection. Wherefore regarding their chief purpole and intent, they should not be far from ITALY, as near as they could possible, but should rather make all the haste they could, Brutus and to keep their Countreymen. Cassius beleeved him, and returned. Brutus went to meet him, Cassius do joyn and they both met at the City of SMYRNA, which was the first time that they faw together Armies fince they took leave each of other, at the Haven of PIREA in ATHENS, the one going into Syria, and the other into Macedon. So they were marvellous joyfull, and no less couragious, when they faw the great Armies together which they had both leavied : confidering that they departed out of ITALY like naked and poor banished men, without armour and money, nor having any Ship ready, nor Souldier about them, nor any one Town at their commandment; yet notwithstanding, in a short time after they were now met together having Ships, Money, and Souldiers enough, both Footmen and Horsemen, to fight for the Empire of ROME. Now Callins would have done Brutus much honour, as Brutus did unto him : But Brutus most commonly prevented him, and went first unto him, both because he was the elder man, as also for that he was fickly of Body. And men reputed him commonly to be very skillfull in Wars, but otherwise marvellous cholerick and cruell, who fought to rule men by fear, rather then with lenity : and on the The than other fide he was too familiar with his friends, and would jest too broadly with them. But Brutus in and cruell concontrary manner, for his Vertue and Valiantness, was well-beloved of the People and his own, ditions of efteemed of Noblemen, and hated of no man, not so much as of his Enemies; because he was a Brutus centle marvellous lowly and gentle person, Noble-minded, and would never be in any rage, nor carried and fair conaway with pleasure and coverousness, but had ever an upright mind with him, and would never ditions. yeeld to any wrong or injustice; the which was the chiefest cause of his fame, of his rifing, and of the good will that every man bare him : for they were all perswaded that his intent was good. For Brutus intent they did not certainly believe, that if Pompey himself had overcome Cafar, he would have refigned good if he had overcome. his authority to the law, but rather they were of opinion, that he would ftill keep the foveraignty and absolute Government in his hands, taking onely, to please the People, the Title of Consull, or Dictator, or of some other more civil Office. And as for Cassium, a hot, cholerick, and cruell man, that would oftentimes be carried away from justice for gain, it was certainly thought that he made War, and put himself into fundry dangers, more to have absolute power and authority. then to defend the liberty of his Countrey. For, they that will also consider others, that were elder men then they, as Cinna, Marinne, and Carbo, it is out of doubt that the end and hope of their Victory, was to be the Lords of their Countrey, and in manner they did all confels, that they fought for the tyranny, and to be Lords of the Empire of ROME. And in contrary manner, his Enemies themselves did never reprove Brutm for any such change or desire. For, it was said that An-Antonius testitenies foake it openly divers times, that he thought, that of all them that had flain Casar, there mony o was none but Brutus onely that was moved to do it, as thinking the act commendable of it felf : Brutus. but that all the other Conspiratours did conspire his death for some private malice or envy, that they otherwise did bear, unto him. Hereby it appeareth, that Brutsu did not trust so much to the power of his Army, as he did to his own Vertue, as it is to be feen by his Writings. For approaching near to the instant danger he wrote unto Pomponine Atticus, that his affairs had the best hap that could be. For , faid he , either I will fet my Countrey at liberty by Battell , or by honourable death Bratus noble ridine of this bondage. And furthermore, that they being certain and affured of all things elfe, Country, this one thing onely was doubtfull to them : whether they should live or die with liberty. He wrote also that Antenius had hisdue payment for his folly. For where he might have been a partner equalby of the glory of Brutus, Cassium, and Cato, and have made one with them, he liked better to chule to be joyned with Octavine Cafar : with whom , though now he be not overcome by us, yet shall he shortly after also have War with him. And truly he proved a true Prophet, for so Bentus a true came it indeed to pass. Now whilest Brutm and Cassim were together in the City of SMYRNA, Prophet of Brutus prayed Caffius, to let him have some part of his Money, whereof he had great store; be- Antonius. cause all that he could rap and rend of his side he bestowed it in making so great a number of Ships, that by means of them they should keep all the Sea at their commandment Cassius friends hindred this request, and earnestly dissipaded him from it : perswading him, that it was no reason Bruens should have the Money which Cassin hath gotten together by sparing, and leavied with great evill will of the People their subjects, for him to bestow liberally upon his Souldiers, and by this means to win their good wils, by Cassius charge. This notwithstanding, Cassius gave him the third part of this totall fum. So Caffins and Brutus then departing from each other, Caffins Caffins Wanthe took the City of RHODES, where he too dishonestly and cruelly used himself: although when City of Rhodes,

The second secon

he came into the City, he answered some of the Inhabitants who called him. Lord and King, that

he was neither Lord nor King, but he onely that had flain him, that would have been Lord and

King. Brutus departing from thence, fent unto the Lycians to require Money, and men of

War. But there was a certain Orator called Naucrates, that made the Cities to rebell against

him, informuch that the Countreymen of that Countrey kept the Straights and little Mountains,

thinking by that means to stop Brussu passage. Wherefore Brussu sent his Horsemen against them,

who ftole upon them as they were at dinner, and flew fix hundred of them; and taking all the small

Towns and Villages, he did let all the Prifoners he took, go without payment of Ranfom, hoping

by this his great courtefie to win them, to draw all the rest of the Countrey unto him. But they were

to fierce and obffinate, that they would mutiny for every fmall hurt they received as he passed by

their Countrey, and despite his courtesse and good nature : untill that at length he went to beliege

Brutus gelts in Lycia.

Xanshians.

the City of the XANTHIANS, within the which were shut up the cruellest and most warlikemen of Lycia. There was a River that ran by the Wals of the City, in the which many men faved themselves, swimming between two Waters, and sled : howbeit they laid nets overthwart the River, and tied little Bels on the top of them, to found when any man was taken in the nets. The XAN-THIANS made a falley out by night, and came to fire certain Engins of the battery that beat down their Wals: but they were presently driven in again by the ROMANS, so so so steey were discovered. The wind by chance was marvellous big, and increased the slame so fore, that it vio-lently carried it into the craneys of the Wall of the City, that the next houses unto them were ftraight fet on fire thereby. Wherefore Brut w being afraid that all the City would take on fire, he presently commanded his men to quench the fire, and to save the Town if it might be. But the LYCIANS at that instant fell into such a frenzy, and strange and horrible despair, that no man can well express it: and a man cannot more rightly compare or liken it, then to frantick and most desparate desire to die. For all of them together, with their Wives and Children, Masters and Servants, and of all forts of age whatforver, fought upon the Rampiers of their Wals and did caft down Stones and Fire-works on the ROMANS, which were very busie in quenching the stame of the fire, to fave the City. And in contrary manner also, they brought Faggots, dry wood, and Reeds, to bring the Fire further into the City as much as might be, increasing it by fuch things as they brought. Now when the Fire had gotten into all parts of the City, and that the flame burnt bright in every place : Brans being forry to fee it , got upon his Horle, and rod round about the Wals of the City, to fee if it were possible for to save it, and held up his hands to the Inhabitants, praying them to pardon their City, and to fave themselves. Howbeit they would not be periwaded, but did all that they could possible to cast themselves away, not onely men and Women, but also little Children. For some of them weeping and crying out, did cast themselves into the Fire solbers headlong throwing themselves down from the Wals, brake their necks: others also made their backs bare, to the naked Swords of their Fathers, and undid their cloaths, praying them to kill them with their ownhands. After the City was burnt, they found a Woman hanged up by the neck, holding one of her Children in her hand dead by her, hanged up also : and in the other hand a burning Torch fetting fire on her house. Some would have had Brutm to have seen her, but he would not fee so horrible and tragicall a fight: but when he heard it, he fell a weeping, and caused an Herauld to make proclamation by found of Trumper, that he would give a certain fum of Money to every Soulder that could fave a XANTHIAN. So there were not (as it is reported) above fifty of them faved, and yet they were faved against their wils. Thus the XANTHIANS having ended the revolution of their fatall destiny after a long continuance of time, they did through their desperation, renew the memory of the lamentable calamities of their Anceftors, who in like manner, in the Wars of the Persians, did burn their City, and defroyed themselves. Therefore Bratan likewise besigning the City of the Patar Relans, perceiving that they stoutly resisted him, he was also The Patarciairaid of that, and could not well tell whether he should give affault to it, or not, leaft they would fall into the despair and desperation of the XANTHIANS. Howbeit having taken certain of their Women Prifoners , he fent them back again , without payment of Ransome. Now they that were the Wives and Daughters of the nobleft men of the City, reporting unto their Parents, that they had found Bratus a mercifull, just, and courteous man, they perfwaded them to yeeld themselves and their City umo him; the which they did. So after they had thus yeelded themselves, divers other Cities also followed them, and did the like: and found Brutus more mercifull and courteous, then they thought they should have done, but specially far above Cassius. For Cassius, about the felf fame time, after he had compelled the RHODIANS every man to deliver all the ready Money they had in Gold and Silver in their Houses, the which being brought together, amounted to the sum of eight thousand Talents: yet he condemned the City besides, to pay the sum of five hundred Talents more. Where Brutus in contrary manner, after he had leavied of all the Countrey of Lycia but an hundred and fifty Talents onely, he departed thence into the Countrey of IONIA, and did them no more hurt. Now Brutus in all this journey, did many notable acts mency unto the and worthy of memory, both for rewarding, and also in punishing those that had deferred it: wherefore among therest, I will tell you of one thing, of the which he himfelf, and all the Noblemen

of the ROMANS were marvellous glad When Pompey the Great (having loft the Battell a-

gainst Julius Cefar , in the Fields of PHAR SALIA) came and fell upon the Coast of EGYPT,

hard by the City of PELUSIUM, those that were Protectours to the young King Ptolomy being then but a Child, fate in Councill with his Servants and Friends, what they should determine in that

The extream covetoulnels and cruelty of Caffius to the Rhodians.

cale. They were not all of one mind in this confultation : for some thought it good to receive Pimery: others also, that they should drive him out of EGYPT. But there was a certain Rhetoriciancalled Theodorus, that was born in the Ille of CHIO, who was the Kings School-mafter to Theodorus born ancalled Theodorias, that was out in the first of the Council for lack of fufficient men, faid, That both in Chin, a Rhe-teach him Rhetorick. He being called to the Council for lack of fufficient men, faid, That both in Chin, a Rhe-torician, the one and the other fide went awry, as well those that were of opinion to receive Pompey, as the School mafter other that would have had him driven away : and that the best way was (considering the present to Protony the time) that they should lay hold on him, and kill him, adding withall this sentence, That a dead young King of time) that they should say note on must, and an interpretable that they should say note on man biteth not. The whole Council stuck to this opinion. So, for a notable example of in February Bushes the Great was sain, by the motion say. man orient not. The whole credible misfortune, and unlooked for unto Pompey, Pompey the Great was flain, by the motion ing: A dead ing: A dead and counfell of this wicked Rhetorician Theod tus, as Theoretus afterwards did himfelf boaft of it. man bireth But when Puling Cufur came afterwards into AGYPT, the wicked men that conferred to this coun- not. fell , had their payment according to their deferts : for they died every man of them a wicked death faving this Theodo us, whom fortune respited a little while longer, and yet in that time he lived a Theodotus Chitaving time 1 treas is, where tarrying long in any one place. So Bruss going up and down as, the Rheto-poor and miterable life, never tarrying long in any one place. So Bruss going up and down as, the Rheto-ritantage of the property of the state of t red pains of death: fo that he wan more fame by his death, then ever he did in Lislife. About to kill Pomer, that time, Bentus fent to pray Cuffins to come to the City of Sandrs, and fo he did. Brutus was put to understanding of his coming, went to meet him with all his friends. There both their Armies be- death by understanding of this coming, were to these min grant affairs brates, ing armed, they called them both Emperours. Now as it commonly happeneth in great affairs Brates and the many Common of the comm henween two persons, both of them having many friends, and so many Captains under them, Cassius of meet there ran tales and complaints betwirt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with any o- at the City of ther matter, they went into a little Chamber together, and bade every man avoid, and did shut Sardis. the doors to them. Then they began to pour our their complaints one to the other, and grew Brutus and the doors to them. Then tirry began to pour our tire to companing one to the other, and grew Caffur com-bot and loud, earnestly accusing one another, and at length fell both a weeping. Their friends that plaints one unwere without the Chamber, hearing them loud within, and angry between themselves, they were to the other. both amazed and alraid alfo, left it would grow to further matter : but yet they were commanded, M. Phaonius a that no man should come to them. Notwithstanding one Marcus Phaonius, that had been a friend follower of and follower of Cato while he lived, and took upon him to counterfeit a Philosopher, not with Cato. wildom and discretion, but with a certain bedlam and frantick motion: he would needs come into the Chamber . though the men offered to keep him out. But it was no boot to lett Phaonius when a mad mood or toy took him in the head : for he was a hot hafty man, and fuddain in all his doings, and cared for never a Senatour of them all. Now, though he used this bold manner of Cynick Phiner doing, and care to receive the Cynick Philosophers (as who would fay, Dogs) yet his bold-loophers (nels did no hurt many times, because they did but laugh at him to see him so mad. This Phasemist counted Dogs. at that time, in despite of the Door-keepers, came into the Chamber, and with a certain scoffing and mocking gefture, which he counterfeited of purpole, he rehearled the Verfes which old 2Veffer faith

My Lords, I pray you hearken both to me,

in Homer :

For I have fees use fears then fuchie three.

Cassing fell a laughing at him : but Branas shrult him out of the Chamber , and called him Dog. and counterfeit Cynick. Howbeit his coming in brake their strife at that time, and so they less each other. The felt Tame night Caffine prepared his supper in his Chamber, and Bratus brought his friends with him. So when they were fet at supper, Phaonine came to sir down after he had washed. Bratastold him aloud, to man feat for him, and bade them fet him at the upper end; menting indeed at the lower end of the bed. Phanning made no ceremony, but thruft in amongst the middeft of them, and made all the company laugh at him. So they were merry all Suppertime, and full of their Philosophy! The next day after, Brutus upon complaint of the SARDI-Airs, did condemn and note Lucius Pella for a defamed Person, that had been a Pratter of the Romann, and whost Brates had given charge unto: for that he was accused and convicted of robbery, and pillery in his Office. This judgement much millaked Cassius, because he himfelf had fecretly (not many days before) warned two of his friends, amainted and convicted of the like offences, and openly had cleared them; but yet he did not therefore leave to employ them in any manner of service as he did before. And therefore he greatly reproved Brutus, for that he would show himself so straight and severe, in such a time as was meeter to bear a little, then to take things at the worst. Beiters in contrary manner answered, that he should remember the ties of March; at which time shey flew Jakine Cefer, who neither pilled nor polled the fain at the Country, but onely, was a favourer and suborner of all them that did rob and spoil, by his cont. It's of March. centante and Authority. And if there were any occasion whereby they might honestly fet aside justice and equity, they should have had more reason to have suffered Cafars friends to have The wonderrobbed and done what wrong and injury they would , then to bear with their own men, full conflancy For their faid the, they could but have faid they had been cowards, but now they may accide of Brune, in the following motters of this fifting the faides the pains worake, and the danger we pur our felves into. And thus may metters of the fail for the we fet what Breite intent and pilrpofe was. But as they both prepared to pass over again out equity. of Asia into Eukopa, there went a rumour that there appeared a wonderfull fign unto him. Brunte care Britens was a carefull man; and flept very little, both for that his Diet was moderate, as also be- and watching. criffe he was continually occupied. He never slept in the day time, and in the night no longer

A wonderfull fign by two

then the time he was driven to be alone, and when every body elfe took their reft. But now whileft he was in War, and his head over-bufily occupied to think of his affairs, and what would happen, after he had flumbered a little after supper, he spent all the rest of the night in dispatching of his weightieft Caufes; and after he had taken order for them, if he had any leafure left him, he would read fome Book till the third Watch of the night, at what time the Captains, petty Captains and Colonels, didule to come to him. So, being ready to go into Euro PE, one night very late (when all the Camp took quiet reft) as he was in his Tent with a little light, thinking of weighty matters, he thought he heard one come in to him, and casting his eye towards the door of his Tent, that he law a wonderfull strange and monstrous shape of a body coming towards him, and said never aword. So Brutus boldly asked what he was, a God or a man, and what cause brought him thinker. The Spirit answered him, I am thy evill Spirit, Bruins: and thou shalt see me by the City of Phi-LIPPES. Brutus being no otherwife afraid, replied again unto it: Well, then I shall see thee again. The Spirit prelently vanished away : and Bratus called his men unto him, who told him that they heard no notic, nor faw any thing at all. Thereupon Bratus returned again to think on his matters as he did before: and when the day brake, he went unto Caffins, to tell him what Vision City of Sardar, and manters as neural periode; and water through prace, newerthanto Cappus, to ten unit writer vision had appeared based him in the night. Cappus being in opinion an Epicurian, and reasoning the Vision, thus, In our feet, Brutus, we have an of Satisfies there exercise with Brutus, for the continue the Vision, thus, In our feet, Brutus, we have an of Satisfies the exercise with Brutus for the continue that the continue the Vision of the Cappus and the continue that the continue of Spirits after opinion, that we do not always feel, or fee, that which we suppose we do both see and feel, but the Epicarian that our fenses being credulous and therefore easily abused (when they are idle and unoccupied in section). their own objects) are induced to imagine they see and conjecture that, which in truth they do not: For, our mind is quick and cuinning to work (without either cause or matter) any thing in the imagination whatforeer. And therefore the imagination is refembled to clay, and the mind to the Potter: who without any other cause then his sancy and pleasure, changeth it into what fashion and formhe will. And this doth the divertity of our Dreams shew unto us. For our imagination doth upon a fmall fancy grow from conceit to conceit, altering both in passions and forms of things imagined. For the mind of man is ever occupied, and that continual moving is nothing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cause of this in you, For you being by nature given to melancholick discoursing, and of late continually occupied, your wits and senies having been over-labouted, doeafilier yeeld to fuch imaginations. For, to Jay that there are Spirits or Angels, and if there were, that they had the shape of men, or such voices, or any power at all to come unto us, it is a mockery. And for mine own part, I would there were fuch, because that we should not onely have Souldiers, Horses and Ships, but also the aid of the gods, to guide and further our honest and have Souldiers, Horses and Ships, but also the aid of the gods, to guide and further our honest and honest the stream. honourable attempts. With these words Cassim did somewhat comfort and quiet Bratm. When they raifed their Camp, there came two Eagles that flying with a marvellous force, lighted upon usey rance their camp, there came two Eagles that mying with a marvenus force, nighted upon gwo of the faremost: Enfigne, and always followed the Souldiers, which gave them Meat, and fixed them, sebillithey came near to the City of PHILLPPES; and there one, day onely before the Battell, they both flew away. Now Brutu had conquered the most part of all the People and National Company of the Company of the People and National Company tions of that Countrey: but if there were any other City or Captain to overcome, then they made all clear before them, and fo drew towards the Coaffs of Thanssos. There Norbanus lying in Camp in a certain place called the straights, by another place called CYMBOLON (which is a port in the Sea.) Caffin and Brum compatied him in fuch fort., that he was driven to for fake the place which was of great strength for him, and he was also in danger beside to have lost all his Army. For, Official Cafar could not follow him because of his sickness, and therefore stayed behind : whereupon they had taken his Army, had not Assessing aid been, which made fuch wonderfull speed, that Brutu could feant beleeve it. So Cafar came not thither of ten, days after and Antonius camped Caffur Camps against Caffur, and Brut m on the other fide against Cafar. The ROMANS called the Valley between before the Ci- both Camps, the PHILIPPIAN Fields: and there were never feen two fo great Armies of the ry of Philipes, ROMANS, one before the other, ready to fight. In truth, Brusus Army was inferiour to Offavisgiant Offavisg For the most part of their Armsturs were Sulver, and gilt , which Brans had bountfully given them: Braus Souldi-although in all other things be taught his Captains to live in order without excels. But for the ers bravely st bravery of armour and Weapon, which Souldiers should, carry in their hands, or otherwise wear med. med.

Bruns opinion upon their backs, he thought that it was an encouragement unto them that by nature are greedy of arusar opunion from an and that it maketh them also fight like Devils that love to get, and to be afraid to lose; be or the oravery morning, and that march them armour and Weapon, as also their Goods and Lands. Now when they of Soulders, cause they fight to keep their armour and Weapon, as also their Goods and Lands. Now when they came to muster, their Armies, Ottavim Colar took the muster, of his Army within the Trenches of his Camp, and gave his men onely a little Com, and five filter, Drachma's to every man to factifice in their Atto the gods; and to pray for Victory. But Bruss scorning his safery and nigardlines, first of all mour and . Weapons. mustred his Army, and did purify it in the Fields, according to the manner of the ROMANS; and then he gave into every Band a number of Weathers to facrifice, and fifty filver Drachma's to every Souldier. So that Brutm and Caffins Souldiers, mere bener pleafed, and more couragiously bear to fight at the day of Battell, then their Enemies Souldiers were. Notwithflanding, being builty occu-Unlucky figns pied about the Geremonies of this purification, it is reported that there chanced certain unlucky figns unto Caffin. For one of his Sergeants that carried the Rods before him, brought him the Garland of Flosters turned backward, the which he should have worn on his head in the time of sa crificing. Moreover it is reported also, that another time before, in certain Sports and Triumph

where they carried an Image of Cassius V. Ctory, of clean Gold, it fell by chance, the man stumbling that carried it. And yet further there was feen a marvellous number of Fowls of prey, that feed upon dead Carcaffes: and Bee-hives also were found where Bees were gathered together in a certain place within the Trenches of the Camp : the which place the Soothfayers thought good to thut out of the Precinct of the Camp, for to take away the superfittious fear and mistrust men would have of it. The which began somewhat to alter Cassim mind from Epicurus opinions, and Cassius and had put the Souldiers also in a marvellous fear. Thereupon Caffin was of opinion not to try this Britis opini-War at one Battell, but rather to delay time, and to draw it out in length, confidering that they battell were the fironger in Money, and the weaker in men and Armour. But Bruttes in contrary manner, did alway before, and at that time also, defire nothing more, then to put all to the hazard of Battell as foon as might be possible: to the end he might either quickly restore his Countrey to her former liberty, or rid him forthwith of this milerable world, being still troubled in following and maintaining of fuch great Armies together. But perceiving that in the daily Skirmifhes and bickerings they made. his men were always the stronger and ever had the better, that yet quickned his spirits again, and did put him in better heart. And furthermore, because that some of their own men had already yeelded themselves to their Enemies, and that it was suspected moreover divers others would do the like, that made many of Cassius friends which were of his mind before (when it came to be debated in Councill, whether the Battell should be fought or not) that they were then of Brutus mind. But yet was there one of Bruess friends called Atellius, that was against it, and was of opini- Atellius opinion that they should tarry to the next Winter. Brutus asked him what he should get by tarrying a year on for the Butlonger? If I get nothing elfe, quoth Atellim again, yet have I lived fo much longer. Caffin was tell. very angry with this answer; and Atellius was maliced and esteemed the worse for it of all men. Thereupon it was presently determined they should fight Battell the next day. So Bruttus all Supper time looked with a cheerfull countenance, like a man that had good hope, and talked very wifely of Philosophy, and after Supper went to bed. But touching Cassius, Messala reporteth that he supped by himself in his Tent with a few of his friends, and that all supper-time he looked very sadly, and was full of thoughts, although it was against his nature : and that after supper he took him by the hand, and holding him fast (in token of kindness, as his manner was) told him in Greek: Mssalat, I cassius words protest unto thee, and make thee my Witness, that I am compelled against my mind and will (as unto Messalat). Pomper the Great was) to jeopard the liberty of our Countrey to the hazard of a Battell. And yet the night bewe must be lively, and of good courage, considering our good fortune, whom we should wrong too fore the Bas-much to mistrust her, although we follow evill counsell. Messada writeth, that Cassius having spoken tell. these last words unto him, he bade him farewell, and willed him to come to supper to him the next night following, because it was his Birth-day. The next morning by break of day, the Signall of Battell was fet out in Brutes and Caffins Camp, which was an arming Scarlet Coat: and both the Chieftains spake together in the midft of their Armies. There Cassins began to speak first, and said: The Brutts and gods grant us O Brutus, that this day we may win the Field, and ever after to live all the rest of our Cassius talk life quietly one with another. But fith the gods have fo ordained it, that the greatest and chiefest things before the amongst men are most uncertain, and that if the Battell fall out otherwise to day then we wish or Battell. look for, we shall hardly meet again, what art thou then determined to do, to flie, or die? Bratus answered him, being yet but a young man, and not over greatly experienced in the world: I truft (I Brutus answer know not how) a certain rule of Philosophy, by the which I did greatly blame and reprove Case for to Cassing killing himfelf, as being no lawfull nor godly act, touching the gods: nor concerning men, valiant; not to give place and yeeld to divine Providence, and not constantly and patiently to take whatfoever it pleaseth him to send us, but to draw back and flie : but being now in the midst of the danger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be not the will of God that this Battell fall out fortunate for us I will look no more for hope, neither feek to make any new supply for War again, but will rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For, I give up my life for my Countrey in the Isles of March, for the which I shall live in another more glorious world. Cassing fell a laughing to hear what he faid, and embracing him, Come on then (faid he) let us go and charge our Enemies with this mind. For either we shall conquer, or we shall not need to fear the Conquerours. After this talk, they fell to consultation among their friends for the ordering of the Battell. Then Brutus prayed Coffins he might have the leading of the right Wing, the which men thought was far meeter for Caffine, both because he was the elder man, and also for that he had the better experience. But yet Cassing gave it him, and willed that Messala (who had charge of one of the warlikest Legions they had) at Philippes ashould be also in that Wing with Brutns. So Brutns presently sent out his Horsemen, who were excel- gainst Offavius lently well appointed, and his Footmen also were as willing and ready to give charge. Now Antonius men Casar and Andid caft a Trench from the Marrish by the which they lay, to cut off Caffins way to come to the Sea : tonius. and Cafar, at the least his Army ftirred not. As for Ottavius Cafar himself, he was not in his Camp, because he was fick. And for his People, they little thought the Enemies would have given them Battell, but onely have made fome light Skirmishes to hinder them that wrought in the Trench, and with their Darts and Slings to have kept them from finishing of their work : but they taking no heed to them that came full upon them to give them Battell, marvelled much at the great noise they heard, that came from the place where they were casting their Trench. In the mean time Brutus that led the right Wing, fent little Bils to the Colonels and Captains of private Bands, in the which he wrote the word of the Battell; and he himself riding a horse-back by all the Troops, did speak to them , and encouraged them to flick to it like men. So by this means very few of them under-

BRUTUS.

Legions were marvelloully featured and dispersed one from the other. For , first of all Messala's

Legion and then the next unto them, went beyond the left Wing of the Enemies, and did nothing,

but glancing by them, overthrew fome as they went; and fo going on further, fell right upon Ca-

the Battell of

fars Camp, out of the which (as himself writeth in his Commentaries) he had been conveyed away a little before through the counfell and advice of one of his friends called Marens Artorius: who dreaming in the night, had a Vision appeared unto him, that commanded Olfavius Cafar fhould be carried out of his Camp. Infomuch as it was thought he was flain, because the Little (which had nothing in it) was thrust through and through with Pikes and Darrs. There was great flaughter in this Camp. For amongst others, there were slain two thousand LACEDEMONIANS, who were arrived but even a little before, coming to aid Cefar. The other also that had not glanced by, but had given a charge full upon Cafara Battell, they eafily made them flie; because they were greatly troubled for the lofs of their Camp, and of them there were flain by hand three Legions. Then being very earnest to follow the chale of them that fled, they ran in amongst them hand over head into their Camp, and Brutus among them. But that which the Conqueroursthought not of, occasion shewed it unto them that were overcome; and that was, the left Wing of their Enemies left naked and unguarded of them of the right Wing, who were straied too far off, in following of them that were overthrown. So they gave a hot charge upon them. But, notwithstanding all the force they made, they could not break into the middest of their Battell, where they found them that received them, and valiantly made head against them. Howbeit they brake and overthrew the left Wing where Cassum was, by reason of the great disorder among them, and also because they had no intelligence how the right Wing had sped. So they chased them, beating them into their based, the which they spoiled, none of both the Chieftains being present there. For Antonius as it is reported, to flie the fury of the first charge, was gotten into the next Marish: and no man could tell what became of Ollavins Cefar, after he was carried out of his Camp. Infomuch that there Official Cafar were certain Souldiers that shewed their Swords bloudied, and faid that they had sain him, and did describe his sace, and shewed what age he was of. Furthermore, the Voward and the middest of Bruins Battell had already put all their Enemies to flight that withflood them, with great flaughter: fo that Brutus had conquered all on his fide, and Cassium had lost all on the other fide. For nothing undid them, but that Brutus went not to help Cassius, thinking he had overcome them, as himlest had done; and Cassius on the other side tarried not for Brutus, thinking he had been overthrown as himself was. And to prove that the Victory sell on Bruss side, Meffala confirmeth, that they wan three Eagles, and divers other Ensigns of the Enemies, and their Enemies wan never a one of theirs. Now Bratas returning from the chafe, after he had slain and sacked Cesars men, he wondered much that he could not fee Caffins Tent flanding up high as it was wont, neither the other Tents of his Camp flanding as they were before, because all the whole Camp had been spoiled, and the Tents thrown down, at the first coming of their Enemies. But they that were about Bruins, whole fight ferved them better, told him that they faw a great gliftering of harnels, and a number of filvered Targets, that went and came into Caffin Camp, and were not (as they took it) the Armours, nor the number of men that they had left there to guard the Camp: and yet that they faw not fuch a number of dead bodies, and great overthrow as there should have been, if so many Legions had been flain. This made Brutus at the first mistrust that which had hapned. So he appointed a number of men to keep the Camp of his Enemy which he had taken, and caused his men to be fent for that yet followed the chafe, and gathered them to gether, thinking to leade them to aid Coffins, who was in this state as you shall hear. First of all he was marvellous angry to see how Bruss men ran to give charge upon their Enemies, and tarried not for the word of the Battell, nor command-Brusts and his ment to give charge: and it grieved him beside, that after he had overcome them, his men sell ftraight to spoil, and were not carefull to compass in the rest of the Enemies behind: but with tarrying too long also, more then through the valiantness and forefight of the Captains his Enemies, Caffin found himfelf compafied in with the right wing of his Enemies Army. Whereupon his Hortmen brake immediatly, and fled for life towards the Sea. Furthermore perceiving his Footmen to give ground, he did what he could to keep them from flying, and took an Entign from one of the Entign-Bearers that fled, and fluck it faft at his feet: although with much ado he could scant keep his own Guard together. So Cassius himself was at length compelled to flie, with a few about him, unto a little Hill, from whence they might eafily fee what was done in all the plain: howbeit Cassium himself faw nothing, for his fight was very bad, faving that he faw (and yet with much ado) how the Enemis spoiled his Camp before his eyes. He saw also a great Troop of Horsemen, whom Bratim sent to aid him, and thought that they were his Enemies that followed him: but yet he fent Titinniut, one of them that was with him, to go and know what they were. Brusse Horfmen faw him coming afar off, whom when they knew that he was one of Caffins chiefest friends, they shouted out for joy, and they that were familiarly acquainted with him, lighted from their Horses, and went and embraced him. The reft compaffed him in round about on horfe-back, with Songs of Victory and great rushing of their The importance of error and militaking in Mart.

The importance of error and militaking in Mart.

The importance of error and militaking in indeed that Tissusyss was taken of the Enemies, he then fpake thefe words: Defiring too much to live I have lived to be one of the Mart. tolive, I have lived to fee one of my best friends taken, for my fake, before my face. After that, he got into a Tent where no body was, and took Pindarus with him, one of his Bondmen whom

he referved ever for fuch a pinch, fince the curfed battle of the PARTHIANS, where Calling was flain, though he notwithstanding scaped from that overthrow; but then casting his cloak over his head and holding out his bare neck unto Pindarm, he gave him his head to be stricken off. So the head was found fevered from the body: but after that time Pindariu was never feen more. Whereupon, Calling Il in by fome took occasion to say that he had slain his master without his commandment. By and by they his man Pinta. knew the horsemen that came towards them, and might see Tuinnin crowned with a Garland of tri- 1881. umph, who came before with great speed unto Cassius. But when he perceived by the cries and tears of his friends which tormented themselves, the missortune that had chanced to his Captain. Cassins. by miltaking, he drew out his fword, curfing himfelf a thousand times that he had tarried so long, and flew himselt presently in the field. Brueus in the mean time came forward still, and understood also that Cassius had been overthrown: but he knew nothing of his death, till he came very near to his Camp. So when he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of Cassium, calling him The death of the laft of all the ROMANS; being unpossible that ROME should ever breed again so noble and Tisinnins. fo valiant a man as he : he caused his body to be buried, and sent it to the City of THASSOS, fearing left his funerals within the Camp should cause great disorder. Then he called his fouldiers together, and did encourage them again. And when he faw that they had loft all their carriage, which they could not brook well, he promifed every man of them two thousand Drachmaes in recompence. After his fouldiers had heard his Oration, they were all of them prettily cheared again, wondring much at his great liberality, and waited upon him with great cries when he went his way, praifing him, for that he onely of the four Chieftains was not overcome in battle. And to speak the truth, his deeds shewed that he hoped not in vain to be coqueror. For with few Legions he had slain and driven all them away that made head against him: and if all his people had fought, and that the most of them had not outgone their enemies to run to spoil their goods, surely it was like enough he had flain them all, and had left never a man of them alive. There were flain of Bruttu fide a- The number of bout eight thousand men, counting the fouldiers slaves, whom Brutus called Brigas: and of the men slain at Enemies side, as Messala writeth, there were slain as he supposeth, more then twice as many moe; the battle of Wherefore they were more discouraged then Bruius, untill that very late at night, there was one of Philippes. Cassius men called Demetrius, who went unto Antonius, and carried his masters clothes, whereof he was stripped not long before, and his sword also. This encouraged Brutus Enemies, and made them fo brave, that the next morning betimes they stood in battle ray again before Brutus. But on Brutus fide, both his Camps stood wavering, and in that great danger. For his own Camp being full of prisoners, required a good guard to look unto them: and Cassius Camp on the other fide took the death of their Captain very heavily; and befide, there was some vile grudge between them that were overcome, and those that did overcome. For this cause therefore Bratus did set them in battle ray, but yet kept himfelf from giving battle. Now for the flaves that were prisoners, which were a great number of them, and went and came to and fro amongst the armed men, not without fuspicion: he commanded they should kill them. But for the free men, he sent them freely home, and faid, that they were better prisoners with his Enemies, then with him. For with them they were flaves and fervants: and with him, they were free men and Citizens. So when he faw that divers Captains and his friends did fo cruelly hate some, that they would by no means save their lives : Brue Brues clementhe himself hid them, and secretly sent them away. Among these prisoners, there was one Volumnius evand courtesse a jester, and Sacculio a common player, of whom Brutus made no account at all. Howbeit his friends brought them unto him, and did accuse them, that though they were prisoners, they did not let to laugh them to fcorn, and to jeft broadly with them. Brutus made no answer to it, because his head was occupied otherways. Whereupon Meffala Corvinus faid, that it were good to whip them on a scaffold, and then to send them naked, well whipped, unto the Captains of their enemies, to shew them their fhame, to keep such mates as those in their Camp, to play the fools, to make them sport. Some that flood by, laughed at his device. But Publius Cafea, that gave Julius Cafar the first wound when he was slain, said then: It doth not become us to be thus merry at Cassis sureries: and for thee Brutus, thou shalt shew what estimation thou madest of such a Captain thy compeer; by putting to death, or faving the lives of these bloods, who after will mock him and defame his memory. Brut me answered again in choller: Why then do ye come to tell me of it, Cufca, and do not your felves what you think good? When they heard him fay fo, they took his answer for a consent against these poor unfortunate men, to suffer them to do what they thought good; and therefore they carried them away, and flew them. Afterwards Brutus performed the promife he had made to the fouldiers, and gave them the two thousand Drachmaes a piece, but yet he first reproved them, because they went and gave charge upon the enemies at the first battle, before they had the word of battle given them: and made them a new promise also, that if in the second battle they sought like men, he would give them the fack and spoil of two Cities, to wit, THESSALONICA and LACEDEMON. In all Brutus life there is but this onely fault to be found, and that is not to be Brutus fault gain-faid: though Antonius and Offavius Cafar did reward their fouldiers far worfe for their victo- wilely excufed ty. For when they had driven all the natural ITALIANS out of ITALY, they gave their foul- by Plutarch. diers their lands and Towns, to the which they had no right : and moreover, the onely mark they shot at in all this War they made, was but to overcome and raign. Where in contrary manner they had so great an opinion of Brutus vertue, that the common voice and opinion of the world would not fuffer him, neither to overcome, nor to fave himself, otherwise then justly and honestly, and specially after Cassini death; whom men burdened, that oftentimes he moved Brutus to great cruelty. But

ers by fea.

destruction.

now, like as the Mariners on the fea after the rudder of their ships is broken by tempest, do feek to nail on some other piece of wood in lieu thereof, and do help themselves to keep them from hurr. as much as may be upon that instant danger: even so Brutus, having such a great Army to govern, and his affairs flanding very ticklish, and having no other Captain co-equal with him in dignity and auditority, he was forced to employ them he had, and likewife to be ruled by them in many things, and was of mind himself also to grant them any thing, that he thought might make them serve like noble fouldiers at time of need. For Cafius fouldiers were very evil to be ruled, and did fhew themfelves very stubborn and lusty in the Camp, because they had no Chieftain that did command them. but yet rankcowards to their Enemies, because they had once overcome them. On the other side. Oftavine Celar and Antonisa were not in much better ftate : for first of all they lacked victuals, And because they were lodged in low places, they looked to abide a hard and sharp Winter, being camped Brains victory as they were by the Marth fide, and also for that after the battle there had fain plenty of Rain about the Autumn, where through, all their Tents were full of mire and dirt, the which by reason of the Wonderfull fa cold did freeze incontinently. But beside all these discommodities, there came news unto them of mine among the great loss they had of their men by lea. For Brutus thips met with a great aid and supply of Cofor's foulding with the great loss they had of their men by lea. men, which were lent them out of ITALY, and they overthrew them in such fort, that there scaped but few of them; and yet they were fo famished, that they were compelled to eat the tackle and fails of their ships. Thereupon they were very desirous to sight a battle again, before Brutus should have intelligence of this good news for him: for it chanced so, that the battle was fought by sea, on the The ignorance felf fame day it was fought by land. But by ill fortune, rather then through the malice or negligence of the Captains, this victory came not to Brntus ear till twenty days after. Forhad he known of it before, he would not have been brought to have fought a fecond battle, confidering that he had excellent good provision for his Army for a long time; and besides, lay in a place of great strength, fo as his Camp could not be greatly hurt by the Winter, nor also distressed by his enemies : and further, he had been a quiet Lord, being a conqueror by fea, as he was also by land. This would have marvellously encouraged him. Howbeit the state of Rome (in my opinion) being now brought to that pass, that it could no more abide to be governed by many Lords, but required one onely absolute Governour : God, to prevent Brutus that it should not come to his Government, kept this victory from his knowledge, though indeed it came but a little too late. For the day before the last butle was given, very late in the night came Cloding, one of his Enemies into his Camp, who told that Cafar hearing of the overthrow of his Army by fea, defired nothing more then to fight a battle before Brutus understood it. Howbeit they gave no credit to his words, but despised him so much, that they would not vouchfafe to bring him unto Brutus, because they thought it was but a lie devised to be the better welcome for this good news. The felf fame night, it is reported that the monftrous spirit which had appeared before unto Brutus in the City of SARDIS, did now appear again unto him The evil spirit in the self same shape and form, and so vanished away, and said never a word. Now Publics Volumappeared again nim, a grave Philosopher, that had been with Brutus from the beginning of this War, he doth make no mention of this spirit, but saith: that the greatest Eagle and Ensign was covered over with a swarm of Bees, and that there was one of the Captains, whose Arm suddenly fell a sweating, that it dropped oil of Roses from him, and that they oftentimes went about to dry him, but all would do no good, And that before the battle was fought, there were two Eagles fought between both Armies, and all the time they fought, there was a marvellous great filence all the valley over, both Armies being one before the other, marking this fight between them; and that in the end, the Eagle towards Brains gave over and flew away. But this is certain, and a true tale, that when the gate of the Campwas open, the first man the Standard-bearer met that carried the Eagle, was an ÆTHIOPIAN, whom the fouldiers for ill luck mangled with their fwords. Now after that Brutus had brought his Army into the field, and had fet them in battle ray, directly against the Vaward of his Enemy, he pauled a Bruus second long time before he gave the signal of battle. For Brutus riding up and down to view the bands and companies, it came in his head to miftruft some of them; besides, that some came to tell him to much as he thought. Moreover he saw his horsemen set forward but faintly, and did not go luftly to give charge, but still staid to see what the sootmen would do. Then suddenly, one of the chiefelt Knights he had in all his Army called Camulatina, and that was alway marvelloufly efteemed of for his valiantness, until that time: he came hard by Brutus on horseback, and rode before his face to yield himfelf unto his Enemies. Brutus was marvelloully forry for it, wherefore partly for angu, and partly for fear of greater treason and rebellion, he suddenly canfed his Army to march, being pult three of the clock in the after noon. So in that place where he himself fought in person, he had the better: and brake into the left wing of his enemies, which gave him way, through the help of his horfmenthat gave charge with his footmen, when they faw the enemies in amaze and afraid. Howbeit, the other also on the right wing, when the Captains would have had them to have marched; they were afraid to have been compassed in behind, because they were sewer in number then their Enemies, and therefore did spread themselves, and leave the midst of their battle. Whereby they having weakened themselves, they could not withstand the force of their Enemies, but turned tail straint and fied. And those that had put them to flight, came in straight upon it to compass Brutus behind, who Brutus valiant- in the midst of the conflict, did all that was possible for a skilfull Captain and valiant fouldier; both for his wisdom, as also his hardiness, for the obtaining of victory. But that which wan him the victory at the first battle, did now lose it him at the second. For at the first time the Enemies that

were broken and fled, were straight cut in pieces: but at the second battle, of Cassim men that

were put to flight, there were few flain: and they that faved themselves by speed, being afraid because they had been overcome, did discourage the rest of the Army when they came to joyn with them. and filled all the Army with fear and diforder. There was the fon of Marcus Cato flain, valiantly fighting The death of among the lufty youths. For, notwithstanding that he was very weary and over-harried, yet would he the valiant not therefore fly, but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling aloud his name, and also his fa- young man Cather same, at length he was beaten down among many other dead bodies of his enemies, which he had for the son of flain round about him.

So there were slain in the field, all the chiefest Gentlemen and Nobility that Marcus Care. were in his Army, who valiantly ran into any danger to fave Brutus life: amongst whom there was one of Brutus friends called Lucilius, who fee a troop of barbarous men, making no reckoning of all one of they met in their way, but going altogether right against Bruns, he determined to stay them with the hazard of life; and being left behind, told them that he was Bruns: and because they should The fidelity of believe him, he prayed them to bring him to Antonius, for he faid he was afraid of Cafar, and that he Lucilius unto did truft Antonius better. These barbarous men being very glad of this good hap, and thinking them. Brutus. felves happy men, they carried him in the night, and fent some before unto Antonius, to tell him of their coming. He was marvellous glad of it, and went out to meet them that brought him. Others also understanding that they brought Bruens prisoner, they came from all parts of the Camp to see him, some pittying his hard fortune, and others saying, that it was not done like himself, so cowardly to be taken alive of the barbarous people for fear of death. When they came near together, Antonius staid a while bethinking himself how he should use Bruens. In the mean time Lucilius was brought to him, who with a bold countenance faid : Antonius, I dare affure thee, that no enemy hath taken, or shall take Marcus Brutus alive: and I beseech God keep him from that fortune: but wheresoever he be found, alive or dead, he will be found like himself: and touching my felf, I am come unto thee. having deceived these men of Arms, making them believe that I was Brutus, and do not refuse to suffer any torment thou wilt put me to. Lucilius words made them all amazed that heard him. Antonins on the other fide, looking upon all them that had brought him, faid unto them: My friends, I think ye are forry you have failed of your purpole, and that you think this man hath done you great wrong: but I affure you, you have taken a better booty then that you followed. For, inftead of an Enemy, you have brought me a friend : and for my part, if you had brought me Brutm alive, truly I cannot tell what I should have done to him. For I had rather have such men as this my friends then mine enemies. Then he embraced Lucilius, and arthat time delivered him to one of his friends in cuftody; and Lucilius ever after served him faithfully, even to his death. Now Brutus having passed a Brutus flying, little River, environed on either fide with high Rocks, and shadowed with great trees, being then dark night, he went no further, but staid at the foot of a Rock with certain of his Captains and friends that followed him, and looking up to the firmament that was full of stars, fighing, he rehearfed two verfes, of the which Volumnius wrote the one, to this effect:

Let not the wight from whom this mischief went (O Jove) escape without due punishment.

And faith, that he had forgotten the other. Within a little while after, naming his friends that he Applan mounhad seen slain in battle before his eyes, he fetched a greater figh then before, specially when he came eth this by to name Labio and Flavius, of the whom one was his Lieutenant, and the other Captain of the Pioners Antonius. of his Camp. In the mean time one of his company being thirsty, and seeing Brutus thirsty also, he ran to the River for water, and brought it in his Sallet. At the same time they heard a noise on the other fide of the River: whereupon Volumnius took Dardanus, Brutus fervant with him, to fee what it was : and returning straight again, he asked if there were any water left. Brutus smiling, gently told him, All is drunk, but they shall bring you some more. Thereupon he sent him again that went for water before, who was in great danger of being taken by the enemies, and hardly scaped, being fore hurt. Furthermore, Brutus thought there were not many of his men flain in battle : and to know the truth of it, there was one called Statilius, that promifed to go through his Enemies, for otherwise it was impossible to go to see their Camp: and thereupon if all were well, he would lift up a torch-light in the Air, and then return again with speed to him. The torch-light was lift up as he had promiled, for Statilius went thither : and a good while after Brutus feeing that Statilius came not again, he faid: If Seatilius be alive he will come again. But his evil fortune was such, that as he came back, he fell into his Enemies hands and was flain. Now the night being far fpent, Brutus as he fate bow- The death of ed towards Clitus one of his men, and told him somewhat in his ear: the other answered him not, Statistical but fell a weeping. Thereupon he proved Dardanus, and faid somewhat also to him: and at the last he came to Volumnius himself, and speaking to him in Greek, prayed him for the studies sake which brought them acquainted together, that he would help him to put his hand to his fword, to thrust it in him to kill him. Volumnius denied his request, and so did many others: and amongst the reft, one of them faid, there was no tarrying for them there, but they must needs fly. Then Bru- Brutus faying tus rifing up, faid, We must fly indeed, but it must be with our hands, not with our feet. Then ta- of flying with king every man by the hand, he faid these words unto them with a chearfull countenance: It re- hands, and not joyceth my heart, that none of my friends hath failed me at my need, and I do not complain with feet. of my fortune, but onely for my Countries fake: for as for me, I think my felf happier then they that have overcome, confidering that I leave a perpetual fame of vertue and honesty, the

Bruss flew himfelf. Strato, Brutus familiar and friend.

Meffala Corvinus, Brutus

which our Enemies the Conquerors shall never attain unto by force or money; neither can let their which our Exemines the Conqueriors mannered attains and on Joseph Carlos and in tentility poffering to fay, that they being naughty and unjust men, have slain good men, to usurp tyrannicall power not pertaining to them. Having so faid, he prayed every man to shift for himself, and then he went a little afide with two or three onely, among the which Strate was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the study of Rhetorick. He came as near to him as he could, and taking his sword by the hilt with both his hands, and falling down upon the point of it, ran himfelf through. Others fay, that not be. but Serato (at his request) held the fword in his hand, and turned his head aside, and that Brutus fell down upon it, and so ran himself through, and died presently. Messala, that had been Brutus great friend, reconciled afterwards to be Ollavisu Cafar's friend, and shortly after, Cafar being at good leifure, he brought Serate, Bratus friend unto him, and weeping, faid: Cafar, behold, here is he that did the laft service to my Brutus. Then Cafar received him, and afterwards he did him as faithfull fervicein all his affairs, as any GRECIAN elfe he had about him, untill the Battle of Ac-TIUM. It is reported also that that Meffala himself answered Cafar one day when he gave him great praife before his face, that he had fought valiantly, and with great affection for him at the Battle of ACTIUM (notwithstanding that he had been his cruel enemy before, at the battle of PHILIPPES, for Brutus fake) I ever loved, faid be, to take the best and justest part. Now Antonius having found Brutus body, he cauled it to be wrapped up in one of the richest. Coat-armors he had. Afterwards also, Antonius understanding that his Coat-armor was stoln, he put the thief to death that had stoln Percis, Brutes it, and fent the affices of his Body unto Servilla his Mother. And for Porcia, Brutes Wife, Nicolans the Philosopher, and Valerius Maximus do write, that she determining to kill her self (her Parents and friends carefully looking to her to keep her from it) took hot burning coals and caft theminto her mouth, and kept her mouth so close, that she choaked her self. There was a letter of Brunn found written to his friends, complaining of their negligence, that his Wife being fick, they would not help her, but fuffered her to kill her felf; chusing to die, rather then to languish in pain. Thus it feemeth that Nicolaus knew not well the time, fith the letter (at the least if it were Brutus letter) doth plainly declare the disease and love of this Lady, and also the manner of her death,

Here endeth the Life of Marcus Brutus.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF DION with BRUTUS.



O come now to compare these two noble personages, it is certain that both of them having great gifts in them, namely this for the first, that by small occasions they made themselves great men : herein Dion of both deserveth the chief praise. For he had no co-helper to bring him unto that greatness, as Brutus had of Cassins, who doubtless was not comparable unto him for vertue and respect of Honour, though otherwise in respect of War, he was no less wise and valiant then he. For many do impute unto Cassius, the first beginning and original of all the War and enterprise : and faid it was he that did encourage Brutus to con-

Spire Cafar's death; whereas Dian furnished himself with armor, ships, and souldiers, and wan those friends and companions also that did help him to prosecute his war. Nor he did not as Brutus, who rose to greatness by his enterprises, and by War got all his strength and riches; but he in contrary manner, spent of his own goods to make War for the Liberty of his Countrey, and disbursed of his own money that should have kept him in his banishment. Furthermore, Brutus and Cassius were compelled of necessity to make Wars, because they could not have lived safely in peace when they were driven out of ROME, for that they were condemned to death, and purfued by their enemies. And for this cause thereby they were driven to hazard themselves in War, more for their own safety, then for the liberty of their Countrey: whereas Dion on the other fide, living more merrily and fafely in his banishment, when the Tyrant Dionysis himself that had banished him, did but put himself to that danger, to deliver SICILE from bondage. Now the matter was not alike unto the ROMANS, to be delivered from the Government of Casar, as it was for the Syracusians to be rid of Dionyfim tyranny. For Dionyfim denied not, that he was a Tyrant, having filled Sicile with fuch mifery and calamity. Howbeit, the domination of Cafar when it came to be established, did indeed much hurt at the first beginning thereof unto those that opposed against it: but asterwards, unto them that being overcome had received his Government, it feemed he rather had the name and opinion onely of a Tyrant, then otherwise that he was so indeed. For there never followed any tyrannical or cruel act, but contrarily, it feemed that he was a mercifull Physician, whom God had ordained of his speciall Grace to be Governour of the Empire of Rome, and to set all things again at quiet flay, the which required the counfell and authority of an absolute Prince. And therefore the ROMANS were marvellous forry for Cafar after he was flain, and afterwards would never pardon them that had flain him. On the other fide, the cause why the Syracusians did most accuse Dion, was, because he did let Diony sim escape out of the Castle of SYRACUSA, and because he did not overthrow and deface the Tomb of his Father. Furthermore, touching the Wars, Dion alway shewed himself a Captain unreproveable, having wifely and skillfully taken order for those things which he had enterprised of his own head and counsell, and did amend the faults others committed, and brought things to better state then he found them ; whereas it seemeth that Brutus did not wisely to receive the second battle, considering his rest stood upon it. For after he had lost the battle, it was impossible ever for him to rife again: and therefore his heart failed him, and so gave up all, and never durst strive with his evil fortune as Pompey did, considering that he had present cause enough in the field to hope of his fouldiers, and being besides a dreadfull Lord all the sea over. Furthermore, the greatest reproach they could object against Brutus, was, that Julim Cafar having faved his life, and pardoned fo many prisoners taken in battle, according to his request, taking him for his friend and honouring him above all his other friends, Brutus notwithstanding had imbrued his hands in his

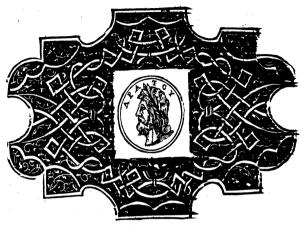
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blood, wherewith they could never reprove Dion. For on the contrary fide, so long as Dion was Dionyfins friend and kinfman, he did alway help him to order and govern his affairs. But after he was banified his Countrey, and that his Wife was torcibly married to another man, and his goods also tala what things ken from him, then he entred into just and open wars against Dionysius the Tyrant. But in this point they were contrary together. For that wherein their chiefeft praife conflitted, to wit, the barred of Tyrants and wicked men, was most true and fincere in Bratus. For having no private cause of complaint or grudge against Cafar, he ventured to kill him, onely to fet his Countrey again at liberty: whereas if Dion had not received private caule of quarrell against Dionysing, he would never have made War It Dion nau not received payers to the EpiPles, where is plainly feen, that Dion being driven out with him. The which Plate proveth in his EpiPles, where is plainly feen, that Dion being driven out of the Tyrans Court against his will, and not putting himself to voluntary banishment, he drave our Dionysia. Furthermore, the respect of the Commonwealth caused Britis, that before was Pompey's enemy, 16 Beeinne his friend, and entemy unco Cafar that before was his friend, onely referring his chemy, to occome my ricin, any chemy unto Cejar that octore was his friend, onerly reterring his friendship and carnity into the confideration of justice and equity. And Dion did many things his Dionyjus fake and behefit, all the while he truthed him; and when he began to missivus him, then for anger he made was withhim. Wherefore all his friends believed, that after he had driven out Diotor anger the many watthans. The government on himself, abusing the people with a more courteous and gentle title then the Hame of a Tyrant. But for Brains, his very enemies themselves contessed, that of all those that conspired Cefar's death, he onely had no other end and intent to attempt his enterprise, but to reftore the Empire of ROME again to her former state and government. And furthermore, it was not a like thing to deal with Dionyfine, as it was to have to do with Julius (afar. For no man that was not a nice tuning to use a want James and the most part of his time in knew Dionysius, but would have despited him, considering that he spent the most part of his time in drinking, dicing, and haunting lewd womens company: but to have undertaken to destroy Julius Cefar, and not to have firunk back for fear of his great wildom, power, and fortune, confidering that his very name was dreadfull unto every man, and fuffered not the Kings of PART HIA and INDIA to be in reft for him : this could not but come of a marvellous noblemind of him that for fear never fainted, nor let fall any part of his courage. And therefore, fo foon as Dien came into Sicile, many thoulands of men came and joyned with him against Dianysius. But the same of Julius Cafar did set up his friends again after his death, and was of fuch force, that it raifed a young ftripling Offavius Cefar (that had no means nor power of himself) to be one of the greatest men of Nom E: and they ufed him as a remedy to encounter Amenium malice and power. And if men will fay, that Dion drave out the Tyrant Dion jim by force of arms, and fundry battles : and that in contrary manner Brutus flew Cafar, being a naked man, and without his guard : then do I answer again, that it was a noble part, and of a wife Captain, to chufe fo apt a time and place, to come upon a man of fo great power, and to find him naked without his guard. For he went not fuddenly in a rage and alone, or with a small company to affail him; but his enterprife was long time before determined of, and that with divers men, of all the which, not a man of them once failed him; but it is rather to be thought, that from the beginning he chofe them boneft men, or elfe by that his choife of them be made them good men. Whereas Dion, either from the beginning made no wife choife in truffing of evil men, or else because he could not tell how to use them he had chosen, of good men he made them become evil : so that neither the one nor the other could be the part of a wife man. For Plato himfelf reproveth him, for that he had chosen such men for his friends, that he was slain by them : and after he was slain no man would then revenge his death. And in contrary manner, of the enemies of Brutus, the one (who was Antonius) Bruzes nonoured of his eneof him. For at MILLAN (a City of GAUL on ITALY fide) there was an image of his in brafs, very likeumto him : the which Cefar afterwards passing that way, beheld very advitedly, for that it was made by an excellent workman, and was very like him, and fo went his way. Then he staid suddenly again, and called for the Governors of the City, and before them all told them that the Citizens were his enemies, and traitors unto him, because they kept an enemy of his among them. The Governors of the City at the first were associated at it, and stously denied it: and none of them knowing what enemy he meant, one of them looked on another. Of avoiss Cofar then turning him unto Bruss status, bending his brows, faid unto them: this man you fee flanding uphere, is he not our enemy? Then the Governors of the City were worfe afraid then before, and could not tell what answer to make him. But Cefarlaughing, and commending the Gauts for their faithfulness to their friends, even in their

mies after his Brutus image or statue stand-Millan, was preferved and kept by Off.

advertities : he was content Brutus image should stand still as it did.

THE LIFE OF ARATUS.



Ann. Mund. 3677.

Ant. Christ. 271.

Hryfippus the Philosopher (my friend Polycrates) being afraid, as it seemeth. of the evil found of an ancient Proverb not rightly as it was spoken, and in use, but as he thought it best, he wrote in this manner:

What children do their ancestors commend, But those whom fortune favours to the end?

But Dionylodorus TRO EZENIAN reproving him, doth rehearse the proverb rightly as indeed it is:

what children do their ancestors commend,

But those whose life is vertuous to the end? Saying, that this proverb stoppeth their mouths, who of themselves are unworthy of praile, and yet are ftill boafting of the vertues of their ancestors, whose praise they highly extoll. But before those that (as Pindarus faith)

Do match their noble ancestors in prowess of their own, And by their fruits commend the flock whence they them felves are grown,

(As thy felf that conformeft thy life unto the examples and manners of thy vertuous ancestors:) it is no small good hap for them, often to remember the noble Deeds of their parents in hearing them spoken of, or otherwise for themselves oftentimes to remember some notable doings of their parents. For our ancestors, in them, it is not for lack of commendable vertues, that they report others praife and glory : but in wherein profijoyning their own vertues, to the vertues of their anceftors, they do encreafe their glory, as inhering their politics, they will be a challenging their defent by blond. Therefore, having written the life of destars its. their vertuous life, as challenging their descent by blood. Therefore, having written the life of Aratus thy Countreyman, and one of thy ancestors whose glory and greatness thou dost not blemish, I do fend it unto thee, not that I think but that thou hast more diligently then any man else searched out all his deeds and fayings : but yet, because that thy two sons, Polycrates and Pythocles, reading and still hearing something reported, might be brought up at home by the example of their ancestors, whose deeds shall lie before them to follow. For he loveth himself more, then he regardeth persect vertue, or his credit: that thinketh himself so perfect, as he need not sollow any others example.

The City of SICYONE, after it fell from her first government of the Optimacy and Nobility, The Commonwhich is proper to the City of the DOR IANS: like an inftrument out of tune, it fell into civil wars west of the Siand feditious practifes, through the Orators of the People: and never ceafed to be plagued with ejonians conthose troubles and miseries, alway changing new tyrants, untill that Cleen being slain, they chose verted into Timoclidar and Clinian their Governors, two of the noblest men and of greatest authority in all the Tyranny.

ARATUS.

City, Now when the Commonwealth began to grow to a certain state of Government, Timocli-

Abantilus Ty- das died : and Abantidas the fon of Paleas, pretending to make himself Lord of the City, he

Logician.

rant of Sixyone flew Clinian, and put to death some of his parents and friends, drave away others, and sought also to put his fon Aratus to death, that was then but feven years old. But in this hurly burly and tumult. Arter; the son Arter Hying out of his fathers house, among them that ran away, and wandring up and down of cliniar, sea the City, being scared and afraid, finding no man to help him: by good fortune he got into a woped the hands of the tyrant mans house, called Sofo, which was Abantidas sifter, and wife unto Periphanua, his sather Cliniae brother. She being of a noble mind, and judging that the child Aratus by Gods providence fled unto her; hid him in her house, and in the night secretly sent him unto the City of ARGOS. Now Arans malice after that Arans had scaped, and was fafe from this danger : from that time there bred in him a veheagainst tyrants, ment malice against Tyrants, the which still encreated in him as he grew in years. So he was vertuously brought up in the City of Augos, with his fathers friends : and perceiving with himself that he waxed big and, ftrong, he disposed his body to divers exercises, and became so excellent in them, that he contended in five manner of exercises, and oftentimes bare the best away. And in his images Aratus favour, and statues, he appeared in face full and well liking, as one that fed well, and the majesty of his commenance arguerit that he used such exercise: and such commonly are large eaters. From whence if catine, that he did not give himself formuch to pleading, as peradventure was requisite for a Go-Arants wrote a vernour of a Commonwealth. Howbeit, some do judge by his Commentaries he wrote, that he book of Com- had an eloquenter tongue then feemed unto fome : because he wrote them in hafte, having other bufiness in hand, and even as things came first into his mind. But afterwards, Dinias and Aristotle Abanildas the Logician flew Abantidas, who did commonly use to fit in the Market-place, to hear their matters, Tyrant flain, and to talk with them. And this gave them good means and opportunity to work their feat they did. After Abantidas death, his father Pafeas possessed the Tyranny : whom Nicocles afterwards flew also by treason, and made himself Tyrant in his place. It is reported that this Nicocles did lively resemble the countenance of Persander, the son of Cypfelus, as Orontes Persian was very like unto Alemaon, the fon of Amphiarem: and another young LACEDEMONIAN, unto Helter of TROY, whom Myrsillus writeth, was troden under mens feet, through the over-great press of people that came to see him, when they heard of it. This Nicocles was a Tyrant four moneths together, in the which he did wonderfull great hurt to the City, and had almost loft it; the ÆTOLIANS coming on a sudden, who were like to have taken it. Now Aratus was come to the flate of a stripling, and was greatly eftermed for the noble house he came of, and also for the great courage they found in him, which was no fuch matter: and befides that, he had a majesty in his countenance, being wifer then was looked for in a young man of his years: therefore the banifhed men from the City of SICYONE, repaired unto him before any other man. Nicocles for his part also was not careless of his doings, but had an eye ever to see what Arasus intended, although he little miftrufted any fuch bold enterprife, nor fo dangerous an exploit of him : but did onely conjecture that he did ftir up the Kings which had been his dead fathers friends. And fo indeed Arans Army gooth took that courfe. But when he faw that Antigons filldelayed his promifes, and did always track over his Counting, and that the hope of aid from King Prolomy of ÆGYPT was fo far off, at length he determined trey from the to undertake to deftroy the Tyrant himself. So he first consulted with Aristomachus and Ecdelus; of the which the one was banished from SICYONE, and the other an ARCADIAN, from the City of In another MEGALIPOLIS, a Philosopher, and a valiant man of his hands and had been Scholar unto Areahim Ecleman, filans the Academick, in the City of ATHENS. Thele two men being contented to joyn with Ariftomichus Aratus, he practifed with other of the banished men also : of the which there were some that were and Essetur, do ashamed, not to be partakers of his hope and noble attempt, and so did also joyn with him. Howjoyn with det beit the most part of them did not onely refuse to enter into that practife, but further, went about to dissignate Arains from his enterprise, saying : that for lack of knowledge and experience, he understood not the danger in undertaking such a matter, altogether so unlikely. Now as Araiss was thinking in his mind to keep a certain place in the territory of SICYONE, from whence they might make War with the Tyrant, there came a prisoner unto them out of the City of ARGOS, that had broken prison from the Tyrant of SICYONE and was brother unto Xenocles, one of the banished men. He being brought by the same Xenocles unto Aratus, told that in the place whereby he saved himself, the ground within was almost as high as the top of the wall, the which in that part joyned unto high ftony places: and that without the wall the height was not so great, but that it was easily scalable with ladders. When Aratus heard that, he sent two of his men, Scuthas and Technon, with Xenocles to view the wall, being determined if it were true, rather to prove fecretly to execute his pretended enterprise, and quickly to put it to a venture, then to begin a long War, and to prepare an open Army, he being a private man, to go against the power of a Tyrant. Xenocles being returned again to Aratus, after he had measured the heighth of the wall, he reported that the place was not unscalable, but yet very hard to come to it undiscovered, because of certain little curst curs a Gardiner kept hard by the wall, which would never leave barking. Howbeit Aratus would not leave off his enterprise to. Now it was not strange to see every man prepare themselves of Armor and Weapon, because at that time there were great robberies and cruel murthers committed by highways, and one would affault another: but for the ladders, Euphranor that was a Carpenter and maker of Engines, did not flick to make them openly, because his common occupation did take away all suspition why they were made. For this Carpenter was himself also a banished man from SICYONE, as the relidue were. Furthermore, Arains friends he had in ARGOS, of those few men they had,

did every man of them lend him ten men, and armed thirty of his own men : belides them, Aratus himself also did hire some pretty number of souldiers, by the practise of Xenophilus, whom the Arteus prepa-Captains of the thieves did furnish. They were given to understand that they should be led to the ration to deliterritory of Sicyone, to take a prey of cattle and colts of the King, and they were fent before, ver his Counterritory of Sicyone, to take a prey or sattle and to meet together at the tower of Polygno-fome one way, fome another, with commandment; all to meet together at the tower of Polygno-ramy. tus, where they should tarry. So he sent Caphesias also before, without any weapons, with four companions with him: who should come to this Gardiners house in the night, like strangers and travellers, to lie in his house, and to lock him up and his dogs, because they had no other device to get in but that way. But in the mean time, there were certain fpials of Nicooles the Tyrant difcovered, that walked up and down the City (making no commenance of any matter) to fee what Arans did. Wherefore, Arans went out of his house early in the morning (as his manner was) and walked to the Market-place with his friends. Then he went to the shew-place (or place of exer. Aratus policy cifes) and there stripped himself, anointed him, and wrestled, and in the end took certain of the to deceive Niyoung Gentlemen home with him, that were wont to make merry, and to pass the time away with cocles spials. him: and immediately after, one of his fervants was feen in the Market-place, carrying Garlands of flowers, another allo was feen buying of Links and Torches, and another hiring of thefe common dancing and finging women, which follow feafts and banquets with their influments. Nicoeles spials seeing that, were deceived; for one of them laughing on another said, that they might easily fee by that, there was nothing more fearfull and timorous then a Tyrant : confidering that Nicocles being Lord of fo great a City, was afraid of a young stripling, that spent all that he could rap and rend to keep him in his banishment, upon vain banquets and feasts at noon days. And thus were the Tyrants spials finely mocked. Aratus self departed immediately after dinner out of Argos, and went unto the fouldiers, whom he had appointed before to meet him at the Tower of Polygnotus. and led them straight unto NEMEA. There he told them openly his full intent and purpose, having before made an Oration unto them to encourage them, and also made them marvellous fair promises. Then he gave them for their watch-word Apollo favourable, and so went directly to the City of SICYONE, marching with great speed at the first because of the going down of the Moon, and afterwards slacked his pace a little, so that they had Moon light all the way as they came, and the Moon went not down, untill they were come to the Gardiners house that was hard by the wall. So Caphesias, whom he had sent before unto the Gardiners house, came to meet with Aratus, and brought him word that he could not take the dogs, because they ran away; howbeit that he had made fast the Gardiner in his own house. This discouraged the most part of all the company, who would needs have him in any case to return back again. But Aratus then began to comfort them, and promifed that he would lead them back again, if it chanced that the dogs were too buse with them: and therewithall presently caused the ladder men to go before, whom Ecdelus and Mnasitheus led, and he himself came fair and sofily after. The dogs made a foul barking, and Aratus dangers were baiting about Ecdelus and his company. This notwithflanding, they came fafe to the wall, and in delivering did fet up their fealing ladders. But even as the first men gor upon them, the Captain of the watch from they the bed given place to him the flould ward in the greater was the first men they transfer the state of the s that had given place to him that should ward in the morning, came by chance, and passed hard by ny of Nicoles. them, visiting the fouldiers with a little bell, and there was a number of torches, and a great noise of men that followed him. They that were upon the ladders hearing them, ducked down, and ftirred not : and thereby the fouldiers that passed by them, could not see them. But now the new morning warch came toward them allo, which did put them in great danger to be discovered: but yet they once again scaped them, and were not discovered, because the second watch went beyond them, and stayed not. Then Ecdelus and Mnasirbem immediately scaled the wall, and sent Technon with all possible speed unto Aratm, to will him to make all the haste he could to come to them. Now there was no great distance between the Garden where the dogs were, and the wall, and a little Tower where they kept a great Greyhound to keep watch: but the Greyhound never heard their coming, either because he was a cowardly cur of nature, or else for that he had been over-coursed and wearied the day before. But the Gardiners little curs that bawled and barked beneath, had wakened the Greyhound with their barking, who at the first began to answer them with a fost girning; but when they came by the Tower where he lay, he barked out aloud, that all the place thereabouts rang of his barking. Infomuch that the Scout which was farther off, called aloud to the Hunt that kept the dog, and asked what he ailed, that he made fuch a barking, and whether there were any thing flirring or not, that angred him. The Hunt within the Tower answered, that it was nothing, but that his dog was naked, and fell a barking at the lights of the watch that paffed by, and at the noise of the bell. This made Aratus fouldiers a great deal the bolder: because they thought that the Hunt had been made privy to their enterprise, and that he went about to hide their secret attempt, and hoped also that there were many other within the City that would further their enterprise. When they came to get up upon the wall, it was of a great heighth and very dangerous, because the ladders shook and bowed, by reason of the weight of the men, unless they did come up fair and softly one after another. Furthermore, the time did put them in some perill, because the cocks began to crow, and the Countrey folk that brought things to the Market to fell, began to come apace to

The state of the s

the Town out of every quarter. And therefore Aratus made hafte to get up, having onely four- Aratus wan the ty men above with him, and looked for fome besides to come up, which were yet beneath. Then City of Sieyens he marched directly toward the Tyrants Pallace, where his hired fouldiers kept watch and ward : without bloodand coming suddenly upon them, laid hold of every man of them, and slew not one. Then he sent shed.

into the City to his friends, to will them to come unto him. Thereupon they ran out of every corner to Aratus. Now the day began to break, and straight the Theatre was full of people that gathered together, because of the noise and fir they heard in the City, not knowing what the matter meant, untill at length an Herauld proclaimed with open voice that it was Arans the fon of Clinias who called his Countrymen and Citizens to the recovery of their liberty. Then they perfunding themfelves that the thing which they long withed and looked for, was now come to pais, they ran all in a troop together to the Tyrants houle, and fee it on fire. But the flame rofe fo high and great after the fire had taken it in every part, that it was feen to the City of CORINTH: infomuch that the CORINTHIANS wondering what the matter should be, were in mind to have gone to help it.

Now for Vicaeles, he saved himself, and got out of the City by secret vaults he had made under the ground. The fouldiers on theother fide quenching the fire with the help of the Citizens, did fack all they found in the Tyrants Pallace which Aratus hindred not, but did moreover make all the reft of the Tyrants goods common amongst them. So his enterprife had so good success, that there was none of his own company slain he brought with him, neither any of their Enemies that were within the City; fortune kept this exploit fo pure and clean from any bloodfred. Then of raths reftored fourfrore men unto their lands and goods again, whom the Tyrant Nicoeks had be nilhed: and others also, that had been banished by former Tyrants, to the number of five hundred aren, who had been well-near fitty years space banished out of their Countrey. Now the most of them being come home poor and needy, would have entred on their goods and lands they enjoyed before: and so entring again upon their lands in their Countrey, and their houses in the ry, they amazed Araus withall, seeing Antigoms on the one side practife all the means he could to win Signor being now free, and they all in an uproar and mutiny in the City. There-Aratus joyneth fore, following the best counsel he could think upon and devise, considering the danger of the prethe City of Si- fent time: he joyned the City in league and friendship with the ACHAIANS, and of them all made concurred but one body. And because the Citizens of Sicyone were Dorians, they were glad to submit themselves to be governed and protected by the name of the ACHAIANS, who were at that time of no great fame nor power. For they dwelt in little Villages, and had no great bounds of lands, neither were they very special good, for that they stood upon the sea side, where was no manner of haven nor port, but stones, and Rocks good store: and the sea beating upon them, did eat into the main land. This notwithflanding, they made their enemies know, that the power of GREECE when it was united and governed by good policy, was of great force and almost invincible. For the ACHAIANS being in comparison of the ancient force of GREECE, of no regard, and but a part of one City enfeebled with Civil and Poraign War; fo long as they could fubmit themselves to be ruled by the wisdom and vertue of their Captain, and not envy nor malice his prosperity and soveraignty: they did not onely maintain themselves as free men, in the midst of the servitude of to many great Cities, large and mighty, but did also deliver many other people of GREECE from Arausteletted their Tyrants. Now, for Mrattu manners: he was one that by nature loved Civil Government, and equity among Citizens in one felf City: he was nobly minded, and more painful about the affairs of the Commonweal, then carefull of his own business, and hated Tyrants to the death, and employed his good or evil will wholly for the fervice of the Commonwealth. And therefore he feemed not to be fo found a friend, as he was a gentle and mercifull enemy: framing himself in either of both, a stime served for the Commonwealth. To be thort, it was a generall and common voice among all the Cities Confederate, in private company, and at open meetings in the Theatres: that Aratus loved nothing but verue, and honefty; that in open Warshe was not fo valiant and couragious, as he was crafty and fibble to take a City on the fudden. Furthermore, though he was valiant to attempt many great things, the which men thought he would never have brought to pals : yet it feemeth he left many things polfible undone the which he might eafily have done, for that he durft not venture on them. For as Why Owls fee there be heafts whose fight is perfect by night, and by day they can fee nothing, because the substitute to of the human and maishure in their terms of the human and maishure in their terms. ty of the humor and moisture in their eyes is dried up, and cannot abide the bright light of the day: and not by day, even fo, men that otherwife by nature 210 very wife, are easily afraid of danger, when they must Men ignorant venture on it at noon days: where contrarily they are bold in fecret enterprifes, fuddenly to attempt of Philosophy any thing. Now this contrariety and difference in men well brought up groweth through ignorance biltered up. and lack of instruction in Philosophy, which of it felf doth nourish vertue, as fruit that springeth up without planting, or help of mans hand. But this is best discerned by examples. So Aratu having joyned himself and his City SICYONE unto the ACHAIANS, and serving in person as a man of Arms amongst the rest, he was marvellously beloved of his Generals, that saw him so obedient. For, notwithstanding, that he had made to large a contribution as the estimation of himself, and the force of his City unto the Commonwealth of the ACHAIANS: yet he was ready to obey and execute the commandments of the Generals, as the poorest and meanest fouldier, were he of DYMA or of TRITA, or of any other small village whatsoever. Furthermore, a great sum of money being fent him from King Prolomy for a gift, amounting to twenty and five talents, he took it, but forthwith disposed it amongst his poor Countreymen, both to relieve their wants, as also to redeem prisoners. This notwithstanding the banished men still vexed and troubled them that had

their goods and lands, to have them out of their hands, and otherwife would be fatisfied by no

means. Their Commonwealth therefore being ingreat danger to fall into civil war, Aratus perceiving there was no other way to help this milchief, but by Prolomy's liberality: he determined to go

unto him, to pray him to help him with money, to pacific this grudge and tumult. So he embarked

at the haven of METRONA, above the foreland of MALEA, to fail from thence into EGYPT : howbein he had fuch a contrary wind, and the sea rose so high, that the master of the ship, was driven to draw taketh let her go whither she would to take sea room. So being driven quite from his direct course, with sea to go to great danger he got to the City of ADRIA, which was his enemy because Antigonus kept it, and King Ptolomy The had not gone far after he had left his ship, but the Captain of the Gatrison came, and sought for him. Notwithstanding, his servants had mocked him finely (being before instructed by Aratas what answer they should make) saying that he was gone, and sled into the Isle of Eurofa. Howbeit, the Captain of the Garrison stayed the ship, his men, and all things else she had in her, and took her for a good prize. Within few days after, Aratus being marvellously troubled, and at a straight with himself what he should do, there happily arrived a ROMAN ship hard by the place where he kept most, partly to hide himself, and partly also to see if he could discover any thing. This ship was bound for SYRIA. So he had dealt with the mafter of the ship in that fort, that he took him aboard, and promiled he would deliver him in CARIA, and so he did. But he was in as much danger this second journev again by fea, as he was in the first he made toward EGYPT. From CARIA, a long time after, Armus went into EGYPT, and spake with the King, who made very much of him : for Aratus fed him faill by fending him passing fair tables, and pictures of GREECE, of excellent workmanship. And The pictures indeed having a fingular good wit, he always got together, and brought the excellentest painted pictures and painted tahe could get, but specially the pictures of Pamphilus and Melanthus, to send them unto the King. For bles made in be could get, but spectany the pictures of *t'ampoints* and *togetaments*, to send them unto me range, ros the City of Sic y On E, and they effected the painting of tables in that City, the City of Sic to be the perfected for true colours and fine drawing, of all other places. Infomuch as Apelles (though all the other he was then of a marvellous fame for painting) went thither, and gave to these two excellent Painters a paintings in talent, to remain a while in their company : not so much to attain to the perfection of the Art, as there- Greece. by to win himself fame. And therefore when Arans had restored his City again to liberty, he caused The excellency all the Images of the Tyrants to be defaced and plucked down: howbeit he food doubtful a long time, of Ariffrans whether he should deface Ariffrans picture, or not, who reigned in the time of Philip. For he was painted with the hands of all the Scholars of Melanthus, being by a triumphant Chariot, that carried painted all by a victory, and as Polemon the Geographer writeth, Apelles hand was to it. This picture was a passing Melanthus piece of work to fee to, fo that Aratus at the first yielded, and was contented to fave it for the excel. Scholars and Abency of the workmanship: yet in the end, overcome with the extream hate he bare unto Tyrants, he relies help, and had it should be defaced. Now it is reported also, that Nealces the Painter, being one of Aratus tation for the friends, prayed him with the tears in his eyes to pardon fuch a notable piece of work. But when he defacing of it. faw Aratus io hard bearted that he would not grant it, he told him, it was good reason to make The saying of War with Tyrants, but not with their pictures. Let us then (quoth he) leave the Chariot of tri- Nesteer the umph and victory, and I will make theesee Aristratus, willingly to come out of the table. Aratus painter, touching Tytanus, was contented to let him have his will. Then Nealces defaced the picture of Aristratus, and in place thereof drew onely a Palm-tree, and durft add nothing elfe to it of his own device. Some fay, that under the Chariot were conveyed Aristratus feet defaced. So Aratus by means of these tables and pictures, was marvellously well beloved of King Prolomy. But after he was acquainted with him. and knew his conversation, he loved him then better than before. Infomuch that he gave him an hundred and fifty talents to keep his City withall : of the which he carried fourty away with him unto PE-LOPONNESUS, and the King afterwards fent him the reft at fundry times. Now this was a marvel- The great libeloss matter of him to get such a maffe of money together for his Citizens : confidering that the Ora-rality of Prolotors, Captains and Governors of free Cities, for a little fum of money onely which they have taken of tus. Kings and Princes, have been corrupted, and betrayed their Towns and Countrey. But this was a more wonder, that by means of this money he made peace and love betwirt the poor and rich : and furthermore, faved upright all the people of SICYONE, where he shewed himself marvellous wife and temperate, being of that great power and authority he was. For after they had chosen him Arabus temperates Arbitrator to judge, compound and absolutely to decide all quarrels and strife between the banished tance, men, he would never undertake it himself alone, but took fifteen other of the chiefest Citizens wah him; and with them, by great pains and trouble, at length he pacified all matters among his Chizens, and made them good friends one with another. Therefore not onely all the Inhabitants and Chizens of Sicyone together, decreed publick honors meet for him, but also the banished men themselves did privately cast his image in brais, and set it up, under the which they caused this inscripti-

Thy promes and thy feats of Arms, thy counsel sage and mise, Not onely are among the Greeks extolled to the skies, But also to the utmost straights of Marroke blown by fame. And we that through thy goodness home into our Countrey came. Have set this image up to thre Aratus, as a signe Of our deliverance through thy love, and through the power divine. For thy good nature furthered by good fortune doth restore Os Countrey, Laws, and Liberty, bereft us quite before,

Arains having done all these things, he suppressed the cavy of the Citizens, through the great

Nicocles the tyrant flyeth.

good turns he had done unto them. But then King Antigonus being angry with Aratus in his mind, and feeking either to make him his friend, or to bring him to be miftruffed of Prolomy, he did him many other great courtefies, Araus never feeking them at his bands. But one day specially above the rest, as he did facrifice unto the gods at CORINTH, he sent Arans part of his weathers he had facrificed, unto SICYONE. And at the fealt of his facrifice in the hearing of many noble men that were bidden gueffs, he faid openly of Arans: I did alway think that this young SICYONIAN could not but have a liberal mind, loving the liberty of his Country and Countreymen: but I perceive now he is a man that can judge of Princes manners and affairs. For heretofore he made no account of us, because his hope was out of his Country, and he greatly effected the riches of ÆGYPT, hearing talk of so many Elephants, of such a great Fleet of Ships, and of such a sumptious Court, as King Prolomies Court. But now that he knoweth by experience, that it is onely but a smooth and vain pomp, he is come to us: and for my part he is welcome to me, and I will have you all to take him for my friend. These words of King Antigonus, were straight taken at bound of certain envious men, and carried for lack of better matter unto King Prolomy, every man striving who should write all the evil they could against him: fo that Prolomy thereupon sent a messenger of purpose unto him, to reprove him for it. Thus fell there out much envy and malice, between the earnest love of Aratus doing these Princes and Kings, that contended with each other who should have Aratus. Furthermore, mere Princes and Lings, that continued want General of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, he forraged and spoiled the Countrey of LOCRIDE, which lieth directly over against ACHAIA, and CALY-DONIA allo. Howbeit he came not time enough to aid the BJEOTIANS, in the battle which they loft before the City of CHERONEA, against the ETOLIANS: where Abaserium, Governor of BOSOTIA was flain in the field, with a thousand other BOSOTIANS. Howbeit the next year following, he being the second time chosen Lieutenant General, he attempted to win the Castle of CORINTH again, being an enterptife which not onely concerned the private benefit of Sievona it felf, and the tribe of ACHAIANS, but also of all GREECE besides. For, he was fully beat to drive the Garrison of the MACEDONIANS thence, the which seemed even a very yoke that held all the GRECIANS noses to the grindstone. For like as Chares, Captain of the ATHENI-ANS, having in a certain conflict discomfitted the Kings Lieutenants, wrote unto the ATHENIANS, that had won a victory half fifter to the victory of MARATHON: even so methinks it were no difgrace to fay, that this execution was like (as one brother to another) to the killing of the tyrants, which was done by Pelopides THEBAN, and Thraspoulse ATHENIAN; faving that this last act was more famous, because it was not against GRECIANS, but amongst strangers and soraign power and government, upon whom it was executed. For the 18thmus or bar of PELOPONNESUS, which feparateth the fea Egeum from the fea Jonium, doth come and joyn the firm land of the reft of GREECE Prefete, an I. with the PRESCHE and Island of PELOPONNESUS. Even to likewife the mountain called Across rinth, on the which the Caffle frandeth, rifing up in the middeft of GREECE, when there is any Garrison of men of War in it, it cutteth off all traffick and passage by, of any Armies of them which in-habit within the straight, for them that are without the straight, both by sea and by land, and maketh him onely Lord of the Countrey that keepeth the Castle. So that it was not for (port, but for truth, and in good earneft, that Philip the young King of MACEDON was wont to call the City and Cafile of CORINTH, the flocks and gyves of GREECE. And therefore was this Caffle marvelloully withed and defired of every man, but specially of Kings and Princes, But the defire Ansigonus had of it was fo vehement, that it differed nothing from the passions of a frantick lover. For he did nothing elle continually but fludy and devife how he might win it upon the fudden, from them that kept it : because otherwise by open force, it was impossible to be had. Wherefore after the death of Alexander that kept that Caftle, being poisoned (as it is reported) by Antigonau practife, the Caftle being left in the hands of his wife Nicas, who governed the state of Corinth, and did carefully cause the Antigonus craft Acrocorinth to be kept, he immediately fent his fon Demetrise thither, and put Nices in good hope to marry her with this young Prince : a thing that pleafed this Lady well, though the was very old. So, for her self she was won straight, by means of his young son Demetrius, whom he used as a state to intrapher. Howbeit Nices for all this goodly offer, for sook not her Castle, but always made

ponnesus. Acrecorinthus mons.

Amebeus there with his finging, and all the feaft of the marriage, and went fraight up to the Cafile, forcing himfelf above his strength and years. When he was at the top of the hill, and found the Gates thut, he knocked with his staff, and commanded the Garrison to open him the Gates. Antigonacraf. They wondering to fee him there in person, did let him in. When he was gotten into the Castle, he illy takeh the was fo exceeding joyfull of it, that he had no reason to moderate his joy; but would banquet in Caffe of datathe middeft of ftreets, and in the Market-place, having Minstrels to play upon their instruments
orisib.

at his Table, wearing Garlands of Flowers on their heads for joy; and did to fondly and lightly behave himlelf, as if he had been a light young man (and not as he was) an old man, who hid

it ftraightly to be looked unto. Antigonus feemed to make no account of it, but daily gave himself

to make sumpusous facrifices, seasts, and plays to the gods, within the City of CORENTH for the

marriage: as though he meant no other thing, but banqueting and jollity all that might be. When the hour was come to fee thefe sports, and that the Musician Amabem, began to sing, he himself made

as though he would accompany Nices unto the Theatre, being conveyed thither in a sumpruous rich litter, as it had been for a Queen. She was very glad of this honour, and thought nothing lefs then of

that which happened her. But when Antigonus came to the end of a ftreet that turned to go up the

hill towards the Caftle, be bad her keep on ftill to the Theatre : and himself in the mean time left

proved such fundry changes of fortune, and yet suffered himself to be thus carried away with pleasure. that he embraced and spake to every man he mer. Whereby it is easie to judge, that joy possessing Overgreat joy a man without wit or discretion, it maketh him besides himself, and doth more trouble his wits. then to a simple pain or fear. Now Antigonus having won the Caflle of the Acrocorimh, as you have heard, he him mad. pain or ital. him mad, put it into the hands of thole he trufted belt, to be fately kept: and therefore made Perfaus the Philo-Perfaus the fooher, Captain of the Caftle. But indeed Aratus was in mind to have attempted the taking of the Philosopher. Caftle in Alexanders life time : yet he let it alone, because he joyned himself with the ACHAIANS. made Captain But at that time there was offered him another occasion again to attempt it; and this it was. At Co- of the Acroco-But at that time time was officed min another occasion again to attempt at a time in the was. At Oio rinth, RINTH there were four Brethren born in Syria, of the which, one of them being called Dio rinth, Arrays detercles, was a Souldier of the Caffle : and the rest having robbed the Kings Treasure, went straight mination for unto SICYONE, to Agias the Banker, whom Aratus employed in his Faculty. These three Bre- the taking of thren immediately fold him part of the Gold they had robbed : and afterwards, one of them (called the Acroco-Erginus) coming often to fee him, by little and little fold him all the reft. By this means Agias rinth. fell into familiar acquaintance with him, and talked with him of the Garifon of the Caffle of the Acrocorinh. Erginus told him, that going unto his Brother up thole freep and high Rocks, he found a path as it were cut out of the Rock, that went to a place of the Wall of the Caftle, which was very low. Agias hearing that, answered him smiling: Alas, my friend, what mean you to fleal a little piece of Gold to hinder the King, when in one hours space you can sell such a great male of Money together? For as well shall you die if you be apprehended for this selony, as if you were otherwise attainted for Treason. Erginus with that fell a laughing, and promised that he would feel his Brother Diocles mind in it, for he did not greatly truft his other Brethren. So returning shortly after, he bargained with Aratus to bring him to a place of the Wall that was not above fifteen foot high. promifing that he would help him to execute the rest, with his Brother Diocles. Aritus promifed then to give him fifty Talents, if he brought his Enterprize to pass: and if he failed, that he would then give either of them, a House and a Talent. Erginus would have the whole fifty Talents put into Agias the Bankers hands. Aratus had not fo much ready Money, and besides he would not rake, it up at ulury, for fear of giving caule to suspect his Enterprize. Wherefore betook all his Plate of Gold and Silver, and his Wives Jewells, and laid them to gage to Agian, to disburfe the faid fum. But Aratus had fo great and noble a mind in him, and was fo bent to do notable acts, that knowing how Phocion and Epaminondas had been efteemed for the justest and honestest men of GREECE, because they had refused great Gifts that were offered them, and would never sell nor flain their Honour for Money: he yet surpassing them, was contented to spend his own, to bring any good Enterprize to pals, and did put his life in danger for the common benefit of his Countrymen; they themselves knowing nothing of his Enterprize, which turned all to their benefit. What is he then, that will not wonder at the great magnanimity and courage of fuch a man, and that will not even now as it were, be willing to aid him, confidering how dearly he bought so great a danger of his person, and how he laid his Plate and all the Riches he had to gage, to be brought in the night among the middest of his Enemies, where he was to fight for his own life, having no other gage nor pledge, but the hope of fuch a noble Enterprize, and nothing elfe? But now, though the Enterprize of it felf was dangerous, an errour chancing through ignorance at the first, made it yet more dangerous. For Aratus had lent Technon, one of his men before with Diocles, to view the Wall. This Technon had never spoken with Diocles, howbeit he thought in his mind what manner of man he was, by the marks that Erginus had given him of him: that he had a black curled hair, that his face was black, and that he had no beard. Now Technon being come to the place where Erginus faid he would be with Diocles, he stayed before the Town in a place called ORNIS. So whileft he was tarrying there, the elder Brother of Diocles (called Dionyfus, who knew nothing of the Enterprize, nor was made acquainted withall, and looked very like his Brother Diocles) came that way by chance. Technon being moved by the marks he faw in him, like unto those he was told of, asked him if he were nothing a kin unto Erginus. The other answered him, he was his Brother. The error ot, asked him it he were nothing a kin unto Erginar. The other aniwered him, it was in Browner. Then Technon periwading himlelf it was certainly Diocles that fpake to him, without asking him his likeness of name, or making other inquiry of him, he took him by the hand, and began to talk with him of men one to anthe practice he had with Erginus, and to ask him of it. Dionyfus taking the matter upon him, other, and feeding on his error, returned forthwith into the City, holding him on ftill with talk, Technon mistrusting nothing. But even as Dionysus was ready to take hun fast by the collar, his Brother Erginus came. Who, perceiving how Technon had miffaken the matter, and the danger he was in, beckoned to him with his head to fly; and so they both ran for life unto Aratus, to save themselves. Howbeit Aratus was nothing the more discouraged for this, but fent Erginus straight to carry his Brother Diony fins Money, and to pray him not to be known of any thing : who furthermore brought him with him unto Aratus. But after they had him once, they made him fure for starting : for they bound him, and locked him up fast in a Chamber, whilst they went about their Enterprize. So when all things were ready, Aratus commanded the rest of his Army that they should tarry behind, armed all night: and he himself with four hundred of the best men he had (not knowing themselves whether they went, nor to what intent) went straight to the Gates of the City, passing by the

Temple of Juno. This was about the middest of Summer, when the Moon was at the full, and the

Element very clear without clouds: infomuch that they were afraid their Armours would glifter by

Moon-light, and bewray them. But as the foremost of them came near unto the City, there arose clouds out of the Sea that darkened all the City and places thereabouts, and shadowed them.

Aratus great crocorinth. The happy benefit of the

Then all of them fitting down on the ground, plucked off their shoots, both because they should make less noise, as also for that their sooting should be surer, and that they should slip less upon the Ladders. But Erginus, and seven other companions with him, like men that travell, came secretly into the Gate of the City, and flew the Porter and Warders there. At that very inftant. Aratus caused the Ladders to be set up against the Walls, and made an hundred of his Souldiers get up on them: and fent also to command the reft, that they should follow him with all possible speed.

Then drawing up his Ladders after him, as fast as he could, he went through the City with his hundred men toward the Castle, with such a joyfull chear, as if he had it already in his hand; for that he faw he was not discovered. But as he went on, he saw four of the Watch coming with a light against them. They faw not Aratus and his Company, but the Enemies faw them plainly afar off. Aratus and his men therefore frood up close against the old Walls to tarry their coming, and at the first onler, flew three of them: but the fourth having a blow on his head with a Sword, ran away, making an out-cry, that the Enemies were in the City. The Trumpets forthwith founded the Alarm, all the City was in an uproar, the firees were fireight full of People running up and down, and of lights in every cornier, both beneath the City, and also in the Castle, and the noise was great every where. Aratus in the mean time forced to get up the high Rocks fair and foftly at the first, and with great sanger in ta-king of the Ca- pain and difficulty, being out of his path he should have found, which he missed being very deep into the Rocks, and with many crooks and cranks went to the foot of the Cattle : but fuddenly, even as it had been by miracle, the Moon appearing through the clouds, when they were in their worst way, it gave them light, and brought them to that part of the Wall where they should be and straight the Moon was shadowed again. Now the three hundred Souldiers whom Aratus had left by the Gate of the Temple of Juno, when they were come into the City being full of lights and in uproar, and besides could not find the path by the which their Captain Araus went before them: they stood close together under a Rock that shadowed them, forrowfully looking to hear fome news of Aratm: who was then fighting with the Garrison of the Caftle, the which made head against him, with all the force and power he could. Under the Castle there was a great noise heard of men that fought, but yet the noise was so confused by the sound rebounding against the Rocks and Mountain, that they could not devife whence it should come. So they being in this perplexity, not knowing which way to turn themselves, Archelaus, Captain of King Anticonus men, having a good number of Souldiers with him, went up the Hill with great cries and noise of Trumpers, to fet upon Aratsu and his Company behind. But after he was passed by these three hundred Souldiers of Aratu Band, they gave Charge upon him, as if they had been laid there in Ambuth of purpole, and thewathe first they encountred withall, and made the others to afraid, and Archelam himself, that they dispersed them, and made some fly one way, some another. So, as they were overthrown, Erginus came to these three hundred men, coming immediately from them that fought, and brought the news that Anatus and them of the Castle, were come to the Sword together, and valiantly defended themselves, lustily fighting for the Wall, and therefore it was time for them to help him quickly. Then the Souldiers bade him bring them thinker straight, and so he did. So they climbing up the Hill, did fignifie by their cries to their men, that they came to aid him. Furthermore, the Moon being then at the full, and shining on their Harness, made their Enemies in the Caftle think that they were a greater number then indeed they were, because of the long way they had to make to get up upon the Rocks; and also because of the found in the night, that made their cry feem to be of a greater number then they were. At length they joyned with Aratus, they fought it out to luftily, that they drave the Garrison out of the Walls, and by break Aratus taketh of day wan the Caftle. So that their Exploit was discovered by the rifing of the Sun, and befides, all the reft of their Army that came from the City of SICYONE: whom the CORINTHI-ANS very gladly received, and did fet open their Gates unto them, and aided them to take King Antigonus men. Afterwards, when they thought that all was fafe, then Aratus ran from the Cattle unto the Theatre of the City, whither repaired an infinite number of People, as well for the defire they had to fee him, as also to hear him speak unto the CORINTHIANS. So, having placed the ACHAIANS on either fide, at the coming into the Theatre, Aratus being armed went up into the Chair or Pulpit for Orations, having his face quite changed, both for the great pains he had taken, and also for lack of sleep: so that his body being over-wearied, his spirits were even done. Now when all the Affembly of the People (feeing him in the Chair) did humble themselves to shew him all the honour and kindness they could possible : he took his Spear out of his left hand into his right, and bowing his knee and body fomewhat, he leaned upon it, and fo ftood a great while in this manner before he spake, receiving the cries of joy and clapping of hands which the People made, praifing his valiantness, and bleffing his good hap and Fortune. Then when they had done, and were quiet again, he framed his countenance, and began to make an Oration unto them in the name of all the Tribe and Commonwealth of the ACHAI-Armus joyneth ANS, meet for the Enterprize from whence he came; and perfwaded them to joyn to the A-CHAIANS. So therewithall, they prefently delivered him the Keys of the City, the which were never before that time in their power, since the reign of King Philip. Now touching the other Captains of King Amigonus, Aratus having taken Archelam prifoner, he let him go, bur put Theophrastus to death, because he would not go out of CORINTH. Perfans (Captain of the Castle) feeing the Castlebut loft, he fecretly faved himfelf, and fled unto the City of CENCREES. And it is reported, that as he was afterwards in talk of Philosophy, where one maintaining, that a man could

rinth.

not be a good Caprain, unless he were a perfect wise man: This (quoth he) is one of Zeno's opinot be a good Captain, units it which heretofore pleafed me best: but now this young Sicyonian Aratus, hath That a man made me of another mind. Many Writers do report this faying of Perfeus. Furthermore, Aratus could not be a wan presently the Temple of Juno, and the Haven of LECHAEUM, where he took five and twenty good Captain, Ships of King Antigonus, and five hundred Horse of service for the War, and four hundred Syrai-ANS, which he fold every one of them. The ACHAIANS left within the Caftle of the Acrocorinth, man. a Garison of four hundred Footmen, and fifty dogs, and as many hunts; all the which were kept for Persess answer the Watch of the Castle. Now, the ROMANS wondring at the valiantness of Philopamen, they cal- to Zeno's opithe Watch of the Grecians. Even so might I also (in my opinion) say, that this act is the nion. Led him the last of the Grecians, and deferved to be equall, as well for valiantness, as Philogementate last and most famous of all the Grecians, and deferved to be equall, as well for valiantness, as a last famous also good success, with the greatest exploits of the most famous Ancients; as that which followed man of the immediately after, doth amply declare. For the MEGARIANS revolting from King Antigonus, Grecians. did straight joyn with Aratus: and the TROEZENIANS also with the EPIDAURIANS, did Aratus Power likewife enter into league and friendship with the ACHAIANS. So at the first invasion he made, he and Authority went to spoil the Countrey of ATTICA, and crossed over to the Isle of SALAMINA, and spoiled with and destroyed it, even as if he had delivered the power and force of the ACHAIANS out of prison. to ferve his own turn in any thing he thought good of. Howbeir, he fent home the ATHENIANS Prisoners without paying of ransom: and all of policy to make them desirous to rebel against the MACEDONIANS. Furthermore, he made King Ptolomy a friend and confederate of the ACHAI-ANS, with condition, that he should be Lieutenant General both by Sea and by Land. For these respects Aratus was of marvellous estimation and credit with the ACHAIANS : infomuch that where they could not yearly choose him their Generall, being contrary to their Law, they chose him at the least every second year: but in effect, all was done by his advice and counsell. For they saw plainly, that it was neither honour, nor riches, nor friendship of Kings and Princes, nor the private benefit of his own City wherein he was born, nor any other thing else that he preferred, before the glory and encrease of the Commonwealth of the ACHAIANS. For he was of opinion, that Cities themselves were but weak, and being joyned together with the chain of common benefit, they were a ftrength one to preserve the other. And in like manner, even as the parts that are in the bodies of brute Beafts. have life and fuftenance, being joyned and knit together, and straight so soon as there is any separation of them the one from the other, they live no more, but putrifie : even fo Cities also were brought to decay by them that did differfe their fociety among them; and in contrary manner did then again entreale, when joyning with any other great body and City, they were governed with wildom and good counsell. So Aratus seeing the chiefest Cities thereabours enjoy their Laws and Liberties, thought good countent so Marki teeing the thicket when you have been and bondage. Wherefore he practified to kill Aram goeth the Tyrant Arishomachus that governed them, both to shew himself thankfull to the City for his briggs a thicket. ang up there : as also to joyn that great and mighty City unto the Tribe of the ACHAIANS. Now to there were divers men, that had the hearts and courage to undertake to do it, of the which the chiefeft were Afchylu and Charimenes the Soothfayer, but they had no Swords : for they were ftraightly forbidden by the Tyrant, and grievous punishments ordained for them that should be found with their Swords. Aratus therefore caused little short Daggers to be made at CORINTH for them, Aratus prepawhich he fowed up in packs carried on certain Beatls loaden with other Baggage and ftuff. But the Daggers at Soothlayer Charimenes did impart this Enterprize unto a third man, and made him one of the Congainst the Tyliniary with them. Alchebula being very much of made with it have the being very much of made with it have the being very much of made with it have the being very much of made with it have the being very much of made with it have the being very much of made with it have the being very much of made with it have the being very much of made with it have the being very much of made with it have the being very much of made with it have the being very much of made with it have the being very much of made with it have the being very much of the Congaint the Tyline very muc spiracy with them. Afchylus being very much offended with it, began therefore to enter into pra- rants Decree dice by himself, and leti their company. Charimenes perceiving that, took such a toy in his head and Ordinance in a mad mood, that he bewrayed them as they went about to execute their Enterprize. This notwithflanding, the most part of the Conspirators faved themselves, and fled to CORINTH. So the Tyrant Aristomachus was slain shortly after by his own men. But then another Tyrant Aristipm, a crueller man then the first, made haste to take the Tyranny before he could be refisted. This notwithstanding, Araini with all the young men of the ACHAIANS able to serve in the Field, ty of Argot. went fuddenly thither with aid, hoping to find them of the City very glad to recover their liberty. Howbeit the People being acquainted, and of long time used patiently to bear the yoke of bondage, shere was not a man of them that would once take his part. So he returned back again and did nothing, faving that thereby the ACHAIANS were accused, because that in open Peace they had made War, and therefore they were put in fuit before the MANTINEANS, at Aristippus request, Tyrant of ARGOS. The matter was pleaded in Aratus absence, and the ACHAIANS were condemned to pay the film of thirty Mina's. After this proof and attempt of Aratus, Aristippus being altaid of A- Aristippus laid FAILS, and hating him to the death, fought waies to kill him, with the help of Antigonus, who did wait to kill rans, and having him to the deam, jought water to him him, that did nothing elfe but lie in wait to Arans, aid him in it: and there were spials almost in every corner, that did nothing else but lie in wait to Arans, execute Arishippu mind. Now, there is no furer guard unto a Prince, then the perfect love and good to a Prince, to a Prince, the perfect love and good to a Prince the perfect love and good to a Prin will of his Subjects. For after that the Nobility and Common People have been used to fear, not then the love him; but those that for him command them, he then feeth with many eyes, heareth with many ears, of his Subjects. and knoweth what is done far off. Here therefore I will a little digress from my History, to thew you the manner of Aristippus life the Tyrant, whereunto he was brought by this so much defired tyrannical Government, and smoak of Seigniory, so esteemed of all men. Now though The miserable Aristippus had King Amigonus his friend, and that he kept a Guard of Souldiers about him for life of Aristip. the fafety of hisperson, and that there was not an Enemy of his left alive in all the City: yet he made pus, the Tyrang

his Souldiers watch and lie without his Palace, under the Cloysters and Galleries thereabouts; and of Argor.

Aratus Go-

after supper turned all his men out of the doors, and then shut his Court Gates to him, and locked himself alone with his Concubine, in a little high Chamber with a trap-door, and fet his Bed upon it, and fo flept, as one that continually was afraid of himfelf. Then, after he was come up, his Concubines Mother came to take up the Ladder, and locked it in another Chamber: and so did let it down again the next morning, and called this trim Tyrant, that went down out of his Chamber, like a Snakethar should have crept out of her hole. Where Aratus in contrary manner, not having obtained by force of Arms, but lawfully through vertue, a continuall Government, being fimply apparelled with a poor Gown of small price, and shewing himself a mortall Enemy unto all forts of Tyrants, bath left a Race and noble Off-fpring among the GRECIANS, which remain yet untill this prefent day. Contrarily also, there are few Tyrants that usurp the Castles of free Cities, that keep fo many Souldiers in pay, that make fuch provision for Armour and Weapon, and have so many Gates and Draw-bridges for the lafety of their perfons; that in the end can keep themselves from violent death, no more then Hares : neither do leave also any Posterity, House or Grave, why their memory should be honoured after their death. So Aratus having divers ways made fundry attempts, both by open force, and otherwife fuddenly to take the City of Argos, and to thrust out the Tyrant Ariffippus, he ever failed of his purpose, but specially one night among the rest, when he entred the City very dangeroully, with a few Souldiers with him, and flew the Souldiers that came to give supply to them that fought. But after that day was broken, and that the Tyrant with all his Forces came to fet upon him, the ARGIVES stirred not at all ; as if Aratus had not fought for their Liberty, but as though they had been Judges appointed to fit to fee the Sports of the Games Nemee, to judge the Game unto the Conqueror without partiality, and with indifferency. Aratus in the mean time fighting like a valiant man, was thrust at with a Pike, and run through the thigh. This notwithflanding, at length he wan that part of the City where he fought, and was not thrust out till night, what force foever the Enemies made upon him. And if he could possibly have holden it out all night, he had undoubtedly obtained his purpole: for the Tyrant looked for none other but to fly, and had already fent divers of his Goods to the Sea. Howbeit no man once came to tell Aratus any news of it; besides also, lacking water, and for that he could not help himself because of his wound, he was driven to lead his men away, and failed of his purpole. So, defpairing that he could ever take it by stealth, he went thuber with open Wars, and spoiled and destroyed all the Countrey of ARGOS: and having fought a great Battle against the Tyrant Aristippus, by the River of Chares, they blamed Aratus much, that he forfook the Victory, and cowardly retired out of the Battle. For the reft of his Army doubtless had the better, and had followed the Enemies far in chase: when he fled being afraid, not compelled by his Enemies, but miftrufting his fortune, and retired to his lodging. So, when they that returned from the chase of their Enemies were offended, for that they having put them to flight, and also slain a great number more of them then they had lost of theirs; and yet for cowardlines should suffer their Enemies (whom they had overcome and put to flight) to fet up Marks of triumph in token of victory : Aratus being ashamed of it, determined to fight once again, for the Marks of triumph. Whereupon resting his men but one day, he led them againing the Field, and setting his Army in Battle-ray, offered to fight once more. This notwithstanding, when he faw a great supply coming to his Enemy, and that the Tyrantsmen came to fight more lustily, and with better courage then before, Aratus durft not abide them, but retired, and fent to demand leave to take away his dead men, to bury them; yet he could speak so courteously, and behave himfelf fo wifely, by the experience he had in Government, and also for the good will they bare him, that they forgave the fault he committed , and he wan the City of CLEONES unto the A-CHAIANS, where he caused the Feafts of the Games of Nemee to be celebrated, as belonging of great antiquity, rather unto the CLEONIANS, then unto the ARGIVES. This notwithstanding, the ARGIVES did keep it also, and then was the first time that the Sanctuary and Priviledge was broken, which was wont to be granted unto all them that came to play for the Games: because the ACHAIANS did make them Prisoners that fought in ARGOS, as they returned through their Countrey, and fold them as Enemies. So marrelloully did Armur and the A-CHAIANS hate all forts of Tyranis, without respect of person. Shortly after he was advertised, that the Tyrant Arifippus did lie in wait to fpy opportunity, to take the City of CLEONES from him : howbeit that he was afraid of it, because he remained at that time in CORINTH. So Aratus straight sent out commandment into every place, to assemble the Army of the Tribe of the ACHAIANS, and that they should bring Victuals with them for many days: and so craftily came down to the City of CENCHREES, to entice Ariftippus, by his going away to far off, that Aratus Stratt. in his absence he should attempt to set upon the CLEONEIANS, as indeed he did. For he gem, to introp failed not prefently to go thither with his Army. But Arms returning from CENCHREBS unto CORINAIH, very late in the night, and having layed good watch every way, he fuddenly brought the Army of the ACHAIANS Unto CLEONES with such speed and quietness, that they were not feen as they came, but entred into the City of CLHONES by night, and were ready to fight with the Tyrant, before he knew they were come. So the Gates of the City were fet open by break of day, and the fignall of Battle was given by found of Trumpers; and fo fetting Araus Victory upon the Tyrants men with great cries, they suspecting nothing, were presently put to slight. And because the place where the overthrow was given, had many turnings, Aratus, following the chase, thought the way which he took the Tyrant fled in. The chase continued to the City of MYCENES; there the Tyrant was overtaken by a CRETAN called Tragifous (as Dinian

reporteth) who slew him: and there were slain of his men also above fifteen thousand. But now Aratus having won fuch a famous Victory, and lost never a man, he could not yet win the City of Aristippus the Argos, nor fet it again at liberty. For one Agias, and another Aristomachus, got into the Tyrant slain. Town with the Kings Army, and kept it: but notwithstanding, by this noble Victory Aratus did race out a great part of the reproach that they gave bim, and of the scoffs and slents the flatterers of the Tyrants devised of him : who to please them, reported, that when they should come to fight indeed, the Generall of the ACHAIANS had the wind-cholick in his belly, and a dimnels in his eyes, with a giddiness in his head, when he heard but the found of the Trumpets. And furthermore also, when he had fet his men in Battle-ray, and given them the Word of Battle, he asked the Generals if he should need to be there in person, because he was hurt in the heel; and then would get him as far off as he could, to fee the end of the Battle. This talk was fo common, that the Philosophiphers themselves disputing of it, to wit, whether to tremble and change colour in present danger cal question. and perill, be figns of a faint heart, or of an ill complexion and coldness of body: they alway whether tremvouched Aratus, that had been a good and valiant Captain, and yet when he began to fight, he bling and was ever in that taking. So when he had overcome Arifippus, he lought means allo to deftroy Ly changing of findas Megalifolita, who as absolute Lord and King of the Countrey, kept the City of Megalifolita. Notwithstanding he had no base mind in him, neither was he carried away with a ofcowardlines. cruel desire of Tyranny to live at his pleasure, nor through extream covetousness, as most Princes Lystadas Tybe: but being a young man, and pricked forward with defire of Honour and Fame, and having un-rant of Megaliadvifedly conceived in his mind (which was great and highly bent) the vain reasons he heard men talk of Principality, as of a state most blessed, and worthy of admiration; he found the means to make himself Lord of his Countrey. But afterwards he was soon weary of the dangers and troubles such manner of Government bringeth with it, and desired to follow Aratus, whom he saw profper, and of great honour. Furthermore also, fearing his secret practises against him, he took hold of a noble device : first to rid himself of the malice and sear of the Prison and Guard of his Souldiers; and laftly, to be a Benefactor to his Countrey. So he fent for Aratus, gave up his Go- Lyfialus Tyvernment, and delivered up his City to the Tribe of the ACHAIANS. They so extolled him for rant of Megathis act, that they chose him their Lieutenant General of all the Tribe. Wherefore, Lysadas stri- lipotis leaveth this act, that they chose him their Lieutenant General of an the Tribe. Wherefore, Lyjaana, ittithe Tyranny, ving at the first to excell Aratus in honour, attempted divers things which were not very needfull: and yielded as among others, to make War with the LACEDEMONIANS. But Aratus was very much against himself and him in that, though some think it was for envy. Thereupon they chose Lysiadas Generall of the his Dominion ACHAIANS the second time: although Aratus openly both spake and made what means he could unto the Ato the contrary, and would have had another to have been chosen. For he himself was every other chaians. year General. So Lyfiadas was choien again Generall of the Achaians the third time, with every bodies good will: and Aratus and he had abfolute Power and Government by turns, one after the other. But when they faw that Lysiadas became open Enemy unto Aratus, and did still accule him in all their Councils and Affemblies: they fell in foch milliking with him, that they rejected Diffention becule him in all their Councils and Atlemblies: they fell in such millioning with him, that they rejected twist Arants him. For they thought his but a counterfeit vertue, to contend with the perfectness of Arans and Lylishas. vertue, much like unto one of Afops Fables, faying, That little Birds did answer the Cuckow on a One of A time, asking them why they did fly from her: Because we are afraid (faid they) thou wilt be a Spar- fops Tales of hawk one day. Even so it seemeth, that there was a certain suspition in mens minds of Lysiadas the Cuckows Tyranny, which made them mitrust that he went not from his Tyranny with good will. Now A-little Birds. ratus on the other fide, wan as great praise and honour by his doings against the ETOLIANS. Aratus noble For when the ACHAIANS would needs have fought upon the Confines of the Territory of the counter against MEGARIANS, and that Agu King of LACEDEMON, being come with his Army to the Camp of the Etolians. the Tribe of the ACHAIANS, did perswade them hardily to give Battle: Aratus was stoutly against it, and did abide many mocks and taunts they gave him, saying, That it was for cowardliness he would not go. This notwithstanding, he would not leave his wife and safe determination, for all that open shame : but suffered the Enemies to pass over the Mountain Gerania , and to invade Gerania Mons PELOPONNESUS, and would never fight with them. But afterwards, when he saw that at their first coming they had taken the City of PALENA, he then changed his mind, and would deter time no longer, to tarry till all his Power were come together, but marched forthwith, with those few he had, against his Enemies, who marvellously weakened themselves by their insolency and disorder after their Victory, keeping no Watch nor Ward. For after they had entred the City of Arthus letteth Allena, the Souldiers ran into every house, one thrusting in anothers neck, and fighting for vious Enemies the Goods they found. The Captains also fell to ravishing of Maids, and the PALLENIANS Wives, and put their Burganets and Morrions upon their heads, that none other should take them: because that by the same the Souldiers should know whose they were, and to whom the Women belonged. So they being in this ruff and jollity, news came suddenly that Aratus was come. This made them quake for fear, when they faw they were like to be taken out of order. For before they all understood of the danger by their sudden setting on them, the ACHAIANS were fighting already within the Suburbs and Gates of the City, against the first that resisted, whom they flew. They being broken and put to flight, made the rest so afraid that were gathered together to aid them, that they wift not what to do. In this tumult and hurly burly, there was one of the Ladies a Prisoner, that was the Daughter of Epigethes, one of the noblest men of the City, and she a marvellous goodly woman, and passing fair: who being set in the Temple of Diana, whither a Captain that had chosen her for himself had brought her, and had put his Burganet on her head,

when the heard the noise of them that fought, the fuddenly ran to the Gate of the Temple with the A woman with Burganet on her head, to fee them fight. The Citizens feeing her in that array, found her the gooda Burganet on lier to behold, and of greater Majerty, then any wordly creature. The Enemies on the other fide were so afraid to see her, thinking she had been some Spirit, that not a man of them durst once defend themselves. So the Palenians say, that the Image of Diana all the rest of the time is kept locked up, and no body touched it; and that when the Nun that keepeth it, doth carry it else-Diana with the where, no man dare look on it, but every man turneth his eyes away : because the fight of it is not onely fearfull and hurtfull unto men, but it also killeth the fruit of the trees it passeth by, and maketh them barren. This was the cause that then troubled the ETOLIANS minds so much, because the Nun removing the Image of the goddes Diana, she turned it towards them. Howbeit, Aratus in his Commentaries maketh no mention of this at all, but onely writeth, that when he had defeated the ETOLIANS, following them in chase, he entred hand over head with them that fled into the City, out of the which he drave them, and flew feven hundred of them. This noble Victory hath been efteemed amongst the chiefest afterwards: and the Painter Timanthes hath drawn and set it forth in Table very lively. This notwithstanding, because divers Princes and People did immediately prepare force against the Achaians, Aratus presently made Peace with the Etoli-Artus brings ANS by the practice of Pantaleon, who bare great fway and authority amongst them. Furtherein the ATHENIANS at liberty, he suddenly attempted to take the Haven of PIREA: for the which the ACHAIANS reproved him, because he had broken the Peace they had made with the MACEDONIANS. But Aratus in his Commentaries doth flourly deny that it was he, and layeth the fault upon Erginus, by whose means he wan the Castle of the teth to fet A. Acrocorinh: faying, that it was he, that of his own mind did fet a fealing-Ladder to the Wall, and that his Ladder breaking under him, he fled upon it; and perceiving he was followed nearby the Enemies, he ftill cried out, Aratus, as if he had been there, and by this policy mocked his Enemies, and faved himself. Howbeit, methinketh this answer is not true. For it is not credible, that Erginus a private Souldier, and a SYRIAN born, should have so great an Enterprize in his head, unless it had been by Aratus consent and commandment, who had given him men, time and means to undertake it. And this appeared plainly afterwards : for Arasm did not attempt it twice or thrice onely, but oftener then fo (as those that extreamly defire a thing) to take the Haven of PIR.EA on the sudden, not giving over for once failing, but rather emboldened him-felf again with good hope, because he missed it but little, and that he came so near the taking of it. And another time also amongst others, slying through the Plain of Thriasia, he brake his leg, and was driven to make many incisions to heal it: so that he was a long time together carried in his Litter unto the Wars. After that King Antigonus was dead, and that Demetriat his Son succeeded him in the Kingdom, he attempted then more earnestly then ever before, to set Aratus over the City of Athens at liberty, making small account of the MACEDONIANS. Aratus thrown by the therefore being overthrown in Battle near unto PHYLACIA, by King Demetries Lieutenant, called Bibbs, and the rumour running straight abroad, that Aratus was dead, or at the least that he was taken Prisoner: one named Diogenes, Captain of the Haven of PIREA, wrote a Letter unto CORINTH, and commanded the Garrison of the ACHAIANS that kept it, to deliver the Town, for Aratus was dead. But he by chance was at the felf-same time in CORINTH:

MACEDONIANS, exceeding all lightness of flattery, wore Garlands on their heads a whole day together, in token of common joy, when news was brought them of Aratus death. Attato the very Suburbs of the Academy. Notwithstanding at their earnest requests, he did no hurt there. And afterwards the ATHENIANS acknowledging his valiantness, when King Demetrius died, it took them in the heads to recover their Liberty again. So Aratus, though that year another man was Generall of the ACHAIANS, and that he kept his bed lying fick of a long difeafe: yet to further this, he was carried unto ATHENS in a Litter, and so perswaded Diogenes (Captain of the Garrison there) that for the sum of an hundred and fifty Talents (towards the which Aratus gave of his own, twenty Talents) he made him deliver to the ATHENIANS, the Haven of PIREA, the Castle of MUNICHIA, the Isle of SALAMINA, and the Castle of Su-NIUM. After this the ÆGINETES, the HERMIONIANS, and the most part of ARCADIA it felf, did prefently joyn with the ACHAIANS: fo that the MACEDONIANS being occupied with Wars at that time in other places against their neighbours, the Power of the ACHAIANS Arasus by per. marvellously encreased, having also the ETOLIANS their Confederates. Then Arasus to perfurfion delive- form his old promite, and being angry to fee the City of Argos (being fo near neighbour unto them) yet kept in bondage, he sent unto Aristomachus, to perswade him to be contented to set his City again at liberty, and to joyn it to the Tribe of the ACHAIANS, as Lysiadas had done his Town of MEGALIPOLIS : and rather to like to be made a General with Honour and praife of fo great and famous a State as the ACHAIANS, then Tyrant of one onely City, hated, and every hour of the night and day in danger of his life. Ariffomachus gave ear to his perfwafions, and fent unto Araus, telling him that he had need of fifty Talents to discharge the Souldiers he had about him. The Money was straight prepared. And Lyfiadas that was at that time

fo that they which brought the Letters went home with a mock, without their purpose, and

made all the company merry. Furthermore, King Demetrins himself fent a Galley out of Ma-

CEDON, to bring Aratus bound unto him. The ATHENIANS themselves also, to please the

General of the ACHAIANS, and that marvelloully defired this matter might be brought to pass by his means: he secretly sent unto Aristomachus to accuse Aratus, and shewed how he had been always a mortal Enemy unto Tyrants, and therefore counselled him rather to put himself into his hands, as indeed he did. For Lysiadas brought Aristomachus unto the Councill of the A-CHAIANS. There all the Council plainly shewed their good wills, and the considence they had The love and in Aratus: for when he spake against it, that they should not receive Aristomachus, they rejected sighof the him with great anger. But afterwards also when Aratus was won, and that he began to move Achaians unto the contrary to the Councill, they straight agreed to receive the ARGIVES, and the PHLIASI. Arasus. ANS in League with them; and also the next year following they chose Aristomachus Lieutenant Generall of all their Tribe. Aristomachus seeing himself in credit now with the ACHAIANS, would needs invade the Countrey of LACONIA with a main Army, and fent for Aratus being then at ATHENS. Aratus wrote unto him, and wished him in any wife not to meddle with that Tourney, because he would not have the ACHAIANS to deal with Chomenes King of LACEDE-MON, that was a couragious and front young Prince, and marvelloufly grown in fhort time. Howbeit, Aristomachus being self-willed in that point, Aratus obeyed him, and was there in person all that Journey. So Chomenes being come to them upon the sudden with his Army, near unto the City of PALANTIUM, Aristomachus would needs fight with him; but Aratus diffwaded him from it. Whereupon Lyfiadas afterwards accused him to the ACHAIANS, and the next year following he contended with him, fuing to be General; howbeit he was rejected by most voices, and Aratus chosen General the twelfth time. The self-fame year he was overthrown in Battle by Cleamenes, near unto the Mountain Lyczum, and being fled, wandred up and down in the night, that Aratm overevery man thought he had been flain, and it ran for good payment among all the GRECIANS, thrown in Bi Howbeit, he faved himself, and having gathered his men together again, not contenting him that Cleomene he had escaped with life, but wifely taking the opportunity and occasion offered, no man knowing it, hard by the nor miftrufting his coming: he fuddenly went to affail the MANTINEANS, which were Confede- Mountain rates of Cleomenes, and having taken the City of Mantinea, heleft a great Garrison in it, and Lycaum. made the strangers that were there, free of the City. Thus Aratus was he alone, that being over-the City of come, wan the ACHAIANS that which they themselves could scarcely have won if they had Mantines, been Conquerors. Afterwards, the LACEDEMONIANS invading the Territories of the MEGA-LIPOLITANS with a great Army, Aratus inddenly went thinker to aid them, but would hazard Bauleno more, nor give Chemenes vantage, who defired onely to fight, and ftill conftantly refifted the MEGALIPOLITANS, that provoked him to come into the Field. For befides that in nature he was not meet for a fet Battle, at that time also he was the weaker in men; and had to do with a vertuous young man, that was all fire: where his courage and ambition on the other fide was cool and quiet enough. Furthermore he confidered, that as King, Cleomenes fought honour by valiant venturing, which he had not before: even so it was his part wisely to keep that which he had long fince gotten, and to stand upon his guard and safety. This notwithstanding, the light armed men being pur out into the Field, and having chased the LACEDEMONIANS even into their Camp, and entring in with them hand over head : Arasus would never bring out his Citizens, but stayed them in a great Valley that lay between them both, and would not let them come on any farther. Where-withall Lyfiadas being mad with himself, and failling out with Aristis, he called for the Horfemen, and fail, that he would yet help them that followed the chase; and prayed them not to lose the Victory so cowardly, of the which they were so sure: nor to forfake him at a pinch, fighting for the defence of their Countrey. So having gotten a great number of choice Horsemen together, he went with a great fury and gave Charge on the right Wing of his Enemies Battle, and having dispersed them, and put them to flight, he unadvifedly followed them with great courage, into evil-favoured crooked ways, among Trees and great broad Ditcheo. Whereupon Cleomenes came, and fo luftily fet on him, that he slew him dead in the place, valiantly fighting and defending himself. The other The death of men of Arms flying also, rushed in again, into the Battle of the Footmen, and so disordered their Lyfiadas. ranks, that they made all their Army fly for fear. For this cause they greatly blamed Aratus, because he had forsaken Lysiadau: and being enforced unto it by the ACHAIANS that went without his kave, he followed them at length, and fled himself also unto the City of £GIUM. There the Arasus oncea-ACHAIANS fitting in Council, they decreed, that they would furnish Aratus with no more Mo-gain overney, neither would they pay his strangers any more : and bad him pay them at his own charge, if thrown by he would entertain them for the War. Aratus perceiving that they did him great wrong, flood even indifferent to deliver up his Commission of Lieutenancy, and to discharge himself of his Office : but after he had bethought himself better, he bare it patiently, and led the ACHAIANS directly to the City of ORCHOMENE. There he valiantly fought with Megistonus, King Chemenes Father-inlaw, and had the upper hand of him : for he flew three hundred of his men, and took Megistonus felf Prisoner. Furthermore, where before every second year they did use to choose him their Lieutenant-General, when his turn came about again, they called him to give him the Office; but he refused it, and Timoxenus was chosen in his room. Now the cause alledged for his refusal; was said to be, for that he milliked of the common People. But that foundeth like a lye: for the truth of it, to my feeming, was, for that he faw the State of the ACHAIANS to decline. For King Cleomenes proceeded no more fair and fofuly as he did at the first, when he was controlled and bridled by the Ephori: but having flain them, and equally divided the Lands through LACEDEMONIA, and made the strangers free Citizens of SPARTA, being then absolute Lord of LACEDEMON, he

Aratus tein ftorm and tempelt.

The meanest man of Sparia

Sicrone .to

ARATUS. ftraight fer upon the ACHAIANS with all the Power he could, and fought to conquer them. And therefore Aratus deferveth just reproof, for that he forfook his Country in foch extream trouble and danger, that being as the Mafter of a Ship, he gave another the Stern to fteer, when it had been most honourable and meetest for him to have taken it in hand (though they would not have given it of a Common him) to have faved his Countrey. Or otherwise, if he had indeed utterly despaired of the good sucwest ought no man, to have taxed his Country. A country in the rather into Cleomenes hands, and not to have more to toriske, cels of the ACHAIANS, he should then have put it rather into Cleomenes hands, and not to have poyfoned PELOPONNESUS again with the manners of the barbarous People (bringing in as he did, the Garrison of the MACEDONIANS, filling the Caftle of the Acrocorinth with GAULS and ILdanger, then
the Milter of a
Lyrian N Souldiers, and making them his Lords and Mafters, whom he had fo often overcome in
the Milter of a
Wars, and bereaved of their Government, and of whom he allo fpake fo much evil in his Commentaship, his Ship
Wars and bereaved of their Government, and of whom he allo fpake for much evil in his Commentation of the most of the commentation of th ries,) not to have put them into Towns, and calling them friends and Confederates, to think thereby to colour and difguich his wicked practife. Admit Cleomenes had been a Tyrant, and a cruel man (if I should so tearmhim) yet came he of the blood of Hercules, and was born in Sparta: from whence they fhould rather have chosen the meanest man Governour, then the greatest Kings of Ma-CEDON; and those specially that prefer the honour and glory of GREECE, before strangers. Yet King Cleoments required no more of all the ACHAIANS, but the name onely to be their Lieutenant Generall: and fo they would grant him that honour, he promifed he would be very good unto the the greatest Cities Consederates to ACHAIA. Where Antigonus notwithstanding, when they had chosen him their Lieutenant Generall, with absolute power and authority both by Sea and also by Land, refused the charge, unless they would let him have the Cafele of the Acrocorinth for his hire. The which was Esoprhamer even like to Appr Hunter, that bridled his Horse : for he would not get upon the ACHAIANS that requested him, and that by their Ambassadors and Decrees of Council, did refer all unto himself, before he had first fadled and bridled them, by the Garrison hemade them receive, and the Pledgeshe caufed them to give him; and yet he spake as much as might be to clear himself of the acculation a-Polybins Hillo-gainft him, bearing them in hand that he was forced to ir. Howbeit Polybins writeth, that long time before he was compelled, being afraid of Cleomenes valiantness, he had secretly practifed that with Anigonus, which he was openly feen in afterwards : and that he had enticed the MEGALIPOLI-TANS (who were the first that moved it to the Council of the ACHAIANS) to call King Anigonus to their aid, because they were nearest neighbours to the fire, and continually harried with Clasmenes War, that alwaies knocked at their Gates to come and spoil them. Thus much is affirmed Philambas the by Philambas in his Hiftory, who was hardly to be credited notwithstanding, had not Polybius con-Hilloriografirmed it. For he loved Chomenes fo well, that it feemed he was ravifhed with some spirit as often
pher not greate as he feeled the was a feeled the was ravifhed with some spirit as often pher not great-ly to be credit- as he spake of him: and frameth his History, as a common Counsellor that did plead a Case in Law before the Judges, still accusing the one, and defending the other. The ACHAIANS lost the City of Cleomenes win-MEGALIPOLIS again, the which King Cleomenes took of them, and overcame them in a great neth the City Battle by Hecatomizeon. Wherewithall they were so amazed, that they sent Ambassadors prefently unto him, and prayed him to come to the City of Argos, and there they would make him their Lieutenant Generall. But when Aratus heard he came indeed, and that he was not far from the City of LERNA with his Army: being afraid, he fent other Ambassadors to tell him that he should fafely come with three hundred men onely, as unto his Friends and Confederates : and yet if he miftrufted craft and evil dealing, that then they would give him pledges for the fafety of his person. Claomenes answered him, That was a plain-mockery, and an injury they offered him: Wherefore he presently departed thence, and sent a Letter before to the Council of the ACHAIANS, full of foul words and reproaches he gave unto Araim: who likewife replied to him again, bitterly unniing each other, that they came to talk of their Marriage and Wives. After this Letter, Cleoments fent defiance by an Herauld unto the ACHAIANS, and proclaimed open War against them: infomuch as he had almost gotten the City of S12 YO ME by practice of Traytors. Howbeit, failing of his purposchereturned suddenly, and went unto the City of PALLENA, which he took, and drove out the Generall of the ACHAIANS thence, and immediately after he wan the Cities also of PHE-NEA, and PENTELION. After that, the ARGIVES and PHILASIANS willingly yielded unto him, so that of all which the ACHAIANS had conquered, and joyned unto their Tribe, they could reckon of nothing of certainty unto them. Then Aratus was marvellously troubled in his mind, to fee all Peloponnesus in tumult and uprore, and that all the Cities fell to open rebellion by those that practifed change and alteration. For no man was contented with the State and Government at that time, but divers of the SICYONIANS and CORINTHIANS both were bewrayed which had secretly practifed with Cleomenes, and that of long time maliced the Government of the A-Araus putteth CHAIANS, desiring themselves to be Lords and Governours of their Cities. Araus having full Commission and Authority from the Council of the ACHAIANS, to make enquiry of them, and to put them to death, without further triall of Law, he did execute them accordingly, whom he found faulty in the City of Sicvons. Furthermore, attempting to do the like at CORINTH, he made inquiry of them, and put them to death; whereby he made the common People very angry with him, who otherwife of themselves were weavy of the Government and subjection of the ACHAI-ANS. The CORINTHIANS, therefore gathering together in the Temple of Apollo, they fent for Aratus, intending to makehim Prifoner before they would openly enter into actual rebellion. Aratus went thither, to shew that he neither seared nor misstrusted them, but yet he held his Horse flancy in dan- in his hand following of him. Then many role up against him, and did both reprove and injurioully entreat him. But Aratus with stayed countenance and gentle words, prayed them to keep

their places, and not to cry out in such rage upon their feet, and withall, caused them also to come in, that were at the Temple door. But as he spake unto them, by little and little he drew back out of the prease, as though he meant to have given his Horse to some body to hold. So being gotten Aratus subtility out of the preas, he gently spake without any fear unto the CORINTHIANS he met, and bad when he flee them go to the Temple of Apollo. When he was come to the Castle, he then suddenly took his Horse out of Corinih. back, and commanded Cleopater, Captain of the Garrison of the ACHAIANS there, to look well to the safe keeping of the Castle. Then he set spurs to his Horse, and galloped towards the Cuty of SICYONE for life, being followed onely by thirty of his Souldiers, all the rest having for faken him, The City of and dispersed themselves here and there. Shortly after, the CORINTHIANS understanding that Corinth yield-Aratus was gone, they followed after, but could never overtake him: whereupon they ftraight fent ed up unto for King Cleomeres, and delivered the City of CORINTH into his hands, the gain whereof pleafed Cleomeres. him not so much, as he was forry for the loss of Aratus, whom they had let go. So King Cleomenes joyning unto him all the People dwelling along the Sea Coaft, commonly called the River of CORINTH, who yielded up themselves, Holds and Towns into his hands, he then intrenched in the Castle of the Acrocorinth with a great Trench. Furthermore, when Aratus came to the City of SICYONE, many of the ACHAIANS gathered about him, and holding a Council and Affembly, he was chosen their Lieutenant Generall, having absolute Power and Authority to do what he would, and gave him of their own Citizens to guard his Person. So, having managed the Affairs of the State and Commonwealth of the ACHAIANS the space of three and thirty years together, and having all that time been counted of all men the chiefest man of power and authority in GREECE, he then found himself in poor estate, for saken, and in great milery, as in the Shipwrack of his Countrey beaten with from, and in great danger of himself. For when he sent unto Aratus ingreat the ETOLIANS for aid, they statly denied him, and would send him none. Furthermore, the danger for his ATHENIANS being very desirous to fend aid for Aratus fake, were diffwaded from it through Countrey. the practice of Euclydan and Micion. Aratus also had a House in CORINTH, where all his Money was: the which King Cleomenes at the first medled not withall, neither would suffer any other to King Cleometouch it, but sent for his Friends and Officers, and charged them to look to it, to give Aratus a good nes courtesse account of it afterwards. Furthermore, he privily fent Tripylus unto him, and his Father-in-law Megistronus, and offered him great gifts, and specially an annual Pension of twelve Talents, which was double as much as King Ptolomy Bave him, who lent him yearly fix Talents. Befides, he onely prayed the Achaians, that they would make him their Lieutenant Generall, and also that the Garison in the Castle of Acrocorinth, might be divided in common between them. Aratus made answer, that he had an absolute power in his hands, and that it was in the ACHAIANS, not in him. Cleomenes thinking this but a device and excuse of Aratus, he presently invaded the Country of the SICYONIANS, and destroyed all as he came, and continued the space of three Moneths. Aratus in the mean time flood doubtfull how to determine, whether he should receive King Antigona; or not; because Antigonus would not aid him before he delivered him the Castle of the Acrocorinth into his hands. So the ACHAIANS meeting at the City of ÆGIUM to confult upon it, they fent for Aratus thither. Howbeit, it was dangerous coming thither, because Cleomenes Camp lay hard by the City of SICYONE: befides also that the Citizens kept Aratus, and held him by force, faying. That they would not lethim venture himself in such apparent danger, their Enemies being so near unto them. Moreover, the Women and little Children, hung about him, weeping and compassing him about, as their common Father and Saviour. But Aratus comforting them, bad them not be afraid, and to took his Horfe, with ten of his Friends and his Son (that was a young stripling grown) and went towards the Sea, and imbarked in certain Ships that rode at Anchor. Thence The Achaians he failed unto ÆGIUM, where the Diet or Parliament was kept; and there it was refolved, that they do fend for should fend for Antigonus, and deliver the Castle of Acrocorinth into his hands. And so it was King Antigoperformed: for Aratus lent thither his own Son among the other Hoftages. The CORINTHI-ANS were fo fore offended withall, that they made havock of his Goods, and gave his House he had in CORINTH unto King Cleomenes. So King Antigonus being onwards on his way to come into PELOPONNE sus with his Army, bringing with him twenty thousand Footmen all MACE-DONIANS, and four hundred Horfemen: Aratus with the greatest States and Officers of the A-CHAIANS, unwitting to their Enemies, went to meet him as far as the City of PEGES, having no great truft nor confidence in Antigonus, nor the MACEDONIANS. For he remembred very well, that he came first to his greatness, by the injuries be had offered them : and how that the chiefest cause of his rising, was the malice he bare unto old Antigonus. Howbeit making vertue of necesfiry, and weighing the inftant occasion of their present extreamity (of Governours, to be driven to Governours of be Subjects) he put himself in adventure. So, when Amigonus was told that Aratus was come in bey necessity. person to him, having with good countenance after common fort saluted those that came in his company: to Aratus himself at his first coming he gave an honourable welcome and entertainment. Antigonus ho-Afterwards also, finding him a good and discreet man, he fell into inward friendship and familia- nourable enterrity with him. For Aratus was not onely skilfull to give directions in maners of State touching tainment to good order and Government : but moreover, his company and conversation was very pleasant, to Arasus. entertain a Princes leifure with. Wherefore though Anisgenus was but young at that time, yet feeing throughly into Aratus nature, and that he was a meet man to be well thought of, and efteemed about a Prince, he used his counsel and advice more then any other mans, in all matters, not onely

touching the Affairs of the ACHAIANS, but of the MACEDONIANS also. And so all things

came to pals, which the gods had promifed in their Sacrifices. For in a Beaft that was facrificed, there were two galls wrapped in one felf caul: the which the Soothfayers interpreted did prognothewed Aratus. Ricate, that two which before were mortall Enemies, should now become affured friends. But Ararum made no account of their prediction, neither did he give any credit to the Sacrifices, but trufted

rather to his own determination. So, the Wars afterwards having good fuccels, and Amigonus making a Feaft in the City of CORINTH, where he had bidden many Guefts, he would needs have Aratus lie upon him at the Table, and a little while after, commanded his men to bring him a Coverlet, and turning to him, asked him if he were not a cold. Aratus answered him, It treezed. Then Antigonus bad him come near him, and when the Servants brought a Coverlet for the King, they cast it over them both. Then Araus remembring the Sacrifice, fell a laughing, and told the King what a wonder he had feen in the Sacrifice, and what interpretation the Soothsayers made of it. This was long after. So Antigonus and Aratus being at that time in the City of PEGES, they were fworn Brethren together: and then went both with all fpeed against the Enemies. Thus there fell out hot Skirmishes between them, hard by the City of CORINTH. For Cleament was very well fortified, and the CORINTHIANS valiantly defended themselves. In the mean time, Arifforeles of Argos (Aratus friend) fecretly fent him word, that he would make the City rebell, if he came himself with any number of Souldiers. Aratus told it unto King Antigonus, who gave him fifteen hundred men, with the which he imbarked, and passed over with great speed from the 18thmus (or Bar in the Streight) unto the City of EPIDAURUM. Howbeit, the ARGIVES tarried not Aratus coming, but were all up before he came, and did fet upon King Cleomenes men, and had driven them into the Caftle. Cleamenes being advertised of it, and fearing left his Enemies (keeping the City of Argos) (hould cut off his way from returning into his Countrey again with latery, if he were driven to a streight : be forsook the Castle of the Acrocorinth, and went his way by night to help his men in the City of Argos. So he came thither in time, and overthrew certain of his Enemies. But shortly after, Aratus and King Antigonus both being come thither with all their aid, The City of Cleomenes was driven to fly to the City of MANTINEA. After the recovery again of the City of Argor revoked AR Gos, all the refidue of the Cities of Peloponnesus did again return to the Achalans, from Cleame and Artifanus took the Cable of the Arracorinth So Aratus being cholen Canacall but the Aand Antigonus took the Castle of the Acrocorinth. So Aratus being chosen Generall by the Ag-GIVES, he counciled them to prefent Anisonus with all the Tyrants Goods, and those that had been Traytors to the Commonwealth. And after they had cruelly tormented the Tyrant Ariflomachus in the City of CENCHREES, in the end they cast him into the Sea, and drowned him. drowned in the Aratus was marvelloully reproved for his death, that would fuffer the poor man to be so viely handled, that was a good man, and one that had done him great pleafure : who through his perfwa-Arms infamy from willingly refigned up his Tyranny, and delivered the City of Arcos unto the Achaians, for Arifona-But besides this, they blamed him for many other things else: for that the ACHAIANS through his means had put the City of CORINTH into Antigonas hands, as though it had been fome mean Village: for that when they had facked the City of ORCHOMENE, they fuffered him to place a Garilon of the MACEDONIAN'S there: for Mat they had enacted by Parliament, that they should neither write, nor fend Ambassadors any whither, without Antigonus privity and consent; surthermore, for that they were compelled to give pay to the MACEDONIANS: for that they made Sacrifices, Feafts, and Games unto Antigonar, as if he had been a god; following the example of Aratus Citizens, who were the first that began, and had received Antigonus into the City bythe persuasion of Aratus, that lodged and seased him in his own House. With all these faults they burdened Aratus, and confidered not, that after they had put the reins of the Government into Antigonus hand, Araus himself (whether he would or not) was compelled to follow the swinge of the unbridled Prince, having no other means to flay it, but onely the liberty of speech to admonish him: and that also was not to be exercised, without apparent and great danger. For it is most true, that many things were done greatly against Araus mind : as amongst others, that Anigonal caused the Tyrants Images of Argos to be set up, which he had before pulled down; and allo that he made them to be overthrown, which Araus had fer up for those that had taken the Castle of CORINIH, and onely left Araims one Statue, notwithftanding all the earnest entreaty Araims made to the contrary, yet he could get no grant of any thing to be requested. Besides also, it appeareth that the ACHAIANS dealt not fo friendly with the MANTINEANS, as became GRECI-ANS one to another. For they having the City in their hands by Anisgonus means, did put all the nobleft and chiefeft men of MANTINEA to death; others they fold as Slaves, and fent the reft into MACEDON with irons on their legs, and brought the poor women and children into bondage, and fold them for Slaves: and of Money they got by fpoil, they divided the third part among themselves, and left the other two parts unto the MACEDONIANS. Now furely it cannot be faid, but this was done for some cruel revenge. For though it was an over-great cruelty, in rage and passion of mind, to handle People of one self-blood and language in this lamentable fort; yet Simonides faith, When men are driven and forced to it, it is a gentle (no cruell) thing, to cale their great stomachs inflamed with rage and malice. But for that which was done afterwards unto the City, no man can excuse Arans, nor say, that he was either driven to it by necessity, or that he had otherwife any honest occasion to do it. For King Antigonas having given the City of MANTI-NEA unto the ARGIVES, they determined to make it a Colony, and chole Aratus their General: who made a Decree, that thenceforth the City should no more be called MANTINEA, but ANTI-GONIA, as it beareth name unto this day. Thus it feemeth that gentle MANTINEA (for fothe

Poets called it) was utterly destroyed, and bare the name of another City through Aratus means. preferring the name of him that destroyed the City, and did put all the Inhabitants of the first to Mantinga cal-After that, King Cleomenes being overthrown in a great Battle by the City of SELLASIA, led Antizonit, he left the City of SPARTA, and fled into ÆGYPT. So Antigonus having used Aratus with all by Aratus Dekind of honourable courtefie, he returned again into MACEDON. There talling fick, he fent Thilip that should succeed him in the Kingdom (being a young stripling grown) into PELOPON-NESUS. and straightly charged him specially to follow Aratus counsell, and to employ him when he would speak unto the Cities, and become acquainted with the ACHAIANS. So Aratus having received him in that fort, made him fo well affected and loving towards him, that he fent him again into Macedon, being throughly determined to make Wars with Greece. So after the death of Antigonus, the ETOLIANS began to despile the carelefness and cowardliness of the ACHAIANS Checaule that they being used to be desended by strangers, and having been altogether governed by the Armies of the MACEDONIANS, they lived very idly and diffolutely) whereupon they took upon them to make themselves Lords of PELOPONNESUS. So they affembled an Army, and by the way as they went, they onely took some prey and spoil upon the Lands of the PATREIANS. and the DYMEIANS: but invading the Territory of MESSINA with all their Army, they destroyed the whole Countrey before them. Arans being very angry withall, and perceiving that Timoxenus (who at that time was General of the ACHAIANS) did still tract and delay time in vain, because he was upon going out of his year; he being appointed Generall for the year following, did anticipate his time five days before, to go and aid the MESSINIANS, Wherefore leaving an Army of the ACHAIANS, who were persons now neither exercised in Arms, nor yet had any defire to go to the Wars, he was overthrown by the City of CAPHYES. Now, because it was thought Aratus overthat he went too hotly and couragiously to the Wars, he fo extreamly cooled again, and left things thrown in Batin such case, that all hope being cast aside, he suffered the ATOLIANS in manner to tread PELO- the by the City PONNESUS under their feet before his eyes, with all the infolency and cruelty that might be poffi- of Caphyes. ble, notwithstanding that they fundry times gave him great advantages of them. Thus were the A-CHAIANS once again forced to pray aid out of MACEDON, and to fend for young Philip to The Achaians make Wars in GREECE: hoping, for the love he bare unto Aratus, and the great truft he had in fent for King him, that he would use them gently, and do as they would have him. But when first of all began Apelles, Megareus, and a few other Courtiers to accuse Arasus: unto whom King Philip giving easie ear, he procured that one Eparatus, of contrary faction unto Aratus, was chosen Generall by the ACHAIANS. Howbeit, this new Generall Eparatus being extreamly hard by the ACHAIANS, and Aratus also leaving to deal any more with matters of State, no act was done to any purpose. Whereupon King Philip finding his fault, returned again unto Aratus, and was ruled altogether by him : and when he found that his Affairs prospered in all things he went about, he then let him alone with all, as from whom came all his honour and greatness. Thereupon every man effected Aratus a wife Governour, not onely to rule a Commonwealth, but allo a whole Realm and Kingdom. For his manners, intent, and chiefest purpose appeared in the deeds of this young King, as a rich colour that did fet forth and beautifie them. For the clemency this young Prince used to the LACE-DEMONIANS that had offended him, the great courtese he shewed to the CRETANS, whereby in few days he wan all the Isle of CRETA: and the Journey he made against the ETOLIANS, which was a wonderfull great Exploit, wan the Prince great Fame, for following good counfell, and Aratus to be accounted a wife Governour, and of deep understanding. Now the Kings Aratus wife Flatterers envying Aratus more then before, and perceiving they got no good by secret back-biting Counsellor. of him, they then began with open mouth very infolently to revile him at the Table, and with Envythe Counsellor Corresponding Counsellor Corresponding Counsellor Corresponding Counsellor Corresponding Counsellor Counsello great derifion: infomuch as one night going home to his Tent after Supper, they pelted him with panion of Vergreat octions: all the way as he went. King Philip when he knew it, was 60 offended therewith, that he did condean them in the fum of twenty Talents; and afterwards also, because they troubled his Affairs, he did pur them to death. But King Philip in the end being pussed up with the good fortune and success of this War, which prospered as he would have it, he then grew to be coverous, and began to shew his naughty nature, and to bewray his distimulation wherewith he disguiled himself, and by little and little to make his vices plainly to appear. For first of all, he abused young Aratus Wife, which was kept secret a long time, because he lay in their House, and began daily to grow more severe and cruel to the Commonweals; and then the World and began daily to grow more levere and clust to the Commonwest, and beginning of the miltruth he had of Arassa, came for that which was done at Messina. For the Messini of dipleafures Ans being fallen together by the ears, and in great Civil Wars one with another, Aratus between Aratus went thither to make Peace between them. Howbeit, King Philip came thither the next day and Philip. following, and instead of pacifying the quarrell, he set them surther out together then they were before. First, he asked the Governours of the City, whether they had no Laws to bridle the infolency and stomach of the common People; and privately also talked with the heads of the Faction of the People, and asked them if they had not hands to defend themselves from mulation and Tyrants. So both the one and the other Faction trufting to King Philip, the Governours would double dealing have laved hold on the Orators of the City: but they rifing with the common People, flew of of King Philip. their Nobility and Magistrates, well near two hundred of them. Aratus that came soon after this Fact, shewed that he was greatly offended with King Philip, and caused his Son with open mouth shamefully to reprove him. Now it seemed that this young Arasus was in love with King

Philip before: but then he told him before all the People, that for this shamefull act he had done, he thought him now no more fair of face, but the soulest creature that could be. Philip made Antiferine in thought mill how no more rail of race, on the control and the rail of the control times as the other reproved him, he bir it in with his teeth : but yet as if he had not been offended at all with the big words his Son had fooken against him (for that he was a civil man, and mild of nature) he took Arains the Father by the hand, and carried him out of the Theatre where the Affembly was kept, to the Caftle of Ithome, to do Sacrifice there to Jupiter, and to fee the Fort. This Fort was of no lefs ftrength then the Castle of the Acrocorinth : and when any Garifon is in it, it keepeth all the Countrey about it in obedience: and befides it is very hard to drive themout of it. Now Philip being gotten up into that Castle, he did Sacrifice there: and when the Soothfayer had brought him the intrails of the Ox which they had facrificed, he took it himself with both his hands, and shewed them unto Aratus, and to Demetrius PHALERIAN, now turning with both his nands, and niewed them unto Arani, and to Demetrial Phalerian, now turing to the one, then to the other, and asked them what they judged of these signs of the Sacristice; whether he should keep the Castle to himself; or else deliver it to the Messinians. Demetrial smiling, andwered him: If thou beest of the Soothsyrers mind, then thou shalt deliver it metrials smilling, and wered him: up: but if thou haft a Kings mind in thee, thou shalt then hold the Ox by both horns. (By the Ox, he meant the Countrey of PELOFONNESUS: and moreover, that if he kept both thefe Caffles, of Ithome and the Acrocorinth, all PELOPON NESUS were wholly at his commandment.) Aratus ftill held his peace, and faid not a word. In the end, Philip praying him to speak, he faid: In CRETA, and in the Countrey of the BOBOTIANS and PHOCIANS, there are many ftrong Castles situated on high hills from the Valleys. Moreover, there are also many places of great frength in the Marches of the Acarmanians, both within main Land, as allo upon the Sea Coaft: of all the which thou haft not taken one of them by force, and yet they all do willingly obey thee notwithflanding. It is for Thieves to hide their heads in high Rocks and Mountains, but a King can have no ftronger Castle, then the love, saith, and good will of men. That is it, that opened the Sea of CRETA. That is it, that hath brought thee into Peloponnesus. Those unto King are the means which have made thee being fo young a man, fome of them to choose thee their Captain, rouch tain, and others also to make thee their absolute Lord and Master. Araus going on with his tale, in the latest Philip gave the intrails again to the Soothfayer that brought them, and taking Arass by the hand (as if by force he had caft him out of the Caftle, and had alfo taken the City of Messina from him) faid unto him, Come on then, let us even take that course. Bur after that time, Arafrom him faid unto him, Come on then, let us even take that course. Bur after that time, Arafrom him faid unto him, Come on then, let us even take that course. Bur after that time, Arafrom him faid unto him, Come on then, let us even take that course. Bur after that time, Arafrom him faid unto him, Come on then, let us even take that course. Bur after that time, Arafrom him faid unto him, Come on then, let us even take that course. when he went to make War in the Realm of Epixus, he was earneftly in hand with Aratus to go that Journey with him. But Aratus prayed him to hold him excited, and fo remained at home, being afraid to be brought into an evil name with Philips doings. For Philip afterwards having shamefully lost his Army by Sea against the ROMANS, and belides, having had also very ill successin all other his Assaurs, he returned again to PELOPONNESUS, and thought once more to have deceived the MESSINIANS. But when they found his practice, then he began with open force to fpoil their Countrey.

Aratus then flatly fell out with Philip, and utterly refused his friendship, for that he perceived then the injury he had done his Sons Wife, the which grieved him to the heart; but yet he made not his Son privy to it, because he could get no other amends then to know what injury had been done to him, confidering that he had no way nor means to be revenged. For King Philip was marvelloully changed, and from a courteous and chaft young Prince, courteous became a vicious and cruel Tyrant: the which to speak truly, was not a change or alteration in na-Prince became utre, but a manifert declaration (when he was no more afraid of any man) of his wicked and devilish

mind, the which through fear had of long time been kept fecret. Now, to prove that Philips first love and good will he bare unto Aratus, was also mingled with fear and reverence, that whichbe did afterwards unto him did plainly thew it. For he being defirous to put Aratus to death, northinking himfelf free fo long as helived, neither King, nor Tyrant : he durft not go about to kill him himfelf, but procured one of his Captains called Taurion, and commanded him to make him away as ferrely Artus poyfon. as he could possible, and specially with poyson in his absence. This Taurion sell in friendship with ed by King Araus, and poyfoned him with no violent poyfon, but fo tempered and qualified it, as it did by little Philips means, and little heat the body, and procure a pretty cough which brought him into a confumption. Aratus knew he was poyfoned: but because he saw it booted not to bewray it, he bare it patiently, and made no words of it, as if he had had fome naturall disease about him. Yet on a time, one of his chiefest friends being in his Chamber with him, who wondred to feehim spir blood as he did: he told him, Friend Caphalon mine, this is the reward of a Kings Love. So he died of this poyson in the Ci-A Kings him, Friend Cephalon mine, this is the reward of a Anigs Love. So the data with which would have had friendflip danty of ÆGIUM, being the seventeenth time chosen Generall of the ACHAIANS, who would have had true honourshle Monument for him, worthy of him buried in the fell-fame place, and have made fome honourable Monument for him, worthy of his noble Life. But the SICYONIANS thinking themselves dishonoured, if his body were buried any where else but in their own City, they so perswaded the Council of the ACHAIANS, that they fuffered them to take Aratus body with them. Yet was there an ancient Law that forbad buriall within A Law for but the Walls of the City, of any manner of perfon what foever: and befides that Law, they had a certain the wansor the Cay, or any manner or perion what over a mortise function that fact of Apollo's Temple strending. at DELPHOS, to ask counsel of his Nunthar gave the Oracles; who made them this answer:

Thou happy foil of Sicyon , Aratus native place , Whereas thou askelt counsell in that noble Captains case. For keeping of a year-mind, and for making feastfull days In honour of that worthy wight , to last henceforth always : If any hinder your intent , through fondness or through spite Both Sea and Land, and Heaven it felf will punish that same wight.

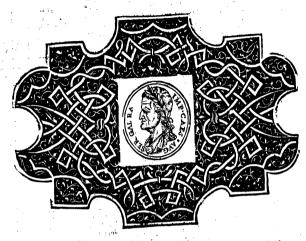
This Oracle being brought, all the ACHAIANS were marvellous glad of it, but the SICYONIANS fpecially: who prefently changing their mourning into publick joy, they carried the Body from the City of ÆGIUM, and brought it home as in manner of procession, in white Robes, and Garlands of Flowers on their heads, finging Hymns and Songs of joy, and dancing, till they came to the City of SICYONE. And there they chose out the chiefest place, and buried him as their Founder. Father, and Saviour of their City: and the place is called at this present time, ARATIUM. There Father, and Saviour of their City: and the place is called at this pretent time, ARATION. There arises, they yearly make two folemn Sacrifices, the one the fift of November, at which time he de-Yearly factification. livered the City of Sicyone from tyranny; and they call this Sacrifice Soteria, as much to fay, ces appointed as the Feast of health: and the other on his birth day, as it is reported. For the first Sacrifice, that to honour Awas done by the Priest of Jupiter the Saviour. The second Sacrifice also was done by Aratus Son , ratus memory. who was girt about with a cloath, not altogether white, but mingled with Purple colour. So during the Sacrifice, they fung Hymns upon the Harp in praise of him; and the Master of the Muficians made a procession round about, being accompanied with Boys and young men of the City, after whom followed the Senate crowned with Garlands of Flowers, and other Citizens that were disposed to go to a Procession : Howbeit the most part of the honours that were appointhat were informed to go of a control of the state of the done unto him; were left off by process of time; and change of things that followed afterwards. Thus you fee what the Life of Aratus the Father hath been, as we find in Histories. How Philip being a wicked man, and crueil of nature, caused his son Aratus also to be positioned, tast the Son. not with a deadly Poison, but with such a Poyson as troubled a mans wits so, that through their Strange kinds divellish receit, he becometh a stark fool without any wit at all, and maketh him to attempt strange of poyloning. and abominable things, and to have certain shamefull and detestable defires : infomuch as his death (though he died in the prime of his youth) could not be thought miferable, but rather a happy deliverance to him out of all his miferies and milhaps. But Philip afterwards, fo long as he punished for lived, payd unto Japiter (Protectour of all justice and friendflip) the punishment his wicked life his wicked. deserved. For, after he was overcome in Battell by the ROMANS, he was compelled to yeeld ness. himself to their mercy; by whom he was deprived from all the rest of his Lands and Dominions he had, and of all his ships, but five onely; and condemned besides to pay a thousand Talents for fine, and to give his Son in hoftage : and they onely left him for pities fake, the Kingdom of Macedon, with all the Appurtenances. And there he daily putting to death the chiefeft of his Nobility, and nearest of bloud unto him, he filled his Realm with cruelty and mortall hate against him. Furthermore amongst such a heap of evils, having but one onely joy, to have a vertuous Son, he put him to death , for fpite and malice that he faw the ROMANS honour him ; and left his other Son Perfeus Succeffour of his Realm: who as it is reported, was not his lawfull begotten Son, and born Perfeus King of a Taylours Wife called Gnathenium. It is that Terfeut, whom Paulus Amylius overcame, and Philips Son, also led in Triumph in Rome: and at him the Race of the Kings descended from Anigona, failed, Amylius Triwhere the iffue and Off-spring of Aratus continueth yet untill our time, in the Cities of Sicyone, umphed for in and PALLENA.

The end of the Life of Aratus.

Dddd

THE

THE LIFE OF GALBA.



Anno Mundi. 4019.

Poft. Christ.

Tphicrates Saying, what manner of man a mercenary Souldier oug

Æmylius fay ing of Soul-diers.



Phicrates the ATHENIAN Captain faid, that a mercenary Souldin should be covetous, a lover, and voluptuous: that to get wherewith to maintain his pleasure, he should be the valianter, and readier to put himself into any danger. But most men think, that Souldiers should be as one entire strong body, that stirreth not of it self without the moving of the Generall. And to approve this opinion, it is faid that Paulus Amylius arriving in MACEDON, and finding the Souldiers full of words and curiofity (every man medling with the affairs of the Generall) he made open proclamation, No

man fo hardy to meddle with his Office and affairs; but every man onely to keep his Sword fharp, and to be quick of hand againft the Enemy; and for the reft, to refer all to him, who would rake fufficient order for things of his charge and Government. Plus's faying ment. Therefore Plato faith, that it little availeth to have a good and wife Captain, if the Souldiers also be not wise and obedient; thinking it as requisite for the vertue of obedience, to have men of a noble mind and good education, as otherwife it is meet for a Captain to know how to direct and command well; confidering it is that which with lenity and mildness doth mitigate all fury and choler. He hath divers other examples and fufficient proofs to prove his words true, and namely the great miferies and calamities which came to the ROMANS after the death of More, do plainly shew, that nothing is more dangerous nor dreadfull in an Empire, then a great Army living Demailer lay- licentioully and diforderly. For Demailer after the death of Alexander the Great, compared Alexander ing of Alexan- anders Army unto Cyclops Polyphemus after his eye was put out : confidering how blindly and loofly they were governed. Howbeit the Empire of ROME being divided into fundry factions at one felf time and rifing against it felf in many places, it fell into the like missortunes and calamities faigned by the Poets of the TITANS : not so much through the ambitiousness of the Emperours, as by means of the coveroulness and infolency of the Souldiers, who drave the Emperours out of their Imperiall Seass one after another, as one nail driveth out another. And Dionyfius also the Tyrant of Sicile, was wont to call Phereus (who had been Tyrant of THESSALIA Onely ten moneths

ter his death.

GALBA.

space) a Tyrant in a Play, deriding his so suddain change of State. But the Imperiall House of the Cafare at Rome, received four Emperours, in less then ten Moneths space, the Souldiers now putting in one, and then taking out another, as it they had been in a Play on a Scaffold. So that the ROMANS being thus grievoully oppreffed, had yet this comfort: that they needed not to feek to be revenged of them that did oppress them. For they saw one of them murther another, and him first and most justly of all other murthered, that had first of all corrupted the Souldiers, in teachnum into and more party of a considering the most of the change of the Emperours: and so depraying a worthy deed of it self, which was their forsaking of New; and mingling it with bribery, made it plain treason. For Nymphidius Sabinus, being Captain of the Emperours Guard, which are called the Pratorian Nymphidius Nymphidisus Sahinus, being Capitani of the Emperious Charles, which are cannot the Previous Sahine, and Souldiers, together with Tigedinus, when he saw Nero despair of himself and of his estate, and Tigedinus, be-Sounders, rogener want 1 Tigellians, be that he was ready to flie into Egypt: he perfwaded the Guard they should call Galla Emperour, trayed Nero. as if Nero had not been at ROME, but fled and gone; and promifed every one feven thousand five hundred Drachma's apiece : and to the rest of the Souldiers that were dispersed up and down in Garrison upon the Provinces, twelve hundred and fifty Drachma's a man. For the leavying of which fum, they could not possibly do it, but they must needs commit ten thousand times more extortion on every body, then Nero had done. This large promife made them presently put Nero to death, and shortly after him, Galba himself also. For the Souldiers forfook Nero, for the hope they had to receive this promifed Gift : and shortly after they slew the second, which was Galba, becausethey received not their Gifts in time to their contentment. Atterwards also, in seeking who fhould ftill feed them with like Gifts, before they could obtain their wished hope, one of them destroy- The hope of ed another by treason and rebellion. But how to set down all things particularly which hapned at Gifts deltroythat time, it were to write one whole entire Hiftory : and therefore, I will content my felf, not to ed the Empire pass over with filence the notablest deeds, and lamentable calamities, which hapned at that time un- of Rome. It is manifestly known to all men, that Sulpitims Galba of a private man, was the richest and

So Galba thereby was somewhat a kin unto Livia the Wife of Angustus Cafar, and therefore for her take he came out of the Emperours Pallace, when he went to take posseition of his Consulship. Moreover it is reported, that when he had charge of the Army in GERMANY, he did valiantly behave himself. And in the Government of Lybia also, where he was Vice Consull, he did as

Emperour : because the practise of sober and temperate diet which he would have brought in use, was then fo raw a thing, that it was taken for a new and strange device. He was sent Governour also in-

to SPAIN by Nero, before he had learned to be afraid of the Citizens of great authority : howbe-

vex and torment the Provinces, and that it lay not in Galba any way to help them : yet was it some

comfort to them, which were judged and fold as flaves by the Officers, to fee that Galba did lament the

miferies and calamities they endured, as if they had been done unto himfelf. So when any flanderous

Rimes were made against Nero, which were sung up and down in every place, he would neither for-

bid them, nor yet was offended as Nero's Officers were. Therefore he was marvelloully beloved in

the Countrey, of them that were acquainted with him: because he was then in the eight year of

vers others which were Governours of Armies and Provinces did : who fent Vindex Letters unto Nero which be himfelf had written unto them, and fo did as much as in them lay to hinder the enterprife, who afterwards being of the confpiracy did confeis they were Traytours to themfelves, as much as

unto him. Howbeit when Vindex afterwards had proclaimed open War against Niro, he wrote

again unto Galba, and praied him to take the imperiall Crown upon him, and to become the head of a ftrong and mighty body (which were the GALLS) that lacked nothing but a head and Governour, being a hundred thouland fighting men ready armed, and might also leavy a great number

more of them. Then Galba confulted thereupon with his friends, and among them some were of o-

pinion that he should stay a while, to see what change and alteration would grow at ROME upon this

ftraight abroad, he gathered a great number of Souldiers together, that were very willing to re-

bell: and he was no sooner gotten up into the Tribunall or Chair of State, but all the Souldiers did

falute him by the Name of Emperour. Howbeit he was not content with this Name at the first, but

accusing Nero, and Lamenting the death of the noblest men whom he had cruelly put to death, he pro-

wealthieft that came to be in the number of the Cafars : who, though he came of a very noble The wealth house deriving himself from the Race and Family of the Servis, yet he was honoured the more, Galba. because he was a kin unto Q_{minus} Catalus, who for vertue and eltimation, was one of the chiefelt men of his time, albeit that otherwise he willingly refigned his authority and power unto others.

honourably behave himself, as any man whatsoever. Howbeit his mean and simple ordinary of Galba's mandiet, void of all exces, was reputed mifery and niggardlines in him, when he was proclaimed ners.

it, besides that he was of a courteous and gentle nature, his age moreover increased the opinion they Galba's court had of him, that he was timorous and fearfull. For when the wretched Officers of Nero did cruelly telle.

his Government as Pro-Confull amongst them, at which time Junius Vindex being Pro-Prator of Junius Vindex GAUL, rebelled against Nero, who as it is reported, had written unto Galba, before he entred into rebelled open action of rebellion. But Galba did neither beleeve him, nor also accuse and bewray him, as di-gainst Nere,

ftir. Howbeit Titus Junius , Captain of the Przetorian Band, faid unto him : O Galba, what mean- In this place eth this so doubtfull a deliberation? Be not we wise men , to call in question , whether we shall allow the Greek of Vindex friendship; or accule him; yea, and with arms perfectute him, that defired rather to have lyread, thee Emperour, then Nero Tyrant over the Senate of ROME? Afterwards Galba by Bils fet up every present where, appointed a certainday, to enfranchize fuch as would make fuit for it. This rumour flying mainforar.

Soul liers, as Emperour.

Galba judged an Enemy by Rome, and his goods fold by the Crier.

Governour of

and in olent.

GALBA. mifed that he would employ his best wit and discretion to the service and benefit of his Countrey, Sulpiting Galax neither naming himself Cafar, nor Emperour, but onely Lieutenant to the Senate, and state of ROME. falared by the Now, that Findex did wilely to call Gatha to be Emperour, Acro himself in his doings doth witness it : who having always made a countenance as though he paffed not for Vinden, and that he weighed not the rebellion of the GAULS : when it was told him that Galba was called Emperour, being then at supper, for spite he overthrew the Table. Moreover, though the Senate had judged Galba an F. nemy, yet Alero to be pleasant with his friends, made as though he was nothing afraid of it, and said. This news made all for him, because he ftood in need of Money, and also that it was a happy occasion offered him to help him withall. For faid he, we shall soon have all the GAULS goods, as the fpoil of a just War, after we have once again overcome and conquered them: and moreover, Galbis goods also would quickly be in his hands; that he might fell them, confidering that he was become his open Enemy. So he prefently commanded Galba's goods frould be openly fold to them that would give most. Galba understanding that , did also by found of Trumpet iell all Nero's goods he had in all the Province of SPAIN, and did also find more men readier to buy, then there were goods to fell. Daily men role against Ners in every Countrey, who took Galba's part, Clodina Macer onely excepted in AFRICK, and Verginium Rufu in GAUL, both of them having charge of Legions appointed for the fafe keeping of GERMANY: and both of them did follow feveralldi-Claling Macer, rections by themselves, varying in mind and intent. For Cloding Macer baving robbed much, and put divers men also to death through his cruelty and coverousness, shewed plainly, that he swambe-Africk.

Aprick tween two waters, as one that could neither let go his charge, nor yet keep it. Verginisa also on the Rafis, Gover-Rapin, cover-nour of Gand, other fide, being Generall over great and mighty Legions, who had fundry times called him Empe-nour of Gand, other fide, being Generall over great and mighty Legions, who had fundry times called him Empe-nour of Gand, other fide, being Generall over great and mighty Legions, who had fundry times called him Empe-nour of Gand, other fide, being Generall over great and mighty Legions, who had fundry times called him Empe-nour of Gand, other fide, being Generall over great and mighty Legions, who had fundry times called him Empe-nour of Gand, other fide, being Generall over great and mighty Legions, who had fundry times called him Empe-nour of Gand, other fide, being Generall over great and mighty Legions, who had fundry times called him Empe-nour of Gand, other fide, being Generall over great and mighty Legions and the fide of fur colled Em- ever answer them, that he neither minded to take the Empire upon him, nor yet to suffer any other to do it, then such as the Senate should choose and call unto the same. This at the first somewhat amazed Galba. But when both the Armies of Vindex and Verginius, in spite of their Captains (who could not stay nor keep them back, no more then Coach-men can keep back the Horse with their bridles) where joyned in a great Battell together, where were slain twenty thousand GAULS in the Field, and Vindex also slew himself shortly after: it was given out, that the Conquerours after fo great a Victory obtained, would compell Verginism to take upon him to be Emperour, or elfethat they would take Nero's part again. Then Galba being not a little perplexed, wrote unto Verginism, and perswaded him to joyn with him to hold up the Empire and Liberty of the ROMANS, and there-Colonia a City upon fled ftraight into a City of SPAIN , called * COLONIA , rather repenting him of that he had done, and withing for his wonted peaceable and quiet life wherein he was brought up, then otherwife occupying himself about any necessary or profitable thing for the surtherance of his enterprise, Now it was about the beginning of Summer, and one day towards evening, there came to Galba one of his Slaves enfranchifed, a SICILIAN born, that was come from ROME in feven days : who understanding that Galba was alone, went prefently to his Chamber door, and opened it, and coming in against the wils of the Grooms of the Chamber, that flood at the door , he told him that Nevo being yet alive, but feen no more, first the People of ROME, and then the Senate had proclaimed him Emperour, and that immediatly after, news came that Nero was dead : the which he hardly beleeving notwithftanding, went thither himself, saw his body laid out upon the ground, and then made towards him with all speed to bring him these news. The news marvellously revived Galba, and a multitude of men thronged straight about the door, which began to be couragious, feeing him lively again, although the speed of the Messenger seemed incredible. Howbeit two days after , Titm also arrived, with certain others of the Camp, who told Galba particularly what the Senate and decreech in his behalf. So this Titue was called to great honour : and the Slave infranchised had priviledge given him to wear Rings of Gold, and he was called Martianus Vicellus, who afterwards of all the entranchifed bondmen , became the chiefest man about his Master Galba. In the mean time, Nymphidins SABINB began at Rome, not coverily, but with open force, to take upon him the absolute Government of the Empire, perswading himself that Galba was so old, that he could hardly be brought in a Litter unto ROME, being at the least seventy three years old: besides also, that the Army of the PRETORI-ANS which were in ROME, did bear him good will of long time, and then acknowledged no other Lord but him onely, for the large promite he had made them, for the which he received the thanks, and Galba remained the Debter. So he preferrly commanded Tigellinus, his Companion and Captain with him of the Army of the PRETORIANS, to leave off his Sword : and disposing himself to banqueting and feafting, he fent for all those that had been Confuls, Prators, or Pro-confuls of Provinces, and made them all to be invited in the Name of Galba. So, there were certain Souldiers gave out this rumour in the Camp, that they should do well to fend Ambassadours unto Galba, to pray him that Nymphidins might be their onely Captain still, without any Companion joyned with him. Furthermore, the honour and good will the Senate bare him, calling Nyamphidian their Benefactor, and going daily to vifit him in his house, procuring him to be the Author of all their Decrees passed in Senate, and that he should authorife them : this made him high-minded, and the bolder by much ; infomuch that shortly after, they that came to honour him in this fort, did not onely hate and millike his doings, but more over he made them afraid of him. Furthermore, when the Confuls had given to common Pursivants any Commissions under Seal, or Letters Patents signifying the Decrees of the Senate, to carry them to the Emperour (by Vertue of which Letters Patents , when the Officers of the City do fee the Seal , they straight provide the Pursivants of Coaches and fresh Horses to further their speed and hasty journey:

Ny mphidisse was very angress the them, because they did not also come to him for his Letters, scaled by him and his Souldiers, to fend likewise to the Emperour. But besides all this, it is also reported that he was like to have deposed the Consuls: howbeit they excusing themselves unto him. and craving pardon, did appeale his anger. And to please the commons also, he suffered them to put any of Nero's friends to death they could meet withall. Among other, they flew a Fencer cal- Nero's friends led Spicillus, whom they put under Nero's Statues, which they dragged up and down the City. A. by Nombhidius nother also called Aponius, one of Nero's Accusers, they threw him to the ground, and drave Carts commandover him loaden with Stones. And divers others allo, whom they flew in that manner, of the ment. which fome had done no manner of offence. Hereupon one Maurifeus, one of the noblest men of the City, and so esteemed, faid openly in the Senate: I fear me we shall wish for Nero again, before it be long. So Nymphidim being come in manner to the fulness of his hope, he was very The Parentage glad to hear that some repined at him, because he was the Son of Caim Cafar, that was the of Nymphidius.

next Emperour after Tiberius. For this Caims Cafar, when he was a young man, had kept Nymphidius Mother, which had been a fair young Woman, and the Daughter of one Calliftus, one of Cafars enfranchifed Bondmen , whom he had gotten of a Laundress he kept. Howbeit it is found contrary, that this Nymphidius was born before Caim Cafar could know his Mother: and men thought that he was begotten of a Fencer called Martianus, with whom his Mother Nymphidia fell in fancy, for that he had a great Name at that time in Rome; and indeed Nymphidisu was liker to him in favour, then unto any other. So, he confessed that he was the Son of this Nymphidia. howbeit he did alcribe the glory of the death of Nero unto himself, and thought himself not sufficiently recompenced with the honours they gave him, neither also with the goods he enjoyed, neither for that he lay with Sperus, whom Nero loved fo dearly, whom he fent for to Nero's Funerals whileft his body was yet a burning, and kept him with him as if he had been his Wife, and called him Poppans. Furthermore, all this did not content him, but yet fecretly he aspired to be Emperour, partly practifing the matter in ROME it felf, by the means of certain Women and Senatours which were fecretly his friends: and partly also through one Gellianus, whom he fent into SPAIN, to fee how all things went there. Howbeit after the death of Nero, all things prospered with Galba, faving Verginius Rufus onely, who stood doubtfull yet, and made him forely mistrust him; for that he was afraid (befides that he was Generall over a great and puiffant Army , having also newly overthrown Vindex, and fecretly ruling the best part of the Empire of ROME, which was all GAUL, and then in tumult and uproar, ready to rebell,) left he would hearken unto them that perswaded him to take the Empire to himself. For there was no Captain of ROME at that time so famous, pergining a faand of fo great estimation as Verginius: and that deservedly, for that he had done great service to mous Captain, the Empire of Rome in time of extremity, having delivered Rome at one felf time from a cruell tyranny, and also from the danger of the Wars of the Gauls. This notwithstanding, Verginius perfifting still in his first determination, referred the Election of the Emperour unto the Senate: although, that after the death of Nero was openly known, the common fort of Souldiers were earnestly in hand with him, and that a Tribune of the Souldiers (otherwise called a Colonell of a thousand men) went into his Tent with a Sword drawn in his hand, and bad Verginius either determine to be Emperour, or else to look to have the Sword thrust into him. Yet after that Fabins Valens , Captain of a Legion , was fworn unto Galba, and that he had received Letters from ROME. advertifing him of the Ordinance and Decree of the Senate: in the end, with much ado, he perswaded the Souldiers to proclaim Galba Emperour, who fent Flacens Ordeonius to succeed him, unto whom he willingly gave place. So, when Verginias had delivered up his Army unto him, he went to meet with Galba, on whom he waited, coming on still towards ROME. And Galba all that time neither shewed him evill countenance, nor yet greatly esteemed of him, Galba himself being cause of the one who feared him, and his friends of the other, but specially Titus Junius: who for the malice he bare unto Verginius thinking to hinder his rifing, did unwittingly indeed further his good hap, and delivered him occasion to draw him out of the civill Wars and mischiefs (the which lighted afterwards upon all the other Captains) and to bring him to a quiet and peaceable life in his age. Furthermore, Ambassadours were sent from the Senate, and met with Galba at NARBONA, a City of GAUL: where after they had prefented their humble duty, they perfwaded him to make all the hafte he could possible to shew himself to the People of Rome, who were marvellously defirous to fee him. Galba received them very graciously and courteously, and made them great chear, howbeit very modefily. For notwithstanding that Nymphidius had lent him divers Officers, and store of Nero's moveables: yet he would never be served with any of them, at any Feasts or Banquets he made, nor with other then his own stuff; wherein he shewed his noble mind, and how he could Mafter all vanity. But Titus Junius shortly after told Galba, that his noblemind, and civill moderation, without pride or pomp, was too lowly a matter to flatter the People, and that it was a certain respect of honesty that knew not it self, and became not his greatness and majefty. So, he perswaded him to use Nero's Money and stuff, and to be sumptuous and Princely in his Feafts, without niggardliness. To conclude, the old man Galba began plainly to shew, that he would be ruled by Titus Junius: who above all other was extream coverous, and besides too much given to Women. For when he was a young man, the first time he went to the Wars to the Calculfus SARINE, he brought his Captains Wife (which liked good fellowship) diffguired one of Time he was a work of the was a work of the was a work of the work of like a Souldier into the Camp, into his Generals Tent (Which the ROMANS called Principle) and there was somewhat bold with her. Wherefore Cains Casar committed him to Prison, but he

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Nymphidius practife.

GALBA escaped at his death. Another time, when he supped with Classic, he ftole a filver Pot. Clodin hearing of it, bade him again to supper the next night: but he commanded his men they thould give him drink in an earthen Crufe. Thus this theft (through Ce/ars pleafantness) fremed rather a matter of sport, then of anger : howbeit the faults which he committed afterwards through extream covetoufnets of Money (at what time he ruled Galba, and bare all the fway about him, gave unto him some just cause, and unto others apparent colour of tragical mischieis, and grievous calamities. For Nymphidius, fo foon as Gelliannus was returned out of Spain, whom he had fent thinher to fee what Galba did, informing him that Cornelius Lacon was Captain of the guard and house of the Emperour; and that Titus ganing did all in all about him, and that he could never be suffered to come near Galba, nor to speak with him apart, because those which were about Galba did miftrust him, and never had an eye to him to see what he did; he was marvellouly perplexed withall. Thereupon he called for all the Centurions, Captains, and petry Captains of the Camp of the Pratorian Arthy, and perfwaded them that Galba touching his own Perfon, was a good old and diferent man, howbeit that he did not follow his own advice and counfell, but was ruled altogether by Jamins and Lacon, who marred all : and therefore, that it were good (before they came to be of greater power, and to have fuch great authority in managing the affairs of the Empire, as Tigellinus had before) to fend Ambassadours to the Emperour, in the name of all the Camp, to tell him that in putting those two men from about him, he should be the better welcom to Rome, and to all men else befides. The Captains utterly missiked this device. For they thought it too ftrange, and beyond all reason, to feem to teach an old Emperour, as if he were but a Child that did not know what it was to govern: and to appoint him what Servanie and Friends he should keep, and whom he should trust or mistrust. Nymphidian perceiving this, took another course, and wrote Letters unto Galba to terrifie him; one time sending him word that he was marvellous evill beloved of many in ROME, and that they were ready to rebell against hm: another time also that the Legionsof Germanie were revolted, and that he underitood the like from the Legions of JURIS and SYRIA: and another time also that Cleding Maerr in Africa stayed all the ships fraughted with Corn that were bound for Rome. But in the end finding that Galba made no account of him, and that he gave no credit to his words nor writings, he determined first of all to set upon him. Howbeit Cloding Celling, born in the City of ANTI-OCH, a wife man, and his faithfull friend, diffwaded him marvelloufly not to do it: declaring unto him, that he thought there was no one house nor family in Rome that would call Nymphidiss, Cafar. Howbeit in contrary manner, divers others mocked Galba, and specially one Mitbridatt of the Realm of PONT, that faid he was a bald writhen man. For the ROMANS (faid he) have him indeed now in some estimation ; but when they have once seen him , they will think it a perpetual shame and reproach to our time, that he was called Cafar. So they thought it good to bring Nymphidius about mid-night into the Camp, and there openly to proclaim him Emperour. "Howher the chief Tribune of the Souldiers called Antonius Honoratus gathered his Souldiers together in the "night, and before them all did first openly reprove himself, and then them, for that they had so of Antonius Souldiers, un. "often turned and changed in 60 (hort time, without any wit or difcretion, having no judgemento "choose the best way, but to be pricked forward and carried headlong in that fort by fome wicked nous Souldiers. " Spirit, which brought them out of one treason into another. And yet (aid he) our first changehad "fome countenance of reason, to wit, the horrible Vices and faults of Ngro: but now wherein an "we accuse Galba, to have any countenance to falsifie our faith unto him? hath he slain his Mo-"ther? hath be put her to death? hath he shamefully played the tumbler or common player upon " a Scaffold in the Theater ? And yet for all these vile parts, we never durk once begin to forlike " Nero, but gave credit to Nymphidian words , who told us that Nero had first for faken us and that "he was fled into ÆGIPT. What shall we do? shall we kill Galba after Nero? what shall we kill "him that is a kin unto Livia , to make the Son of Nymphidia Emperour, as we have already flain the Son of Agrippina? or shall we rather kill him that hath rashly entred into this enterprise "and thereby to revenge the death of Nero, and to flew our felves faithfull Souldiers unto Galbat All the Souldiers yielded ftraight to the Colonels words, and therewith went to their other Companions to perfuade them to keep their faith and promife they avowed unto the Emperour: so that they made many of them revolt again from Nymphidiat. Thereupon the noise and cries being Nymphidius as great, Nymphidish fuppofing (as fostet thought) that the Souldiers did call for him, or elle hoping betimes to quench this tumult, to flay such as were yet wavering : he went thirder himself with great ftore of Torch-light, an carried an Oration in his hand, the which Ciconius Verro had made for him, and the which he had learned without book to speak unto the Souldiers. But when he found the Gates of the Camp thut, and faw divers men armed upon the wals, he began to be afraid: and coming nearer, asked them what they meant by it, and by whose commandment they had armed themselves as they did. Answer was made him by them all, that they acknowledged no other Emperour but Galva: the which he feemed to like of , and also commanded them that followed him to do the like, and therewithall drew nearer. Whereupon certain of the Souldiers that warded at the Gate, did open him the Gate, and fuffered him to come in with a few men with him. Howbeit as foon as he was come in, first there was a Dart thrown at him, the which one Septimiss that went before him received upon his shield; and then others also came with their Swords drawn in their bands to fet upon him , and followed him as he fled into a Souldiers Cabine, where they flew him. Then they layed his body in an open place, and railed it about, that every man that would, might

others, whileft he himself took unreasonably of all men, making port-fail of every thing that came to hand. For Hefiodus the Poet faith:

the next day fee it. So My that being flain in this fort, Galba understanding of his death, com-manded that all Nypophadus triends and Confederatours that had not been slain at that time, should The cruely of for his fake be put to death, as indeed they were. Amongst them they slew Ciconius that had made Galba. the Oration for Nymphidius, and Mithridates also of PONT. Howbeit, though indeed they had deserved it, yet men thought it a very cruell part to command these men to be put to death in that fort, which were men of fuch quality and calling as they were, without due form and order of Law. For every man stood in good hope upon the coming in of this new Emperour, to have seen another manner of Government then they had yet feen : howbeit they were deceived of their hope at the first chop. But yet they misliked this most of all, when he commanded them to kill Petronius Tertullianus, that had been Confull, because he was Nero's faithfull friend. But now for the Cornelius Tadeath of Clodins Macer, whom Trebonianus flew in Africk by his commandment, and for cites calleth Pontius that was also flain in GERMANIE by Valens, he had some reason to fear them because him Turpiliathey were in arms, and commanded great Armies. But for Tertallianus, that was an old man, nut. naked and unarmed, truly he should have put him to his Triall by Law, if he would have ministred inflice, the which he promifed to keep at his first coming to the Imperiall Crown, Herein they greatly reproved Galba. Now when he drew near to ROME within five and twenty Furlongs, he was compassed about with a multitude of Mariners and Sea-faring men, that kept the high-way on every fide, wandering up and down in every place. These were the men whom Noro had gathered together into one Legion, and had taken them from the Oar, and made them Souldiers. So they were come thither to be Suiters to him , that he would allow them still to be Souldiers and they pressed so arrogantly upon him, that they would not suffer those which came to the new Emperour, to fee him nor speak with him, but they fell to tumult and uproar, crying out to have Enfigns for their Legion, and to be appointed a place to lie in, in Garrison. Galbo referred them over to another time, and bade them they should therefter him understand their demand. They told him again, that this delay was a kind of deniall, and thereupon fell to plain mutiny, and followed him with great cries: infomuch that fome of them fluck not to draw out their Swords. Then Galbe commanded the Horsemen he had about him , to set upon them. So there was not a man of them that refifted, but some of them were overthrown and troden under their Horse seet, and others alfo flain as they fled. This was a very evill fign and prelage for him, to enter into Rome with Galha entred fuch bloudshed, upon so many poor dead mens bodies as lay slain on the ground. Howbeit, where Rome with some before did despite and mock him for an old feeble man, every man then was afraid of him . and murther. quaked for fear. Furthermore because he would shew a great change and alteration from the unreasonable vain gifts and expences of Mero, it feemeth he did many uncomely things. As when one Canns Galla. an excellent Player on the Recorder, had plaied all supper-time, because it was marvellous sweet Musick to hear, he praised and commended it marvelloully, and commanded one to bring him his Casket, out of the which he took a few Crowns, and put them into his hand, faying; that it was not Money of the Common-Treasure, but of his own. Furthermore, he gave straight commandment that they should require and call back again the Gists Were had given and bestowed upon common Players, Minftrels, Wreftlers, and People of fuch kind of faculty and Profession, and to leave them onely the tenth part. But he got little by this device. For the most part of those that had Gifts given them, had spent and consumed it all, as men that lived without any rule or order, and Spent at night that which they got in the day: and besides, they were to hunt after them that had either taken or bought any thing of them, and to make them restore it again. But this was an endlefs work : for things had been to conveyed from man to man, that in the end it came to an infinite number of mens hands. But of all this, the shame and dishonour returned to Galba himself, though the malice and hatred lighted on Titus Junius: who onely made the Emperour straight-laced to all

> As well when the Veffell is full that it fpill, As when it is empty, thirst craveth drink Still.

Hefiodus Tay-

But Tunius perceiving Galba to be old and feeble, would wifely take his fortune and time while time ferved, supposing it almost to be at an end so soon as he began to enter into it. So in the mean time he did much dishonour the poor old man, overgreatly abusing (under cloke of his Authority) the chiefest and weightiest matters, in reproving, or altogether hindering those, the which the Prince himself had a good desire to deal uprightly in, as to punish the Officers of N. 10. For he Gallak killeth put some of them to death, among the which Elins was one, and certain other, as Pely, livus, Pe- Nero's Serrims, and Patrobius: whereat the People marvelloully rejoyced, and cried out, as they went to vants and Ofexecution through the Market-place, that it was a goodly and bleffed praceifion and semined T ficets. execution through the Market-place, that it was a goodly and bleffed proceffion, and required Tigellinus of the gods and men, that had been chief Master and guide of all Nero's tyranny. Howbeit the trim man had gotten the vantage, and had largely fed Junius before: for afterwards he put poor Tertullianus to death, who had neither betrayed nor hated Nero, being as he was, and had never offended , nor was partaker of any of the wicked parts he played when he was alive. Whereashe that made Nero worthy of death, and that afterwards had also betrayed him, was let alone. and nothing faid unto him; being a manifest proof to all others, that they should not doubt to hope to obtain any thing at Titus Junius hands, so they fed him with Gifts. For the common People of Rome never defired any thing so much, as to see Tigellinus to be carried to execution :

Nymphilius

The noble faying of the Emperour Gu-Galba offended

the Souldiers,

Tumult 3mong the Soulgions of the Germany.

Otho's man-

Otho fent Proprætor into Lufisanis.

and they never left crying out to demand him in all Affemblies of the beater or shew-place, until fuch time as the Emperour Galba did forbid them by proclamation, the which declared that Tigellims would not live long, because he was fick of a confumption of the Lungs, which by little and nus would not live long; occasion of alba prayed the People that they would not make his Empire tyranicall and bloudy. The People were much offended with this, but yet they feemed to laugh at it: and Tigellinus did facrifice to the gods for his health and fafety, and prepared a fumptuous Feafi. Where Jamins rifling from Supper, being fet by the Emperour, went unto Tigellinus to be merry with him, and took his Daughter, being a Widow, with him, unto whom Tigellinus drank, and offered her a Gift of five and twenty Myriades of Silver : and commanded one of his chiefeft Concubines to take from her neck a Carcanet the wore, being worth fitteen Myriades, and to give it the other. After he had handled the matter thus, those things that were done uprightly and with juflice, were reproved and taken in evill part: as the thing that was granted to the GAULS, because they did rebell with Vindex. For men thought that they were not discharged of the Subsidies and Taxes they were wont to pay, nor that they were made free of Rome, so much through the bounty and liberality of the Emperour, as it was by Junius means, of whom they had bought it. For these causes the People hated the Emperour Galba. Howbeit the Souldiers still lived in good hope. for the Gift that was promifed them at the beginning, thinking that though they had not as much as was promifed them, yet they should enjoy as much as Nero had given them. But Galba underflanding that they complained of him, spake a word meet for so noble and worthy a Prince as he was: that he used to choose Souldiers, not to buy them. This word being reported to the Souldiers, it bred a marvellous mortall batred in them against him : because they thought it was not onely to take the Gift away from them which they hoped prefently to have received, but that it was also president to teach the Emperours that should come after him, what they should do. Howbeit the rebelling minds of the Pratorian guard at Rome appeared not yet, but was fecretly kept in for the reverence they bare unto the Majethy and person of Galba, who kept themethat were definous to rebell, becaule they faw as yet no beginning of any change or alteration. This did fomewhat fmother and keep in the shew of their wicked intent. But they which had before served under Vargivins , and were at that time under Flaceus in GERMANIE , thinking themselves worthy of great reward for the Battell they had won against Vindex, and having nothing given them in recompence, they would not be pleafed with any thing their Captain faid unto them, neither did they make any account of Flacens, because he could not fir himself, he was so plagued with the Gout, and besides that, he had no manner of experience in Wars. So one day when certain Sports were made, at the bringing in of the which, the Colonels and Captains (according to the manner of the Ro-MANS) made prayers unto the gods for the health and prosperity of the Emperour Galba: there were divers of them that made a noise at the first, and afterwards when the Captains continued on their Prayers, in the end the Souldiers answered: If they be worthy. The Legions in like manner under Tigellinns charge, did offentimes ule such insolent parts : whereof Galba's Officers did advertile him by Letters. Wherefore Galba being afraid, and miftrufting that they did not onely despile him for his age, but also because he had no Children, he determined to adopt some young Gentle man for his Son, of the nobleft house of the City of ROME, and to proclaim him his Succession in the Empire. At that time there was one Marcus Otho, of a noble house, but ever given to safuality and pleasure from his cradle, as much as any ROMAN could be. And as Homer ofteniums doth call Paris the Husband of the fair Helen , naming him by the Name of his Wife, because he had no other commendable Vertue in him: even fo Otho came to be known in Roms, by marrying Poppea, whom Nero loved when the was Crifpinu his Wife: howbeit, bearing some respect to his Poppas, Oth's Wife, and being afraid also of his Mother, he had inticed Otho to be his band unto her. Nerolord Wife. Othodearly, and much delighted in his Company, because he was so good a sellow and free of his flesh: and was very glad sometime to hear how he mocked him, calling him Niggard. The report went, that as Nero on a time was anointing himself with precious Oyls and Perfumes, he calt a little upon Otho as he went by : who the next day made him a Feaft in his house, where suddainly were thrust into the Hall, divers Vessels of Gold and Silver full of this perfumed Oyl, tharran out of them like Conduit-water, and did wet all the Hall. So Otho having first possessed Poppas, and a bused her under hope of Nero's love, he perswaded her to be divorced from her Husband. The which the did, and he received her home to his own house, as his lawfull Wife: not being so well pleafed to have part, as he was forry and angry also to let another enjoy her. Now Poppas her self (as it is reported) did not missike this his jealousie, for sometimes she would shut her door against Nero, though Otho were not within: either because she would keep Nero in breath, and in love-liking ftill, or as some thought, because the would not have Cafar to her Husband; and likewise that the would not refuse him for her friend because he was wantonly given. But so it is, Otho was in danger of his life by marrying of Poppes : and fo was it also a strange thing , that Mero having put his Wife and Sifter to death, onely to marry Poppes, he did pardon Otho, and faved his life. Howbeit it was for Seneca'; take that was his friend, through whose perswasion he was sent to the surtheft part in SPAIN along the Ocean Sea, to be Governour of Lusttania. And there he governed fo wifely, that he was nothing chargeable nor troublesome unto the Countrey: knowing that this honourable charge was given him onely to mitigate and hide his banishment. Afterwards when Galba had rebelled, he was the first of all the Governours of the Provinces that joyned with him, and bringing with him all his plate, both Gold and Silver, unto the Mint-mafter, he gave it

him to put into bullion, and fo to be converted into currant Coin. Moreover, he gave of his Officers unto Galba, those which he thought the meetest men to serve a prince; and otherwise when he was tried, he shewed himself as faithfull and skillfull in matters of State, as any one that followed the Emperours train. Infomuch as all the way he went many days journey in Coach, other credit as with Gaiba himself, and did marvellously curry savour with Titus Junius, bestowing great Gifts bout Galba. mon him. and also entertaining him with pleasant speeches; but specially, because he willingly gave him the upperhand, whereby he was affured to be the second person in credit about Galba. So in all that he did, he far excelled Junius, for that he granted mens fuits frankly and freely without one penny taking, and was besides easie to be spoken with of every man that had any suit to him: but specially of the Souldiers, whom he did greatly help and surther, and caused divers also to be called to honourable Office, he himfelf partly moving the Emperour for them, without any labour or full made unto him, and partly also obtaining them at Junion hands, and of the two enfranchised hondmen of Galba, Icellus, and Asiaticus. For these three men did bear all the sway and credit othe's practice about the Emperour in the Court. Moreover, always when he invited the Emperour to his house, aspiring to the he bribed the Prætorian Guard that waited upon him, and gave every Souldier a Crown. Now this Empire. in fight, feened chiefly to be done to honour the Emperour with : though indeed it was a fine device to overshrow him, to bribe the Souldiers in that fort as he did. So Galba confulting whom he should make his Successour, Tiens Junion preferred Othe unto him : the which he did not simply of himself, nor without reward, but onely with promise that Otho should marry his Daughter if Galba did adopt him his Son, and proclaim him fucceffour in the Empire. Howbeit, Galba did alway specially regard the Common-wealth before his private liking, and fought to adopt such a one. as should not so much please himself, as otherwise should be profitable and meet for the Empire. But furely in my opinion Galba would not make Otho Heir of his goods, confidering what an unreasonable spender he was, and how sumptuous in all his things, and besides, far gone in debt: for he ought above five thousand Myriades. So when he had heard Junius counsell about this adoption, he gently without other answer, did put over his determination until another time, and made Otho onely Confull at that time, and Titus Junius Confull with him : whereby it was straight suppofed, that at the beginning of the new year, he would proclaim him his Succeffour in the Empire. Which was the thing the Souldiers most defired of all other. But now, delaying still his determination, the Legions of the ROMANS in GERMANY, did rife and rebell against him all at an inflant. For he was generally hated of all his Souldiers, because he paid them not the Gift he had pro- in Germany mifed them. So they particularly to cloke their malicious intent, alledged for their cause of rising, that rebell against he had dishonourably rejected Verginim Rufus : and that the GAULS which had fought against Galba. them were rewarded with great and rich Priviledges, and they that took not part with Vindex had been grievously punished and put to death. Moreover, that Galba did onely honour Vindex death after he was dead, as acknowledging his good will unto him, offering publique Oblations and funerall Sacrifices for him, as by him onely he had been proclaimed Emperour. Now fuch speeches and rumours can through the Camp amongst them, when the first day of the year came, which the ROMANS call the Calends of January; on which day when Flacens had called the Souldiers together, to swear them to the Emperour according to the custom, they plucked down Galba's Images, and Iware onely in the Name of the People and Senate of ROME. The Captains feeing what course they took, were as much afraid of the danger to be without a head, as they stood doubtfull of the mischief of their rebellion. So there stept up one amongst them and said : "My fellows in arms, what do we mean? we neither chuse any other Emperour, nor yet The Souldiers "do allow of him that is Emperour at this present: whereby we shew plainly, that we do not onely do rebell a "refuse Galba, but also all other to be our head and Emperourthat may command us. Now for gainst Galba. "Flacens Ordeonism, that is but Galba's shadow and Image, I would wish we should let him alone "there as he is. And for Vitelliss, Governour of the lower GERMANY, he is not far from us. "but one days journey onely, whose Father was Censor at ROME, and thrice also Consult, and "that was in a manner a Peere and Companion of Cledine Cafar in the Government of the Empire : "whose poverty if any man mislike in him, is a manifest proof of his goodness and magnanimity, "Him therefore let us chuse, and let the world know that we can tell how to chuse an Emperour bet-"ter then the SPANIARDS OF LUSITANIANS. Some of the Souldiers that flood by, confirmed thele words, but others milliked of them: infomuch that amongst the rest there was an Ensignbearer that stole secretly out of the Camp to carry Vitellins news hereof, who that night made a great supper, and had great store of good company with him. These news running straight through his Camp, Fabius Valens Colonell of a Legion, came the next morning with a great number of Horsemen, and was the first man that named Visellius Emperour, who before seemed to resule that Name, as one that was afraid to take the charge of fo great an Empire upon him: but after dinner, being full of Wine and Meat, he came out among them, and accepted the Name of vitellius ac-Germanics which they gave him, and refused the Name of Ca/ar. But therewithall incontinently cepted the after, Flacens Souldiers leaving their goodly popular Oath which they had fworn in the Name of Name of Gerthe People and Senate, they all then took their Oaths faithfully to do what it should please the manicus but Emperour Vitellim to command them. Thus Vitellim was chosen Emperour in GERMANY. So Vitellimsnamed Galba hearing of this new change, thought it not good to defer time longer for the adoption he had Emperour by intended : wherefore certainly understanding that those whom he trusted most about him, were par- the Souldiers, ties in this matter, Some taking part with Colabella, and the most part of them with Ocho, neither

liking the one nor the other, fuddainly without any word spoken to any man, he sent for Pilo (that Galba adopted was the younger Son of Craffin and Pifo, whom Nero had put to death) a young man fair conditioned, and shewed by his grave and modest countenance he had by vertue, that he was endued with many noble vertues. Galba came down prefently from his Pallace, and went straight to the Camp to proclaim Pifo, Cafar, and his Successor in the Empire Howbeit at his setting out of his Pallace, there appeared many great figns in the Firmament which followed him. And moreover when he was also come into his Camp, and that he began to say without book part of his Oration, and parrly also to read it, it lightned all the while he spake, and there sell such a great shower of rain upon it, and a marvellous thick Mist in the Camp, and over all the City, that men might easily see the gods did not like this adoption, and that it would not prosper. The Souldiers themselves shewed their discontentment by their heavy looks, and the rather, because at that time there was no speech of reward or liberality. And furthermore, they that were present also marvelled much (for that they could gather by the countenance and words of Pifo) that Pifo nothing rejoyced at this great favour, although he lacked not wit and understanding otherwise to acknowledge it. And on the other fide allo, they found eafily by Otho's looks, many figus and proofs that he was marvelloully offended in his mind, to fee that he was thus deceived of his hope. For he being the man that was first spoken of, and thought most worthy of all other, and being come also so near unto it, now to see himself thus whipped out of it, he supposed that it was a plain proof that Galba had no good opinion of him, and that he maliced him in his heart, fo that after that time he still stood in sear of his life. For he being afraid of Pife, hating also Galba, and being grievously offended with Time Junius, he went his way full of divers thoughts in his mind. But the Soothfayers, Aftronomers, and Chaldeans, which he ever kept about him, did perfuade him not to be discouraged for this, nor to cast all hope aside: and specially one Ptolomy, in whom he had great confidence, because he had oftentimes before fore-told and affured him, that Nere Prolomy's Pre- should not put him to death, but contrarily, that Nero should die first, and he himself survive him, this source of Rome. Whereby Prolomy having proved his first Prediction debt specific source. true unto him, he bade him be bold, and fear not that to come. But now besides him, those that fecretly complained unto him, did prick him forward the more, fighing to fee him so evil dealt with by Galba, and divers of them chiefly, which bare great authority and credit about Tigellinus and Nymphidius: who being then caft off, and discountenanced, came all unto him, and stirred him up the more. As amongst others, Vetwins and Barbins chiefly, of the which the one had been Opio, and the other Tesserania, why to and the other Tesserania; (for so the ROMANS call those that be their Messengers, Spials, and tendence of the ROMANS call those that be their Messengers, Spials, and the other Tesserania, why to another the tesserania, and the other tesserania, and the tesserania tesserania. Officers to the Captains) who with an enfranchifed bondman of his called Onomaftus, went unto the Camp, and there corrupted fome Souldiers with ready Money, and other fome with fair words, called by the Onbobibed the being of themselves evil inclined, and expected but occasion to utter their malice. For otherwise had the Souldiers been all of one mind, it had not been an enterprise to have been brought to pass in four days space (being no more betwint the adoption and murther) to make a whole Camp rebell in that fort. For they were flain the fifteenth day of January, on which day Galba did facifice in the morning within his Pallace, before his friends. But at that time the Soothfayer called Ombricial, when he had the Intrails of the Beafts facrificed in his hands, and had looked upon them, he spake not doubtfully but plainly, that he faw figns of great tumult and rebellion, and that the Emperour touching the treation prefers danger of great treation. Whereby it plainly appeared, that the gods had put Galba into Otho's hands: for he frood at that time behind Galba, and both heard and faw all that the

The prefage of

Otho called Emperour.

Soothfayers did. So he feeming to be grieved withall in his mind, and his colour changing of for the fear he was in , his enfranchiled bondman Onomastus came and told him, that the Masons and chief Carpenters were come to speak with him, and tarried for him. This was the watch-word agreed upon between them, at which time Otho (hould then go unto the Souldiers. Then Otto faid, that he went to look to an old house he had bought, which was falling down, and in decay, and that he should shew it unto the workmen. So he went his way, and came from the Pallace, by the place they call Tiberius house, into the Market-place, where the golden Pillar standeth, where also the greatest high-ways of all ITALY do meet together. There certain met him that first called him Emperour, which were not in all above threeand twenty Perfons. Thereupon, though Osto was not unconstant, as it appeared (notwithstanding he was so fine and esseminate a man) but rather resolute and ftour in instant danger: yet sear so oppressed him at that time, that he would faine have left his enterprife. Howbeit the Souldiers would not fuffer him, but compaffing his Littr Othe received round about with their Arms, and their Swords drawn in their hands, they commanded the Litter of the Przio-tian Soulders. men to go forward. So Otho as he went haftening on his drivers, he often muttered to himfelf, I an but dead. Some hearing him as they passed by him, rather wondered, then that they were otherwise troubled, to fee such a small number of men about him, that they durst venture upon so hard an enterprise. Now as he was carried through the Market-place, he was met withall by certain others, and alterwards by others, by three and by four in a company : all which came and joyned with him, and cried Cafar, Cafar, having their Swords drawn in their hands. Now the Colonell appointed for that day to guard the Field of Mars, knew nothing of this conspiracy, but being amazed and afraid with their fuddain coming, he fuffered them to come in. So when Otho was come in, he found no man that relifted him. For they that knew nothing of the practife, being compassed in with those that were made privy to it, and had known it of long time, being found straggling here and there, by one and by two, they followed the reft for fear at the first, and

afterwards for good will. This was brought straight to Galba to the Pallace, the Soothsaver being yet busie about this Sacrifice: insomuch that they which before gave no credit to those Divinations began then to marvell much at this heavenly fign. Then there ran immediately a great number of People from the Market-place, unto the Pallace. Thereupon Jumius and Lacon, and certain other of Galba's enfranchised bondmen, stood to Guard Galba's person with their Swords drawn in their hands. Pife also went out to speak unto the Souldiers that guarded the Emperours perion. Moreover, because the ILLIRIAN Legion lay out of the Camp in a place called Vipfanus, they dispatched away Marins Celfus with all speed, a very honest man , to get that place. Galba in the meantime flood in doubt whether he should come out of the Pallace or not : for Junius would not let himgo, but Celfus and Lacon perswaded him to go out: insomuch as they fell at great words with A shamefull Justian that went about to diffwade him from it. In this stir there ran a rumour that Otho was die of flun in the Field. Immediatly after came Julius Atticius, one of the nobleft men of all the imperours guard, and shewed his Sword drawn, crying that he had slain Calars Enemy : and thrust through the press, and got to Galba, and shewed him his Sword bloudied. Galba looking him in the face, asked him who commanded him to do it. The Souldier answered him: the Faith and Oath he had made unto him : therewithall the People that flood by cried out, it was nobly done of him, and clapped their hands for joy. Then Galba taking his Litter, went out of his Pallace to do Sacrifice to Jupiter, and also to shew himself openly. Howbeit he was no sooner come into the Market-place, but he heard contrary news, that Otho was Lord and Mafter of the whole Camp Tumult for and Army. Then as it happeneth in fo great a press of People, some cried out to him to return Galba. back again, others would have him to go forward: others bade him be afraid of nothing, and others willed him to look to himself. So his Litter being thus turmoiled to and fro, as toft upon the Sea, sometime born back, other-while carried forward, first of all they saw certain Horsemen, and then Footmen also armed, coming from Panles Pallace, all of them together crying out with loud voice, Hence, hence, private man. Then all the People fet upon a running, not flying dispersedly, but in heaps, upon Porches and Stals in the Market-place, as it had been to have feen some fight or sport. Then one called Actilius * Sarcello, overthrew one of the Images of Galba, which was * Tacinus doth as it were a beginning of open Wars. Others round about threw Darts on every fide of him a- call him Virgainst his Litter. But when they saw they could not kill him, then they came nearer to his Litter gilio. with their Swords drawn in their hands, and never a man of his left with him to offer to defend him, faving one man onely, whom the Sun faw that day, amongst so many thousands of men, worthy of the Empire of Rome : and he was called * Sempronius. He having received privately no man- * Cornelius Taner of pleasure at Galba's hand, but onely to discharge his Oath and duty stepped before the Litter, citus doth call him Densus. and lifting up a Vine Branch he had in his hand (with the which the ROMAN Captains do tife to beat their Souldiers that have offended) he fell out with them that did fet upon him, and prayed them to hold their hands, and not to hurt their Emperour. But in the end when he saw they would The valiantnot leave, but that they fell to it in good earnest, he then drew his Sword, and bare off the blows lity of semas well as he could, untill they hought him, that he fell to the ground. Then Galba's Litter being pronise in difoverthrown right in the place called Curtim Lake, Galba lay on the ground armed in his Curaces, charge of his The traiterous Souldiers flew upon him, and gave him many a wound : and Galba holding out his Oath to the neck unto them, bade them strike hardily, if it were to do their Countrey good. So he had many Emperour wounds on his Arms and his thighs, as it is reported: howbeit the Souldier that flew him was called Camurius, of the fifteenth Legion. Others do report that it was one Terentius, other also say Sempronius, Arcadius: and some other do call him Fabius Pabulus: who having stricken off his head, wrapped The death of it in the lap of his Gown, because he could not otherwise take hold of it, for that he was all hald. Galba: and his Howbeit his fellows and Conforts would not fuffer him to hide it, but rather that his notable fact he words at his had done should be seen. Therefore he set it upon the point of his Lance, and so shaking the sace of death, this poor old man, (a wife and temperate Prince, and chief Bifhop, and Confull) he ran up and down (like mad Women possessed with the spirit and sury of Bacchus at the Feasts of Bacchus) bowing down his Launce being all of a gore bloud. When his head was brought to Otho, it is faid he cried out aloud: Tufh, my fellows, this is nothing, unless you bring me also Pifo's head. So not long after, they brought him his head also. For the young man being hurt, sled, and was followed by one called *Marcus, who slew him hard by the Temple of Vesta. So did they also kill Titus Innius: who *Others do openly confessed that he was one of the conspiracy against Galba, and cried out to them that slew him, read Murcus. that Otho did not know that they did kill him. This notwithftanding, the Souldiers strake off his head The murther and Lacons also, and brought them both to Otho to receive the reward. Howbeit, as the Poet Ar- of Pife, and chilochus faith :

> Of leven peradventure flain dead on the ground, A thousand will say, that they all gave the wound.

So there was divers men at that time, who being no partakers of this murther, had bloudied all their hands and Swords, and so shewed them bloudied to have reward also: but Vitellus notwithflanding made enquiry of them afterwards, and caused them to be put to death. There came into the Field also, one Marius Celsus, whom divers men accused to have persuaded the Souldiers to aid Galba, and the common People cried out, and bade he should be put to death. Howbeit Other would not fuffer them to kill him: and yet being afraid to contrary the Souldiers minds, he told them they should not kill him so rashly, because he was first to learn some things more of him.

The Senate fwear by the Name of O-

So he commanded them to bind him, and delivered him to be kept of those he trusted most. Af-So he commanded them to bind time, and delivered time bear of the fundament. Alterwards the Senate was prefently affembled: who as if men had been fuddamly hanged from terwards the Senate was pretently another med gods, they all fware by the Name of Othe, (the them they were, or as if there had been new gods, they all fware by the Name of Othe, (the which Oath he himself had before fworn unto Galba, and did not keep it) and called him befides, Augustus and Cafar; the bodies of them that were flain lying yet headles on the ground penges, Augustu and Calar ; in Confuls Robes. And as for their heads, the Souldiers ther they in the Market-place, an in their commiss rootes. Join as for men means, and committees there they could tell no more what to do with them, they fold the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with them, they fold the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with them, they fold the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with them, they fold the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with them, they fold the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with them, they fold the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with them, they fold the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with them, they fold the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with them, they fold the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with them, they fold the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with them, they fold the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with them, they fold the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with them, they fold the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with them the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what to do with the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what the head of Titum Junium unto his Dughter, could tell no more what the head of Titum fold at Rome intreaty begged it of one Veranius. On the other fide, for Galba's head, they gave it unto Intri-bius and Virtulius Servants: who, after they had used it as vilely as they should devise, they throw it at length in a place where their bodies are cast, whom the Cafers put to death, the which they call Sesternum. Now for his Body Helvidim Prifem, through Otho's sufferance, carried it away, 2d Argim, one of his enfranchied bond men, buried it by night. Thus have you heard the Hifter of Galba, a man that in nobility and wealth was inferiour to few ROMANS, and in them both was the chiefest man of all his time, and had alway lived in honourable fame and estimation, in the Reign of five Emperours. So that he overcame Are by his good Name , and the good opinion men had of him, and not through his own force and power. For of them that strove to make themselves Emperours at that time, fome found no man that thought them worthy of it; others did put forth themselves, as thinking themselves worthy of it. Howbeit Galba was called unto it, and obeyed them that called him, using his Name against Vindex boldness: whereby he procured, that his rifing (which before was called innovation and rebellion) was then called civil War, after that his faction came to have a man to be their head, thought worthy to be their Emperour. And therefore he did not so much desire to be Emperour for himself, as to do good to his Countrey and Common-wealth. But yet he erred, in feeking to command the Souldiers, whom Tigellinus and Nymphidius had spoiled by their flatteries: even as in old time Scipio , Fabricius , and Camillus did command the Souldiers of the Empire of ROME at that time. So he being now a very old man, fhewed himself a good Emperour and after the old fort, in his behaviour towards the Souldiers onely: but in all other things elle, being carried away with the coverounnels of Tirns Innin and Laco, and of other his enfranchiled bondmen, he left none defireus to be governed by him, but many that were forry for his death.

The end of the Life of Galba,

THE

THE LIFE OF 0 T H O.



Ann. Mund. 4020.

Poft. Christ.



He next morning, the new Emperor by break of day went unto the Capitol, and Othe's moderafacrificed, and there fent for Marius Celsus to come unto him, whom he courtion at the beteoufly faluted, and prayed him rather to forget the caufe of his imprisonment, ginning of his then to remember his delivery. Marius Celfus made him a wife and noble an-reign. fwer again, and faid, that the matter for the which they would have accused him unto him, did witness his behaviour, shewing himself faithfull unto Galba, who never did him any pleasure. These words of them both did marvellously please

the People: and fo did they like the fouldiers also wonderfully well. Moreover,

after he had very favourably and graciously taken order for matters in the Senate, the rest of the time he had to be Confull, he employed partly about Verginius Rufus; and did also establish them Confulls in their place and degree, which had been called unto that dignity by Nero, or otherwise by Galba: and he also honoured the oldest Senators and of greatest estimation, with certain Priesthoods. Besides all this, he reftored unto all those Senators that were banished by Nero and called home again, all their goods yet unfold. Whereupon the chiefest Magistrates and Noblemen of the City that quaked before for fear, supposing that he was not a man, but rather a devil or sury of hell that was come to be Emperor, they all became glad men, for the good hope of this smiling and gracious reign they were so lately entred into. Moreover, nothing pleased all the ROMANS together more, nor wan him the good will of all men so much, as that he did unto Tigellinus: for it was punishment enough for him, if he had no more but the fear of the punishment every man threatned him withall, as a thing due to the Commonwealth, and also by reason of the incurable diseases his body was infected withall. Now, though the Noblemen thought his unreasonable insolency and lust of the flesh (following naughty-packs and common Strumpets, burning still in filthy concupiscence) an extream punishment, comparable to many deaths; and being also no better then a dead man in a manner, still following pleasure and sensuality as long as he could: this notwithstanding, all men were offended with him, that they should see such a wicked creature as he live, that had put so many Noblemen to death. So Otho sent for him, who lived very pleasantly at his houses in the Countrey, by the City of SINUESSA, and had ships ever ready upon the Sea Coast, to fly if necessity drave him to it. Thereupon he first fought to bribe him with money which was fent with Commission to apprehend him, and perswaded him to let him escape: but when he saw he could not frame him to his mind, yet he refrained not to give him gifts, and prayed him to give him leave to shave his beard. The other granted him. Then Tigellinus took a razor, and did cur

was it never fo great before, neither had it ever done fo much burt as it did at that time. For it had

overflown her banks, and drowned the most part of the City, and specially the Corn-Market:

his own throat. So Otho having pleafed the people thus well , he fought not otherwise to be Tigelliau kill- revenged of his private injuries. Moreover, to curry favour with the common people, he refufed not to be called N_fro, in any open Affemblies at the Theatres. Also when certain private men had fet up Nero's images in open fight, Otho was not offended withall: but moreover, Clodim Rufus writeth, that the letters Patents and Commissions were sent into Spain by Posts, Other the be. Subscribing the goodly name of Nero, with the name of Other. Howbeit: when it came to his cars ginning of his that the Noblemen of Rome mishiked of it, he left it off, and would write it no more in his let-

reign took up ters. So Otho having begun in this fort to establish his Empire, the fouldiers marwellously on him the troubled him. For they continually perfwaded him to take heed to himfelf, and to beware how Noblemen and Gentlemen came near unto him: which they did, either for that indeed they bearing him good will, were afraid fome treachery or treason should be secretly practiced against him; or else it was some reigned device to set all together by the ears, and to bring it to Civil War. For when Otho himself had sent Crippinus with his seventeenth Legion to bring him certain prisoners, and that Crifpinus was ready before day, going to perform the effect of his Commission, having loden Carts with Armour and Weapon for the Souldiers: the desperatest and boldest men a-Tumult against mong them, began to cry out, and said, that Crissinus meant no good in his heart, and that the Przorian the Senate went about to make some change and strr, and that his Armour and Weapons were not for Cefar but against him. These words moved many mens consciences, and made them to

The death of Cristinus.

rebell: fo that fome laid hold upon the Carts to flay them, others flew two Centurions out of hand, and Crifpinus himself also, that would have stayed them. Thereupon all of them together, one encouraging another, went directly to ROME, as meaning to aid the Emperor. But when they came thither, understanding that there were fourfcore Senators at Supper with the Emperor, they ran straight to the Pallace, crying out, that it was a good occasion offered them to kill all Cefar's Enemies at a clap. Hereupon all Rome was straight in Arms, looking immediately after to be facked and spoiled of all that ever they had : and the people ran up and down the Pallace, here and there, Otho himself also being in great fear and diffres. For men might easily fee he was afraid, because of his guests he had bidden, not for himself, seeing them all amazed with the matter, for fear not speaking a word unto him, but staring on him still, and specially those that came and brought their Wives with them to Supper. So Otho suddenly sent the Captains unto the fouldiers, and commanded them to speak with them, and to pacific them as well as they could: and therewithall he made them take away the board, and conveyed his guests out of his Pallace by secret Posterns. So they saved themselves, passing through the souldiers, a little before they entred into the Hall where the feast was kept, crying out, and asking, what was become of Cefar's Enemies. So the Emperour rifing from his bed, he pacified them with gentle words, the tears standing in his eyes, and thereby at length he fent them all away. Otho's liberall- The next morning he liberally bestowed upon every souldier a thousand two hundred and fity ty to the foul Drachma's and then he went into the Market-place, and there gave great commendation under the common people for their ready good wills they shewed unto him; howbeit, he said there

zellius manners

to the common people for their ready good wills they shewed unto him : howbeit, he said there were some among them, that under colour and pretext of honesty, did commit many leud paris, and made his goodness and grace towards them to be evil spoken of, and their constancy and faith also to be disliked of , and prayed them his grief might be theirs , and that the offenders might be punished. They all confirmed his words, and bad him aloud he should do it. So 0the thereupon caused two of them onely to be apprehended, supposing no man would be greatly offended with the punishment of them , and then went his way. Those that loved and trufted him, marvelled much to fee this change. Other were of opinion, that it ftood him upon so to do, to win the Souldiers hearts, because of the War at hand. Now news came Vitellius rebel- flying to him out of all parts, that Vitellius had taken upon him the authority to be Emperor, and posts came to him one in anothers neck, to tell him that numbers of people came in daily to submit themselves unto Vitelliss. Others told him also, how the Legions remaining in PANNONIA, DALMATIA, and Mysia, had chofen Otho. Immediately after, friendly letters were brought him also from Mutianus and Velpasianus, the one of them being in Syria, and the other in Jud. A., with great and mighty Armies. Whereupon Otho giving credit unto them, wrote unto Vitellius, and bad him beware how he medled with any deeper enterprize then became a private Souldier: and that he would give him gold and filver enough, and a great City, where he might live quietly, and take his pleasure. Fitelling gently answered him at the first, and sported with him : but alterwards the falling out one with another, spitefull letters were sent betwirt either parties, one rence between of them reproaching another, nor fallly, but fondly, and foolifhly detecting each others vices. For indeed it was hard to judge, which of them two was most licentiously given, most effeminate, leaft skilfull, poorer, or most indebted before. Now at that time they talked of wonderfull figns that Wonders feen had been feen: howbeit they were but flying tales, and there was no man to justifie them. But in the Capitol there was the image of Vittory fet up in a triumphing Chariot, the which every body The wonderful faw did let flack the reins of the bridles of the Horfes which she had in her hands, as though she could not ftay them any more. The ftatue of Caim Cafar also within the Island, which standeth in the midft of the River of Tyber at ROME, without any Earthquake or storme of wind, though of it felf from the West to the East: the which (as it is reported) chanced about the time that Volpassan began to take upon him to be Emperor. Many also took the overflowing of the River of Tyber for an ill sign. For indeed it was at that time of the year when Rivers do swell most, yet

infomuch that they fuffered famine many days after in ROME. In all this ftir news came that Cecinna and Valens (two of Vitellina Captains) had taken the mountains of the Alpes: and moreover in ROME. Dolabella a noble man, was suspected by the Prætorian souldiers, that he practised fome treason. Now Otho, either because he was afraid of him, or of some other, he fent him to the City of AQUINUM, promiting him he should have no other hurt. Then chusing the choicest Gentlemen which he would take with him, among others he took Lucius, the brother of Vitellim and did not deprive him of any jot of his honour and dignity. Moreover, he was very carefull to fee his Wife and Mother fafe, that they should not be afraid of themselves. Besides all this he appointed Flavius Sabinus, Vespasians brother, Governour of Rome in his absence; and did it for Nero's fake, who had before given him the fame honour and authority, the which Galba had taken from him; or elfe to make Velpalian fee, that he loved and truffed him. So he tarried behind at BRESSELLES, a City standing upon the River of Po: and fent his Army before under the conduct of Marius Celsus, of Suctionius Paulinus, and of Gallus and Spurina, all noble and great personages: howbeit they could not have their wills to rule the Army as they would, because The frowardof the infolency and stubbornness of the souldiers, who would have no other Captains but the ness of Otho Emperour onely, faying, that he and none other should command them. Indeed, the enemies and Vitellius fouldiers also were not much wifer, nor more obedient to their Captains, but were brave and lufty upon the felf fame occasion: howbeit they had this advantage over the other, that they could tell how to fight, and were all well trained in the Wars, and could away with pains and hardness, and never shrunk from it : whereas the Prætorian fouldiers that came from Rome, were fine meal-mouthed men, because they had been long from the Wars, and had lived at ease in ROME, and taken their pleasure in banqueting and plays: and therefore in a bravery and jollity, they would needs have men think, that they distained to do what their Captains commanded them, as men that were too good to do it, and not that they were fine fingered, and loth to take pains. So that, when Spuring would have compelled them, he was in danger of death, and efcaped very narrowly that they flew him not. For they stuck not to revile him, and give him as foul words as they could, calling him Traitor, and curfing him, faying, that he marred all Cafar's affairs. Yea, and there were some of them, that having their full cups, went in the night to his Tent, to ask him leave to depart, faying that they would go to the Emperor, and complain to him of him. But the flout they had given them by their Enemies about that time, hard by the City of PLACENTIA, did stand Spurina and his affairs to great purpose. For Vitellius foul- Placentia, the diers coming hard to the walls of the City, did mock Othe's men that were at the crannies of the fame, and called them fine dancers and goodly Stage-players, that had feen nothing but plays and feafls: and that for feats of Arms, and battles, they knew not what it meant: and that the greatest act they ever did, was that they strake off the head of a poor naked old man, meaning Galla is and that to come to fish? a battle in the field before more than the strain of the strain Galba: and that to come to fight a battle in the field before men, their hearts were in their heels. These vile words galled them to the heart, and made them so mad withall, that they came of themselves to pray Spurina to command them what he thought good, promising that from thenceforth they would never refuse any pains or danger he would put them to. Thereupon there was a hot affault given to the City of PLACENTIA, with great store of fundry Engines. Howbeit Spurina's men had the better, and having with great flaughter repulled the affailants, they

he had his Wife alway with him bravely mounted on horseback, gallantly apparelled, and accompa-

friends and confederates, could quench or fatisfie his unfatiable covetousness: whereby it seemeth that was the let, that coming on fo flowly, he was not at the first battle. Howbeit others do blame Geeinna for it, that made too much haste, for the desirehe had to have the onely honour of the

tains of either side came to aid their men. Howbeit Cecinna having layed a great number of his

best fouldiers well armed in ambush, in certain thick Groves and Woods, he commanded his

faved one of the goodlieft, the greateft, and most flourishing Cities of all ITALY. So Otho's The praise of Captains were far more familiar, courteous, and civil to deal with Cities and private men, than otho's Cap-Vitellius fouldiers were. For, of Vitellius Captains, Gecinna was neither for person nor manners toins, and difaccompaniable for the people, but strange, monstrous, and troublesom, to see him onely a mighty praise of Vistmade man, wearing Gally Gascoignes, and Coats with sleeves, after the sashion of the GALLS, and spake in this attire unto the Ensign-bearers and Captains of the ROMANS. Furthermore,

nied with a Troop of the choicest men of Arms of all the companies. The other, Fabius Valent, Fabius Valent, be was so coverous, that no spoil of enemies, no polling of subjects, nor bribes taken of their

victory to himself: and this was the cause, that besides his other light faults, he also made this, that he gave battle out of due time and season, and when it came to the point indeed, yet he sought it not out valiantly, so that he had almost cast all away : For when he had the repulse from Placen-TIA, he went unto CREMONA another great City. And Annius Gallus going to aid Spurina, Cremons a

who was belieged in the City of PLACENTIA, when he heard by the way that the PLACENTI- goodly City NES had the better, and that the CREMONENSES were in great danger and diffrels, he marched thither with his Army, and went and Camped hard by the enemies. After that also, the other Cap-

horsemen to march forward, and if the enemies came to charge them, that they should retire by little and little, making as though they fled, untill they had drawn them within his ambush. So there

were certain traitors that bewrayed the Ambush unto Marius Celfus, who came against them

Paulinus, Otho's Captain,

Bebriscum 2

Fresh water and fmart of a

Vitellius a drunks:d and

with his choice men of Arms, and did not follow them over rashly, but compassed in the place where the Ambush lay, the which he raifed, and in the mean time tent to his Camp with all possible speed to his footmen to make hast thitherward : and it seemeth, that if they had come in time they had not left one of their Enemies alive, but had marched upon the bellies of all Cecima's Army, if they had followed the horfemen in time, as they should have done. But Paulinus being come too late to aid them, for that he came fo flowly, he was burdened that he did not the duty of a Captain that bare the name and countenance he carried. Furthermore, the common fouldiers accused him of treason unto Otho, and stirred up their Emperor against him, and spake very big words of themselves, faying, that they had overcome for their own parts, had not the cowardlines of their own Captains been, who put them by the victory. So Otho did not trust him so much, that he would not make him believe but that he miltrusted somewhat. Therefore he sent his brother Titianus to the Camp, and Proclus with him, Captain of the Przetorian Guard, who indeed commanded all; but in fight, Tisianus had all the honour, as bearing the name of the Emperors Lieutenant. Marius Celfus and Paulinus followed after, bearing the name of Counfellers and friends onely: howbeit otherwise they medled with nothing, neither had any authority given them. On the other fide, the Enemies were in as much trouble as they, and those specially whom Valens led. For when news was brought of the conflict that was between them in this Ambush, they were angry with him, because they were not at it, and for that he had not led them thither, to help their men that were flain: infomuch that they had much ado to pacific and quiet them, they were fo ready to have flown upon him. So Valens at length removed his Camp, and went and joyned with Cecinna. Howbeit Otho being come to his Camp at the Town of Bebriacum, which is a little Town hard by CREMONA, he consulted with his Captains whether he should give Battle or not. So Proclus and Titianus gave him counsell to mont. fight, confidering that the fouldiers were very willing to it, by reason of the late victory they obb's conful-had won, and wiffled him not to defer it: for thereby he should but discourage his Army, which was now willing to fight, and also give their Enemies leifure to flay for their Chiefiain Vitellius, who came himfelf out of Gaul. But Paulinus in contrary manner alledged, that the Enemies had all their force and power present, with the which they thought to fight with them, and also to overcome them, and that they wanted nothing: whereas Otho looked for another Army out of Mysia and Pannonia, as great an Army as his Enemies had already, fo that he could tarry his time, and not ferve his Enemies turn; and alfo, that if the fouldiers being now but a few in number were willing to fight, they should then be much more encouraged, when they should have greater company, and should also fight with better fafety. Furthermore be periwaded them, that to delay time was for their avail, confidering that they had plenty and ftore of all manner of provision: where the Enemies on the other fide, being allo in their Enemies Countrey, their victuals would quickly fail them. Marins Celfus liked very well of the persuasions; and so did Annius Gallus, who was not present at this Council (but gone from the Camp, to be cured of a fall he had from his horse) but he was written to by Otho to have his opinion alfo. So Annius Gallus returned answer, that he thought it not best to make half, but to thay for the Army that came out of Mys1a, confidering they were onwards on their way. However, the which were alledged divers occasions. But the chiefest and likeliest cause of all was, that the fouldiers which are called the Pratorian (being the daily guard about the Emperous perfon) finding then in effect what it was to profes to be a fouldier, and to live like a fouldier, they lamented their continuing in ROME, where they lived at eafe and pleasure, feasting and banquering, never feeling the discommodities and bitter pains of War: and did therefore to earneftly cry pleasant life at out to fight, that there was no flaying of them, as if they should at their first cry and sening for Rame, notifed ward, have overthrown their Ememies. Moreover, it fremed also that Otho himself could no more away with the fear and doubt of the uncertain fuccess to come, neither could any longer abide the grievous thoughts of the danger of his effate, he was so effeminate, and unacquainted with forrow and pains. This was the cause that carried him on headlong, as a man that shutteh his eyes falling from a high place, and so to put all at adventure. The matter is thus reported by Secandas the Orator, and Otho's Secretary. Others also do report, that both Armies had divers de-Orator, Secreterminations and minds: as to joyn all together in one Camp, and joyntly to chufe among them, tary unto 0160 if they could agree, the worthieft man of all the Captains that were there: if not, then to affemble Gaussian. the Emperor. ble the whole Senate in a place together, and there to fuffer the Senators to chiffe fuch a one Emperor, as they liked best of. And fure it was very likely it was so, considering that neither of them both which were then called Emperors, was thought meet for the place they had : and therefore that there countells and confiderations might easily fall into the ROMAN fouldiers heads (who were wife men and expert fouldiers) that indeed it was a thing for them justly to milike, to bring them felves into the like miferable time and calimity, which their predecessors before them had caused one another to foffer: firft for Sylla and Marias fakes, and afterwards for Cafar and Pompey; and now to beltow the Empire of Rome either upon Fitelling, to make him the abler to follow his drunkenness and gluttony: or else upon Othe, to maintain his wanton and licentious life. This was the cause that moved Cessas to delay time, hoping to end the Wars without trouble and danger: and that cauled Otho to make the more halt, being afraid of the lattie. Howbeit Otho returning back again into BRESSELLES; he committed thorter fault, not onely because he took his mens

good-wills from them to fight, the which his presence, and the reverence they bare unto him did put in them : but because also he carried away with him for the Guard of his person, the valiant- The Town of eft fouldiers and most resolute men of all his host. About that time there chanced a skirmish to fall Bresselies is out by the River of Po, because Cecinna built a bridge over it, and Otho's men did what they could hard by the to hinder them. Howbeit when they faw they prevailed not, they laded certain Barges with Faggots River of Po. and dry wood, and rubbed them over with briniftone and pitch, and fetting them on fire, they fent them down the stream. When the Barges were in the midst of the stream, there suddenly arose a wind our of the River, which blew upon this Wood-stack they had prepared to cast among the Enemies works of this Bridge, that first made it smoak, and immediately after fell on a flame; which did fo trouble the men in their Barges, that they were driven to leap into the River to fave themselves: and for they loft their Barges, and became themselves also prisoners to their Enemies, to their great shaine and mockery. Furthermore, the Germans under Vitellium, fighting with Otho's Fencers, which of them fhould win a little Island in the midst of the River, they had the upper hand and flew many of the Pencers. Thereupon Otho's fouldiers which were in BEBRIACUM, being in a rage withall, and would needs fight, Proclus brought them into the field, and went and Camped about fifty furlongs out of the City; fo fondly, and to fo little purpole, that being the spring of the year. and all the Countrey thereabout full of brooks and rivers, yet they notwithftanding lacked water. The fext morning they raifed their Camp to meet with their Enemies the fame day, and were driven to march above an hundred furlongs. Now Paulinus perswaded them to go fair and softly, and not to make more half then needed; and would not fo foon as they should come (being wearied with their journey and travell) fet upon their Enemies that were well armed, and befides had leifore and time enough to fet their men in battle ray, whilft they were coming fo long a journey with all their carriage. Now the Captains being of divers opinions about this matter, there came a horfeman from Otho, one of those they call the Nomades, that brought them letters, in the which Otho commanded them to make all the haft they could, and to lofe no time, but to march with all fpeed toward the Enemy. So when the letters were read, the Captains presently marched forward with their Army. Cecinna understanding of their coming, was astonied at the first, and fiddenly forfook the work of his bridge to return to his Camp, where he found the most part of his fouldiers ready armed, and Valens had given them their fignal and word of battle. And in the mean time, whilft the Legions were taking their places to fer themselves in battle ray, they fent out before, the choice horsemen they had, to skirmish. Now there ran a rumour (no man knew how, nor upon what cause) that Vitellius Captains would turn on Otho's fide in battle, infomuch that when these men of Arms came near to meet with the vaward of Otho's Army, Otho's men did speak very gently to them, and called them companions. Vitellius men on the other fide took this falutation in evil part, and answered them again in a rage, as men that were willing to fight: Infomuch that those which had spoken to them, were quite discouraged : and the relidue also began to suspect their companions which had spoken to them, and mistruffed them to be traitors. And this was the chiefest cause of all their disorder, being ready to joyn battle. Furthermore, on the Enemies fide also, all was out of order; for the beafts of carriage ran in amongst them that fought, and so did put them marvellously out of order. Besides that also, the disadvantage of the place where they fought, did compell them to disperse one from another, because of fundry ditches and trenches that were between them, whereby they were compelled to fight in divers companies together. So there were but two Legions onely, the one of Vitellius, Battlebetwire called the Devourer: and the other of Otho, called the Helper: which getting out of these holes the Othorium and ditches apart by themselves, in a good plain even ground, fought it out so a long time together in and Vitellians. good order of battle. Otho's fouldiers were men of goodly perfonages, ftrong and valiant of Legions called their hands, howbeit they had never ferved in the Wars, nor had ever foughten battle but that, by pretty And Vitellius men on the other fide, were old beaten fouldiers, and had ferved all their youth, and ret, Helper. knew what wars and battles meant. So when they came to joyn, Otho's men gave such a lusty charge The valiantness upon the first onset, that they overthrew, and slew all the first rank, and also wan the Ensign of of the Battavii the Eagle. Vitellius men were to athamed of it, and therewith in fuch a rage, that they took heart in Wars.

again unto them, and ran in to desperately upon their Enemies, that at the first they slew the Colonel of tentions. all their Legions, and wan divers Enligns. And furthermore, against Otho's Fencers (which were cers, and what accounted the valiantest men, and readiest of hand) Varus Alphensus brought his men of Arms cal- fouldiers they led the Battavii, which are Germans in the lowest part of Germany, dwelling in an the Otherians 1stand compassed about with the River of Rhyne. There were few of his Fencers that stuck by it, but overcome in the most of them ran away towards the River, where they found certain Ensignes of their Enemies battle by the fet in battle ray, who put them all to the fword, and not a man of them escaped with life. But above Vitellians. all other, none proved more beafts and cowards, then the Prætorian guard. For they would not tar- The cowardsry till the Enemies came to give them charge, but cowardly turned their backs, and fled through nels of the fresh their own men that were not overthrown : and fo did both disorder them, and also make them a- Marins Cellus fraid. This notwithstanding, there was a great number of Otho's men who having overthrown the Oration to ovaward of those that made head against them, they forced a lane through their Enemies that were tho's fouldiers Conquerors, and so valiantly returned back into their Camp. But of their Captains, neither perswading Proflus nor Paulinius durst return back with them, but fled another way, being afraid of the fury of Vitellius. the fouldiers, that they would lay all the fault of their overthrow upon their Captains. Howbeit

Annium Gallum received them into the City of BEBRIACUM, that came together after this overthrow; and told them that the battle was equal betwist them, and that in many places they had the better of their Enemies. But Marin Celfus gathering the Noble men and Gentlemen together that had charge in the Army, he fell to confultation what they should do in fo great a calamity, and extream flaughter of the ROMAN Citizens. For if Otho himself were an honell man, he should no more attempt Fortune : considering that Cato and Scipio were both nert man, we mount no more than they were the cause of casting away of many men in Africk to no purpole (though they fought for the liberty of the ROMANS) and onely of felf-will, for that they would not yield to Julius Cefar after he had won the Battle of PHARSALIA. For though Fortune in all other things have power over men : yet extremities happening to good men, the cannot prevent them to determine the best for their fafety. These perswations straight carried away the Captains', who were prefendly to feel the minds of the private Souldiers, whom they found all of them defirous of peace. So Titianus perswaded them to fend Ambassa-Uthe's Captains do yield dors unto them to Treat of peace; and Gelfus and Gallus took upon them the charge to go themselves un- thither, to break the matter unto Cecima and Valens. But by the way they met with certain Centurions, who told them how all the Army of the Enemies were coming onwards on their way, to come directly to the City of BEBRIACUM, and that their Chieftains had fent before to offer Treaty of Peace. Celfus and his companion Gallus being glad of this, prayed the Centurions that they would return with them unto Cecimna. But when they were come near unto him, Celfus was in great danger of his life; because the men of Arms which he had overthrown certain days before in an Ambuth, coming before, when they fpied him, they flew upon him with great shouts. Howbeit the Centurions that were in his company, stepped before him, and cloted him in: and so did the other Captains that cryed unto them they should do him no hurt, Cecima understanding what the matter was, rode thither and pacified the tumult of these men of Arms, and then faluting Celfus very courteoully, he went with him towards Bebralacum.

But now Titianus in the mean time, repenting himself that he had fent Ambasadors unto the Enemies, he placed the desperately fouldiers he had upon the walls of the City, and encouraged the reft also to do the like, and to fland to the defence. But Cecinna came to the wall, and being on horseback, held up his hand unto them. Then they made no more resistance, but this that were upon the walls, falured the fouldiers: and they that were within the City opened the gates, and thrust in among Vitellius men, who received them, and did no man any hurr, but courteoutly embraced them, and faluted each other. Then they all fware and took their oaths to be true to Vitellius, and fo yielded themselves unto him, So do the most part of those that were at this Battle, report the fuccels thereof: granting notwithflanding, that they knew not every thing that was done, because of the great diforder among them. But as I travelled on a Men that fight time through the field where the Battle was stricken, with Merring Floras that had been Confull, he shewed me an old man that when the field was fought in that place, was young, and against his will was at the same battle on Otho's part. Who told us, that after the battlewas fought, he came into the field to furvey the number of those that were dead; and he found the dead bodies piled on a heap, of the height of those that came to view them. And faid more at the battle. over, that he made inquiry of the matter, but he neither could imagine it himself, nor be faished by others. Now indeed it is likely, that in Civil Wars between Countreymen of one felf City, where one of the two Armies is overthrown, that there should be a greater slaughter among them, then against the other Enemies, because they take no prisoners of either fide; for those they should take, would ferve them to no good purpofe. But after they were flain, one to be layed on heaps to by another, that is a hard thing to judge. But now to the matter. The news of this overthrow came first but obscurely upon Otho, a common thing in a matter of fogreat importance: but afterwards, when some that were hurt came and brought him certain news of it, it was no marvell then to fee Orbo's friends and familiars to comfort him, who prayed him to be of good chear, and not to be discouraged for that. Howbeit, the wonderful great love and good will which the private fouldiers shewed unto him at that time, did pals and The great file love and good will which the private fouldiers flewed unto him at that time, did pass and live of the following t diers, unto the themselves to their Enemies the Conquerors, neither took they any regard of themselves, to diers, unto the themselves to their Emperour in that despair: but all of them joyntly together went unto his lodging, and called him their Emperour. Then he came out, and they fell down at his feet, a smar reprefented in a triumph lying on the ground, and kiffed his hands, with the team running down their cheeks, and belought him not to forfake and leave them to their Enemies, but to command their persons whileft they had one drop of blood left in their bodies to do him ser-The wonderfull vice. All of them together made this petition to him. But amongst others, there was a poor fouldier who drawing out his fword, faid unto him: Know, O. Cafar, that all my companions fooldier of 0. are determined to die in this fort for thee, and so slew himself. But all these lamentable things did never melt Otho's heart; who looking with a front countenance round about him, and, cashing und never men of the seventh of the rageof Othobe "my fellows, then that in the which you first choic me Emperor: to see you love me so will forch in death, "and do me such honour, with so great shew of loyalty. But yet I befeech you not to deny to the sould lister to me a greater savour, which is: To die valiantly and honourably, for the safety of so many to the souldiers "me a greater savour, which is: To die valiantly and honourably, for the safety of so many.

honest men as you be, and so good Citizens of ROME. If by your election you made we wor-4 thy to take upon me the Imperial Crown, I must now needs shew my self an Emperor, " not sparing to spend my life for your and my Countries safety. I am certain that the vi-" ctory is not altogether mine enemies. For news are come unto me, that our Armies of My-" SIA and PANNONIA are in their way coming to us, and that they are not far off from " the Adriatick Sea. ASIA, SYRIA, and ÆGYPT, and the Legions that made War with In-" ny, are all ours. The Senate taketh our part, and our Enemies Wives and Children be in " our hands. But this War is not against Hannibal, nor Pyrrhus, nor against the CIMBRES. " to fight who should be owners of ITALY : but it is against the ROMANS themselves. For " in this Civil War, both the Conqueror and Vanquished do offend their Countrey; for where " the Conquerors have benefit, the Countrey and Commonwealth always receiveth lofs. Affure " vour felves I had rather die then reign Emperour: confidering also that my life with victo-4 FU cannot fo much benefit the ROMANS, as the facrifice of the fame may do my Countrey " good, for the peace and quietness of my Countreymen, keeping ITALY thereby from seeing " fuch another battle as this bath been. So when he had made this Oration unto them, and put those by, that would have perswaded him the contrary : he commanded all the Senators and his friends that were prefent, to avoid. Then he wrote Letters to them that were absent, and allo unto the Cities where through they passed, to use them very courteously, and to see them safely conveyed. Then came his Nephew Cocceim to him, who was yet but a young The Emperor boy; and he did comfort him, and bad him not be afraid of Vitellius, for he had fafely kept Otho's words to his Mother, Wife, and Children, and had been as carefull of them, as if they had been his own : his Nephew and that he would not yet adopt him for his fon though he was defirous to do it, untill fuch Cocceius, time as he saw the end of this War: to the end that if he overcame, he should quietly reign Emperour with him; and if he were overcome, that for adopting of him, he would not be cause of his death. But this one thing onely I command and charge thee, my fon, even as the last commandment that I can give thee: that thou do not forget altogether, neither overmuch remember, that thine Uncle hath been Emperor. When he told him this tale, he heard a noise at his door; they were the Souldiers that had threatned the Senators which came from him and would kill them, if they did not remain with him, but would forfake their Emperour. Upon this occasion he came out once again among them, being afraid least the Souldiers would do the Senators some hurt, and made the Souldiers give back, not by entreating of them, nor speaking courteoully to them, but looking grimly on them, and in great rage: infomuch that they all fhrunk back, and went away for fear: So when night came, he was a thirft, and drank a little water: and having two fwords, he was a proving a great while which had the best edge. In the end, he put by the one, and kept the other in his Arms. Then he began to comfort his servants, and liberally to give out his money among them, to some more, to some less, not prodigally throwing it away without difcretion, as being another mans money: but difcreetly gave to every man according to his defert. Then, after he had dispatched them away, he laid him Othoin his down to fleep all the reft of the night, and the Grooms of his Chamber heard him fnort, he flept death, feemed fo foundly. In the morning he called one of his Enfranchifed bondonen, whom he had commanded to help to fave the Senators, and fent him to fee if they were all fafe, and gone. So when ed Cato Utican he understood that they were all gone, and that they had all they would : Come on, faid he then unto him, look to thy felf, I read thee, and take heed the Souldiers fee thee not, if thou wilt scape with life, for sure they will kill thee, thinking thou hast holpen me to kill my self. So, as foon as his Enfranchifed bondman was gone out of his Chamber, he took his fword with both his hands, and fetting the point of it to his breaft, he fell down upon it, feeming to feel Otho flew himno other pain, faving that he fetched a figh: whereby they that were without knew that he had felf. done himself hurt. Thereupon his friends made straight an out-cry, and all the Camp and City was incontinently full of tears and lamentation. The Souldiers suddenly ran with a great noise to his Gates, where they bitterly bewailed, and lamented his death, falling out with themfelves that they were such villains so slenderly to have guarded their Emperour, that they kept him not from killing himself for their takes. So there was not a man of them that left his body, though the Enemies were hard at hand : but having honourably buried him, and prepared a great stack of wood, they conveyed him armed to the fire of his Funerals, every man thinking himself happy, that could first set his shoulders to the Cossin to help to carry him. Others coming to it, kneeled down on their knees, and kiffed his wound. Others took and The Fenerals kissed his hands. Others that could not come near unto him honoured him, and did reverence Emperor. him a far off; and some there were also that after the stack of wood was set on fire, slew themselves hard by the fire : who had never received benefit by him that was dead (at the least to any mans knowledge) neither had they any occasion to be afraid of him that was Conquerour. And truely methinks, never King nor Tyrant was so ambitiously given to reign, as they vehemently defired to be commanded by Otho, and to obey him : confidering that their defire left them not even after his death, but was so lively rooted in their minds, that in the end, it turned to a deadly hate unto Vitellius. But of this we will speak more hereaster

in time and place. Now, when they had buried Otho's ashes, they did set up a Tomb for him, neither for magnificence of building, nor for glorious Epitaph, fubject to envy. For I

have feen his Tomb in the City of Bresselles a mean thing, and the Epitaph upon it translated.

The Emperor out of Latine, faith no more but this: This is the Tomb of Marcus Otho. He died being but feren Other stomb in and thirty years old, and was Emperor but three moneths : and there were as famous men that comthe City of Bregliets.

And unitry years old, and was emperor but three moneths: and there were a sample ment that compared his death, as they that reproved his life. For though he lived not much more honefter then mended his death, as they that reproved his life. For though he lived not much more honefter then come of the Captains would have Ners, yet he died far more honourably. Furthermore, when Poliso one of the Captains would have taken their oaths to be true to Vitellius, they fell out with compelled his fouldiers prefendly to have taken their oaths to be true to Vitellius, they fell out with him: and understanding that there were yet remaining some Senators, they would not meddle with them, but onely troubled Verginius Rusus. For they came to his doors armed, and called him by his name, and commanded him to take charge of them, and to go as Ambaffador to entrear for them. Howbeit he thought it were but a fond part of him to take charge of them that were already overcome, Howeith the thought it were but a tond part of nint to take charge of them that were arready overcome, confidering he refused it when they had overcome; and also he was afraid to go Ambassiador to the Germans, because he had compelled them to do things against their wills. Therefore he went out at his back door, and saved himself. So when the Souldiers heard of it, they were at length contented to be brought to be flower unto Visellius: and so joyned themselves with Cecinna's souldiers, so they might be pardoned for all that was past.

The end of Otho's Life.

THE

LIVES

HANNIBAL

S C I P I O African.

Translated into French by CHARLES de la SLUCE. And Englished by S THOMAS NORTH.



Ann. Mund.

Hannibal.

Ant . Christ.

F we do call to mind the first Punick War the Carthaginians had with the Romans, we shall find many Captains who by the glory of their noble deeds, have left great fame and renown unto their posterity. However amongst all the Captains of the Carthaginians, none are found more worthy of fame, and so commended of all Greek and Laim Authors, then Hamilton, The parentage Hannibal's father, otherwise firmanced Barche, a valiant man doubtless, and of Hannibal, in his time a skilfull fouldier as any was. The fame Hamilton, first of all

The state of the s

made War with the ROMANS, a longer time in Sights then was looked for, who had done great hurt to his Countrey and Commonwealth. After that also in the Wars of Arrick (at what time the mercenary fooldiers through their rebellion did put the Countrey of Carthage in great danger) he did for saliantly appeare the inforrection, that to every mans judgement, he was reputed the onely preferrer of his Countrey. Then he was fent Governour and Captain into Spann, and carried with him at that time (as it is reported) his fon Hannibal, because the saliant of the saliant transfer of the saliant ing but a young boy, where he did noble fervice. In fine, in the ninth year of his abode there in that Province, he died fighting valiantly against the VETHEONS. After his death, Hafdrubal his

THE

fon in law (whom the CARTHAGINIANS through the aid and friendship of the BARCINI-AN faction had made General of all their Army) remained Governour there the space of eight years.

Tagus fl.

Hannibal's Atagems.

This Hafarubal fent for Hannibal into Spain, after his father Hamilears death, against the minds of the chief of the contrary faction; to the end that as he had been trained from his youth in the difcipline of Wars, in his father Hamilears life: even to in like manner, that now being come to mans state, he should the better harden his body, to away with the pains and dangers of the Wars. Now although at the first, the remembrance of his father was a great help unto him to win the love and good will of the fouldiers: yet he himself afterwards, through his diligence and industry so handled the matter, that the old fouldiers forgetting all other Captains, they onely defired to choose him (and none other) for their Governor. For they found in him all the perfections that could be wished for in a noble Cappin or General. The had a prefent and ready wit to give counfell what was to be for in a noble Cappin or General. The had a prefent and ready wit to give counfell what was to be done, in greateft aftempts: and befides, he facked peither manhood nor industry to put it in execution, the had a valiant and invincible mind; even in greateft dangers and advertities of body; the which are wont to fray others from performing their endeavours and duty. He would watch and ward as any private fouldier, and was quick and ready to to any kind of fervice, either like a valiant fouldier, or a good Captain. In this fort Hannibal continued in service in the Wars, the space of three years, under the conduct of Hafdrubal. In that time he fo wan the hearts of all the Army, that immediately after Hafdrabitis death, he was chosen to be Lieutenant General, with the common consent of all Hamibal cho the fouldiers: and this honour was laid upon him without contradiction of any of the CARTHAGIten Litertransia.

General after NIANS, through the friendship and good will of the BANCINIAN faction. Hannibal was now fix and twenty years old, when the fouldiers made him their Lieucenant General. For at what time Haldrubal, be his father Hamilear brought him into Shabas, he was then but nine years old: and from that ing but twenty time unto Hafdrubals death (according to Polybiu declaration) it was feventeen years more. So he was no fooner made Lieutenant Generall of all the Camp, and his Countrey, but he bent himself to make War with the ROMANS : having long before determined it. For first of all, he chiefly maintained almost a common hate of all the CARTHAGINIANS against the ROMANS, because Divor causes of Hamilton's thing inheritable from his father Hamilton's without the Carthaginian's thing inheritable from his father Hamilton's without the Carthaginian's were had, was the mortallest enemy unto the Roman. Hamilear made his preparation to go into SAAN, he compelled Hamibal (being but a boy) to fwear in a farrifice he made, that he would be a mortal enemy to the ROMANS, alloon as ever he fwear in a facrifice he made, that he would be a mortal enemy to the ROMANS, alloon as ever he came to the frate of a man, \$50; the remembrince of these things were still fresh in the young mass mind, as the idea (or Image), of his fathers hate, and still provoked him to spy out all the means he mind, as the idea (or Image), of his fathers hate, and fill provoked him to spy out all the means he father.

The Barcinias prick him far ward unto is, the cance by Wars he might ratis himself to greatness, and so encreasely prick him far ward unto is, the cance by Wars he might ratis himself to greatness, and so encreasely either.

The far was a ward of the father ward in the Romans a prophet a that time called the Saguntines, who consided in the control of the father ward were left free by the former peace concluded. These Saguntines and Care the Critical section of the free by the former peace concluded. Thee Society in the ROMANS and Care the Critical section of the free by the former peace concluded. Thee Society is the Romans of the legice that was made betwit them, the Romans of the legice that was made betwit them, the Romans was hard therefore thought with himself, he could not devide to make a better match to anger the Romans, with all, and re-time there free of his malice allo against them, then to make War will first SAGUN TINEs their Confederates. However, before he would be openly feen to fer upon them, he first determined to lead his Army against the Oleanes, and other people on the other sides of the River Ibera: and after he had overcome them; then to find occasion to molest the SAGUN TINES, to make it appears to the had overcome them; then to find occasion to molest the SAGUN TINES, to make it appears to the sagundary to the sagundary them. pear that the War was rather begun by them, then purposely intended by him. So after he had overcome the OLCADES, he did fer upon the VACOPIANS, Toolid their Countrey, befieged many Cities, and took HERMANDICE, and ARBOCOLE, great and rich Cities. Now he had in manner The conspiratiovercome all the whole Countrey, when divers sugitives from the City of HERMANDICE, encoucy of the Spar raging one another, conspired against him, levied men, and inticed the OLCADES that were fled, to take their part. Then they perswaded the CARTHAGINIANS their neighbours, that they would all agree fuddenly to fet upon Hamibal at his return. They being a people that defired nothing more then to fight, and confidering also that they had received injuries by Hannibal, did easily hearken unto that counsel 3, and thereupon levying a great number of men, to the number of a hundred thoufand, they went to affail Hannibal at his return from the VACCEIANS, by the River of Tagu. When the CARTHAGINIANS discovered their Army, they stayed upon it, and were marvellously afraid. And doubtless they, had had a great overthrow, if they had fought with those so fierce prople, being atraid of their fudden.coming, and also loden as they were with so great spoils: the which Hannibal deeply confidering, like a wife Captain as he was, he would not fight, but lodged his Camp in the place where they were. Then the next day following, he passed his Army over the River with as little noise as he could, leaving the passage where the Enemies might easiliest come over, unguarded : because under pretence of diffembled fear, he might entrice the barbarous people to pais o ver the River, to take the opportunity and occasion offered them. Now indeed as he was the subtillest Captain, and had the finest stratagems of any other Captain of his time: so his polity was not in vain, and his purpose to good effect, in abusing of the enemy t for the wild barbarous people repoling too great truft in the multitude of their men, supposing the CARTHAGTNIANS had been

afraid, with great fury entred the River to pass over it. So they being greatly troubled, and out of order by this means, and specially before they could pass all over the River, they were set upon by the CARTHAGINIANS, first by certain horiemen, and afterwards with the whole Army; fo that there was a great number of them flain, and the refidue were put to flight. After this victory, all the people inhabiting about the River of Iberus, yielded themselves unto him, saving the SAGUNTINES: The Iberians who, though they faw Hannibal at hand coming towards them, trufting to the friendship of the Ro-yielded them MANS, they prepared to defend themselves against him: and therewithall sent Ambassadors presently to Rome, to shew the Senate in what great danger they were, and also to pray aid against their so great enemy, that made Wars to hotly with them. The Ambassadors that were fent to Rome, were feant gone out of SPAIN, when Hannibal made open War on them with all his Army, and pitched his Camp before the City of SAGUNTUS. When this matter was reported at ROME, and confulted Hannibal laieth of for the wrongs that had been done to their Confederates, the Senators dealt but flackly in it, and by fiege to the Cidecree onely sent P. Valerius Flaccus, and Quintus Bebius Pamphilus unto Hannibal, to will him to ty of Saguntus. raife his siege from SAGUNTUS: and if they found he would not hearken to them, that then they should thence repair to CARTHAGE, and to pray them to deliver their General Hannibal unto them, because he had broken the peace. Polybius writeth, that Hannibal did hear these Ambassadors, howbeit, that he made them a flender answer. Living writeth in contrary manner, that they were never heard, nor came at any time to his Camp. Howbeit, they both agree thus far, that they came into SPAIN, and afterwards went into Africk, and from thence came to CARTHAGE; where after they had delivered their meffage unto the Council, the BARCINIAN faction was fo much against them, that they dishonourably returned to ROME, and obtained not their desire. Now in the Senate of CARTHAGE there were two contrary parts and factions: of the which, the first took his Two contrary beginning from the Government of Hamilear, firnamed Barca, and so descended as it were by success factions in the from to his fon Hannibal, and grew afterwards unto such greatness, that that saction (as well abroad the secrete Buras at home) ruled all matters judicial. The second faction came of Hamo, a grave man and of great chains, and authority in the same Commonwealth: howbeit, a man more given to embrace peace and quietness, Hannonians. then otherwise disposed to war and trouble. It is he onely (as it is reported) who at that time when the Hamiltan Barea Ambassadors of the Romans came to Carthage, to complain of the injuries done to their counteller and Confederates, that did then in manner against the will of all the whole Senate, counsell them to keep governour in Peace with the ROMANS, and to beware of Wars, the which one day might peradventure utterly peace, destroy their Countrey. Doubtless, if the CARTHAGINIANS would have followed the grave A happy thing countel of Hanno, rather then to have given place to their defires, and had followed the author of peace, to follow good countell, and not to have been ruled by them that gave counsel to make Wars, they had not tasted of those miseries which their Countrey afterwards came unto: but giving place to the fury and ambitious mind of a young man, they heaped such mischiefs on their heads, as afterwards fell out upon them. Therefore it is very meet for wife Magistrates and Governors of Commonweals, always rather to have Wife counsel an eye to the beginning of any matters, then to the end : and ever to decide all matters by advice and for Governors counfel, before they should take any Wars in hand. Now the SAGUNTINES seeing themselves befieged by Hannibal, and that against all reason and equity he made Wars upon them, they notwith beginning, ftanding valiantly defended the frege many moneths together. Yet in fine, though Hamibal had ma-ny more men then they (having a bundred and fifty thouland men in his Camp) and that the most part of their Rampiers were battered and overthrown : they liked rather to abide the fack of their City, then to yield themselves to the mercy of their mortal enemy. So some do report, that SAGUNTUS was taken the eighth moneth after fiege was laid unto it. But Livy feemeth not to agree to that, neither to fet down any certain time of the continuance of the fiege. Now the taking of this so wealthy a City, was a great furtherance divers ways to Hannibals enterprifes. For many Cities taking example of the fack of SAGUNTUS, who before milliking to be subject to the CARTHAGINIANS, guntus. were ready to rebell, kept themselves quiet, and the souldiers also waxed lively and couragious: seeing the rich spoils that were divided in the Camp. So Hannibal sent great presents of the spoils of the SAGUNTINES, unto CARTHAGE, whereby he wan the chiefest men of the City, and made them like the better of Wars: whom he determined to lead with him against the ROMANS, not into Spain, as many supposed, but into Italy it self. Whilft these matters were in hand, the Ambassadors returned from CARTHAGE to ROME, and declared in open Senate, the slender answer they had received, in manner at the self fame time when they had intelligence of the sack of SAGUNTUS. Hereupon the ROMANS greatly repented themselves (though somewhat too late) for that they aided not their friends and confederates in fo great danger. Therefore all the Senate and people together, being very forry for it, and therewith also marvellously offended, they divided the Provinces unto the Confuls, to wit, SPAIN unto Publius Cornelius, and AFRICK P. Cornelius and SICILE also unto Titus Sempronius. Afterwards, certain of the noblest men of the City and T. Semwere fent Ambassadors unto CARTHAGE, to make their complaints in open Senate for breach of pronius Conthe Peace, and also to denounce unto them the cause of the War to come, and therewith boldly to Warsproclaimproclaim open War against them, after they had declared the occasion thereof to come of them- ed by the Rofelves. This was as bravely received of the CARTHAGINIANS, as luftily offered unto them : but mans, with the therein they were not fo well advised, as the success of that War in the end sufficiently proved it to Carthaginians, them. Now Hannibal being advertised how things were concluded in the Senate at CARTHAGE, and thinking with himself that it was time to go into ITALY, as he had determined from the be-

ginning: he made all the possible speed he could to prepare his ships and things ready, and so requi-

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ed aid of the Cities that were his best friends and consederates, and commanded that all the bands fhould meet him at new CARTHAGE. So when he came to GADES, he appointed good Garifons in places most convenient, in Africk and Sprin, which he thought above all things elle to be most necessary: because that when he should go into ITALY, the ROMANS would not win it from him. Therefore he fent into Africk twelve hundred horfemen, and thirteen thousand footmen, all Spaniards; and besides, he brought out of divers parts of A-FRICK four thousand fouldiers, and placed them in Garifon in CARTHAGE, obtaining both Hoftages, and Souldiers by this mean. drubal, and gave him an Army of fifty ships of War, two thousand horsemen, and twelve thou fand footmen. These were the Garifons he lest in both those Provinces. Now he thought them not fufficient to withfland the power of the ROMANS, if they bent their Wars into SPAIN or AFRICK: but he thought them ftrong enough to ftay the Enemy from over-running of the Countrey, untill that having brought his Army by Land, he had fet foot in ITALY. Moreover, he knew that the CARTHAGINIANS were strong enough to levy a new Army if they listed; and if need to required, to fend him aid also into ITALY. For, after that they had driven away this so dangerous a War, procured against them through the spight of the mercenary souldiers, having ever after obtained victory: first under the conduct of Hamilear: secondly, under Hasarabal; and lastly, under Hamibal: they were grown to such greatness and strength, that at what time Hannibal came into ITALY, their Empire and Dominions were marvelloully enlarged. For they had all the coast of Africk, which lyesh over against the sea Mediterraneum, from the Aluss of the PHILENIANS, which be not far from the great Syrte, unto Hercules pillars, and contained on of Africk.

of the PHILENIANS, which denotes they had paffed the straight which divided Africk.

This place is in length * two thousand paces. So after they had passed the straight which do divide they have been passed to the Mountains Pirenei, which do divide from Europe, they possessed almost all Spain, to the Mountains Pirenti, which do divide SPAIN from GAUL. Thus order being taken for all things in AFRICK and SPAIN, Hannibal returned again to new CARTHAGE, where his Army was ready for him, and well appoint ed. So, meaning to delay time no longer, he called his men together, and encouraging them with great and large promifes, he greatly commended the commodities of ITALY: and made great account unto them of the friendfhip of the GAULS, and in the end bad them be of good course, and fet luftily forward. Thereupon, the next day following he departed from CARTHAGE, and Hannibal debrought his Army all along the coaft, unto the River of Iberm. It is reported, that the next day following, Hannibal dreamed be faw a young man, of a marvellous terrible look and flature, who invade Italy. bad him follow him into IT ALY : but afterwards, that he faw a Snake of a wonderfull greatnes, making a marvellous noife: and being destrous to understand what the same might fignifie, that it was told him, that it betokened the destruction of ITALY. It is not to be marvelled at, though the river of Iberus. great care and thought he took in the day time for the War of ITALY, made his mind to m of fuch fancies in the night, as dreaming of victory or destruction, or fuch other calamities of War. For they are things that happen often, as Cicero the Orator faith: that our thoughts and words do beget such things in our dream, as Ennius the Poet writeth of Homer: to wit, like to those his mind most ranon, or that he talked of most. Now after Hannibal had passed over the mountains Pirenei, and that he had won the GAULS hearts with bountifull gifts, in few days he The head and came to the River of Rhone. The head of the River of Rhone, is not far from the heads of the River of Rhone. course of the vers of the Rhyne and Dannby, and running eight hundred furlongs, it falleth into Lacus Lemanus at river of Rhone. Geneva. Then it runneth from thence towards the West, and divideth the Gauls a pretty way: and then being encreased by the River of Arar (called in French, Saone) and with other Rivers, in the end it falleth into the Sea with divers heads betwixt the Volsces and the Cauri-ANS. The VOLSCES at that time inhabited both the fides of the River of Rhone, and were full people that in. of people, and the richeft of all other Gauls. They having understanding of Hannibal's composition ing, passed over the River, and armed themselves, and prepared on the other side to stop the CARTHAGINIANS, that they should not pass over. Now, though Hannibal had won all the other Gauls, yet those the could never win neither by gifts nor threats, to cause them rather to prove the friendship of the CARTHAGINIANS, then their force. Therefore Hamilton perceiving he was to handle such enemies rather by policy, he commanded Hanno the fon of Bimilear, secretly to pass over the River of Rhone, with part of the Army, and so to set upon the GAULS on the fudden. Thereupon Hanno (ashe was commanded) made a long journey, and ha ving paffed over the River at paffable foords, he shewed himself hard by the Enemies Camp before they faw him, or that they knew what he was. The Gauls hearing their shours and cries behind them, and having their hands full of Hannibal before them, who had many boars ready to puls over his men: they having no leifure to confult of the matter, neither to arm themselves to stand to defence, left their Camp and fled for life. So they being driven from the other fide of the River, the rest of the Army of the CARTHAGINIANS passed over it with facety. In the mean time, P. Cornelius Scipio, that but a little before was come unto MASSILIA, still heard news of Hami-

chance with five hundred horsemen of the NUMIDIANS, whom Hannibal had also fent to bring

him word of the ROMANS Army. So, they first suddenly gave charge upon the Numi Dians, and after a hot and valiant conslict between both the parties, in the end the ROMANS overcom-

ing them, they made them fly, but with great loss of their men; howbeit the greatest loss and

Scipio Confull bals Army. Wherefore, to be more affured of the matter, he fent a band of choice horlemen to fent against Hamibal, and discover what the enemies intent was: who making great speed as they were commanded, met by

Masilia.

Mannihal's

flaughter fell upon the Enemies. So Hannibal by this means found where the ROMANS lav. and ftood in a great doubt with himself; whether he should keep on his way into ITALY, or else lead Ambassadours, and done great mischief unto Mantins the Prator, and inticed the INSUBRIANS The Bolans alfo, they were revolted from the ROMANS, and took part with Hannibal, and onely because and Insubrians allo, they were revolted from the ROMANS, and took part with Frankier, and only occalle revolt from the the ROMANS had replenished the Cities of PLACENTIA, and CREMONA with People, and Romans and had made them Colonies to Rome. So Hannibal being ruled by their counsell, raised his Camp, take part with had made them Colonies to Robars. So Islamba Cong. the days he came to the place which Harnibal. the Galls do call the Island, the which the River of Arar and Rhodanus, coming from divers hour. Dugdanum the Galls do call the Island, the which the River of Arar and Rhodanus, coming from divers hour. rains . do make there. So at this present , there is the famous City of Lions in Gaul, which they cut Munativis. through the Countrey of the Castinians and Vocontians, to the River of Lurance. Druentia, A. Countries, as far as he could: howbeit, as he passed through them, he had great losses, as it is reported. Infomuch that fome that were living at that time, did affirm, that they heard Hannibal himself fay, that he had loft above thirty thousand men, and the most part of his Horsemen. For Hannibal made he was forced not onely to fight with the Inhabitants of the Mountains, but also compelled to make ways through ways through the Streights: fo that in certain places of the highest Rocks, he was driven to make the Rocks of paffages through, by force of fire and vineger. So when he had paffed the Alpes in fifteen days tains, by force fpace, he came down into the Valley, not far from the City of TURINE. Whereby it feemeth to of fire and vime, that he paffed over the Mountain they commonly called GENUA, the which on the one fide of neger it hath the River of Druentia , and on the other fide it goeth down to the City of TURINE. Now The Valley of it is hard to fay truely, what number of men he had when he was come into ITALY, because of the Hansibals codiversity of mens opinions. For some write, that he had a hundred thouland Footmen, and twenty ming into Itathousand Horsemen: others also write, that he had twenty thousand Footmen, and six thousand by by Piemont, Horsemen, all Africans and Spaniards. But others reckoning the Gauls and Ligu-not far from RIANS, do count fourscore thousand Footmen, and ten thousand Horsemen. Yet it is not crediconfidering that he brought into ITALY, the better part of fourfcore thousand Footmen, and ten thousand Horsemen, the which he had leavied in SPAIN: as it is manifestly known also, that Hannibals Ata great number of the LIGURIANS and GAULS came to joyn with him, for the great my in Italy. malice they bare unto the ROMANS, that gave no place nor ground unto the CARTHAGI-NIANS. So Hannibal being come from TURINE, into the Countrey of the INSUBRI-ANS, he was met withall by Publius Cornelius Scipio, who marching with wonderfull speed from MASSILIA, and having passed the River of Po and Tesin, he camped not far from the Enemy. So shortly after, both the Generals being come into the Field to view each others Camp, the Horsemen of either side grew to skirmish, which continued long, and was not to be discerned which of them had the better. Howbeit, in the end the ROMANS feeing the Confull hurt, and Hannibals first also that the Horsemen of the Numidians, by little and little came to compass them in, Conflict with they were driven to give ground; and fo prettily retired, defending the Confull the best they the Romans, and Victory, could to fave him, and so at length recovered their Camp. It is reported, that Publius Corne- P. C. Scipio lins Scipio was faved at that time through his Sons help, who afterwards was called AFRI- Conful hurt, CAN, and at that time was but a young ftripling: whose praise, though it was wonderfull in so and saved from green a Youth, yet is is likely to be true, because of the famous and valiant Acts that he did af- his Enemies by terwards. Now Scipio having proved how much his Enemy was stronger then himself in Horsemen, he determined to place his Camp so, as his Footmen might be in best safety, and also Fight called African. with greatest advantage. And therefore the next night following he passed the River of Po, and Fadus fl. made as little noise as he could, and went unto PLACENTIA. The like shortly after did T. Sem- P. Cornelius promin Longus, who had been reflored from banishment by the Senate, and fent for out of Ssiphia and CILE: because both the Confuls should govern the Common-wealth by one self-Authority. Longus Cou-Hannibal also followed them both with all his Army, and pitched his Camp near unto the River fuls, against of Trebia, hoping that because both Camps lay so near together, some occasion would be offer- Hannibal. ed to fight: the which he chiefly defired, both because he could not long maintain Warfor lack Trebia fl. of Victuals, as also that he mistrusted the fickleness of the Gauls; who like asthey soon fell in League and friendship with him, drawn unto it with the hope of change, and with the Fame also of his Victory obtained : so he mistrusted that upon any light occasion (as if the War

should continue any long time in their Countrey) they would turn all the hate they bare unto the ROMANS, against him as the onely Author of this War. For these respects therefore,

his Army against the Confull that then was, and so to prove his hap and success. At length debating many ways in his mind, and uncertain which way he should determine, the Ambassadours of the BOIANS perswaded him to leave all other devices, and to go on into ITALY. For before that Hannibal had passed over the Mountains Pirenei, the BOIANS having by crast taken the ROMANS fay was built long time after by Plancus Munatius. From thence he came to the Countrey of the ALLOBROGES, and having pacified the variance betwirt two Brethren for the Realm, he came The head of this River cometh from the Alpes, and from thence running with a fwift stream, falleth into the River of Rhone: and as it oftentiates changeth her courfe, fo hath it in manner no paffable foord. Yet Hannibal having paft it over, he led his Army unto the Alpes, through open and plain ble, that his Army was so great, as the first men report, and specially having passed through so many Countreys, and also received such losses as he had: neither also could his number be so small, as the second reporters do make it, if a man will consider the famous Exploits and great Enterprizes he did afterwards. So that I like their opinions best, which keep the mean between them both:

he devited all the means ne could to come to battern. In the mean time compression with confer Confull, met with a Troop of the Enemies, loaden with Spoil, ftragling up and down the Fields, whom he charged and put to flight. So, imagining the like fuccels of all the Battell, by

this good fortune he had met withall, he had good hope of Victory , if once both the Armies might

come to fight. Therefore being marvellously defirous to do fome noble Enterprize before Scipic were recovered of his furt, and that the new Confull should be chosen, he determined to joyn Bat-

were recovered of the hart; and Colleague and fellow Confull Scipio: who thought nothing could tell against the will of his other Colleague and fellow Confull Scipio: who thought nothing could

Hannibal

Arnus fl.

ten against the will de like the state and Common-wealth in jeopardy, specially having all the whole Gaules in manner in the Field against him. Now Hannibal had seeret intelligence of all this variance, by Spials he had feat into the Enemies Camp. Wherefore, he being politick and fubtill as he was, found out a place ftraight between both Camps, covered over with Bushes and Briers, and there he placed his Brother Mago to lie in Ambulh, with a company of chofen men. Ambush lidd

Ambush lidd

Then he commanded the Horsemen of the Numidians, to scurry to the Trenches of the Ro-Ambum laid
by Hannibal to MANS, to intice them to come to Battell : and thereupon made the refidue of his Army to eat, antrap Scompto- and so put them in very good order of Battell, to be ready upon any occasion offered. Now the Confull Sempromiar, at the first tumult of the Numidians, indeedly sent his Horsemen to encounter them, and after them put out fix thousand Footmen, and in the end came himself out of counter tieth, and rice them pas out is another in the middeft of Winter, and extream cold, and speci-his Camp with all his Army. It was then in the middeft of Winter, and extream cold, and specially in the places inclosed about with the Alpes, and the Mountain Appenine. Now the Numidians as they were commanded, inticed the ROMANS by little and little on this fide the River of Treba, until they came to the place where they might difeern their Enfigns : and then they fuddenly un-Suppressing the ned upon the Enemies , which were out of order. For it is the manner of the Numidians , often-Consult, at the times to flie of fet purpose, and to stay upon the sudden when they see time, to charge the Enemy more hotly and fiercely then before. Whereupon Semproniss incontinently gathered his Horsemen together, and did set his men in Battell-ray, as time required, to give Charge upon his. nemy, that flayed for him in order of Battell. For Hannibal had caft his men into Squadrons, ready upon any occasion. The Skirmish began first by the light Horsemen, and afterwards increased hotter by supply of the men of Armes; howbeit, the ROMAN Knights being unable to ber the shock of the Enemies, they were quickly broken; so that the Legions maintained the Burdl with fuch fury and noble courage, that they had been able to have refifted, fo they had fought but with Footmen onely. But on the one fide, the Horfemen and Elephants made them afraid, and on the other fide the Footmer followed them very luftily, and fought with great fury againft imi-fied and frozen men. Wherefore the ROMANS notwithstanding, suffering all the miseries that vexed them on every fide, with an unspeakable courage and magnanimity, such as was above their force and firength, they fought fill, until that Mago coming out of his ambush, came and id-denly affailed them with great shouts and cries: and that the middle Squadron of the CARTHA-GINIANS also (through Hamibals commandment) flew upon the CINOMANIANS, The the ROMANS feeing their Confederates flie, their hearts were done and utterly discouraged. It is faid that there were ten thousand Footmen of the ROMANS got to PLACENTIA, and came through the Enemies. The reft of the Army that fled, were most part of them flain by the Care Hamibal VI THAGINIANS. The Confull Sempronius also scaped very narrowly from the Enemies. The Victory cost Hannibal the setting on also : for he lost a great number of his men, and the most part of his Elephants were flain. After this Battell Hannibal overcame all the Country, and did put all to fire and Sword, and took also certain Towns: and with a few of his men made a great number of the Countreymen flie, that were diforderly gathered together in Battell. Then a the beginning of the Spring, he brought his Army into the Field fooner then time required: and meaning to go into Thuscan, bewas driven back by a great Tempest at the very top of the height of Appenine, and so compelled to bring his Army a JULPLACENTIA: howbeit, fhortly after he put hmilelf again into the Fields, for divers urgent and necessary causes. For had he not faved himself by that policy, he had almost been taken tardy by the Ambush of the GAULS: who being anery with himself that the War was continued to long in their Countrey, they fought to be revenged of him, as the onely authour and occasion of the War. Therefore perceiving it was time for him to avoid this danger, he made all the hafte he could to lead his Army into some other Provinces. Furthermore, he thought it would increase his estimation much among strangers, and also greatly encountermore, he thought it would increase his estimation much among strangers, and also greatly encountermore, rage his own People, if he could make the Power of the CARTHAGINIANS to feem fo great, and also their Captain to be of so noble a courage, as to dare to make War so near to the Cuy of ROME. All things therefore fet apart, he marched with his Camp by the Mountain Appenine, and fo coming through the Countrey of the LIGURIANS, he came into THUSCAN, by the way that bringeth them into the champion Countrey, and to the Marishes about the River Arms, The River of Arnus at that time was very high, and had overflown all the Fields thereabouts. Hamnbal there fore marching with 10 great an Army as he had, could not avoid it, but that he must needs lofe a number tore marching with 10 great an Army as he had, could not avoid it, but that he must needs lose a number one of his eyes of his Men and Horse, before he could get out of those evill-favoured Marishes. Insomuch that he solve he River himself lost one of his eyes, by reason of the great pains he had taken day and night without step or rest and also through the swill give though the swill give the swill g or rest, and also through the evil air: though he was carried upon a high Elephants back, which onely was left him of all that he brought with him. In the mean time, C. Flaminia Confull, to and Cn. Servilius Consults.

whom the charge of Sempronius Army was given, he was come unto ARET ILM against the Senates

minde, who were marvellously offended with him, because he left his Companius Cn. Servisius at ROME, and went unto his Province by stealth as it were, without the Furniture of a Confill and his Officers. This was a very hafty man of nature, and one that the People had brought to that Dignity and Office: fo that he was become so proud and insolent, that men might see how he would hazard all things without wit or judgement. Hannibal having intelligence thereof, thought it the best way to anger the Confull, and to do what he could possible to allure him into the Field, before his fellow Confull should come to joyn with him. Therefore he marching forward with his Camp through the Countrey of Fesula Aretium, he burnt and spoiled all the Countrey thereabouts. and filled them all with fear, never leaving to deftroy all before him, untill he came to the Mountains Cortonenses, and so to the Lake called Thrasimene. When he had viewed the place, he went Montes Corto. about to furprize his Enemy by some Ambush : whereupon he conveyed certain Horsemen under the nonles, Hills, hard by the Streight that goeth unto Thrasimene, and behind the Mountains also he placed Lacus Thrasithe light Horsemen. Then he himself with the rest of his Army came down into the Field , suppo- mene. the light Florience. Then he minich was not to the fing that the Confull would not be quiet; and so it fell out. For hot stirring heads are easily intrapped withall into the Enemies Ambuth, and oftentimes do put all in hazard, because they will follow of a Souldier. no councell nor good advice. C. Flaminius therefore feeing their Countrey utterly fpoiled, the Corn destroyed and cut down, and the Housesburnt, he made great haste to lead his Army against the Enemy, contrary to all mens minds, who would have had him tarried for his Companion Cn. Servilim the other Confull. So even at Sun-fet, when he was come to the Streights of the Lake of Thrafimene, he caused his Camp to stay there, although his men were not weary with the long Journey they had taken by the way. So the next morning by break of day, making no view of the Countrey, he went over the Mountains. Then Hannibal (who long before was prepared for this) did but stay for the opportunity to work his Feat : when he faw the ROMANS come into the Plain . he gave a Signall unto all his men to give Charge upon the Enemy. Thereupon the CARTHAGI- Battel between NIANS breaking out on every fide, came before and behind, and on the Flanks to affail the Ene-Hannibal and my, being shut in between the Lake and the Mountains. Now in contrary manner, the ROMANS C. Flaminius beginning to fight out of order, they fought inclosed together, that they could not fee one another, the Confull, by as it it had been dark : fo that it is to be wondered at , how , and with what mind they fought it out the Lake of That want want and they fought it out about three That Roman energy fide. For they fought it out about three The Roman energy fide. hours space, with such fury and courage, that they heard not the terrible Earthquake that was at were so earnest that present time, neither did they offer to flie or ftir a foot untill they heard that the Confull (. in fight, that Flaminius going from Rank to Rank to encourage his men, was flain by a man of Arms called they heard not Decarius. Then when they had loft their Generall, and being void of all hope, they fled, fome Bartle of an Arms of Arms of the mole of the control of the property of towards the Mountains, and others towards the Lake, of the which divers of them flying, were C.Flaminius he overtaken and flain. So there were flain * fifteen thousand in the Field, and there scaped about Conful flain. ten thousand. Furthermore, the report went, that there were fix thousand Footmen which forci- *Plusarch in bly (at the beginning of the Battell) got to the Mountain, and there stayed on a Hill till the the life of Fa-Battell was ended, and at length came down upon Hannibals promife: but they were betrayed, addeth too as and slain every Mothers Son of them. After this great Victory, Hannibal did let divers many Prilon-ITALIAN Prisoners go free without Ransom paying, after he had used them marvellous courte- ets. oully: because that the Fame of his Clemency and Courtesse should be known unto all Nations, Hamnibals crasswhereas indeed his own nature was contrary to all Vertues. For he was hafty and cruell of nature, femble vertice, and from his youth was brought up in Wars, and exercised in Murder, Treason, and Ambushes The natural laid for Enemies : and never cared for Law , Order , nor Civill Government. So by this means he disposition of became one of the cruellest Captains, the most subtill and crastiest to deceive and intrap his Ene- Hannibal. my, that ever was. For as he was alway prying to beguile the Enemy, fo those whom he could not overcome in War by plain force, he went about to intrap by flight and policy. The which appeareth true by this present Battell, and also by the other he sought against the Consull Sempronime, by the River of Trebia. But let us return to our matter, and leave this talk till another time. Now when the news of the overthrow and death of the Confull Flaminius was reported at Rome, having loft the most part of his Army: there was great moan and lamentation made through all the City of ROME: fome bewailing the common mifery of the Common-wealth, others lamenting their private particular loss, and some also sorrowing for both together. But indeed it was a wofull fight, to fee a world of men and women to run to the Gates of the City, every one privately asking for their Kin and Friends. Some do write, that there were two women, who being very forry and penfive, despairing of the safety of their Sons, died suddenly for the extream joy they had, when beyond their expectation and hope they faw their Sons alive and fafe. At the felf-fame time, Cn. Servilins , Extream jo the other Confull with C. Flaminius, did fend him four thouland Horsemen, not understanding yet cauleth sudden of the Battell that was fought by the Lake of Thrasimene. But when they heard of the overthrow of death. their men by the way, and therefore thought to have fled into UMBRIA, they were compassed in by the Horsemen of the Enemies, and so brought unto Hannibal. Now the Empire of Rough being brought into fo great extremity and danger, because of so many small losses one in the neck of another: it was ordained, that an extraordinary Governour or Magistrate should be chosen, who should be created Dictator: an Office specially used to be reserved for the last hope and remedy in most ex- Dictator, of tream danger and perill of the State and Common-wealth. But because the Confull Servilius could what effect. not return at that time to Rome, all the ways being kept by the Enemy : the People contrary to & Fabius Matheir custom, created Q. Fabin Dictator (who afterwards attained the firname of Manimus, to ximus, created

lay, Very great) who likewisedid name M. Minnius Generall of the Horsemen. Now this Fabius Dictator.

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was a grave and wife Counfellour, and of great Authority and Estimation in the Common-wealth: infomuch as the Citizens had all their hope and confidence in him onely, perswading themselves that the honour of ROME might be better preserved under the Government and Conduct of such a Generall., rather then under the Government of any other man what foever. So Fabius knowing it very well, after he had carefully and diligently given order for all things necessary: he departed from ROME, and when he had received the Army of the late Confull Cn. Servilim, he added unno them two other Legions, and so went unto the Enemy. Now Hannibal was gone from the Lake of Thrasimene, and went directly towards the City of SPOLETUM, to see if he could take it at the first Assault. But when he saw that the Townsmen stood upon the Rampiers of their Walls , and valiantly defended themselves: he then left the Town and destroyed the Countrey as he went, and burnt Houles and Villages, and fo went into APULIA, through the Marches of ANCONA, and the Countrey of the MARSIANS and PELIGNIANS. The Dictator followed him at the heels, and camped hard by the City of ARPY, not far from the Camp of the Enemy, to the end to draw out the War at length. For the raffness and fool-hardiness of the former Captains aforetime, had brought the State of ROMF into fuch mifery, that they thought it a Victory unto them, not to be Hastiness of overcome by the Enemy, that had so often overcome them. Whereby all things were turned straight with the change and alteration of the Captain : for though Hannibal had fet his men in Battell-ray, and afterwards perceiving his Enemies stirred not, went and destroyed the Countrey, hoping thereby to intice the Dictator to fight, when he should see the Countrey of his Consederates so spoiled as it was before his face: the Dictator, this notwithstanding, was not moved withall, but still kepthis men close together, as if the matter had not concerned him. Hannibal was in a marvellous rage with the delay of the Dictator, and therefore often removed his Camp, to the end that going divers ways, some occasson or opportunity might fall out to deceive the Enemy, or elle to give Banell. So when he had passed the Mountain Appenine, he came unto Samnium. But because shortly after, fome of CAMPANIA, who having been taken Prisoners by the Lake of Thrasimene, had been fet at liberty without ranfom : they putting him in hopethathe might take the City of Ca-PUA, he made his Army march forward, and took a Guide that knew the Countrey, to bring him unto Casinum. Now the Guide overhearing Casinum, understood it Casilinum, and so miltaking the found of the word, brought the Army a clean contrary way unto CALENTINGS and CALENUM, and from thence about STELLA. So when they came into a Countrey environed about with Mountains and Rivers, Hannibal knew straight they had mistaken their way, and so did cruelly put the Guide to death. Fabins the Dictator, did in the mean time bear all this patiently, and was contented to give Hannibal liberty to take his pleasure which way he would, until helad cruelly put to death by Hangotten the Mountains of Gallicanum, and Casilinum, where he placed his Garison, being places of great advantage and commodity. So the Army of the CARTHAGINIANS was in manner com-Hamibals Stratagem in the great shame and dishonour: had not Hamibal by this Stratagem prevented the danger. Who knowing the danger all his Army flood in , and having fpied a fit time for it : he commanded his Souldiers to bring forth two thousand Oxen which they had gotten in spoil in the Fields, having and California great fore of them, and then tying Torches of Fire-links unto their horns, he appointed the against Q.Fs. nimblest men he had to light them, and to drive the Oxen up the Hill to the top of the Mountains, biss Diction at the relief of the first Watch. All this was duly executed according to his commandment, and the Oxen running up to the top of the Mountains with the Torches burning, the whole Army marched after them fair and fortly. Now the ROMANS that had long before placed a strong Garison upon the Mountains, they were afraid of this strange fight, and mistrusting some Ambush, they forthwith forfook their Pieces and Holds. Fabius himself miltrusting also that it was some Stratagem of the Enemy, kept his men within the Camp, and could not well tell what was some stratagem of the Entire Hannibal got over the Mountain, not far from the Balts of at Swelfa, which the Countreymen do call, The Tower of the Baths, and brought all his Army led the Tower Swelfa, which the Countreymen do call, The Tower of the Baths, and brought all his Army led the Tower Swelfa, which the Countreymen do call, The Tower of the Baths, and brought all his Army led the Tower of the Baths and the Baths all his Army led the Tower of the Baths and the Baths and the Baths all his Army led the Baths and the Baths and the Baths all his Army led the Baths and the Baths and the Baths and the Ba fafe into ALBA: and shortly after, he marched directly as though he would go to ROME, how-Glerenam, a beit he suddenly turned out of the way, and went presently into Apulia. There he took the City in Apalis. City of GLERENUM, a very rich and wealthy Town, where he determined to winter. The Dictator followed him hard, and came and camped by LAURINUM, not far from the CARTHAGI-NIANS Camp. So he being fent for to ROME about weighty Affairs of the State, there was no remedy, but that he must needs depart from thence with all the speed he could : howbeit before he went , he left Marcus Minutius Generall of the Horsemen, his Lieutenant of all the Army, and commanded him in his absence not once to stir nor to meddle with the Enemies. For he was fully bent to follow his determination, which was, not to vex the Enemy, nor to fight with him , though he were provoked unto it. Howbeit Marcin Minutine little regarding the Dicta-

tours commandment, his back was no fooner turned, but he fet upon a company of the Ene-

mies dispersed in the field a foraging, and slew a great number of them, and fought with the

rest even unto their Camp. The rumour of this Skirmish slew straight to ROME, and there was such great account made of it, that it was esteemed for a Victory; and the common People were so

Dictators at one felf-time (a thing never feen nor heard of before) who after they had divided

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the Army between them, either of them commanded his Army apart, as the Confuls were wont to do before. Marcus Minutius thereupon grew to such a pride and haughty mind, that one day he ventured to give Battell , and made not his companion Fabius of counsell withall : the which Hannivenues to give Datter, and durit feantly have enterprifed. So he led his Army into fuch a place, where the Enemy had compassed them in : infomuch that Hannibal slew them at his pleasure, without any hope left them to escape, if Fabins had not come in time (as he did) to aid them. rather respecting the honour of his Countrey, then remembring the private injury he had received. For he coming fresh with his Army to the Battell , made Hannibal asraid , that the ROMAN Legions had liberty to retire with fafety. Whereby Fabius wan great Fame for his wildom and valiantnels, both of his own Souldiers, as also of the Enemies themselves. For it was reported that Hannibal (hould fay (returning into his Camp) That in this Battell he had overcome M. Minnting, but withall, that he was also overcome by Fabius. And Minutius himself also consessing Fabius wildom, and confidering that (according to Hestodus saying) it was good reason to obey a better manthen himself: he came with all his Army unto Fabius. Camp, and renouncing his Authority. came and humbly faluted Fabius as his Father, and all that day there was great joy, and rejoycing among the Souldiers. So both the Armies being placed in Garifon for the Winter time, after great among the Soundities.

Contention about it, at length there were two new Confuls created, L. Paulus Amylius, and C. Te- L. Paulus A. rentint Varro, one that of a mean man (through the favour of the common People) was brought myling, and C. tobe Confull. So they had Liberty and Committion to leavy a greater Army then the Generals be- Terenius Varforethem had done. Whereby the Legions were newly supplied, and also others added unto them, 10, Consuls. more then were before. Now when the Confuls were come into the Army, as they were of feverall The difference more then were before. Now when the Contins were come into the Ariny, as they were of reverain betwein L.Pandiffortions, fo did they also observe divers manners in their Government. Lucius Paulus, who has a plate and citewas a grave wise man, and one that purposed to follow Fabius counsell and fashions: he did defire remian Varia. todraw out the War in length, and to ftay the Enemy without fighting. Varro on the other fide was a hasty man, and venturous, and defired nothing but to fight. So it chanced, that not long after it was known, to the great coft and danger of the City of ROME, what difference there was betwist the modesty of Amylins, and the fool-hardiness of Varro. For Hannibal being afraid of fome stir and tumult in his Camp for lack of Victuals, he departed from CLERENUM, and going into the warmest place of Apulia, came and camped with all his Army, by a Village called Can-NES. So he was followed with both the Confuls, who came and camped feverally hard by him. but fo near one to another, that there was but the River of Aufide that parted them. This River Aufitius fo (asit is reported) doth alone divide the Mountain of the Appenine, and taketh his head on that lide of the Mountain that lieth to the Sea fide, from whence it runneth to the Sea Adriaticum. Now Lucius Paulus finding that it was impossible for Hannibal being in a strange Countrey to maintain fo great an Army of such sundry Nations together; he was fully bent to protract time, and to avoid Battell, periwading himfelf that it was the right and onely way to overcome him, being as much to the Enemies disadvantage, as also marvellous profitable and beneficiall for the Common-wealth. And fure if C. Terentini Varro, had carried that mind, it had been out of all doubt, that Hannibals Army had been overthrown by the Romans, without ftroak ftriking. Howbeit he had such a light head of his own , and was so fickle minded , that he neither regarded wise counsell, nor Paulus Amylius Authority : but in contrary manner would fall out with him, and also complained before the Souldiers, for that he kept his men pent up and idle, whileft the Enemie did put forth his men to the Field in Battell ray. So when his turn came, that he was ab-Solutely to command the whole Army (for they had both absolute Power by turns) he passed over the River of Aufide by break of day, and gave the Signall of Battell without the privity of his Companion Amylins, who rather followed him against his will then willingly, because he could do no otherwise. So he caused a Scarlet Coat of Arms to be put out very early in the morning, for a Signall of Battell. Hannibal on the other fide being as glad of it as might be poffible, that he had occasion offered him to fight : (considering that the continual delaying of Battell did alter all his purpose) he passed his Army over the River, and had straight put them in very good order. For he had taken great Spoils of his Enemies to furnish himself very bravely. Now the Army of the Roman's stood South-ward, infomuch that the South-wind (which Battell at Canthe men of the Countrey call Vulturnus) blew full in their faces: whereas the Enemies in contrary manner had the vantage of the wind and Sun upon their backs, and their Battell flood in this manner. The AFRICANS were placed in both the Wings, and the GAULS and SPA-NIARDS fet in a Squadron in the middeft. The light Horsemen first began this Skirmish, and after them followed the men of Arms: and because the space betwirt the River and the Footmen was very narrow, fo as they could not well take in any more ground, it was a cruell Fight for the time, though it lasted not long. So, the Horsemen of the ROMAN'S being overthrown the Footmen came with fuch a lufty courage to receive the Charge, that they thought they should not have day enough to fight. Howbeit , the over-earnest desire they had to overcome their Enemies, made their overthrow more miserable, then their joy and good hap was great at the beginning. For the GAULS and SPANIARDS, (who as we have faid before kept the Battell) not being able any longer to withftand the force of the ROMANS, they retired towards the Africans in the Wings. The ROMANS perceiving that , ran upon the Enemies with all the fury they could, and had them in chase and fought with them, till they were gotten in the middeft of them. Then the CARTHAGINIANS that were in both Wings,

Two Dictators joyfull of it, that they straight made the Power of the Lieucenant equall with the Dictator Fabius, together, never the which was never heard of before, Fabius patiently bearing this extream injury with a noble heard of before, courage, having no way deferved it, he returned again into the Camp. Thus there were two

A Stratagem Lius Confull flain at the

came and compaffed them in before they were aware. Moreover, there were five hundred of the NUMIDIAN Horsemen, that colourably sted unto the Consuls, who received them very courteoully, and placed them in the Rear-Ward of the Army. They feeing their time, shewed behind the Enemies, and did suddenly give them charge. Then the Army of the ROMANS was unterly overthrown; and Hannibal obtained Victory. Livie writeth, that there were flain in this Batbirst tatting their source filty tell source thousand Footmen, and above two thousand seven hundred Horsemen. Polybius faith, thouland flain, that there were many more flain. Well, letting this matter pass, it is certain that the ROMANS had and fourceen never greater loss, neither in the first War with AFRICK, nor in the second by the Car-THAGINIA'NS, as this overthrow that was given at CANNES. For there was flain the Confull Paulus Amylius himself, a man undoubtedly deferving great praise, and that served his Countree and Common-wealth even to the hour of death: (n. Servilius (Confull the year before) was also flain there, and many other that had been Confuls, Prætors, and others of fuch like Dignity, Captains, Chieftains, and many other Senatours and honest Citizens, and that such a number of them, that the very cruelty it felf of the Enemy was fatisfied. The Confull Terenium Varro, who Great Haugh-ter at the Bat- was the onely Author of all this War and flaughter, feeing the Enemy Victor every way, he fatell of Canners, ved himself by flying. And Tutsdamus a Chiestain of a Band, coming through his Enemies with a good company of his men, he came unto CANUSIUM. Thither came also about ten thousand men, that had escaped from their Enemies, as out of a dangerous storm: by whose consent, the charge of the whole Army was given unto Appim Pulcher, and also unto Cornelim Scipio, who afterwards The conftancy did end this War. Thus was the end of the Battell fought by CANNES. News flew straight to of the Roman ROME of this overthrow, the which though they juftly filled all the City with forrow and calamity, in extreamity. Yet the Senate and People of ROME kept always their countenance and greatness, even in this extream mifery. Infomuch they had not oncly good hope to keep their City fafe, but furthermore they leavied a new Army, and made young men to bear Armour, and yet left not SICILE and SPAIN unprovided in the mean time : fo that they made the World to wonder at them , to confider these things, how they could in fo great calamity and trouble have so noble hearts, and such wise counsell. But to let pass the former overthrows, and great losses they sustained at TICINUM, at Inc Admiant TREBIA, and at the Lake of THRACIMENE: what Nation or People could have born this lift Battels to Han- Plague, whereby the whole Force and Power of the ROMANS was in manner utterly destroyed and nibal at Tici- overthrown? and yet the People of Rome to held it out, and that with fo great wildom and counnan, Trebis, fell, that they neither lacked Manhood nor Magnanimity. Befides, to help them the more, Hand Training and Training and Training and Albasians and Companyon triffing time in taking his lefture and refreshing his Army: he saveshed nibal being Conquerour, trifling time in taking his leifure, and refreshing his Army; he gaveine ROMANS leisure that were overcome to take breath again, and to restore themselves. For doubtlefs, if Hamibal being Conquerour, had immediatly after the Victory obtained, brought his Army directly to ROME, furely the ROMAN'S had been utterly undone, or at the leaft had been compelled to have put all in venture. So it is reported, that Hamibal oftentimes afterwards repented him-felf he followed not his Victory, complaining openly, that he rather followed their counfell which wished him to let his Souldiers rest, then Maharbals advice, Generall of his Horsemen, who would have had him gone straight to ROME, and so have ended all this War. But he seeing Hannibals Manarbil, Generall of Har., told him (as it is reported) this that is now common in every mans mouth: Harmibal, thou knoweft how to overcome, but thou knowest not how to use Victory. But what? all things are not (as Neftor faith in Homer) given to men all together. For fome had no skill to overcome, others knew not how to follow their Victory, and some also could not keep that they had won. Pyribus King of the EPIROTES that made War with the ROMANS, was one of the famoulest Captains that ever was : yet as men write of him, though he was marvellous fortunate to conquer Realms, he could never keep them. Even fo in like manner, fome Captains have been indued with excellent vertues, and yet notwithstanding have been insufficient in Martiall Affairs, deserving praise in a Captain, as we may read in divers Hiftories. Now after this Battell fought by CANNES, the Attellanians, the Calatinians, the Samnites, after them also the Bruti-ANS, LUCANIANS, and divers other Nations and People of ITALY, carried away with the fame of this great Victory: they all came and yeelded to Hannibal. And the City of CAPUA alfo (which Hannibal was defirous to have won long before) forfaking their old Friends and Confederates, made new League and friendship with Hannibal: the which wan him great estimation with other Nations, For at that time the City of CAPUA was very populous and of great power, and the chiefest City of estimation of all IT ALY NEXT to ROME. Now to tell you in few words what is reported of CAPUA, it is certain that it was a Colony of the Thuscans, which was first called Vulturunum, and after that Capua, by the name of their Governour called Capius; or otherwise (as it is most likely) because of the Fields round about it : for on every side of it, there are goodly pleasant Fields, full of

all kinds of fruits growing on the Earth, called in GREEK, Kepi. Furthermore, all the Coun-

trey is confined round about with famous Nations. Towards the Sea there dwell the Suesa NIANS,

the CUMANIANS, and the NEAPOLITANS. On firm Land also towards the North, are the

CALENTINIANS and the CALENIANS. On the East and Southfide, the DUNIANS and the

NOLIANS. Furthermore, the place is of a strong situation, and on the one side is compassed in

with the Sea, and on the other fide with great high Mountains. Now the CAMPANIANS flourished marvellously at that time; and therefore feeing the ROMANS in manner utterly undoneby

the Battell they had loft at CANNES, quickly took part with the stronger, as it commonly falleth out : and furthermore befides that they made League with Hannibal , they received him into their

Pyrrbus could Realms he conquered.

City with great triumph, hoping that the War being ended, they should be the chiefest and wealthieft of all ITALY. But mark how men are commonly deceived in their expectation. Now when Hainibal came into the City of Capua, there was a World of People that went to fee him, for the great fame they heard of him. For there was no other talk, but of his happy Victories he had won of the Enemy. So being come into the City, they brought him unto Pacuvins House, his very familiar friend, who was a man of great Wealth and Authority, as any among all the CAMPANI-ANS. Then he made him a notable Banquet, to the which no Citizens were bidden, faving onely Inbellius Taurea a from man, and the Son of Pacuvius his Hoft : who through his Fathers means, with much ado, was reconciled to Hannibal, for that Hannibal hated him as he did, because he followed, Decins Magins, who always took the ROMAN'S part. But now let us confider a little I pray you, how great men sometimes unawares are subject to great dangers and missortunes. For this Conspiracy a young man diffembling his reconciliation with Hannibal, watching time and occasion notwithstand- gainst Hanniing to do him some displeasure, in the time of this Feast, while they were making merry he took his bat at Capital. Father afide into a fecret corner of the house, and prayed him together with him, by a great good turn, to redeem the favour and good will again of the ROMANS, the which they had loft through their great wickedness. Then he told him how he was determined to kill Hannibal the Energy of his Countrey, and all ITALY befides. His Father that was a man of great countenance and Authority. was maryelloufly amazed withall, to hear what his Son faid: wherefore imbracing him with tears running down his cheeks, he prayed him to leave off his Sword, and to let his Gueft be fafe in his house. The which his Son in the end yeelded with great ado. Thus Hannibal having before withflood all the force of his Enemies, the Ambushes of the GAULS, and having brought with him also a great Army from the Sea, and the farthest part of SPAIN, through so many great and mighty Nations, he scaped killing very narrowly by the hand of a young man, whilest he was at the Table making merry. The next morning Hannibal had audience in open Senate, where he made great and large promiles, and told them many things, which the CAMPANIANS eafily believed; and therefore flattered themselves, that they should be Lords of all ITALY: howbeit they reckoned beside their Hoft. And to conclude, they did so cowardly submit themselves to Hannibal, that it seemed they had not onely suffered him to come into their City, but that they had also made him their absolute Lord, like men that neither remembred nor regarded their Liberty. And this appeareth plainly by one example I will shew you amongst many. Hannibal willed them to deliver Decius Magius, the head of the Countrey-faction to him. Whereunto the Senate not onely obeyed with all humility. but worst of all, suffered him to be brought bound into the Market-place, in the presence of all the People: who because he would not for lake the ancient League and friendship with the ROMANS. had thewed himfelf a more faithfull Citizen to his Countrey and Common-wealth, then unto the barbarous People. Now whilest these things passed thus in CAPUA, Mago (Hannibals Brother) went to CARTHAGE, to report the news of his happy Victory to his Countreymen, which they had won of the Enemies; and withall, before the Senate to declare the noble Exploits of Arms done by Hannibal. And to prove the words true he spake, he poured out at the coming in of the Senate-house, the Gold Rings which had been taken from the ROMAN Knights: of the which there were (as fome do report) above a bushell full, and as some other do write, above three bushels full and a half. After that, he prayed a new supply for Hannibals Army; which was granted them by the Senate with greater joy then afterwards it was fent. For the CARTHAGINIANS perswaded themselves by the things present, that the War would fall out as fortunate, as the beginning was fair: they thereupon decreed to continue the War, and to aid Hannibals attempts, by leavying of Souldiers. Now no man withstood this new supply to be sent to Hannibal, but Hanno a perpetual Enemy of the BARCINIAN faction. Howbeit the CARTHAGINIANS weighed not his counfell and advice then, though it tended to peace, and was good counfell for them, as oftentimes before he had used the like. So when Hannibal had made League with the CAMPANIANS, he led his Camp before the City of NOLA, hoping they would yeeld of themselves without compulsion. And certainly fo it had come to pass, had not the sudden coming thither of Marcellus the Prætor been. who both kept the People in, pacified the Sedition, and repulfed the Enemy that was coming into the City, by a Salley he made upon him at three feverall Gates, chafing and killing them even to their Camp with great lofs. This is that noble Captain and valiant Souldier Marcellus, who with a noble courage made the World know, that Hannibal was not invincible. Hannibal perceiving that Martellus Vithere was no other way, but to let NOLA alone till another time: he came to ACERRES, and took Gory of Hanand spoiled it without reliftance. Then going on with great power unto CASILINUM, a fit place nibal at the Cito offend the CAPUANS, he went about to win them that lay there in Garison, but when he saw ty of Nola. that neither his fair promifes, nor otherwise his threats could prevail, he left part of his Army to beliegethe City, and bestowed the residue in Garisons before the Winter Season, Howbeit he chose for his chiefest feat and strength the City of CAPUA, which stood very pleasantly, and had plenty of all things. There it was that Hannibals Souldiers being used to lie hard, and easily to away with cold, hunger and thirst, became then of valiant men, rank cowards, of strong men weaklings, and Souldiers marof serviceable and ready men, timorous and effeminate persons, through the daily pleasures they en-red with ease joyed at will. For sweet inticing pleasures do corrupt the strength and courage of the mind, and at Capua. mans disposition unto vertue: moreover they spoil hiswit, and take all good counsell from him, all Pleasure the which things are dangerous for men. And therefore Plato rightly calleth pleasure, the bair of all evils. And doubtless in this case, the pleasures of CAMPANIA did hurt the CARTHAGINIANS,

more then otherwise the highest Alpes, and all the Armies of the ROMANS did. For one onely Winter passed over in such pleasure and wantonness, was of such great force to extinguish the vehe-One winters we must passed in the Souldiers, that when they were brought into the Field at the beginning of the Spring, fure they would rightly have faid that they had forgotten all Martiall Difcipline. Thus the Winter being passed over, Hannibal returned again to Castlinum, hoping that the Citizens within would willingly yeeld unto him, after they had abidden fo long a Siege. Howbeit they were bent to abide all extreamity, before they would yeeld to their fo cruell an Enemy, although they

The hard shift lacked Victuals. Wherefore living first by Spealt, or bare Barley, and afterwards with Nurs which of the Caplini- they had received of the ROMANS by the River of Vulturnus : they held it out so long, that ant to live du-Hamibal in the end being angry with the continuance of the Siege, he was content to take the City ring Hamibal upon composition, the which he had refused before. Now this War, in the which the CARTHASSIEGE. Siege. upon composition, the white the activate color fortune, and received no loss worthy of Hamibal good Ginians had always had great Victories and good Fortune, and received no loss worthy of fortune began menory, began at that time to decline, and to fall to great change and alteration. For the League

that was made with Philip King of MACEDON, and the new Aid and Supply that was fent from CARTHAGE, and the taking of PETILIA, CONSTANTIA, and of other Cities of the Countrey of the BRUTIANS, kept the CARTHAGINIANS in good hope. On the other fide, the great Victories which the ROMANS had won upon the Enemies of SPAIN and SARDINIA, did greatly incourage them, and gave them also good hope that their Affairs would prosper better and better. They had also chosen three excellent Captains, Fabins Maximus, Sempromius Gracchus, and Marcus Marcellus, a man most worthy of praise for Martiall Discipline; who so wifely governed the Affairs of the State, that Hannibal found he should make War with an Enemy, no Three famous tae Romans, les politick and wife, then hardy and valiant. For first of all, he was driven from the City of Cu-MES, with great flughter of his men, by Sempronius Gracehus, and forced to raife his Siege and shortly after he was overcome by Marcellus, in a Battell he fought at No LA. For there were flam above a thousand ROMANS, and * fix thousand CARTHAGINIANS slain and taken fly-

mas,Sempronius Gracchus. The Victories ing. Now it is easily seen what great importance that Battell was of: because Hannibal immedially of the Roman upon it, railed his Siege from Nola, and went into Apulia to winter his Army there. By this against Hanni- means came the ROMANS to recover again , as out of a great fickness, and sent a great Power against the Enemy : and were not content onely to keep their own, but they durft also invade others. So their chiefest intent was , to besiege the City of CAPHA , for the injury they had but Marcellus feet lately received of the CAMPANIANS. For incontinently after the Battell was fought at Can-NES, they forfook the ROMANS, even in their greatest extreamity and milery, and took part thouland of with Hannibal that was Conquerour, forgetting the great pleafures their City had received hold the grains flair time by the ROMANS. On the other fide, the CAMPANIANS knowing they had made a fault, and onely of and one yor five hundred and being afraid of this new Preparation of the ROMANS, they fent to Hamibal into Apulla,

to pray him to come and aid their City (being of the number of the Confederates) in their great necessity. Hannibal departed out of Apulla without delay, and came on with great Journeys into Romans. CAMPANIA, and camped by TIPATA over CAPUA, whereby he rather deferred till another time, then prevented the Plague hanging over the CAMPANIANS heads: fo fpoyling the Comtrey round about NAPLES, he began to take conceit of a new hope, that he might take NOLA by

Treason. For in Nola, the People and Senate were at variance the one against the other, as they were likewife in divers other Cities of ITALY. The common People desirous of change, savoured Hannibal; and the Noblemen, and men of Authority, took part with the People of ROME. So when Hannibal went to take the City of NOLA, Marcellus met him with his Army in Battell-ray, as he had often done before, and failed not to fight with him, even at the first meeting. There the ROMANS overcame, and drave the Enemy with fuch manhood and readiness, that if the Horse-

men which bad taken another way, had come in time, as Marcellus commanded them; no quefion the CARTHAGINIANS had been utterly overthrown. Hamnibal after he had reited his Army into his Camp with great flaughter, he shortly after departed thence, and went into the Countrey of the SALENTINIANS. For certain young TARENTINES that had been taken Priloners in former Battels, where the ROMANS had been overthrown, and that were afterwards delivered free without Ranform : they to shew themselves thankfull, had put Hannibal in hope to deliver him the City of TARENTUM, fo he would bring his Army before the City. Hamaibal inti-

ced by their promises, did what he could to obtain it, because he might have some City upon the Sea in his power , the which he had defired of long time. And indeed , of all the Cities upon the Sea Coaft, there was none fo meet as TARENTUM, to bring aid out of GREECE thither, and also to furnish the Camp with many things that were to be occupied daily. So though this thing was drawn out in length , by the Garifon of the ROMANS that valiantly refifted . yet Hamilia

never gave over his Enterprize, untill that Nico and Philamenes, the Authours of the Treaton, had delivered him the City into his hands. The ROMANS kept onely the Caftle, the which is in manner environed with the Sea on three fides; and on the fourth fide, that lay upon the firm Land, it was very strong with Rampiers and Bulwarks. Hannibal perceiving that he could do no good on

that fide , because of their great strength : he determined to shut up the mouth of the Haven of Ta-RENTUM, hoping that was the onely way to make the ROMANS yeeld, when their Victuals should be cut from them. Yet the Enterprize seemed very hard, because the Enemies had all the Streights of the Haven in their power, and the Ships also that should befiege the islice of the Haven, were shus up in a narrow little place, and were to be drawn out of the Haven, at the soot

vered unto

in Naples.

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of the Castle, to bring them into the next Sea. But when never a man of the TARENTINES could devise how to bring this Enterprise to pass : Hannibal himself perceived that these Ships might be drawn out of the Haven with certain Engines, and then to cart them through the City to the Sea. So having his cunning Workmen in hand with the matter, the Ships within few days after were taken out of the Haven, and carried into the Sea, and then came and shewed before the Bar of the Haven. Thus the City of TARENTUM being won again, after the ROMANS had kept it Tarentum won

the space of a hundred years: Hannibal leaving the Caffle belieged both by Sea and Land, he return by Hannibal, ed into Samnium. For the Consuls of the Romans had spoiled and stripped the Campania. ANS that went out to forage, and having brought their Army before CAPUA, they determined (if ANS that without to 10 t fule to fight, they both marched forward, and doubtless to fight, it would have proved a bloudy Battell , had not Semprasine Army severed them ashe did , which came into CAMPANIA under the Conduct of (n. Cornelius, after they had lost Sempronius Gracehus in the Countrey of Luke. For they seeing this Army far off, before they could know who they were, the ROMANS and CAR-THAGINIANS were both afraid, and fo retired into their Camp. Afterwards the Confuls went unto feverall Countries, the one into Luke, and the other towards Cumes, to make Hannihal remove from CAPUA: who went into LUCANIA, and found occasion to fight with M. Centenius. who very fondly and desperately did hazard his Army left him in charge, against a subtill and danger-ous Enemy. The Battell being begun, M. Centenius was slain valiantly fighting, and sew other escaped. After this also there hapned another loss: for Haunibal returning shortly after into Apu-LIA he met with another Army of the ROMANS, the which Fabius the Prætor led , who also entrapped that Army by Ambulhes, and flew the most of them: fo that of twenty thousand men, two thousand scant escaped the edge of the Sword. In the mean time the Consuls perceiving that Hannibal was gone, they came with all their Army une CA PUA, and did befiege it round. This being come to Hannibals ear, he came with his Army into CAMPANIA, in very good order and well appointed : and at his first coming he set upon the Camp of the ROMANS, having first willed the CAMPANIANS at the felf-fame inftant to make a Salley out on them. The ROMAN Confuls at the first tumult of their Enemies, divided the Army between them, and went against them. The CAMPANIANS were eafily driven again into the City: howbeit against Hannibal, the Battell was very bloudy. For if ever he proved himself a valiant Captain or noble Souldier, that day he shewed it. He attempted also to surprize the ROMANS by some Stratagem. For as his men Hannibals Strateger were about to break into the ROMANS Camp, he fent one thither that had the Latine Tongue tagem, excellently well, who cried out by the commandment of the Confuls, that the ROMANS should fave themselves in the next Mountains, considering they had almost lost all their Camp and strength. This cry made on the fudden, had eafily moved them that heard it, if the ROMANS being throughly acquainted with Handbals subtilities, had not found our his deceit. Wherefore one of them incouraging another, they made the Enemy retire, and compelled him in despight of his beard to flie into the Camp. When Hannibal had done what he could by all devife and practife possible, to raise the Siege from CAPUA, and perceiving all would not ferve, being forry for the danger of his Confederates: he then determined to call a Council, the which he had paffed over a long time, having referved it for the last refuge. For he truffed up his Carriage, and marched away with his Army, and as quietly as he could, he paffed over the River of Vultur Nus, and coafting through the Countreys of Vulturnus the the SIDICINIANS, ATIFANIANS, and CASSINIANA he came to Rome with Enligns diplayed, hoping thereby he should make them raise their Siege, being to earnestly been to win CA-FUA. This flying straight to ROME by Curriers, they were to a fraid there, as ROME was never in like fear it flood in then. For they faw their mortall Enemy come to them with Enfigns displaid, whom they had so often proved, almost to the utter destruction of their Empire : and now they saw him present, whom they could not refift being absent, threatning to bring the Senate and People of Rome into Subjection. So all Rome being in fear and tumult, it was ordained that Fulvim Flacem (one of the Confuls lying before CAPUA) should be sent for home. And that the new Confuls Sulpitius Gal-Sulviting Galba, and Corneling Centimalus, should lie in Camp out of the City: and that C. Calpur- ba, Cornelins mini Prator should put a strong Garison into the Capitoll, and also that the Citizens that had born Centimalus, any Office or Dignity, should be appointed by their countenance and Authority to pacific the suddentumults that might happen in the City. So Hannibal marched forward without flaving, till he came to the River of Anienes, and there camped within tweaty four furlongs of ROME; and shortly Anienes ft. after that, he came with two thousand Horse so near unto Rome, that riding from the Gate Collina, unto Hercules Temple, he had leifure to view at his pleasure, the fituation and Walls of fo great a City. Fulvine Flacere feeing that, could not abide it, but straight fent out certain men at Arms of the ROMANS against him: who coming with great fury to give charge upon him as they were commanded, they eafily fent him packing. The next morning Hannibal brought his Army out of Hannibal cothe Camp, and did fer them in Battell-ray, determining to fight presently, if he could allure the E- meth to invade nemy to battell. The ROMANS on the other fide did the like. So both Armies marched one against Rome. the other, with such life and courage, that to see them, they appeared men that seared no danger, so they might obtain the Victory that day. For on the one fide, the CARTHAGINIANS were to fight (in manner) for the Empire of the World : the which they thought depended upon this

Battell, as being the laft they should fight. The ROMAN's in contrary manner, they were to fight

A wonder.

Confull,

for their Countrey, Liberty, and their Goods, to fee whether they could keep them, or that they for their Countrey, Liberty, and their Goods there fell out a thing worthy of memory. For as they nound come into their Emellice hands. So that for the Signall of Battell to give charge, there fell fuch a were ready fet in Battell-ray, tarrying but for the Signall of Battell to give charge, there fell fuch a were reany in in pattern ray, many me on them, that both of them were driven in tright of their teeths wonderfull great shower and storm upon them, that both of them were driven in tright of their teeths wonderfull great inower and nother Fortsagain. The next day following in like manner, unto the to pring park their Army man had been deferred, when they had again both of them fet their men in which it feemed the Battell had been deferred. WHICH IT IEEE THE DATES HAS DESTRUCTED BATTELL THE BAT CARTHACINIANS, as the first: so that it forced them onely to look to fave themselves; and not to think otherwife to fight. Hannibal perceiving this, he turned to his friends and told them, that the first time he thought not to win ROME, and that at the second time the occasion was taken the first time in thought had greatly troubled Hannibal, and that was this. That though he came foncar to ROME, with an Army of Horfemen and Footmen: yet he heard that the ROMANS had fent aid into Spain, and that he had redeemed the Countrey where he had been, at a far greater price then reason required. Wherefore being in a rage withall, he cauled all the Goldsmith Breater price used reason required and Bankers Shops of the Romans Chizens to be fold by the Crier. But afterwards caffing with and painters only of the Action and State of the City of ROME, or elfe being afraid to lack himself, what an hard Enterprize it was to take the City of ROME, or elfe being afraid to lack Nimitelt, what an nard Emeriptize it was to take the City of Royal, of the using arran to lack Victuals (for he had flored himfelf onely but for ten days) he raifed his Camp, and removing thence came unto the holy wood of the goddels Feronia, and rifled the rich Temple there, and afterwards went thence into the Country of the BRUTIANS and LUCANIANS. The CAPUAN Shaving inwent mente into the Commer, or of all hope, they yeelded up their City unto the ROMANS. The telligence thereof, being left out of all hope, they yeelded up their City unto the ROMANS. The temgence thereon, being thus yeelded up, and brought again to the fubjection of the ROMANS, it was of great importance to all the People of ITALY, and withall brought great defire of change. was or great importance to an interaction of the state of whereby he did ftir up the hearts of divers Nations against him. For where before when he was Conquerour, he had often let Priloners go with the Ranform paying, through which liberality he had won the hearts of many men: even so at that present time, his barbarous cruelty made divers Cities (milliking to be subject to the CARTHAGINIANS) to rebell against him, and to take part with the ROMANS. Amongst them was SALAPIA, the which was yeelded up unto the Confull March satapia 2 City Was left there in Garison, were in manner slain every man of them. This is the City where them. where Hannibal fell in fancy with a Gentlewoman, and therefore they greatly reprove his immoderate lust and lafeviousness. Howbeit there are others, that greatly commending the continency of this Captain, fay, that he did never eat lying, and never drank above a pint of wine, neither when he came to make War in ITALY, nor after that he returned into AFRICK. Some there be also that fay, Hamibal was cruell and unconstant, and subject to divers such other vices : howbeit they make no manner of mention of his chaftiry or incontinency. But they report that his Wife was a Spani-ARD, born in Castulo, a good Town: and that the Carthaginians granted her may things, and trufted her very much, because of the great faith and constancy of that Nation. Now Hasmings, and returned net very many, second you) the City of SALAPIA, he found the means to cry quitance, and to make the ROMAN'S lofe more then he had loft. For at the felf-fame time Fulvim Vict-Confull lay besseging of HERDONIA, hoping to win the City without resistance. And because he Rood in no fear of any Enemy round about him (for Hannibal was gone into the Countrey of the BRUTIANS) he kept no Watch, and was altogether negligent in Martiall Affairs, contrary to the nature of the ROMAN Captains. ** **Immidal being advertifed thereof by Spials, would not lofe fuch a goodly opportunity: and therefore toming into Apulia with his Army ready, he came to haftily upon HERDONIA, that he had almost Rollen upon Fulvim, unprovided in his Camp. Howbeit the ROMANS valiantly received the first Charge with such courage, that they fought it out longer then it was looked for. Notwithstanding in the end, as the ROMAN'S two years before that had been overcome not far from thence, with their Confull Fulvius: even fo likewife under the Conduct of Fusion Vice-this Fulvine Vice-Confull, the ROMANS Legions were utterly overthrown, and their Captain flain , with the most part of his Army. The Consull Marcellus was at that time in the City of SAN-NIIM, who being advertifed of this great overthrow, defired to be even with him: and thought fermedhe came too late to help things past remedy, yet he brought his Army into the Countrey of the Lucanians, whither he understood Hannibal was gone after his Victory, and came and camped directly over against his Enemy, and foon after came to Battell. The which the CARTHAGINI-ANS refused not, but gave such a fierce onlet on either side, that they fought it out till Sun-set, and no man knew who had the better, and fo the night parted them. The next morning the ROMANS shewing again in Field in Battell-ray, made it known that the Enemies were afraid of them. For Hamibal kept his men within the Camp, and the next night following ftole away without any noife, and went into Apulia. Marcellus allo followed him foot by foot, and fought to put all to ha zard by some notable Battell: for he bare himself thus in hand, that of all the ROMAN Captains, there was none matchable with Hannibal but himfelf, either in Counfell, Wit, or Policy, or ele in Martiall Discipline, or Warlike Stratagems. Howbeit the Winter following kept him, that he could not fight any fet-Battell with the Enemy: for after be had made a few light Skirmilhes, because he would not trouble his Souldiers any more in vain, he bestowed them in Garison for the Winter time. At the beginning of the next Spring, procured partly by Fabina Letters (who was one of the new Confuls for that year) and partly also through his own disposition,

hebrought out his Garrisons sooner then they were looked for, and came with his Army against Hanhebrought out his Garrifons looner then they were tooken to; and came with my Army againt tran-nikal, who lay at that time at CANBIUM. Now it chanced, that through the nearness of both Divers Con-they Camps, and the good defire they both had to fight, in few days they fought three feverall likits of the tide; The first Battell, when they had fought it out till night, in manner with like hope of both fides, Romans with the control of them had the better: they both of purpose retired into their Hamipal. and that it could not be judged which of them had the better : they both of purpose retired into their Camp again. The second day Hannibal was Conquerour, after he had slain almost two thousand feven hundred Enemies, and put the refidue of the Army to flight. The third day, the ROMANS to recover the shame and dishonour they had lost the day before, they were the first that prayed they might fight, and fo Marcellus led them out to Battell. Hannibal wondering at their valiantnels, faid unto his People, that he dealt with an Enemy that could never be quiet Conquerour, nor conquered. So the Battell was more bloudy and cruell then any that was before : because the Ro-MANS did their best to be revenged of their loss, and the CARTHAGINIANS on the other fide were mad in their mindes, to fee that the vanquished durst provoke the Vanquishers unto Battell. Hamibals words of Mar-In the end the ROMAN'S being sharply reproved, and also perswaded by Marcellus to stick to cellus, it valiantly like men, that the news of their Victory might come to ROME, before the news of their overthrow : they flew in among the prease of their Enemies, and never left fighting, till that after they had thrice broken their Enemies, they made them all flie. At the felf-fame time Fabius Maximus took the City of TARENTUM again, almost after the felf-same fort it was lost. This being reported unto Hannibal: he faid: The ROMANS have also their Hannibal. The next year fol- Marcellus and lowing, Marcellus and Crifpinus were chosen Consuls, who preparing to put themselves in readiness Crifpinus Confor War, they led both the Armies against the Enemy. Hannibal despairing that he was not able to refift them in Battell, he fought all the wits he had to device fome way to intrap them by fubrilty, whom he could not overcome by Battell. So Hannibals head being occupied thus, there was offered him a better occasion to bring this Enterprize to pass, then he looked for. Between both Camps there was a pretty Grove, in the which Hannibal laid certain Bands of the Numidians in Ambulh, to intrap the Enemies passing to and fro. On the other side, the Consuls by consent of them Hannibal all, thought it best to send to view this Grove, and to keep it if need required : lest in leaving it layeth ambush behind them, the Enemies should come, and so be upon their backs afterwards. Now before they for the Romans. removed their Army, both the Confuls went out of their Camp, with a small company of Horsemen with them, to view the fituation of this place : and fo going on very undifcreetly, and worse appointed then became men of their Authority and Place, they unfortunately fell into Hannibals Ambulh. So, when they faw themselves in a moment compassed about on every side with Enemies, that they could not go forward, and were also fought withall behind: they defended themselves the best they could, rather by compulsion, then of any determination they had to fight. So. Marcellus was The death of fain fighting valiantly: and Crispinsus the other Confoll also very fore hurt, who hardly scaped the Marcellus, Enemis hands.

Hannibal being advertised that Marcellus was slain, who was the chiefest man of all the ROMAN Captains, that had most hindered the happy success of his Victories, and had befides troubled him most: he presently went and camped there where the Battell was fought, and when he had found Marcellus body, he gave it honourable Pomp and Funerall. Hereby we may fee how The power of Magnanimity, and excellent Vertues, are effeemed of all men : confidering that the cruell and most Magnanimity. mortall Enemy gave honourable buriall to fo noble and excellent a Captain. The ROMANS in the mean time feeing one of their Confuls dead, and the other Confull very fore hurt, they drew straight to the next Mountains, and camped in a strong place. Howbeit Crifpinus had fent to the next Towns of the Mountains, to advertise them that Marcellus his Companion was dead, and that the Enemy had gotten the Ring he sealed his Letters withall, wherefore he wished them to beware of any Letters written in Marcellus name. Crispinus Messenger came but newly unto SALA-PIA, when Letters were brought also from Hamnbal in the behalf of Marcellus, to tell them that he would be there the next night. The SALAPIANS knowing his craft, they fent his Meffenger away, and carefully looked for Hannibals coming. About the fourth watch of the night, Hannibal came to the City of SALAPIA, who of purpole had put all the ROMAN'S that had fled, in the Vauntguard, because that they speaking the Latine Tongue, might make them believe that Marcellus was there in person. So when the Citizens had suffered six hundred of them to come in, they thut to the Gates, and with their Shot and Darts thrust out the rest of the Army, and then put all them to the Sword they had let into the City. Thus Hannibal being in a marvellous rage he had miffed of this purpole, he removed thence, and went into the Countrey of the BRUTIANS, to aid the LOCRIANS that were belieged by the ROMANS, both by Sea and by Land. After all these Morest Livius, things, at the earnest request of the Senate and People, two new Consuls were created, both famous Consuls. Captains, and valiant Souldiers, Marcus Livius, and Claudius Nero: who having divided the Army betwirt them, went unto their feveral charge and Provinces. Clauding Nero went into the Countrey of the SALENTINIANS, and M. Livins into Gaul, against Hafdrubal BARCINIAN, who was come over the Alpes, and made haste to joyn with his Brother Hannibal, bringing with him a great Army both of Footmen and Horsemen. Now it chanced at the same time, that Hannibal had received great loss by Clandins the Confull. For first of all, he overcame him in the Countrey of the Lucanians, using the like policies and fetches that Hannibal did. Afterwards again, meeting with Hannibal in Apulia, by the City of Venusia, he fought such a lufty Battell with him, that many of his Enemies lay by it in the Field. By reason of the great losses, Hannibal suddenly went to METAPONT, to renew his Army again. So having remained there a few days, he received the Army

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from Hanno, the which he joyned unto his, and then returned unto VENUSIA. C. Nero lay not far from VENUSIA with his Camp: who having intercepted Letters of his Enemies, he understood by them that Hafdrubal was at hand with his Army. Thereupon he bethought himfelf night and day, what policy he might uleto prevent the joyning of two fo great Armies together as these. So, after he had taken advice of himself, he followed in fight a dangerous determination, but peradventure needshiry, as the time required. For leaving the Camp unto the charge of his Lieutenant, he took part of the Army with him, and making great journeys, came to PISENUM (being the Marches of Ancona) fo that with min, and maxing great journey. There both the Confuls joyned their Forces together, and fetting on the fixth day he came to Sena. There both the Confuls joyned their Forces together, and fetting upon Hafdrubal by the River of Metaurum, they had very good luck at that Battell. For, as it is re-Metaurum 11. upon rasjarunas vy the fifty thousand of the Enemies slain on that day; so that they almost had as Breat an overthrow, as the ROMA NS had received before at the Battell of CANNES. Now C. Nero, after this famous Victory, returning as speedily unto VENUSIA as he went thence, he set up Hafdin. bats head, where the Enemies kept the Warch : and did let certain Prifoners go, to carry newsto Hamibal of this great overthrow. For afterwards it was known, that Hamibal knew nothing yet of Claudius fecret Enterprize, nor of the speedy execution and great slaughter he had made. Whereat fure I can but wonder, that so subtill a Captain as Hannibal, could be deceived by Clandius, considering both their Camps lay so near together : so that he first heard the news of the overthrow of his Brother, and of all his Army, before he understood any thing of the Confuls departure, or heard of his return again to the Camp. Now *Hamibal* having not onely received a generall, but also a particular great lofs by the death of his Brother, he faid then, he plainly saw the change and alteration of and alteration the CARTHAGINIANS good fortune : and shortly after removed his Camp, and went thence into the Countrey of the BRUTIANS. For he knew that this great overthrow given by the River of Metaurum, was a marvellous incouragement to the ROMANS, and would also be a great log in his way, for the fuccels of this war. This notwithflanding, he gathered together all his Power he had left in ITALY, after fo many great Battels and Conflicts, and fo many Cities taken; and maintained the War with an invincible courage. But the most strangest thing in Hannibal was this, that through his authority and wisdom, he kept all his Army in peace and amity together (being a medley of Spani-ARDS, AFRICANS, GAULS, and of divers other Nations) and never man heard that there was any brawl or tumult among them. Howbeit the ROMANS themselves, after they had won SICILE, SARDINIA, and SPAIN again, they could never utterly overcome him, nor drive him out of I-TALY, before they had fent P. Cornelius Scipio into AFRICK 1 who making War with the Car-THAGINIANS, he brought them to fuch great extremity, that they were driven to fend for Hanmibal home out of ITALY. Hannibal at that time (as we have faid before) was in the Countrey of the BRUTIANS, making War by Inrodes and sudden Invasions, rather then by any fought Battell : faving that once there was a Battell fought in haft betwirt him and the Confull Sempronius, and immediately after he came and fet upon the same Sempronius with all his Army. At this Battell Hamitell Hamibal bal had the Victory: but at the fecond, Sempronia overcame him. Since that time, I can find in no fought in Italy. Greek nor Latine Authour, that Hamibal did any famous act in ITALY worthly memory. For bewas with Soming fent for into Africk by the Carthaginians, he left Italy fixteen years after this which he over AFRICK War was begun, greatly complaining of the Senate of CARTHAGE, and of himfelf allo. came Hamibal. Of the Senate, because that all the time he had been in his Enemies Countrey so long, they had allow Handibal fent ed him fo little Money : and fo feanted him befides with all other things necessary for the Wars. And of himself, because that after he had so often overcome the ROMANS, he had always delayed time after the Victory, and had given the Enemy liberty to gather force again. It is reported also, that warred fisteen before he imbarked and took Sea, he fet up a triumphing Arch or Pillar, by the Temple of Jano years in Italy. Lacinia, in the which were briefly graven his noble Victories, both in the Punick and Greek Tongue. So when he was departed out of ITALY, the wind ferved him to well, that in few days hearrived at LEPTIS, and landing all his Army, he first came to ADRUMENTUM, and afterwards Hansibal de- unto ZAMA. There receiving advertisement how the Affairs of the CARTHAGINIANS prospered, he thought it best to devise some way to end this War. For this cause he sent unto Scipio, to pray him to appoint him fome convenient place where they might both meet, and talk together of matters of great importance. Now it is not certainly known, whether Hamibal did this of his own head, or by commandment of the Senate. Scipio refuled not to come to parley. Wherefore at the day appointed, there met two famous Generals of mighty Nations, in a great Plain toge-Hamiliats and ther, either of them having his Interpreter, to talk together of divers matters touching Peace and Schie's meet- War. For Hannibal was altogether bent to Peace, because he faw the Affairs of the CARTHA GINIANS WAX WORFE and WORFE every day : that they had loft SICILE , SARDINIA , and SPAIN: because the War was brought out of ITALY into AFRICK: because Sphax (2 mighty King) was taken Prifoner of the ROMANS : and also because that their last hope consisted in the Army he had brought into Africk, which was the onely remain and relief of fo long a War as he had made in ITALY : and also because that the CARTHAGINIANS had so small a Power left (both of Strangers, and also of Citizens) that there were scarce men enough to defend the City of CARTHAGE. So he did his best to perswade Scipio with a long Oration he made, rather to agree to Peace, then to resolve of War. Howbeit Scipio that lived in hope to bring this War to a good end, would not feem to give ear to any Peace. Wherefore after they had long debated the matter of either fide, in the end they brake off, and made no Agreement. Shortly after, was this famous Battell stricken by the City of ZAMA, in the which the ROMANS obtained Victory.

For first of all, they made the CARTHAGINIANS Elephants turn upon their own Army, so that they did put all Hannibal's horsemen out of order. And Lalius and Masinissa, who made both Scitio's Victor the Wings, increasing their fear, gave the Horsemen no leasure to gather themselves in order again. It of the Car-Howbeit the Footmen fought it out a long time, and with a marvellous great courage: infomuch that initiate, at that the CARTHAGINIANS (trufting in their former Victory) thought that all the fafety and the Battle of preservation of Africk, was all in their hands, and therefore they layed about them like men. Zama. The ROMANS on the other fide had as great hearts as they, and besides, they stood in the better hope. Howbeit one thing indeed did the ROMAN'S great service to help them to the Victory: and that was, Lalius and Mafiniffa's return from the chafe of the Horsemen; who rushed into the Battle of the Enemy with great fury, and did put them in a marvellous fear. For at their coming, the CARTHAGINIANS hearts were done, and they faw no other remedy for them, but to hope to scape by flying. So it is reported, that there were flain that day, above twenty thousand CARTHA-GINIANS in the Field, and as many more taken Prifoners. Hannibal their General, after he had tarried to fee the end of the Battle, fled with a few of his men out of the great flaughter. Afterwards The flying of when he was fent for to CARTHAGE, to help to fave his Countrey, he perswaded the Senate Hamnibal not to hope any more in Wars, but did counfell them, that fetting all devices apart, they should fend unto Scipio the ROMAN Captain, to make Peace with him upon any condition. When the ten Ambassadors had brought the Capitulation and agreement unto CARTHAGE of the Articles of Peace, it was reported that there was one $Gife_0$, who milliking to hear talk of Peace, made an Oration, and perswaded all he could to renew War against the ROMANS. Wherefore Hamibal could Hannibal perceiving that divers men confirmed his Opinion, and being much offended to fee fuch talk of War, beafts, and men of no understanding, to dare to speak of such matters, in so dangerous a time: he cast himself down headlong, whilest he was yet in his Oration. So when he saw that the Citizens and all the whole Affembly thought this too prefumptuous a part of him, and unmeet altogether for a free City, he himself got up into the Pulpit for Orations, and said: Let no man be offended, if a man that from his youth had been alway out of CARTHAGE, and brought up all his life time in Wars, be ignorant of the Laws and Ordinances of the City. After that he spake so wifely of the Articles of Peace, that the CARTHAGINIANS being immediately moved by the authority of fo great a person, they all agreed to accept the conditions which the vanquisher, and thenecessity of time offered them. The Articles out of doubt were very extream, and fuch as the vanquished are wont to receive with all extremity by the Conquerors. But befides all other things, the CARTHAGINIANS were bound to pay the ROMANS an Annual Tribute, untill a certain time were run out. So when the day came that the first Pension was to be payed to the ROMANS, and that every man grudged when the Subfidy was spoken of: some say, that Hannibal being offended with the vain tears of the CAR-THAGINIANS, he fell a laughing. And when Hafarabal Hadas reproved him because he laughed in fuch a common calamity of all the City, he answered, that it was no laughter nor rejoycing from the heart, but a scorning of their fond tears, that wept when there was less cause (and onely because it touched every private mans purse) then before, when the ROMANS took from the CARTHAGINIANS their Ships, Armour, and Weapons, and their spoils of the great Victories which they had won before, and now gave Laws and Ordinances unto them that were vanquished. I know some Authors write, that Hannibal immediately after he had lost the Battle, fled into Hannibal in his As IA, for that he was afraid they would deliver him into Scipio's hands, that perhaps might demand mifery fled unhim of them. But whether that was done suddenly, or sometime after the Battle was lost at ZAMA, to King Antiit makes no great matter: confidering that all the world knoweth, that when he faw things brought others into Afra to extremity, he presently fled into ASIA unto King Antiochus. So it is most true, that King Antiochus received him with great courtesse, and used him very honourably: insomuch as he made him of counsell with him all in all, both in private and publick Causes. For the Name of Hannibal carried great reputation with all men : besides that, he had a common and mortal hate to the ROMANS, which was a pricking spur still to move War against them. And therefore it seemeth that he came in happy hour into that Countrey, not onely to prick forward the courage of the King against them, but also to set Wars at liberty against the ROMANS. So he told him, that the onely way to make War with the ROMANS, was to go into ITALY to levy ITALIAN Souldiers, by whom onely, that Victorious Countrey of all other Nations might be subdued. He requested of the King a hundred Ships, fixteen thousand Footmen, and a thousand Horsemen onely. With this Small Army he promised to invade ITALY, and that he would marvellously trouble the ITALIANS: whom he knew yet to stand in no small fear of him, for the very found of his Name onely, because of the late Wars he had made there, so fresh yet in memory. Furthermore, he took heart again unto him to renew the Wars of Africk, if the King would license him to send men unto CARTHAGE, to stir up the BARCINIAN faction, whom he knew hated the ROMANS TO death. When he had gotten the King to grant him his request, he called Ariston TYRIAN unto him, a fine subtle fellow, and meet for such a purpose: to whom he made large promises, and perswaded him to go to CARTHAGE to his friends, and to carry them Letters from him. Thus Hannibal being a banished man, and fled out of his Countrey, raised War in all parts against the ROMANS. And furely his counsell had taken good effect, had King Antiochus rather followed his advice, as he did at the first, then the vain perswasions of his fine Courtiers. But envy, a common plague frequenting Princes Courts, bred Hannibal great Enemies. For they being afraid that by his counfells he should grow in great favour with the King (for he was a wife and

make War with

gether with

politick Captain) and that thereby he should bear great sway and authority : to prevent it, they Envy the com- lacked no device to bring him in difference with the King. And it fo chanced at that time that Publiss mon plague of Villiss, who came Ambassador unto Ephesus, had often conference with Hannibal. Hereupon Princes Courts his privy Enemies took occasion to accuse him, and withall, the King himself became so jealous of it, that from thenceforth he never more called him to counfell. At the felf fame time Scipio African alfo, as some do report, Publim Cornelius Scipio African (who was one of the Ambassadors sceps Aprices and, as some an expension talking familiarly with Hamibal, prayed him amongst other things met with Han- sent unto King Antiochus) talking familiarly with Hamibal, prayed him amongst other things to tell him truly, whom he thought the worthiest Captain of all others. Hannibal answered him. First he thought Alexander King of Macedon the chiefest: next unto him, Pyrrhu, mm. First in mongar s. and thirdly, himself. Then Scipio African imiling, asked him: what wouldeft thou fay Hannibal, if thou hadft overcome me? Truly faid he, then I would be chiefest my self. This answer pleased Scipie marvellous well, because he saw he was neither despised, nor yet brought to be compared with the other, but left alone as peerlefs, by fome fecret flatnor yet trought to be compared with the control of began to lay open his Life unto him from his youth, and bewray the malice he had always born unto the ROMANS: whereby he so fatisfied the King, that he was again received into his grace and favour, which he had almost utterly lost. Thereupon the King was determined to have made him Admirall of his Army by Sea, the which he had put in readincis for ITALY, and alfo to make proof of his great courage and service, whom he knew to be a worthy man, and a mortall Enemy to the ROMANS. But one Thosas, Prince of the ETOLIANS, thwaring this opinion, either for malice, or elfe for that his fancy was fuch: he altered the Kings mind, and clean changed his purpole, the which was a matter of great importance for the War he preceded to make. For he gave countell unto Antiochia, that he should go himself into Greece, and direct his own effairs: and that he should not suffer another to carry away the honour and glory of this War. So King Antiochus shortly after went into Greece, to make War with the Romans, Hamilateoun- Within few days after, when he confulted whether he should make league with the THESS ALIANS, Hamibal's opinion was specially asked: who spake so wisely touching the State of the THESSALL ANS, and the chiefest matter of importance, that they all went with his opinion, and gave their confents unto it. Now his opinion was, that they should not need much to care for the THESS ALIANS, but rather to make all the means they could, to get King Philip of MACEDON to take their part, or else to perswade him to be a Neuter, and to take neither part. Furthermore, he gave counsell to make War with the ROMANS in their own Countrey, and offered himself to aid him the best he could Every man gave good ear to his words; but his opinion was rather commended, then followed Whereford every man marvelled, that fuch a Captain as he, that had fo many years made War with the ROMANS (who had in manner conquered all the World) should then be so light fet by of the King, when it specially stood him upon, to have such a mans belp and counself. For, what Capain living could a man have found more skilfull or politick, or meeter to make War with the ROMANS then him? Howbeit the King made no reckoning of him at the first beginning of this War, but shortly after, distaining all their counsell, he consessed that Hannibal onely saw what was to be done. For after the ROMANS had obtained Victory in the War he made in GREECE, Amischus fled out of EUROPE into EPHESUS, where making merry, and following pleasure, he hoped to live in peace, little thinking the ROMANS would come with an Army into ASIA. Now, these flattering Courtiers fed ftill his humour: a perpetual plague to Kings and Princes, that suffer themfelves to be flattered, and are contented to be deceived, because they give good ear to that that pleafeth them. But Hannibal, who knew the power and ambition of the ROMANS perswaded the King to hope for any thing rather then Peace, and bad him truft to it, that the ROMANS would never flay, till they had proved whether they could enlarge the Dominions of their Empire, into the third part of the world, as they had done in AFRICK, and EUROPE. Antiochus perswaded by the authority of fuch a man, straight commanded Polyxenidas, a very serviceable man, and skilfull in Sea fervice, that he should go meet with the Army of the ROMANS that was coming thither. Then Hamibal made be fent Hannibal into Syria, to levy a great number of Ships together, and afterwards made him and Apollonius (one of his favoured Courtiers) Generals of his Army by Sea : who notwithstand-Antischur Ar- ing that Pelyxenidas was put to the worst by the ROMANS, they went and fet upon the RHODImy by Sca, to ANS, that were Confederates with them. Hannibal in this Battle affailing Eudamus the Captain of the RHODIANS, that led the left Wing, he had already compaffed in the Admirall Galley, and doubtless had obtained the Victory, but that the other Wing came in to refere, after they had followed Apollonius in chafe, and took the Victory from him, that was his own. After this Battleby Sea, which had no great good fuccels, we do not find that Hannibal did any thing worthy of memo-For King Antiochus being overcome, besides other conditions, the ROMANS offered him, they defired that Hannibal (the mottal Enemy of their Countrey) should be delivered unto them. Hannibal foreseeing this long before, he suddenly stole from Antiochus, after this notable Battle that was fought by MAGNESIA, where the Kings Power was overthrown. So, after Hannibal had wandered up and down a long time, he fled at length unto Prustar King of BITHYNIA, for sucto Prints King cour. Now he did not fo much trust to his friendship, but because he sought for the meetest place of Bibbrais. he could come by, as also for the fafeft, the which he most defired : considering that the Ro-MANS had the most part of the Sea and Land in their subjection. Some say, that after King Antischus was overcome, Hannibal went into CRETA unto the GORTYNIANS: and that the rumour ran immediately, he had brought a great Masse of Gold and Silver with him. Wherefore being afraid left the CRETANS should offer him some violence, he devised this shift to scape the danger : he filled earthen Pots with Lead gilt, and fent them into the Temple of Diana, faming that he was marvellous carefull for them, as though all his Treature had been there. On the other fide he had hid all his Gold in Images of Brass, the which he had left carelefly lying on the ground in the house. In the mean time, whill they watched the Temple carefully, that these earthen Pots should not be carried away without their privity, Hannibal hoiled fail, and fled into BITHYNIA. In BITHYNIA there is a Village upon the Sea fide, which the Countreymen call LIBYSSA, of the which by some mens faying, there ran an old Oracle and Prophecy in this fort :

> The Land of Libysfa shall cover under mould. The valiant Corps of Hannibal, when he is dead and cold.

There Hannibal lay, not spending his time idly, but passing it away in exercising of the Mariners, riding of Horses, and training of his Souldiers. Some Authors also do write, that at that time Prusas made War with Eumenes, King of PERGAMUS, who was a Confederate and friend of the ROMANS: and that he made Hannibal his Lieutenant-General of his Army by Sea: who affailing Eumenes with Hannibal King a new found and unknown device, wan the Victory of the Battle by Sea. For before they began to fight, Profiss Geneit is reported that Hannibal had gotten an infinite number of Snakes into earthen. Pots, and when the ral by fee, a-Battle was begun, and they bufily tending their fight: he threw those Pots with Snakes into the Ene- sing of Potsamies Ships, and that by this fearfull and strange device he made them fly. Now whether this was true, mus. or not, the old Chronicles do make no manner of mention, but onely Amylius and Trogue : and there- A strange defore I report my two Authors: So, the news of the diffention betwirt these two Kings, Prusias and vice of Snakes Eumenes being brought to ROME, the Senate sent T. Q. Flaminim Ambassador into AstA, whose put in earthen Name was famous for the noble Victories he had obtained in GREECE: to the end (as I conjecture) thrown into to make peace betwixt these two Kings. Flaminius being come unto King Prustas, he was marvellous- the Enemics ly offended, and forry in his mind to fee Hannibal yet alive (that was the mortalleft Enemy of the Ro- Ships. MANS) after the Conquest of so many Nations, and the facking of so many People: therefore he Time Quinting was very earneftly in hand with King Prassas, to deliver him Hannibal. Hannibal from the first be Ambassador ginning miltrufted King Prufias inconftancy very much, and therefore had digged divers Vaults in his into Alis. house, and made seven several vents to fly out at, if he were suddenly taken. The report of Flaminius coming did encrease his suspition the more, for that he thought him the greatest Enemy he had in ROME: both generally for the hate he bare unto all the ROMANS, as also particularly for the remembrance of his Father Flaminius, that was flain in the Battle fought by the Lake of Thrafymene. So Hannibal being full of care and grief (as it is reported) he found devices to escape, the which stood him to no purpose against such a great power. For when the Kings Guard which was sent to take him, had compassfed his house about, Hannibal thought to fly at their first coming, and to save himself by the secretest Vault he had. But when he found that the place was kept by the Guard, then he determined to rid himfelf out of the ROMAN'S hands, by destroying himself. So some do report, that he was strangled by one of his men, whom he had commanded to help to dispatch him. Others write again, that he had drunk Bulls Blood, and when he had drunk it, died, as Clitarchus, and Stratocles do fallly report of Themisfocles. Howbeit Titus Liviw, that famous Historiographer writeth, that Hannibal called for the Poyfon he had ready for fuch a mischief, and that holding this deadly Drink in his hand, before he drank, he faid, Come on, let us rid the ROMANS of this pain and care, fith their spite and malice is so great, to haften the death of a poor old man, that is half dead already. The ancient ROMANS advettifed Pyrrhus King of the EPIROTES, who came with Enfigns displaied to the very Walls of the City of ROME, that he should look to himself, and beware of poysoning : and these ROMANS now do make a friend forgetting his Kingly State and faithfull promife, vilely to betray his poor Gueft. After he had faid, bitterly curfing King Prufias, he poyloned himfelf, being seventy years old, as some Writers do Hamibal poy teftifie. His Body was buried in a Tomb of Stone by LIBYSSA, on the which were engravening more found himfeli but this: Here live Hamibal. The ROMAN'S being advertifed of his death, every man faid his opinion, as his fancy ferved him. Some greatly blamed T.Q. Flaminius cruelty, who to make himfelf is
Hamibus mous by some notable act (as he thought) made a poor old man put himself to death, that was in man- Temb by ner half dead by age, and befides, was past doing the State of Rome any more hurt, they being Con- Liby fine querors in manner, of all the world. But some again on the other side, commended Flaminius for it, and faid, it was a good deed of him, to rid the ROMANS of their mortal Enemy : who though he had a weak Body, yet he lacked no wit, wife counsel, and great experience in Wars to intice King Prusas to make War, and to moleft all Asia, befides new Wars. For at that time, the power of the King of Bi-THY NIA was fo great, that it was not to be lightly regarded. For after that, Mithridates King of the fame BITHYNIA, did marvelloufly moleft the ROMANS both by Sea and by Land, and moreover fought Battles with L. Lucullus, and Cn. Pompey, famous Captains of the ROMANS. And fo the Ro-MAN'S might also be afraid of Prusias, and specially having Hannibal his Captain. So some judge, that T.Q. Flaminius was specially sent Ambassador unto King Prusias, secretly to practise Hannibal's death. Howbeit it is to be supposed, that Q. Flaminius was not so desirous to have Hannibal so saddenly put to death, as he would have been glad otherwise to have brought him again to ROME, that had done fuch mischief to his Countrey : and this had been a great benefit for ROME, and much honour also unto himself. Such was the death of Hannibal the CARTHAGINIAN, a famous man doubt-

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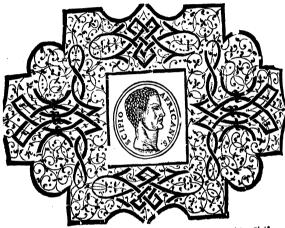
SCIPIO AFRICAN. carried into the Field at the beginning of the fecond War with the CARTHAGINIANS. fol-

lowed the Camp being but feventeen years old, and in a very short time grew so toward and for-

lefs and highly to be commended for Martial praife, fetting his other Vertues afide. So we may eafily judge, of what power and force his Noble-mind, his great Wildom and Courage, and his perfect Skill junge, or what power and totte may concerning, magnetic translation of Martial Diffipline was in all things. For in all the Wars the CARTHAGINTANS had so vehemenly, and with fuch great preparation enterprifed, they never thought themfelves overcome, till Hannibal was overthrown at that great Battle by ZAMA. So it appeareth that all their fittength and skill of Wars began, and also ended with Hannibal their Captain.

The end of the Life of Hannibal.

THE LIFE OF SCIPIO AFRICAN.



Anno Mundi.

Ant. Chrift.

The Parentage of Scipio. Oblim Scipio a PATRICIAN, of the Family of the Cornelii (who was the first ROMAN Captain against whom Hannibal fought in ITALY) was the Father of Cornelius Scipio afterwards firnamed African, the First : fo called because he had conquered that Nation. The same Scripe, after he had obtained many great Victories in Spain, and done notable sears of Arms, was in the end slain with a wound he had in a Battle against his Enemies, as he was plying and encouraging of his men from place to place, thronging in the greatest danger and sury of the Battle. Shortly after did his Brother

Cn. Scipio also end his life, much after one self manner, and was slain valiantly fighting. So these two Captains besides the same they archieved by their noble deeds, lest behind them great praise of their faithfulnels, modefly, and courage: the which made them not onely withed for of their Souldiers that were then living, but also of all the SPANIARDS befides. Cn. Scipio had a Son called P. C. Affica, one that had been Conful, and had also triumphed: who being but a young man, was thought the meteft man of all the City of ROME to receive Idea the Mother of the gods. This Publiss had two Sons, the fo famous Scipio's: of the which the one was called Affan, because he conquered ASIA: and the other African, because he subdued Africk at that famous Battle of ZAMA, where he overthrew Hannibal and the CARTHAGINIANS, 25 we faid before. Whose Life we purpose now to write, not fo much to make the glory of his Name (fo famous by all the Greek and Latin Authors) the greater by our History, as for that we would make all men know the order of his noble deeds, and morall vertues, to the end that all Princes and noble Captains in reading it, should behold the lively Image of period vertue, which may move an earnest defire in them to follow the example of P. C. Scippo's Life, who from his child-hood gave great hope and flew of a noble nature, and excellent ver-tue, after he followed the inftruction of Martial Discipline, under the Conduct of his Father. He was

great commendation of his own Father, and befides, great estimation also of all the Army. Further-dier fare of P. more, he shewed such tokens of a sharp wit and noble courage, that he made him beloved, and al. Cornelina Scipio more, he inewed tuch tokens of a mary an am prefer at the Battle of the Horsemen, where Pub- being but sefo seared of his Enemies. For this Scipio was present at the Battle of the Horsemen, where Pubventeen years line Corneline Scipio the Confull fought with Hannibal, by the River of Thesin: and some Writers old. do affirm, that Cornelius the Father being hurt, was almost taken by the Enemy, had not his Son Scipio faved him, who had then but a little down on his beard, he was fo young. After that alfo, Publia Corne-Scipio faved him, who had then but a little down on his deard, he was to young. And that had all his Stipio ref-at the Bartle that was fought by CANNES, to the great lofs, and in manner unter defirmation of cued his Father the Empire of Rome, when the ten thousand men that fled to CANUSIUM, had all together with from being taone consent referred the Government of the Army unto Appin Pulcher, that had been Ædilis, and ken orthe Encunto Cornelius Scipio, that was yet but very young, the fame Scipio shewed then by his deeds, what mies. noble mind and courage was in him. For when he faw certain young men confult together between themselves to for sake ITALY, he thrust in among them, and drawing out his Sword, made them all Swear they would not forfake their Countrey. These, and such like deeds done by him with a lively courage and noble mind, being then but a young man, wan him such favour with the Ro-MANS, that not respecting his young years, nor their ancient custom, they called him forward, and laid Offices of great charge and Government upon him. Infomuch that when he fued Honours done for the Office of Ædilis before his due time, notwithstanding that the Tribunes of the People were to Scipio, being against his suit, because he was so young a man : yet the People suffered him to be brought from but a young Tribe to Tribe, and fo was prefently chosen Ædilis with the most voices. So after his Father and man. Uncle (both famous and noble Captains) had been flain one after the other in SPAIN, and that the ROMANS were in confultation to appoint some worthy Captain in their room: they could find no man that durft undertake this fo dangerous War, confidering the lofs of two fo great Captains before. Wherefore the whole affembly being called to choose a Vice-Consull, all the other Princes and Peers of the Realm being filent at fo worthy a motion : Scipio onely of all the reft, being but twenty four years old, stood up in the middest of them, and said with a good hope and confidence he would willingly take the charge upon him. He had no fooner offered this promife, but he was presently made Vice-Consull of Spain, with the wonderfull good will and favour of the People, Scipio Vicewho gave him all their voices. Howbeit the Senators afterwards confidering better of the matter, a- Confull at gainst what Captains and Nations, he should make War, they thought it unpossible to young a four and wentum and could perform to weighty a charge. Wherefore mens minds were wonderfully changed a years of age, again on the sudden, as if the Tribes of the People had repented them of their voices and election. Scipio perceiving it called an Affembly presently, and made such an Oration of his age, and Difcipline of Wars, that every man that heard him wondred at him, and the People began again to scivio's great renew the good hope they had of him for the Wars. For he had not onely a noble courage in him, find and being indued with fo many fingular vertues, but he was also a goodly Gentleman, and very comly goodly perform of person, and had besides a pleasant countenance : all which things together, are great means to win him the love and goodwill of every man. Moreover, even in his gesture and behaviour, there was a certain Princely grace. Now the glory of Martiall Discipline being joyned unto those his rare Gifts of mind and nature, it was to be doubted, whether civil Vertues made him more acceptable unto strangers, then wonderfull for his skill in Wars. Furthermore, he had filled the common Peoples hearts with a certain superstitious fear, because he did daily (after he had taken the mans Gown) use to go up to the Capitol, and so into the Church without any company; infomuch that all men began to think that he learned some secret things in the Temple, which others might not know, as they were perswaded long before, that Numa Pompilisis was taught by the Nymph Ageria. Furthermore, it feemeth that some had the like opinion of Scipio, angle by the rythol Oscarder King of Macedon, to wit, that oftentimes there was a sind time they had of Alexander King of Macedon, to wit, that oftentimes there was a Snake feen in his Mothers Chamber. But let these things go. Scipio departing out of Train with Scipios jourten thouland Footmen, and a Fleet of thirty Galleys, every one of them having five Oars to a ney into Spain. bank, he failed into Spain: and in few days arriving at Emporia, he landed his men and mar-

ched by land to TARRACON. There he kept a Council, and many Ambassadors of the Cities their Confederates came thither, who being courteoully received, returned to their lodgings with fuch

answer as they liked. After this, Scipio being carefully bent to prosecute the War he had taken

had gotten, and with great valiantness, and unspeakable industry he maintained War in

SPAIN, against three Captains of the CARTHAGINIANS. Now Scipio being come to this

Army that lay in Garison for the Winter time, every man did certainly perswade themselves that

the War should prosper: and when they saw him, they remembred their old Captains, inso-

much that there was never a Souldier could have his fill with looking upon this young man,

Howbeit, after he had commended the Souldiers for their noble courage, not despairing for the calamity of their Countrey, he greatly honoured Lucius Martius : to fhew, that who so trusteth in his

ward in all things, in riding, in watching, in taking all manner of pains like a Souldier, that he wan The first Soul-

upon him, he thought it best to joyn the remain of the old Bands with his Army, which had been saved through the manhood and valiantness of Lucius Martius. For after both the Scipio's were flain, and both SPAINS almost lost, and the ROMAN Legions also overthrown and put to ness of Lucius Martius a Roman Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armonius a Roman Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armonius a Roman Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armonius a Roman Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armonius a Roman Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armonius a Roman Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armonius a Roman Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armonius a Roman Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armonius a Roman Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armonius a Roman Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armonius a Roman Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armonius a Roman Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armonius a Roman Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armonius a Roman Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armonius a Roman Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armonius and the Roman Knight and th mies, refifted (beyond all hope of man) the Enemies puffed up with glory of the Victory they man Knight,

Sciolo beliegeth in Spain.

own vertues, need not envy the glory of another man. So Winter being past, he took the old and new Bands out of the Garifons, and first of all determined to go and lay siege unto new Cag-THAGE. For of all the Cities of SPAIN it was the wealthieft, and none more meet to make War both by Sea and Land, then that. Moreover, the Captains of the CARTHAGINIANS had beflowed in this City all their Munition, and greatest Treasure: and less a strong Garison, both in the City, and Caftle. But the Captains themselves were divided in divers Countreys, to the end that they there might keep the whole Region from spoil, least of all looking then, that CARTHAGE thould be belieged. But Scipio having put all in readincls, he came and belieged new CARTHAGE with all his Army both by Sea and Land. This feemed to be a marvellous hard enterprize, and would continue long, both because the City was very strong of it felf, and also for that the men within it were fo couragious, that they did not onely think themselves able to defend the City, but their hearts ferved them also to make fallies out upon the Enemy, and to skirmish with them, even to the very Trenches of the Romans Camp. Howbeit it hapneth often, that what a man cannot obtain by force, he may win by industry. Now Scipio knew, that the Lake or Mear which is not far from the Walls of CARTHAGE, did ebb and flow with the Tide, and that it was paffable by foord on that fide where they might eafiliest come to the Walls : fo, he thinking to embrace this occasion, and that he could not possible meet with a better device to take CARTHAGE: when he faw his time, he fet his menin Battle-ray, and having divided them into feveral Squadrons, gave a more desperate affault upon the City, then he had done before. In the mean time, he chose out a Band of the valiantest men he had, and commanded them to wade over the Lake, and to scale the Walls on that fide, where they within the Town made leaft account of it. So, these Souldiers that were commanded to give this attempt, after they had paffed over the Lake without any let or trouble, they found that part of the Wall without any Watch or Guard, because the greatest fury of the fight, was on the other fide of the City. Therefore they eafily getting up on the Wall, came and assailed the Enemies behind them. The Citizens , and those of the Garison , perceiving they were unawares fallen into that great danger, they immediately for fook the Walls, and feeing themselves charged on every fide, betook them to their Legs, and fled. The ROMANS scipio wan the purfued them fo hotly, that they wan the City, and facked it: where they found a wonderfull City of new great fpoil, and aboundance of all things necessary for War. Scipio greatly prairied his Souldiers and did reward them, for that they had done fo valiant fervice. Howbeit when he should come to give the scaling Crown of the Walls, unto the first man that got up upon the Walls, three were two Souldiers at fuch variance for the matter, that all the Army was in danger of dinfino and mutiny upon that occasion. Thereupon Scipio called his men together, and in open affently told them, that he knew they both got up on the Wall together, and so gave them both a failing Crown: and by this means their tumult was prefently pacified. Afterwards he fent unto all the Cities of SPAIN, the hostages that were found in the City, which were a marvellous number: The great chat, the which wan him great fame for his courtefie and clemency, whereby he allured many Nations to yield themselves unto the ROMANS, and to forsake the CARTHAGINIANS. But one thing above all thereft chiefly encreafed his praife, and wan him great love and good will, as a mirrour and example of all vertue. There was a young Lady taken priloner, that in beauty excelled all the Women in CARTHAGE: whom he carefully caused to be kept and preferved from violence and dishonour. And afterwards when he knew that she was married unto Luceius Prince of the Cel-TIBERIANS, he fent for her Husband, that was a very young man, and delivered her unto him, untouched or dishonoured. Luceiss not forgetting his noble courtesse unto her, did let all his Subjects understand the great bounty, modesty and rare excellency of all kind of Vertues that were in this ROMAN Generall, and shortly after, he returned again to the ROMANS Camp with a great number of Horsemen. The three Captains of the CARTHAGINIANS (Mago, Hajarubal BARCINIAN, and the other Hafdrubal, the Son of Gifgo) knowing that the loss of new Carand Halfarabat

Gilgo, hethree

THAGE did them great hurt, as well in the impairing of their credit with other ftrange Nations famous Capas also by the conjecture divers made of the Success of this War: they first practiced to diffemble the loss of it, and then in speech to make light of it as much as they could. Scipio having joyned to him divers Nations and Princes of SPAIN, (among the which were the two little Kings, Mandonius and Indibilis, understanding where Hasarbad BARCINIAN lay, he marched towards him with his Army to fight with him, before Mago and the other Hafdrubal came to joyn with him. Haldrubal BARCINIAN By in Camp by the River of Besida, and was very desirous to fight, trufting wholly to his strength and Army: but when he heard that Scipio was at hand, he left the Valley, and got to a hill of pretty firength. The ROMAN Legions followed him, and gave him no respite, but pursued so near, that he came and assaulted his Camp at the first coming. So they sought it out upon the Trenches and Rampires, as if they had been at the affault of a City. The CARTHA-GINIANS trufting to the ftrength of the place, and driven to it of necessity (which maketh cowards most desperate,) they valiantly resisted their Enemies the best they could. The ROMANS in contrary manner, being valiant, and full of good hope, fought it out luftily like men, and the fight

was fo much more cruel, for that it was in the fight of their General Scipie, and of all the Army

befides : informuch that their valiant fervice there could not be hidden. Therefore they never gave

over the affault, untill that having done their uttermost endeavour, they got up upon the Rampiers,

and entred into divers places into the Enemies Camp, and made them fly. Haldrubal Captain of

the CARTHAGINIANS, faved himself by flying, with a few with him, before the ROMANS

City of new Carthage by

Carthaginians.

Befula fl.

entred into their Fort. After this Battle, Scipio according to his manner, caused all the Spanish entred into their Fort. Intel this Bath and then gave them liberty to depart without paying of Ranfom. Scipio's liberaPrifoners to be brought before him, and then gave them liberty to depart without paying of Ranfom. Scipio's libera-Among the Priloners, there was a young Gentleman of the Kings bloud, and Nephew unto Massmies. niffa, whom when he had used very honourably, he sent unto Masinista, with great and rich Gifts: to thew thereby, that a Generall of an Army, should be as bountiful and full of civil Vertues, as otherwise skilfull and expert in Martial Discipline. For the end of War is Victory: the benefit Vertues meet whereof confifteth in bounty and clemency. From thence cometh the glory and all other praifes due for a General. to Captains: as it hapned in those things whereof we now Treat. For a great number of Spani-ARDS being present, wondering at the great elemency of the Generall of the ROMANS, they could do no less but call him King, to honour and recompence his vertue. But Scipio strake that Scipio called word straight, the which was no common found to the ROMANS ears, and therefore he would by King by the no means allow that Title, which he knew to be hatefull to the Noble men of his Countrey, and also Spaniards. unmeet for the liberty of the ROMANS. He onely prayed the SPANIARDS, that if they liad any mind and defire not to shew themselves unthankfull to him, that then they would be faithfull and loving to the People of Rome. So whilft these things were done by Scipio, the other two Captains of the CARTHAGINIANS, (Mago, and Hafdrubal the Son of Gifgo) after they understood of the overthrow of their men by the River of Befula, made all the speed they could to joyn together: and shortly after came and met with Hafdrubal BARCINIAN, to consult together, and to take order for the War. So after they had laid their heads together, and confidered all things. they concluded thus: that Hafdrubal BARCINIAN should go into ITALY to his Brother Han-Hastrubal lene nies, where the War was greatelt: and that Mago, and the other Hafarabal should remain in Haltanbal fan ibal, where the War was greatelt: and that Mago, and the other Hafarabal should remain in Entityro his Spain, should fend for aid from Carthage, and should not fight with the Romans un-Brother Hamitill all their forceslooked for, were affembled, and so might make a great and puissant Army. When but with an Haldrubal was gone into ITALY, Hanno was fent from CARTHAGE in his place. But practifing Army. in his journey to make the CARTHAGINIANS to rebell. M. Syllanus came and fet upon him by of the contrary Scipio's commandment, and was so fortunate, that he overcame him in Battle, and took him faction unto Prisoner, Now there was a City which the Countreymen called ORINGE, the which was very Hasarbar Barwealthy, and meet to renew the War. Lucius Scipio was fent thither with part of the Army to become in Battle. fiege it: but finding it a very strong situation, and too well manned to take it at the first assault, he and taken prienvironed the Town, and within few days took and facked it. Winter came on apace, and the foner. time of the year made them both to retire into their Garisons, for the Winter. So Scipio having had so good fortune in this War, he went unto TARRACON: Mago, and the other Hasdrubal, the Son of Gifgo, went to the Sea fide. The next Summer, Wars growing more bloody and cruell then before in the lower SPAIN, the ROMANS and CARTHAGINIANS met, and joyned Battle by the River of Befula, and fought fet Battles. After they had fought a long time together, Scipio at length got the Victory, and made the Enemies fly (of the which there were slain a great number in the Field) and giving them no leafure to gather together again, and to make head againft him, he fought with them and followed the chase so hotly, that Hasdrubal and Mago were driven to leave the main Land, and to fly to GADES, after they had loft all their Army. In the Army of the CARTHAGINIANS, there was a young man of a noble courage, and very wife, called Masinissa, who finding means to have secret conference with Syllanus, he was the first man that offered him friendship, either being brought to it through Scipio's liberality, or else because he thought Masinissaction the time was come, that it was the furest way to take part with the ROMANS, which were the eth his friend-Conquerors. It is that Masinisa that afterwards (through the goodness of the Romans) became the great and mighty King of Numidia, and indeed he was divers ways a profitable triend unto the ROMANS. Furthermore the felf fame year (which was the fourteenth of the second War with the Africans) Spain was the first Nation and People of the up-land men dwelling in the heart of the Realm, that was conquered under the happy conduct of the Vice-Confull Scipio : howbeit it was the last Realm that was made a Province long time after, by Augustus Cafar. Now Scipio not contenting himfelf with the great Victories he had obtained, in very short time in SPAIN (for he had an imagination and good hope also to conquer AFRICK) he thought it his best way, to make all the means he could possible, to get Syphan King of the MASESYLIANS, a syphan Kingol friend to the ROMANS. Wherefore after he had felt the Kings mind, perceiving that he was the Majafilians well inclined to make league with the ROMANS, he presently set all his other affairs aside, and sailed into Africk with two Galleys onely, at five Oars to a Bank. At the felf fame time also came Hafdrubal, the Son of Gifgo thither, from GADES: fo that both these valiant and lufty Captains came of purpose to the King envying one the other, to crave the Kings good will, unto their Countrey and Commonwealth. Syphax welcomed them both into his Court, and did use them very honourably and courteoully, and appointed that they should both eat at one Table, and lie in one felf Chamber, because the one should not think his entertainment better then the other. It is reported that Hasdrubal wondering at the magnanimity and great wisdom of Scipio that was prefent, he confidered with himself the great danger the City of CARTHAGE and all AFRICK befides was in, through that mans means: for he faw him yet a young man, quick, and excellent in all manner of great Vertues, and that had continually obtained fuch Victories : and therefore confidering the lufty youth of this Gentleman, he imagined that it was impossible to perswade him to scipio. embrace Peace, rather then War. Besides, he was asraid also that Syphax, moved by the personage and authority of him that was present, would take part with the ROMANS: and indeed his

The unfortunate fight of two Coufin-Germans.

grinst their Captains, in Scipio's fick-

mind gave him rightly, for to it happened. For though Syphax at the first shewed himself indifferent Syphax King of to them both, and had moved talk to end the War betwirt the ROMANS and the CARTHAthe Maschinar GINIANS: yet afterwards when Scipio told him he could conclude no Peace without confent of the maketh leegue Senate of ROME, he rejected Hajdrubal, and inclining to Scipio's request, he made league with the People of Rome. So Scipio being returned again into Spain, himself partly by force, and partis also by L. Martius means, conquered ILITURGIUM CASTULO, and certain other places that refused to yield themselves unto the ROMANS. And to the end nothing should be lacking for all kind of sports and pleasures, after he had so fortunately obtained so many famous Victories: when he was come to new CARTHAGE, he caused the Fencers to prepare themselves to fight with great pomp, where there were many great Estates, not onely to see that pastime, but also they themselves to handle the Weapons in person. But amongst other SPANIARDS of noble Houses, there were two called, Corbin and Orsua, which were at strife together for the Kingdom: but that day they ended their quarrell, the one being flain by the others hand. The fight was very lamentable and grievous to the Beholders: but the death of him that was slain, troubled them much more, for they were both Coufin-Germans. After all this Scipio having his mind still occupied in matters of greater weight and importance, then those which he had already brought to pass. he fell sick. His sickness being carried through all Spain, and as it hapneth often, his disease being reported to be much greater and dangerous then it was indeed: thereupon, not onely the Nations of Spain began to rile in hope of change, but the Army it felf allo of the Romans, the which he had left at Sucro.

First of all, Martial Discipline was corrupted through the absence of the General. Afterwards also, the report of his fickness, and danger of his life being spread a-The rebellion broad in the Army, raifed such a rebellion among them, that some of them little regarding the of the Roman authority and commandment of the head Captains of the Bands, they drave them away, and chose two mean Souldiers for their Captains; who presumptuously took upon them the Name given unto them by men of no authority, and yet more arrogancy, made the bundles of Rods and Axes to be carried before them. Such folly doth fury and vain ambition oftentimes work in mens minds. On the other fide, the SPANIARDS flept not, and specially Mandonius and Indivitive Mandonius, In- who afpiring to the Kingdom of SPAIN, came to Scipio when he was Conquerour, after he had dibitis, two taken new CARTHAGE. But afterwards being offended to fee the power of the RONANS increase daily, they fought occasion to make some alteration. So after they had heard, not onely of Scipio's fickness, but also how he was at deaths door, and did believe it: they presently levyed an Army, and went and made War with the Swessitans which were confederates of the Ro-MANS. But Scipio being recovered again of his fickness, like as upon the falle rumour of his death every man began to rife: even so after the truth was known indeed of his recovery, they were all put down again, and not a man of them durft proceed any further in their rebellion. Scipio being more skilfull in Martial Discipline, then acquainted with sedition and rebellion, although he was mar-Scipio's wildow welloully offended with the Souldiers that had committed this folly; yet in the end, left following his fuppielling his anger, men should have thought him to have exceeded all bounds of reason in punishing of them, he referred all unto the Confull. The most part of them gave advice, that the Authours of the rebellion should be punished, and all the reft pardoned: for by this means, said they, the punishment shall light upon a few that have deferved it, and all the rest shall take example by them. Scipio widom in pe- followed that advice, and presently sent for all the seditious Bands, to come to new CARTHAGE to receive their pay. The Souldiers obeyed his commandment, some of them making their fault oftenders, Scipios care of less then it was, as men do often flatter themselves; others also trusting to the Captains clemency, as knowing him not to be extream in punishment. For Scipio was wont to say, that he had rather fave the life of one ROMAN Citizen, then to kill a thouland Enemies. This rumour ran alfo, that Scipio had another Army ready, the which he looked for to joyn with them, and then to fer upon the Kings (Mandonius and Indivitus) who made War with the Swessitans. These Souldiers departing from Sucro, with good hope to obtain pardon, came unto CARTHAGE. Howbeit the next day after they were come into the Town, they were brought into the Market-place where their Armour and Weapons being taken from them, they were environed with all the Legions Army. Then the ROMAN Generall fitting in place of judgement, shewed himself before all the company in as good health and good disposition of body, as ever he was in all his youth. Thenhe made a tharp and bitter Oration, full of grievous complaints: infomuch as there was not one of all the Souldiers that were unarmed, that durft cast up their eyes, or look their Generall in the face, they were so ashamed. For their consciences did accuse them for the fault they had committed, and the fear of death did take their wits and fences from them, and the prefence of their gracious Captain, made them blush as well that were innocent, as the parties that were offendors. Wherefore there Scipio didput was a generall and forrowfull filence of all men. So after he had ended his Oration, he caused the the Authors of chief Authors of this rebellion to be brought forth before the whole Affembly: who after they had been whipped according to the manner, were prefently beheaded, the which was a fearfull and lamentable fight to the beholders. These matters thus pacified, Scipio made all the other Souldiers to be sworn again, and then went and proclaimed War against Mandonius and Indibitis. For they confidering with themselves, how the ROMAN Souldiers that had rebelled in the Camp, were put to death, they were out of hope to obtain any pardon. Therefore they had levied an Army of twenty thousand Footmen and two thousand Horsemen, and came down with them against the ROMANS. Scipio having intelligence thereof, before that the Kings could increase their Army, and

SCIPIO AFRICAN.

that other Nations could rebell : he departed from CARTHAGE, and went with as great speed as he could, to meet with the Enemy. The Kings were camped in a very ftrong place, and trufted fo to their Army, that they were not determined to provoke the Enemy, nor also to refuse the Battle if it were offered them. Howbeit it chanced by the nearness of both Camps, that within few days, they being provoked by the ROMANS, came down and fer their men in Battle-ray, and joyned Battle with Scipio: fo that a good while together, the fight was very bloody and cruell. But at length the SPANIARDS feeing themselves compassed in behind, and being driven to fight in a ring to defend the Enemy on every fide, they were overcome: fo that the third part of them scarcely faved themselves by flying. Mandonius and Indibitis seeing themselves utterly undone, and that there was no hope nor remedy left, they fent Ambaffadors unto Scipio, humbly to pray him to receive them to mercy, and to pardon them. But Scipio knowing right well how greatly they had offended him, and the ROMANS; yet thinking it more honourable to overcome the Enemy by courtefie and cle- A noble thine mency, then by force : he did pardon them, and onely commanded them to give him Money to pay to overcome his Souldiers. In the mean time Masinissa came from GADES, and landed, because he would him the Enemy by felf in person confirm the friendship he had offered Scipio in his absence, by the means of M. clemency. Syllanus, and also speak withhim face to face, whom he judged to be a worthy man, for the famous Synanus, and an intruth Masinissa was not deceived in the opinion he had of the Masinissa comvaliantness and Vertues of Scipio, but found him the felf fame man whom he before had imagined eth unto Scipio him to be in his mind : the which but feldom hapneth fo notwithstanding. For besides the great rare gifts of nature that Scipio had above all others, therewas in him also a certain princely A princely grace and majefty. Furthermore, he was marvellous gentle and courteous unto them that came to majefty in Sci-him, and had an Eloquent Tongue, and a paffing Gift to win every man. He was very grave in pile's personage his gesture and behaviour, and ever wore long hair. Masinissa being come to salute him, when he saw him, he had him in fuch admiration, as it is reported, that he could not cast his eyes off him, nor have his fill of looking on him. So he thanked him marvelloufly for fending his Nephew unto him, and promifed him that his deeds should confirm and witness the friendship agreed upon between them : the which he ever after inviolably kept unto the ROMANS, even to the hour of his death. So all the Nations of Spain became subject to the Empire of Rome, or at the least their Confederates: whereupon those of GADES also following the example of others, came and yielded themselves unto the ROMANS. This is a very ancient Nation, and if we may credit their report of it, as CARTHAGE was in AFRICK, and THEBES in BOEOTIA; fo was GADES up. The Antiquity report of it, as CARTHAGE was in AFRICE, and THEBES in BUGGITA, to was distributed on the Sea, a Colony of the TYRIANS. Scipio after hehad conquered all SPAIN, and driven out of those on the Sea, a Colony of the TYRIANS. the CARTHAGINIANS, confidering that there remained nothing more for him to do, he left the Scipto's noble Government of the Province unto L. Lentulus, and to Manlius Acidinus, and returned to ROME. deeds. When he was arrived at ROME, the Senate gave him audience out of the City, in the Temple of Bel- Scipio's return long. There, when he had particularly told them of the things he had valiantly and fortunately brought out of Spain to to end : and further, that he had overcome four Captains in divers foughten Fields, and also put Rome. to flight four Armies of the Enemies, and driven the CARTHAGINIANS out of both SPAINS, and that there was no Nation left in all those parts, but was subdued to the ROMANS: the Senate gave judgement, that all these things were worthy of a noble Triumph. But because never man vet was fuffered to enter into ROME in Triumph, for any Victories he had obtained, whileft he was onely but Vice-Confull, and not yet been Confull: The Senators thought it not good, and Scipio himfelf also made no great suit for it, because he would not be an occasion, to bring in any new Custom, and to break the old. So when he came into the City, he was afterwards declared Con- Scipio made full, with the great good will and confent of the whole Affembly. It is reported that there never Conful came fuch a world of People to Rome, as were there at that time, not onely for the Affemblies fake, but more to fee Publiss Cornelius Scipio. Wherefore not the ROMANS onely, but all the ftrangers also that were there, all their eyes were upon Scipio, and said both openly and privately:

that they should fend him into Africk, to make War with the Canthaginians, at

home in their own Countrey. Scipio also being of the same opinion, said, that he would ask

advice of the People, if the Senate would be against such a worthy enterprise. For amongst the

Peers and Senators, there were some that vehemently inveighed against that opinion, and amongst

the reft, Fabius Maximus specially, a man of great same and authority. Scipio went forward

with the matter, and thwarted him, and shewed many reasons that there was no way to overcome

the CARTHAGINIANS, and to drive Hannibal out of ITALY, but that onely : and that all o-

ther counsells were in vain, and unprofitable. After this matter was long debated in Council, St-

CILE was appointed unto Scipio: and the whole Senate gave him Commillion to go with his Army

into Africk, if he thought it meet and profitable for the Commonwealth. The decree of the

Senate being published, every mans mind ran of so great enterprises, that they perswaded them-

felves Africk was already their own, and had great hope to end this War. Howbeit Scipio

faw it a hard matter to make his preparation for this journey, because of the poverty of the Com-

mon Treasure, and for lack of young men, the flower and choice of the which was utterly gone,

by the former great losses and overthrows Hannibal had given them. Howbeit to fatisfie every

mans expectation of him, he made all the possible speed he could, to prepare things necessary for

the Wars. So divers People of THUSCAN, and of the UMBRIANS, offered to help him to

their best power: fome of them gave him Timber to build his Ships, others holp him with Armour, and

others also furnished him with Corn, and all other kind of Victuals, and munition for his Army.

P. C. Scipio

Q. Fabius

The Ships being built, and all the Army by Sea put in a readiness, in the space of five and forty Scipio prepared days, a thing incredible to many, Scipio departed out of ITALY, and sailed towards SICILE. his Anny and But when he came to take muster of his Army, he specially chose those that had served long time Nay by Sea in the Wars, under the conduct of M. Marcellus, the which were all esteemed for very expert Souldiers. And for the SICILIANS, he partly wan them by courtefie, and partly by compulfion compelled them to give him aid for the War he took in hand, the which he meant to make in AFRICK when the time of the year should serve for it. Among other things, it is reported. that Seipio chose out of divers Cities , three hundred young Gentlemen of the noblest houses of all the faid Province, and commanded them to meet at a certain day appointed, every man with Horse and Armour. They then coming at the day appointed, according to his commandment, the Confull bade them choose whether they would follow him in the Wars of AFRICK, or elfe deliver up their Armour and Horfe to as many other ROMANS as they were in number. So when they all prayed they might be dismissed from the War, Scipio appointed three hundred other young ROMANS in their places, whom he had brought out of ITALY with him unarmed, because he would mount and arm them at the SICILIANS Coast, as indeed it chanced. Afterwards they did him great service in Africk, in many great Battles. Now time was come on for Scipio to put his Army in Garilon for the Winter-time, when he came to Sy. RACUSA, taking order not onely for the preparation of War, but also for the affairs of Sici-LE. There when it was told him by complaint of divers, that there was a great company of I. TALIAN Souldiers in that City, who would not reftore the spoils which they had gotten in the Wars, but kept them still in their hands, notwithstanding that the Senate had enjoyned them by fpecial commandment to make reflitution to the Syracustans: he straight compelled them by proclamation, to accomplish the Senates commandment. Whereby he wan all the Peoples hearts of Sicile, and was reported to be a just and upright Confull. In the mean time he was advertifed by Caim Lalins, that returned out of AFRICK with great spoil, how King Massing was very defirous of his coming thither, and that he inftantly prayed him he would come into Africk, as foon as he could possible, fo it were without the prejudice of the Commonwealth, Moreover, that divers Nations and l'eople of APRICK had the like desire : who hating the Government of the CARTHAGINIANS, defired nothing more then some good occasion to rebell. Now this journey was not deferred through Scipio's fault or negligence, confidering that fuch a Captain could hardly be found that was more carefull and diligent in his charge then he. Howbeit the affairs of SICILE, and the opportunity he had to recover LOCRES again, did hinder him that he could not bring his purpose to pass according to his mind. Furthermore, his Lieutenant Pleminius disorder grieved him much, because that having left him at LOCRES, he fell to all forts of infolency, as to deflower Women, and to spoil the poor Citizens: infomuch that they being marvellously offended with these infinite troubles and villanies offered them, they determined rather to suffer all other things, then to be subject to the Government of so vile and wicked a man. So the Ambassadors of Locres being arrived at Rome, and exhibiting their complaints in open Senate, of the great wrongs and injuries Pleminius did them: the Noble-men took the matter fo griceoully, that they made bitter Decrees, not onely against the same Pleminius, but also against P.C. Scipio himself. Whereupon Scipio's Enemies having gotten matter enough to accuse him, they were then so bold to affirm that he was acquainted with the injuries offered the Locatans, with the licentiousness of Pleminius, and with the rebellions of his Souldiers also: and that helad fuffered all these things more negligently, then became the Office or duty of a Consul. They added thereto moreover, that his Army he had in SICILE was altogether unruly and unferviceable, and regarded not the Ordinances of the Camp: and that the Captain himfelf was careles, and altogether given over to pleasure and idleness. But above all others Fabius Maximus was his heavy Enemy, and so vehement against him in his words, that he exceeded the bounds of all modelly great adversa- and reason, and thought good to call him presently home out of Sicile, and to dismiss him of his charge. This decree was thought of all men very straight and extream. Wherefore, following Quintus Metellus counsell, the Senators appointed ten Ambassadors to go into SICILE, to make diligent inquiry, whether the Acculations objected against Scipio were true : and if they found him in fault, that then they should command him in the Name of the Senate presently to return into ITALY. And on the other fide, if they found that he was unjustly accused, and onely through the procurement of his malicious Enemies and Detracters: then that they should fend him to his Army, and encourage him valiantly to go forward with this War. So when the Ambassadors were asrived in SICILE, after they had made diligent enquiry according to the Articles of their Commillion, they could not find that Scipio was faulty in any thing, faving that he had too lightly passed over the wrongs and injuries Pleminius had done unto the Locatans. For Scipio was very li-Scipio snature. beral in rewarding of his men, and exceeding courteous, and mercifull also in punishing of them. But when they faw his Army, his Ships, and his other Furniture and Munition for War: it is reported that they wondered so much to see the great abundance, and good order taken for all things, that when they returned to Rome, they greatly commended Scipio, and rejecting all the Acculation of his Accufers, they did promife the Senate and People of ROME affured hope of Victory. So when all these home-troubles at ROME were taken away, there chanced other out-ward troubles abroad sing Syphax revoletch from that grieved him much. For the Ambaffadors of King Syphax came and told him, that their Mafter had node a non-leading that the symbol make the symbol of the had made a new league with the CARTHAGINIANS, and was become friend unto Hafarubal, whole

Daughter he had married : and therefore that he wished him if he meant to do his Countrey good. to make no attempt upon Africk, for he was determined to reckon the Carthaginians his friends, and also to set upon them whom the CARTHAGINIANS account their Enemies. Scipio quickly returned the Ambassadors again unto Syphan, because the effect of their coming should not he blown abroad in his Camp: and gave them Letters, in which he praifed King Syphax, that remembring his league and faithfull promife, he should beware he attempted nothing unworthy the Name of a Roman, and Faith of a King. Afterwards calling his men together, he told them that the Ambaffadors of King Syphax were come into Sicile, to complain of his long tarrying, as Mafinissa had done before. Therefore he was to hasten his journey to go into Africk, and thereupon commanded all his Souldiers to put themselves in readiness, and to provide all things necessary for their journey. The Confuls commandment being published through all SICILE, there repaired immediately unto LILYBEA 2 multitude of People, not onely those that were to fail into AFRICK. but of others also that came to see the Fleet and Army of the ROMANS : because they never faw an Army better furnished, nor set out with all things necessary for War, nor better replenished with Souldiers, then that, So Scipio, all things being ready imbarked at LILYBEA with so earnest a desire to pass over the Sea, that neither Oars nor wind did content his mind. Yet he was brought in few days failing, to the Promontory or Mountain called Fair, and there he put all his men on land. The news of his arrivall flying straight to CARTHAGE, all the City was presently in such an uproar, that fuddenly they founded the Alarm, and guarded the Gates and Walls, as appeareth by testimony of some in writing. For from M. Regulus time unto that present day it was almost fifty years space since any ROMAN Captain ever entred AFRICK with force of Arms. And therefore it was no marvell though they were afraid, and grew to uproar. The Name of Scipio did encrease their fear the more, because the CARTHAGINIANS had no Captain matchable with him. Hafdrubal the Son of Gifgo had the Name that time of a lufty Captain, whom they knew had notwithstanding been overcome, and driven out of SPAIN by Scipio. Howbeit putting all the hope and fafety of their Countrey in him, and in King Syphax that mighty King : they never left intreating the one nor perswading the other, to come and help the affairs of Africk, with all the speed they could possible. So, whilest these two were preparing to joyn both their Armies together, Hannibal the Son of Hamilton, being appointed to keep the next Countrey adjoyning to it. came against the ROMANS. Scipio after he had destroyed the Countrey, and enriched his Army with great spoil, he camped by the City of UTICA, to see if it were possible for him to win so noble and wealthy a City, and being besides so commodious for the Wars both by Sea and Land. At the felf fame time Mafiniffa came to the ROMANS Camp, and was inflamed with a vehement The ready and At the felt tame the Many and M quick and valiant of his hand, he sent him to discover the Army of the Enemies, before the CAR- Romans, THAGINIAMS could gather any greater power, and willed him to use all the device and means he could possible to intice Hanno to fight. Masimisa as he was commanded, began to provoke the Enemy, and drawing him out by little and little, he brought him where Scipio lay with all his Legions armed, looking for a good hour to fight. The Army of the Enemies was now wearied, when the ROMANS came to fet upon them with their fresh Army. Hanno at the first onset was overcome Hanno overand flain, with most of his men : and all the rest fled and dispersed themselves here and there, where come and they thought they might best scape. After this Victory, Scipio returning back again to besiege slain, the City of UTICA, the fudden coming of Hafdrubal and King Syphax, made him to leave off his enterprise, for that they brought with them a great Army both of Footmen and Horsemen, and came and camped not far from the ROMANS. Session perceiving that, raised his siege immediately, and came and sortified his Campupon a Hill, from whence he might go and fight with the Enemy, and molest them of UTICA, and also keep his Ships safe that rode at Anchor. Howbeit the time of the year being come, that both Armies were to dispose their men in Garisons for the Winter feafon, he determined to fend unto King Syphax to feel his mind, and to make him leave the friendship of the CARTHAGINIANS if it were possible. For he knew well it was his marriage with Sophonisha, which through her flattering periwasions had brought him to that fury, that he Sophonisha, had not onely for faken the friendship of the ROMANS, but also meant to destroy them, contrary King to his faith and promise: and that if he had once satisfied the heat of his love with her, he thought wine, then he might be called home again. Syphax having understood Scipio's message sent him, he anfwered, that indeed it was time, not onely to leave the league with the CARTHAGINIANS, but also to give up all thought of War: and so promised, that he would be a good mean to make peace. Scipio gave good ear unto it, and caught hold of an excellent fine device. He chofe the valiantest scipio's crast. Souldiers in his Army, apparelled them like flaves, and made them wait upon the Ambaffadors, and gave them inftructions what they should do. These fellows, whilest the Ambassadors and King Syphax were in talk together about the Articles and conditions of peace, and that the confultation held longer then it was wont to do, they went and walked up and down through the Enemies Camp, to fee all the ways and entries into it, according unto Scipio's instructions. After they had done this divers times, they came again to Scipio. Truce was taken for a time, the which

being expired, Scipio feemed to make preparation for Wars, (as being out of hope of any Peace)

and to make his Army ready by Sea, preparing Engines of Battery to return to beliege UTICA,

as he had done before. He gave out this rumour through all the Countrey, to perswade his Enemies

SCITIO AFRICAN.

that it was true: howbeit having called the Captains and Petty-Captains of his Army together, he made them privy to his intent and enterprife. He told them that both the Enemies Camps lay not far afunder; of the which, the one of them had all their Tents and Cabins of Wood; and the building of the other Camp was all of Reeds, fo that they were both eafie to be burnt. Whereupon having fent for Masinissa and Caim Latins to come unto him, he gave them charge about midnight to give Alarm unto Syphax Camp, and to fet it on fire: and that he himself on the other fide, would fet upon the CARTHAGINIANS Camp. They two obeyed Scipio's commandment, performed his will without delay, and came at the hour appointed them to affail the Numidians Camp, and so did set the houles of Reeds on fire; which took fire in such fort, as the flame was immediately round about the Camp. The Numidians at the first thinking the fire had come by misfortune, ran thither straight unarmed to quench it. But when they found themselves among the Legions of the ROMANS, and that there was nothing but killing down right, feeing themfelves to compaffed in on all fides, they faw their best remedy was to fly. On the other fide also, where Scipio's Army was, the CARTHAGINIANS Camp was almost all burnt, and the Enemis A mayellous put to flight with fuch cruel flaughter, that some Writers affirm, there were flain that night agress flaughter bout forty thouland men, as well CARTHAGINIANS as Numidians. This great overthrow of the Cartha and flaughter being carried to CARTHAGE, did put the Citizens there in fuch a lear and terrour, that some thought best to send for Hamibal out of ITALY, and others gave advice to make peace with Scipio. Howbeit the BARCINIAN faction which was rich and wealthy, and altogether against the Peace-makers, they so prevailed, that they levyed a new power to begin War again. King Syphax and Hashrubal having levied a great multitude of Footmen and Horsemen again, renewed their Army fooner then was looked for, and came again to pitch their Camp directly over against the Enemies. Scipio having understanding of that, would not tarry, but determined to give them Battle, whileft his men were in good heart and willing to fight. So it chanced at the first by the nearness of both their Camps, that there were certain skirmishes: but in the end, the Armies came to joyn Battle, and the ROMANS fought with furth courage and terrour, that at the first onfet they made the Numidians and the Carthaginians fly, and flew the most part of them. Hafdrubal and Syphax (caped, by flying out of the flaughter. Scipio fent Mafinissa and Caim Laliss with the light Horsemen to give them chase. Syphax being come into Num 1D1A, and from thence into his own Realm and Kingdom, he levied an Army in hast of all forts of People, and came to meet with Masinifa and Caim Letius, and was not afraid to give them Battle. But it was a fond part of him, confidering that he was nothing like to strong as his Enemy, neither for number of fighting men, nor yet in likelihood of Souldiers. For neither the Souldiers, nor Captains of his Army were matchable with the Souldiers and Captains of the ROMANS Camp: and therefore king Syphax King of Syphax was eafily overcome by fuch skilfull men, and moreover was himfelf taken in Battle, with mathe Mighlians ny other great Noble-men, whom Mashinista would hardly have looked for : and then they were overcome, and brought unto Scipio. At the first there was a marvellous joy among them, when it was told them the King Syphax should be brought Prisoner unto the Camp: but afterwards when they saw him bound they were all forry to fee him in fuch pitifull state, remembring his former greatness and regal majefty... They called to mind how famous the Name of this King had been but a little before, what wonderfull great wealth he had, and also the power of so great a Realm and Kingdom. Howbeit scippo the ROMAN Confull received him very courteoully, and gently asked him what he meant to change his mind in that fort, and what moved him to make War with the ROMANS. Then the King remembring his former friendship and faithfull promise broken, he boldly told him, that it was the love he bare to his Wife Sophonisha, who onely had procured him to deal fo diffionourably with the ROMANS: howbeit, that he had fo financed for it, as all others might take example by him, and beware how they break their promise. And yet, that this was a great comfort to him in his extream Mafiniffa wan milery to fee that his mortal Enemy Mafiniffa was fo taken with that frenzy and mad humour, wherethe City of with he before was possessed. For after Syphax was overcome and taken, Massis a went into Craculta by the Chief City of the Parks that the chief City of the City of THA, the chief City of the Realm, the which he wan, and found Sophonubs there, with whom with Suphoniabs he fell in fancy: who, after the had finely wrapped him in with her decentual flatteries and kindness, King Sphax

he promifed her also to deliver her out of the ROMAN hands: and because he might the better

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When coinio was informed of perform his promise made, he took her to his Wise and married her. When Scipto was informed of thefe things, it grieved him marvelloully. For it was known to all men, that Syphax was overcome under the conduct, and through the ROMANS means: and therefore all that was belonging to Syphax, was at the disposition of the ROMANS. Wherefore if Massins had without Scipus confent, undertaken to defend Sophonisha's quarrell, then it appeared plainly, he despised the authorty of the Confull, and the majefty of the People of ROME. Furthermore, his filthy luft did aggravate his fault the more, the which feemed fo much more intolerable, by how much the continency of the ROMAN Confull was the greater, the which Mafiniffa faw daily before his eyes, and might have been a pattern and example unto him. For Scipio befides many other proofs and shews of his Ver-

ceived him very lovingly at his return to the Camp: yet afterwards notwithflanding, taking him

asside, he so sharply reproved him, that he made him know what it was to obey a moderate, and

also a severe Captain. Whereupon Masinissa went into his Tent and wept, and could not tell what way he should take: howbeit shortly after, perceiving that it was unpossible for him to keep pro-

The great and tues, in all places where he obtained Victory, he always kept the Women undefiled, which were taken rare continen- priloners. So Scipio being offended with Masinista, (though he shewed it not before company) to mife with Sophonisba, which grieved him to the heart : he fent her poyfon, and a meffage mile with approximately and for willingly made her felf away: Furthur-soptomiotapoy-more, the Carthaginians after they had received such wonderfull great losses and o- foned her felf. verthrows, one after another, perceiving that their affairs were brought to fuch a straight through Mass. and extremity, that they were no more to look after the enlarging of their Dominions, but niffa's procureonely to consider which way they might keep their own Countrey; they sent for Hannibal Hannibal sent to come out of ITATY. Who returning with great speed into Africk, before he did for into Italy, any thing else, he thought good first to talk with P. Scipio about peace : either because he to return into was afraid of the good fortune of this young man , or elfe for that he mistrusted he could not Africk. otherwise help his Countrey and Common-wealth, which he saw decaying and like to be destroved. Wherefore a place was appointed : where they might meet according to his defire : where when they were both met, they had long talk together about the ending of this war. In the end Scipio offered Hannibal fuch conditions of peace, that by them it appeared the RO-MANS were not weary of war, and that Scipio himself being a young man, had better hope to obtain victory, then great defire to hearken to peace. So, all hope of peace being fet afide, they brake off their talk, and the next morning two famous and worthy Captains of the most noble Nations that could be , prepared themselves to battell , either to give or take away in short time from their Common-weals, the Seigniory and Empire of all the world. The place where they employed all their force, and where this famous battell was fought, as it is reported, was by the City ZAMA: in the which the ROMANS being The battell at conquerours, did first make the Elephants flie, then the horsemen, and in the end brake so The battell at To a substitute of the footners, that they overthrew all the Army. It is reported, that there pit is forcely into the footners, that there pit is forcely into the footners and taken by the ROMANS above fourty thousand CARTHAGINIANS. Han the Suthaginibal fled out of the fury of the battell, and faved himself, though that day he had shewed nians. himself like a valiant and famous Captain. For at this battell he had set his Army in better The praise of order then ever he had done before, and had strengthened it both with the commodity of the Hannibal. place, and relief beside : and even in the very sury and terrour of the battell he so bestirred himself among his Souldiers, that the enemies themselves did commend and praise him for a noble Captain. After this victory, Scipio meeting with Vormina King Syphax fon, that brought aid to the CARTHAGINIANS, he put him to flight, and came and brought his Army to the Walls and haven of CARTHAGE, thinking (as indeed it fell out) that the CARTHA-GINIANS would fue to him for peace. For, as the CARTHAGINIANS before had been very good fouldiers, and ready to make wars: so were they now become timorous and fainthearted, specially when they saw their Generall Hannibal overcome, in whom they chiefly reposed all their hope and trust, for desence of their Countrey. Wherefore they being (as I have faid) out of heart, fent Ambaffadours unto Scipio, to pray him that according to his accustomed clemency, he would grant them peace. Now was great suit made at ROME, to have the Government of the Province of Africk and one of the new Confuls made hafte to come and make war, with fuch charge and preparation as was meet for his dignity and calling: and therefore Scipio doubting that another should carry away the glory for the ending of So great a war , he was the better contented to yeeld to the CARTHAGINIAN Ambaffadours requests. So the capitulation of the Articles of peace was offered unto the CARTHA-GINIANS, according to the conquerours mind : and befides all other things, the whole Fleet of all their Ships and Gallies (in the which their hope confifted much) were taken from them, For when the whole Fleet was burnt, it was such a lamentable fight unto them all, that there was no other thing but weeping and lamenting through the whole City, as if CAR-Five hundred THAGE had been destroyed and razed to the very ground. For as some do write, there Carthaginian were five hundred. Ships burnt of all forts. These things therefore should make us all beware barn by scripto. of humane frailty, the which we often forget in our prosperity. For they that before perraded themselves to conquer the world, after they had won so many great battels, and victories of the enemie, and in manner conquered all ITALY, and so valiantly besides besieged the City of ROME, were in short time after brought to such milery and extremity, that all their power and force being overcome, they had no more left them but the Walls of CAR-THAGE, and yet they were not fure to keep them, but through the speciall grace and favour of the enemy. After these things were done, Scipio by decree of the Senate, did not onely restore King Masinista to his Realm again, but also adding thereunto the best part of all King Syphax Countrey, they made him one of the mightieft Kings of all Africk: and afterwards he gave honourable gifts unto every man as he had deferved. In fine, after he had fet all the affairs of Africa at good flay, he brought his Army back again in Scipio's return to ITALY: at what time there came to Rome a world of people, to fee fo great and famous a Captain, returning from fuch wonderfull great victories. So he entred into ROME with pomp of triumph, Terintine Culeo following him with a hat on his head, because that Scipio's trithrough his favour and friendship he was taken out of bondage. Polybins writeth, that King for the Cartha-Syphax was led in triumph : howbeit some say he died before Scipio triumphed. Indeed divers ginians. that did triumph, some before him during the wars of the CARTHAGINIANS, and others afterwards in the wars of MACEDONIA and ASIA, they made greater shew of plate, both of gold and filver in their triumph, and led also a great number of prisoners:

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magnificent pomp of all others triumphs. For after Africk was conquered, no Nation

then was assaured to be overcome by the ROMANS. For he made this Province as it were

a bridge and open paffage to increase and enlarge the Empire of ROME, both in MACE-

DON, and also in Asia, and in other parts of the world besides. Now Scepie (whom I

AFRICAN Prince of the Senate: the which dignity was wont to be given to them onely, that

to the people of ROME, and they were marvelloufly offended with the Confuls for it,

because they took it, that increasing the honour of the state of the Senators, they thereby did discountenance and imbase them. Some say also, that Scipio African altermay rightly call African, after the conquest of Africk) being returned to Rome, he lacked no temporall dignities nor honours. For in the Counfell holden for the election Scipia and Je of Cenfors, although there were divers others of the nobleft houles of ROME that fued for that of lius Petus cho-fice , yet he himlelf , and Elius Petus were preferred before all the reft , and after they for Centions, steps Petine of were created Cenfors, they did govern in their Office like good men, and with good quiesthe Senare, nefs. Afterwards the Cenfors that followed them, did fitill one after another chufe Scipio

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obtained the type of all honour, through their great conquests and benefits done to their Countrey. Shortly after, he was again chosen Confull with Sempronius Longus, the son Scipio and Sem. of that Simpronius whom Hannibal overcame in that great overthrow, at the battell by the Supposnasem. Of utility of the control of the contr cholen Consuls Senators from the People, in the shew-place to see passime. This separation was very odious

wards repented himself that he had taken away the old custome, and brought in a new. At that time there fell out great variance betwith Massinisa and the Carthaginians, touching their borders and confines. Whereupon the Senate fent Scipio thither with two other Commissioners: who after they had heard the cause of their quarrell, they less the matter as ane crany counted of size they found it, and would proceed no further in it. And this they did, because that the Car-THAGINIANS being troubled with civill wars at home, should take upon them no other wars abroad, neither should have leisure to attempt any alteration otherwise. For the ROMANS had great war with King Anisochus, and Hamibal CARTHAGINIAN WS there with him , who ftill fittred up the old enemies against the ROMANS , and practifed to raise up new enemies against them, and in all things to counsell the CARTHAGINIANS 10 cast away the yoke of bondage, which the ROMANS had brought them into under the tide of peace, and to prove the friendfhir of the Kings. Howbeit shortly after, the ROMANS having obtained victory, and driven King Antiochus out of Greece, they intended allo to conquex Asia: and therefore all their hope was in Scipio African, as a man that was born to end wars of great importante. Howbeit Lucius Scipto and Cains Lalius were Confols, and either of them made fuit for the government of ASIA. The matter being confulted upon, the Senate flood doubtfull what judgement they should give, betwire two so famous men. Howbeit , because Lalin was in berter favour with the Senate , and in great estimation: the Senate began to take his part. But when F. Cornelius Scipio AFRICAN, the elder brother of Lucius Scipio, prayed the Senate that they would not diffuonour his house so, and told them that his brother had great vertues in him, and was belides very wife, and that he himself also would be his Lieutenant : he had no fooner spoken the words, but the Senators received him with great joy, and prefently did put them all out of doubt. So it was ordained in open Senate, that Lucius Scipio should go into Greece to make war with the ÆTOLIANS, and that from thence he should go into ASIA, if he thought good, to make war with King Antiochus: and affo that he should take his brother Scipio AFRICAN with him, because he should go against Hamibal, that was in Anisotons Army. Who can but wonder at the love and naturall affection of Publins Cornelius Scipio AFRICAN, the which he first shewed from his youth unto his father Cornelins, and afterwards also unto his brother Lucius Scipio, confidering the great things he had done? For, notwithstanding he was Africas to his choice Lucius sergio, connucring the great times had some I at a non-triumphed over the Carbrother Lucius that African by name that had overcome Hannibal, that had triumphed over the Carbrother Lucius Thacinians, and excelled all others in praife of Martiall discipline; yet of his own good nature he made himself inseriour to his younger brother, because he might have the honour of obtaining the Government of that Province from his fellow Confull Letius, that was so well beloved , and of great estimation. Lucius Scipie the Confidl brought great bonour to his Countrey by that war, for that he followed the found and faithfull counfell of his brother. For first of all going into GREECE, he took truce for fix moneths with the A-TOLIANS, through the advice of his brother African: who counfelled him, that fetting all things apart, be should straight go into Asia, where the war was rifest. Afterwards also he wan Prafias King of BYTHINIA from Antiochus friendship , who before was wavering up and down , doubtfull which fide to take , and all rhrough his brother A FRICANS means and practile. So the authority of the AFRICAN was very great, and all those that would obtain any thing of the Confull, came first to the AFRICAN to be that mean and interceffor. Now when he came into Asia, Antiachni Ambaffadours, and Hue clides BIZANTIAN, came unto him to offer to make peace, and after they had openly told their mellage, percelving that they could not obtain reasonable conditions of peace, they

privately talked with Scipio African, as they were commanded, and practifed the best they could to make him King Antiochus friend. For they told him, that Antiochus would fend his younger fon which he had taken, and furthermore that he would willingly make him his companion in the Government of all his Realm, onely referving the name and title of a King. Howbeit P. Scirio, excelling no less in faithfulness and bounty, then in many other vertues, after he had answered them to all other matters, he told them, that for his fon he would take him for a marvellous friendly gift : and that for a private good turn, he would do the best he could to requite him with the like : Howbeit, that he would counsell the King above all things to leave off thought of war, and to receive The fidelity those offers and conditions of peace which the Senate and people of ROME would offer him. Shortly and love of P: after, Antiochus lent P. Scipio his fon according to his promife: who (as it is reported) had been ta- Scipio to his ken prisoner from the first beginning of the war, as he went from CHALCIDE unto ORICUM: or Countrey. as other writers fay, as he paffed by in a pinnace. Yet fome hold opinion, that he was taken as he went to discover the counsell of the enemies, and that he was then sent again unto his father. Lying sick at the City of ELEA. This great courtefie of King Antiochus was marvellous well thought of by the AFRICAN, and not without cause: for to see his son after he had been away so long, it did greatly lighten his spirits, and diseased body. But P. Scipio to shew some token of a thankfull mind, prayed the Ambassadours that came unto him , greatly to thank King Antiochus for the exceeding pleasure he had done him, to fend him his fon. Alterwards he gave Antiochus advise also, that he should not give battell, till he understood of his return from Elea to the Camp. So Antichus being per-fiwaded by the authority of so worthy a man, he kept close in his Camp for a certain time, and determined to draw the war out at length, hoping in the end that he might come to speak with the Conful , by the AFRICANS means. But afterwards, the Confull camping hard by MAGNESIA, did so vex and provoke the Enemy, that the King came out to battell, and set his men in battel-rav. It is reported that Hannibal himself was present at the battell, being one of the Generals for the King. is reported that Trainmentation.

So Antio Abs being overcome, and his Army difconfitted, perceiving that there was no help in his affairs, he came unto the African (who being newly recovered of his fickness, came to the ing overcome, Camp a little after the field was won (and by his means obtained of the Conful to be contented to accepte th contalk of peace. When Antiochus Ambassadours were come to the Camp, and had humbly craved par- ditions of peace don in behalf of their King, and also prayed that they would give them such conditions of peace. as they best liked of : Scipio AFRICAN with the consent of them all answered them, that it was not the manner of the ROMANS to yeeld to adversity, neither also to be proud in prosperity: and therefore that he now made him the felf fame offer and conditions of peace, which he did before the victory. That the King should not meddle with Europe : that he should surrender up all he had in Asia, from the mountain Taurus unto the River of Tanais: That he should pay tribute twenty years together: that he should also put in such Hostages as the Consul would chuse out: and that specially above all the rest, they should deliver Hannibal CARTHAGINIAN unto the Conful, who was the onely author and procurer of this war. But he, as we have written in his life, perceiving that King Antiochus Army was overthrown both by sea and by land, escaped the ROMANS hands, and went unto Prusias King of BYTHINIA. Antiochus having accepted the offers and conditions of peace, faid, that the ROMANS used him very favourably, to rid him of so great a care, and to Great Kingappoint him so small a Kingdom. For great Kingdoms, and overmuch wealth which every man coveteth, are full of great and fundry troubles: infomuch that Theocritus words are as true, as other- of troubles. wife excellently written.

The things I wish are neither Wealth, nor Scepter, Robe, nor Crown, Nor yet of [wiftness and of strength to bear away renown: But finging with a merry heart in simple feed, to look A loof upon the troublous feas, that are fo hard to brook,

So when the mighty King of Asia was overcome, and that so great a war was so easily ended beyond all mens opinion : the Conful L. Scipio returned to ROME, and made his entry into the City, flowing a great and honourable triumph. He also deserveth the surname of the Province and Countrey tobdued by him. So that, as his eldest brother was called AFRICAN, for that he had conquered and Asian, for AFRICK: even fo was Lucius Scipio firnamed ASIAN, for conquering ASIA unto ROME, And his conquett of P. Scipio through whose counsell his brother Lucius had brought his wars to happy end, he went Alia P. Scipis through whole counted his brother Lucius had brought his wars to happy end, he went Aplian on clear without honour also. For shortly after, two noble Censors, T. Q. Flaminins, and Mar-T. Q. Flaminins on Claudium Marcellus chose him Prince of the Senate the third time. Now at that time, the house calling Centers, and samily of the Scipio's and Corntlians shourished with supreme degree of honour; and the author. The time of rity of Scipio AFRICAN was grown to fuch height and greatness, as no private man could wish the flourishing to be any greater in a free City. Howbeit the secret malice of wicked hearts, which could no longer of the Cornelii. abide his greater in a recently, began at length to burn four, and to light upon those that were the authors of fo great things. For two tribunes of the people, suborned (as it is reported) by Porcins worldly things. Cato, accused P. Scipio African for keeping back King Antiochin money, and because he Great men brought it not into the common Chamber or treasury. Scipio African knowing his innocency, most envied. being called by the magistrate, shewed himself obedient, and came into the Market-place with a bold countenance, and there made an Oration, declaring what things he had done for the benefit and commodity of his Countrey and Common-wealth. The rehearfal of these things did not millike the Hhhh 2

wherent against him, and spared no injurious words, but accused him as though he had indeed been in fault, howbeit upon suspition, rather then of any due proof. The next morning being command-

ed to come before them again, he appeared at the hour appointed, and being well accompanied with

his friends, he came through the whole aftembly, and went up to the Pulpit for Orations. When he saw

that every man kept filence, then he foake in this manner: I remember, my Lords, that on fuch a day as

this, I wan that famous victory of Hannibal and the CARTHAGINIANS, and therefore leaving a-

fide this contention, I think it good if I go to the Capitol, to give God thanks for the victory. So he

departed thence, and all the whole affembly followed him, not onely to the Capitol, but also to all the other Temples of the City, leaving the two Tribunes all alone with their Sergeants. That day was

the very last day of the AFRICANS good forume, for the great assembly and multitude of people

that waited upon him, and for the great good will they bare him. For from that day forward he de-

termined to get him into the Countrey, far from all ambition, and the company of the people; and

forward of his fo great fervice, and fo fun-

dry benefits, as he had brought into his Countrey, he received but shame and reproach: or else

for that indeed being (as he was) of a noble mind, he thought it more honour willingly to give place

to his enemies, then to feek to maintain his greatness by force of Arms. So when the Tribunes

did accuse him of contempt, and that his brother Luciu did excuse his absence by reason of his sick-

nels: Tiberins Gracebus, one of the Tribunes that was against the African, took his excuse

(beyond all mens opinions) for good payment, and did so well defend Scippo's cause, sometimes ho-

nourably praifing him, another time also threatning his enemies, that the Senate afterwards thanked him very greatly for it. For they were marvelloully offended for the great injury they did him. Some

do write that P. Scipio himfelf, before he went unto LINTERNUM, did with his own hands tear the book his brother had brought unto the Senate, to deliver the account of his charge; and tear the book his prother had prought unto the senate, to deliver the actions of instraine eld to that he did it not for any deceit or pride, but with that felf boldness of mind he aforetime that the did it not for any deceit or pride, but with that felf boldness of mind he aforetime that the treasurers, when he did against the law require the keys of the common treasurer, to supply

the present need of the State. Now some there be also that say, it was not the AFRICAN, but Seipio ASIAN that was accused before the Tribunes: and that Seipio AFRICAN was fent in Committion at that time into Thuscan. Who, understanding of his brothers accusation, at his return to ROME, and finding his brother Lucius condemned, and the Sergeants waiting on himto

carry him, being bound into prison, he was in such a rage withall, that he refcued his brother by force out of the Sergeants hands, and from the Tribunes of the people. And they report befide, that Tiberius Gracchus one of the Tribunes, complaining first that the authority of the Tribuneship was trode under feet by a private person, he asterwards letting fall all the malice and envy he bare unto the Scipio's, defended their caule, because the Tribunes should rather feem to beover-come by a Tribune, then by a private person. They said moreover, that the self same day the Science support in the Capitol, he perswaded the Aprican to let Tiberius Gracchus marry his young. er daughter. This promife was no fooner made, but Seipio coming home to his houle, told his wife that he had befrowed their daughter: whereupon she being angry, told him again, that he should not have married her without consent of her mother, though he could have bestowed her upon Theiring Gracchus. This answer liked Scipio marvellous well, when he saw that his wife was of his mind, touching the marriage of their daughter. I know it is thought of fome, that it was attributed to Tiberius the son, and to Appin Claudim his father in law. For Polybius, and other ancient writers affirm, that Cornelia, the mother of Caim and Tiberim Gracehi, was married unto Gracehu, after the Africans death. For Scipio African was married unto Amylia the daughter of L. Paulus o Emylisus Conful that was flain at the battle of CANNES. By her he had two daughters, of the which the eldest was married unto P. Cornelius Nasica, and the younger unto Tiberius Gracibus, either beiore or after the death of his father. Now touching his son, there is little mention made of him in writing, that a man may write of certainty to be true. We have spoken of his younger son that was taken by King Antiochin, and afterwards frankly fent unto his father : of whom not withflanding afterwards I find no mention in writing, faving that some say he was afterwards Prator, and that he came to this office by means of Cicereius his fathers Secretary. There appeareth in

writing also, that the younger African was adopted by the son of P. Scipio. Ciero in his book initialed Cato Major faith, how weak (faid he) was the fon of P. AFRICAN that adopted

thee his son? And in his sixt book also de repub. Aimylius the father exhorteth Scipio his son, so

HANNIBAL and SCIPIO.

909

himself witnesseth he faw. Furthermore, by CALETA this Epitaph was graven in a plate of Copperfer in a Marble Tomb.

> The man that vanquisht Hannibal, and conquer'd Carthage Town. And eke increast the Romans both in Empire and renown, Lies here a heap of dust and earth, hid underneath this stone : His deeds, his prowefs, and his life, are altogether gone, Whom neither Europe could withstand, nor Africk in times past, (Behold mans frailty) here he lies in little room at last.

The Epitaph of Scipio African, A CONTRACT OF THE PARTY OF THE

Now touching the time of his death, having made great fearch for it, I have found in certain Greek Authors, that the African lived four and lifty years, and died shortly after. Furthermore he was Scipio African a Noble Captain, and worthy of all commendation for Martial Discipline, and besides excelled in fifty four years other vertue: the which did so delight his mind, that he was wont to say, he was never less idle, then of his death, when he took his ease: neither less solitary, then when he was alone. For sometimes he would withdraw himself out of the Assembly, and from all mens company, and thought himself safe when he was alone. The fame of his noble Deeds was fo great, that wherefoever he went, all forts of people would come and fee him. The common report went, that when he was at LINTER NUM, there came certain Roversunto him, to fee fo famous a man, and to kifs that fo faithful and victorious a hand. For The power of Vertue hath great force and power with all forts of people; because it doth not onely make the good. Vertue. but the evil also to love and honour it.

THE COMPARISON OF

HANNIBAL with P. SCIPIO AFRICAN.



Ow let us Compare Hannibal and Scipio's Deeds together, as touching their Civil Discipline. First, if we remember their Deeds in Wars, it is manifest, that both of them have been great and famous Captains in War, and that they have not onely been comparable with the Noblest Kings and Princes in their time (being also in that age when Wars flourished most) but with those that were before their time. One thing maketh me wonder at them, that they having great and heavy enemies in their Countrey (who fought to overthrow all their doings and enterprizes) could possibly go through with so great matters, and to

obtain such happy and famous Victories, in strange and forraign Wars. Therefore passing over all other matters, what ado had Publius Scipio before he could obtain to be fent into Africk, to make War with the CARTHAGINIANS? Fabius Maximus, and other Noblemen of the City greatly againft it. Again, what enemy had Hannibal of Hanno, who was Prince and head of the contrary faction against him? Now they both having overcome such great troubles at home, did not withstanding bring things to end worthy perpetual memory; not by chance, as it happeneth unto many; but through their industry, great wildom, and counsell. So divers do wonder greatly at Hannibal's cou-

The last fortunate day of Scipio from

Ronge.

Tribune.

follow justice and piety, as his grandfather Seipio AFRICAN had done. And touching the death of P. Scipio African, writers do diversly vary: for some say, that he died and was buried at ROME. And for proof thereof, they do bring forth the monument that was fet up for him by the Divers opinigate Capena, over the which stood three statues or images, two whereof were the images of Publiss ons touching and Lucius Scipio, and the third was of Q. Ennius the Poet. And furely that which Cicero wrote the death of feemeth to confirm it true : our Enniut, faid he, was marvelloully beloved of African the great, Scitio. Statues of the and therefore it is thought that he was buried in Scipio's Tomb. Other authors write also (and furetwo Scipio's Poet, by the gate Capena at ly they agree best with the common report) that Scipio African died at Linternum, and that there he was buried at his own appointment: because his Countrey so unthankfully acknowledg-Scipio African ing his fervice, should do him no honour at his death: and that there they fet him up a Tomb, and died at Limits his flame upon that, the which afterwards was blown down by a tempest of wind, and the which Limits him.

rage and noble mind: who after he had facked the City of SA GUNTUS, came boldly from the fartheft part of the world into ITALY, and brought with him a great Army of Footmen and Horsemen, and came to make War with a great State and Commonwealth, the which his predeceffors always dreaded : and after he had won many Battles, and slain fundry Consuls and Captains of the ROMANS, he came and Camped hard by the City of ROME it felf, and procured strange Kings and far Nations to make War with the ROMANS. He that was able to do fo great things as thefe, men cannot otherwife think of him but that he was a great and valiant Captain. Others also speaking of Scipio, do greatly praife and commend him for the four Chieftains he overcame, and for the four great Armies which he defeated and put to flight in SPAIN, and also for that he overcame, and took that great? King Syphax prisoner. In fine, they come to praise that famous Battle, in the which Scipio overcame Hannibal at ZAMA. For if Fabiss (faid they) were praifed, because he was not overcome by Hannibal, what estimation will they make of the African, who in a pitched Battle overcame that fo famous and dreadfull Captain Hannibal, and also did end so dangerous a War? Besides also that Scipio did always make open War, and commonly fought with the Enemy in plain field : where Hannibal in contrary manner did always use craft and subtility, and was full of stratagems and policy. And therefore all Authors, both Greek and Latine, do count him very fine and fubtle. Furthermore, they greatly commend Hannibal for that he maintained this Army of fo fundry Nations, fo long time in peace, as he had War with the ROMANS: and yet that there was never any mutiny or rebellion in his Camp. On the other fide, they blame him again, because he did not follow his Victory, when he had overcome the ROMANS at that famous Battle of CANNES: and also because he spoiled his souldiers with too much ease, and the pleasures of Can-PANIA and A Pulla, whereby they were fo changed, that they feemed to be other fouldiers then those that had overcome the ROMANS, at the fundry Battles of TREBIA, THRASIMENE, and CANNES. All Writers do reprove these things in Hannibal, but specially his cruelty. For amongst other things, what cruelty was it of him to make a Woman with her Children to come from ARP1 to his Camp, and afterwards to burn them alive? What shall a man say of them whom he cruelly put to death in the Temple of Juno Lacinia, when he departed out of ITALY? For Scipio African on the other fide, if we shall rather credit the best Authors that write, then a number of other detracters and malicious Writers, we may fay, he was a bountifull and temperate Captain, and not onely lively and valiant in fight, but also courteous and mercifull after victory. For oftentimes his enemies proved his valiantness, the vanquished his mercy and clemency, and all other men his faithfulnels. Now therefore, let us tell you what his continence and liberality was, which he shewed in SPAIN unto a young Lady taken prisoner, and unto Luceim Prince of the CELTIBERIANS: doth it not deserve great praise? Now for their private doings, they were both vertuoully brought up, and both of them embraced Learned men. For as it is reported, Hannibal was very familiar with Socillus LACEDEMONIAN, as the AFRICAN was with Emina the Poet. Some fay also, that Hannibal was so well Learned in the Greek Tongue, that he wrote an History in Greek, touching the deeds of Manling Volfo. Now truly I do agree with Cierro, Phornio Peri- that faid in his Book, de Oratore, that Hannibal heard Phornio PERIPATETICIAN in EPHEpateticism read-ing Philosophy tiall laws and ordinances: and that immediately after being asked what he thought of that Philosophy tiall laws and ordinances: and that immediately after being asked what he thought of that Philosophy pher, he should answer in no very persect Greek, but yet in Greek, that he had seen many old doing fools, but that he had never feen a greater doter then Phormio. Furthermore, both of them had an excellent grace in their talk, and Hannibal had a sharp taunting wit in his answers. When King Antiochim on a time prepared to make War with the ROMANS, and had put his Army into

the field, not fo well furnished with Armour and Weapon, as with Gold and filver : he asked Han-Homibal's wis nibal if he thought his Army fufficient for the ROMANS, Yea Sir, quoth he, that they be, were the ry answer unto enemies never so coverous. This may truly be said of Hannibal, that he obtained many great wictors answer ries in the Wars, but yet they turned to the destruction of his Countrey. Scipio in contrary manner did preferve his Countrey in fuch fatery, and also did so much encrease the dominions thereof, that as many as shall look into his deferts, they cannot but call Rom B unthankfull, which liked rather that the African (preferver of the City) should go out of Rome, then that they should reprefs the fury and infolency of a few. And for mine own opinion, I cannot think well of that City, that to unthankfully hath fuffered to worthy and innocent a person to be injured: and to would I also have thought it more blame worthy, if the City had been an aider of the injury offered him. In fine, the Senate (as all men do report) gave great thanks unto Tiberisu Gracebus, because he did defend the Scipio's cause: and the common people also following the AFRICAN, when he visited the Temples of ROME, and left the Tribunes alone that accused him, did thereby shew how much they did love and honour the name of the Scipio's. And therefore, if we should judge the Citizens hearts and good wills by those things, men would rather condemn them for cowards to have fuffered fuch outrage, then unthankfull for forgetting his benefits: for there were very few that consented to so wicked a deed, and all of them in manner were very forry for it. Howbeit Scipio, that was a man of great mind, not much regarding the malice of his enemies, was content rather to leave the City, then by Civil Wars to destroy it. For he would not come against his Countrey with Enfigns difplayed, neither would he follicite strange Nations and mighty Kings to come with force and their aid to destroy the City, the which he had beautified with so many spoils and triumphs, as Martim Coriolanm, Alcibiades, and divers others did, by record of ancient ftories.

For we may eafily perceive how carefull he was to preferve the liberty of ROME, because when he was in SPAIN, he refused the title and name of King which was offered him: and for that he was marvellous angry with the people of Rome, because they would have made him perpetual Consul and Dictator: and confidering also that he commanded they should fet up no statue of him, neither in the place of the Affembly, nor in the judgement feat, nor in the Capitol: all which honours afterwards were given by the Citizens unto Cafar, that had overcome Pompey. These were the civil vertues of the A-FRICAN, which were great and true praises of continency. Now therefore, to deliver you the sum and effect of these things, these two so famous Captains are not so much to be compared together in their civil Vertues (in the which Scipio chiefly excelled) as in the Discipline of Wars, and in the glory of their famous Victories. To conclude, their deaths were fomewhat alike : for they both died out of their Countreys, although Scipio was not condemned by his Countrey as Hannibal was, but would by voluntary banishment die out of the City.

The end of Plutarch's Lives.

THE

LIVES

0 I

EPAMINONDAS,

O F

PHILIP of MACEDON,

O F

DIONYSIUS the Elder,

And of

OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS.

Collected out of good Authors.

ALSO

The LIVES of nine Excellent CHIEFTAINS of WAR, taken out of Latin from EMYLIUS PROBUS, By S. G.S.

By whom also are added

The LIVES of PLUTARCH

And of

SENECA;

Gathered together, Disposed, and Enriched as the others.

And now translated into English by Sir Thomas North, Knight.

CAMBRIDGE,

Printed by f. Hages, Printer to the UNIVERSITY, M. DC. LXXV.

Most High and Mighey Princess

ELIZABETH,

By the Grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queen Defender of the Faith, &c.

> HE Princely Bounty of your bleffed hand (most gracious Soveraign) comforting, and supporting my poor old decaying Life, of right challengeth the travels in my Study, the labours of my Body, and the prayers of my devotions, to be wholly imployed for your Highness,

& altogether dedicated to your service. Wherein whilest I strive to bring in open shew some small performance of my most humble da-

ty to your Sacred Majefty, mine own unworthiness amazeth me with trembling fear for my prejumption, but that your Highness matchless grace to so many your most admirable Vertues of. fered my pardon. Under which I present in all humbleness into your Majesties sacred hands, this my second Translation of the late Addition of fifteen other Lives, unto those former in Plutarch, published for the benefit of my Countrey, under protection of the most Royal name of your most Gracious Majesty. And albeit in respect of my self I offer but duty, which I wish I could in other and better fort performe: Yet I am the rather emboldened herein, for that the famous memory of renowned Emperours, mighty Kings, worthy Chieftains and Generals of Armies yea and of two famous Philosophers Plutarch and Seneca, being the whole subject of this second Translation, is worthily published under your Majesties patronage. Whose rare Vertues and wonderful wisedome, neither former mighty Kings, nor Learned Philosophers might equall; from whose blessed fortunes many oppressed Kings and distressed Kingdoms, have sought and found their suc-

ered regilier, Migoled, and the first set se See 113, 14:29 and 17,18:29 And the cranflated and English by St. Thromas Share of Ma

ROUSESMED

Market to Market State to the Propagator of the

cours; and whose most honourable and most happy peaceable

Government is the worlds wonder to all posterity.

Wherefore most Gracious and most Blessed Soveraign, I befeech your Princely favour to accept with Grace the simple performance of your poor unworthy servant his most humble service, whose foul with hearty prayer according to his most bounden duty, continually calleth unto God for prefervation of your most Royal Per-fon, in all bonour, health, and happiness, and so still to reign over us.

Your Majesties most humble

and obedient servant,

THOMAS NORTH.

THE

THE

EPAMINONDAS.



Ann. Mund.

Ant . Christ.

O onely like thy felf, the world always Admireth thy great valour, grace and wit: And thinking to have all good pares in it, By having thee, trimmpheth in thy praise.



Riters of Histories report that Cadmus the fon of Agenor having taken sea CUR of PHOENICIA into EUROPE, by commandment of an Oracle he left the Country of THRACIA where he had dwelt, and came into BOEOTIA, where

Countrey of Thracia where he had dwelt, and came into Bosotia, where he had great doings against a certain neighbour-peoplecalled Spartans: of the had great doings against a certain neighbour-peoplecalled Spartans: of which the had great doings against a certain neighbour-peoplecalled Spartans: of the had great of the had great member of the had a great number of the had a great number of worthy men of noble race descended from them. Of which some of them were very rich men, and attained to the tipe of royal dignity: as Cress and fonely. Now because they were divided into two principal bouse, it is hard to judge out of which of the two samilies of the Chronians or Echionidats, Polymonis the father of Epomismalas was descended. Some are of opinion that he came out of the bouse of another chief man of the Spartans, called Uleus, from whom descended the divine Epomismals of the Month of the two families of the most noble and ancient house of the nobly descended.

Herrans, but howsever it was, he descended from one of the most part of this noble lineage care. THERAMS, of whom they report this notable thing : that the most part of this noble lineage car-ried upon their body even for a naturall birth-mark from their mothers womb, a Snake : and fo

of the Poet Euripides to be true: that the honour of noble houses falleth to decay, if once their goods

fail them. For the poverty whereof some of Epaminondas ancestors made profession of vertue. feemed to be the cause that they were made small account of. Otherwise I cannot allow that the faid Poet spake of, that a noble and vertuous man is no body if he be poor. For one Epaminondas onely throughly confuted this opinion, who norwithstanding he was exceeding poor, obtained nevertheless the chiefest places of honour in the Commonwealth: for he was one of the best learned and most excellent Philosophers of the world, being Plato's follower and familiar, and the most renowned Palymnisfather man of all the GREEKS, as appeareth by the discourse of his life. Now Polymnis had two sons, responses to wit, Caphissa, and Epaminondas, whom he was very carefull to see well brought up and taught all Epuninondas the liberal and honest Sciences, especially Epaminondas, who had the most stayed wir, and best inhisvertuous in clined to vertue, defirous to hearken and to learn, humble, obedient, and wonderfull apt and docible clination in his and according to the discipline of the THEBANS, he learned of one Dionysius to be very skilfull in fong and playing upon inftruments. And as for learning, and in Philosophy chiefly, in happened well for him that he fell into good mens hands by such a mean. When the Colledges and Companies of the Pythagorian Philosophers that were dispersed through the Cities of Ixa-LY, were banished by the faction of the Cylonians: they that kept still together, met in Councill at METAPONT to determine of affairs. But some seditious persons arose against them, set fire on all parts of the house where they were, and burnt them all together, faving Philadaus and Lafis, who being young and lufty, faved themselves through the fire. As for Phillam, he recovered the Countrey of the Lucanians, and kept there with his friends : but Lyfu went further, and got to THEBES, where when he was arrived, Polymnia received bim, and prayed him Lifts a good to be Eparation and Schoolmafter, who was arrived, Feynman received bim, and prayed him thou and to be Eparation and Schoolmafter, who was but a young boy, but lyet of good capacity, and of thou analyte wery great hope. This Philosopher imployed his endeavour to manure this noble and quick wit of Epitaton 18. Epaminondas, and in short time made him ready and perfect in all Science and Vertue: forther it is hard to find a more Wife, Grave, and Vertuous person then he was, of whom it is fit we Eppuinondas stould say somewhat more at large. When he was but fifteen years of age, he gave himself in exercities in the first and the state of the body, as to run, wrettle, play at the weapons, and to practice all panners of arms: and being quickly skifull in all thefe, he then gave himself to his book, being manurally filent, fearfull to fpeak, but never wearied to hear; and to learn. Whereupon Spindswitton in. speaking little ras the TARENTINE having been a long time with him in TREBES, faid, he never spake to any man that knew fo much and spake fo little as Epaminondas. If he fortuned to be in any company

where there was talk of Philosophy, or of State matters, he would never from thence fill he take the matter ended that was propounded. Furthermore, he had no great liking of these dark and my-ficial arguments of some, that think to hide vertue in the observing of their words, but he gave himfelf wholly to the true practife thereof: though otherwise he was as pleasant a man to give a fine flent in discourse, ascould be possible to be found, as the disputation betweet him and Theaver, touching poverty and riches doth witness, which worthily deferment to be mentioped here, as in his proper place. Lysis after he had lived a long time in Thebes, died, and was honourably interred by his disciple Epaninondas, who had honoured and entertained him whilest he lived, and at his death omitted no ceremonies requisite at his funerall. Arcesus, one of the chief of the Pythagorian Philosophers that stayed in Sicilia, understanding that Lysis was at Thebes, through age not able to go to him: appointed by his will and testament, that they should bring Lysis alive again into ITALY if it were positible, or at leastwise the rest of his bones, if so it happened he were dead. The Wars that sell out in the interim were a hindrance, that that could not be done fo speedily. But when the ways were open and free, the Pythagorians fent Theanor of their fect to THEBES, where he found Lyfi dead and buried : and so coming to Epaminondas, after falutations and preambles, told him before Polymnis

Epanisondas contentment with a poor

and Caphifias, that his companions which were very rich, willed him to give Polymnia and his children a good fum of money, in recompence of their courteous entertainment which they had given to Lysis. Whereupon after pleasant excuses made, Epaminondas concluded, that none could be received : and added further that Jason a Captain of the THESSALLEANS thought I had given him a rude and uncivil answer, when he having earnestly entreated me to take a good sum of gold which he gave me, I fent him word that he did me wrong, and began to make War with me : for that he aspiring to make himself a Lord, would corrupt me with money, a plain Citizen of a free Town, and living under the Law. But for thee, Theanor, I commend thy good will, because it is honest and vertuous, and I love it with all my beart : but I tell thee, thou bringest physick to men that be not sick. Admit then that thou hearing we had been in Wars, haddelt brought us Arms to defend us, and then in the same place thou haddest found us quiet, and in good peace and amity with our neighbours: thou woulded not have thought it good to have bestowed these Arms, and left them with those that had no need of them. Even to thou art come to relieve our poverty, as if it were a grief unto us; whereas to the contrary in is an eafte and pleafant thing for to us carry, and we are glad we have it in our house, amongst us; and therefore we need no Arms nor money against that that doth us no hurt at all & But thou shalt sell thy bectaren there, that they do use their goods very bonefely: and also that they have friends here which use their poverty well. And as for Lysis entertainment and burial, he himself hath fully recompened us, having taught us amongst many other goodly things, not to be afraid of poverty, nur to be

grieved to fee it amongst us. After Theanor had made some reply touching the good or evil of riches, as that if poverty were not evil of it felf, neither were riches to be had in contempt, and definited No truely, faid Epaminondas: yet confidering with my felf that we have a world of covetous defires of many things, some naturall as they call them, and born with us, bred in our flesh by the lufts pertaining to it: others strangeunto us, grounded upon vain opinions, which taking a fetling and habit in us by tract of time, and long use through evil education, oftentimes do pluck us down, and withdraw our fouls with more force and violence, then those that be natural unto us. For reason, by daily exercise of vertue and practise thereof, is a mean to take many of those things away from us that are born and bred within us : yet this notwithstanding, we must use continuall force and exercise against our concupiscences that are strangers unto us, to quench them in us, and by all possible means to repress and subdue them. Now having made sufficient proof of that, there is also, faid he, an exercise of Justice against greedy covetousness of getting, which is not, to go rob and rifle his neighbours houses in the night, nor to rob men on the high way side, nor if any man betray his friends or his Countrey for money: fuch a one doth not exercise himself against covetousnels, for law possibly, or fear, bridleth this covetous desire to offend any man: but that man that oftentimes willingly abstaineth from just gains, which he may lawfully take, he it is that by continuall exercise keepeth himself far off from unjust and unlawfull taking of money. For it is unpossible that in great pleasures, yea wicked and dangerous, the foul should contain it felf from coveting of them, unless before being oftentimes at his choice to use them, he had not contemned them. And it is not easie to overcome them, nor to resule great riches evil gotten being offered, unless he had long before killed in him this covetous desire of getting, the which besides many other habitudes and actions, is still greedily bent shamefully to gain, pleasing himself in the pursuit of injustice, hardly sparing to wrong another, so he in any thing profit himself. But to a man that disdaineth to receive liberality and gifts of his friends, and resuseth to take prefents offered him by Kings, and that hath rejected the benefits of fortune, putting by all covetous delires of gliftering treasure layed before him: he shall never be assailed or attempted to do that that is unjust, nor his mind shall never be troubled, but will content himself quietly to do any thing that is honest, carrying an upright heart, finding nothing in it but that that is good and commend-

But his life is far more excellent then his discourse: and as touching that, I will yet speak somewhat of it. Diomedon Dyzicenian, at Artaxerxes request, promised to win Epaminondat to take the PERSIANS part. To bring this to pass, he came to THEBES, and brought a great masse of gold with him, and bestowing three thousand crowns, he bribed a young man called Mycithus; whom Epaminondas loved dearly. This young man went to Epaminondas, and acquainted him with the occasion of the other mans coming to THEBES. But Epaminondas straight answered him, Diomedon being present: I have no need of money: if the King wish well to the THEBANS, I am at Epiminonias his commandment without taking one penny: if he have any other meaning, he hath not gold nor would not be filver enough for me: for I will not fell the love I bear to my Countrey for all the gold in the world. won by bribes As for thee that haft now attempted me, not knowing me, haply thinking me to be like thy felf, I weake part pardon thee; but get thee away quickly out of the City, left thou feduce fome other, having failed met. to corrupt me. And for thee Mycuthus, deliver him his crowns again: and if thou doeft it not presently, I will send thee before a Justice. Thereupon Diomedon befought him he would let him go away with safety, and carry that with him he brought thither. Yes marry, said Epaminondas, but it shall not be for thy sake, but for mine honour: being afraid that if thy gold and filver should be taken from thee, some man would accuse me that I had a share in that which I resused to take openly. Then he asked him: Whither wouldest thou I should cause thee to be conveyed? Diomedon said to A-THENS: which was done, and he had a very good convoy with him: and because he should not be troubled by the way betwixt the gates of THEBES, and the haven where he should imbark himself, Epaminondas gave Chabrias the ATHENIAN charge of this man, that he should see him safe at his

ways end, and fo he straight returned back again.

Now though he was very poor, yet he would never take any thing of his City or friends, he was so well acquainted with poverty, which he bare more patiently through his study of Philosophy. For on a time having the leading of an Army of the THEBANS into the Countrey of PELOPON-NESUS, he borrowed above five crowns of a Citizen for his expences in his journey. Pelopidas being a man of great wealth, and his exceeding good friend, could not possibly ever make him take any part of his goods, but rather Pelopidas learned of him to love poverty. For Epaminondas taught Fountainendas him to think it an honour to him to go plainly apparelled, to eat moderately, to take pains willingly, his temperance and to make War lustily. But to relieve others, he would make bold to use his friends goods, in apparell and and in such a case their goods were common to him. If any of his Citizens were taken prisoners die with the enemy, or any friend of his had a daughter to be married, and was not able to befrow her: Epaninondae he called his friends together, and feffed every man of them at a certain fum, and afterwards foners, and brought him before them that should have this money, and told him how much every man had be-matried poor flowed upon him, that he might thank them all. But on a time he went far beyond this: for he fent maids. a poor friend of his to a rich Citizen of THEBES, to ask of him fix hundred Crowns, and to tell him that Epaminondas willed him to let him have them. The Citizen being amazed at this demand, went unto Epaminondas to know what he meant to charge him so deeply, to make him disburle these six hundred Crowns unto him. It is, saith he, because this man being an honest man,

Enaminondas his strict life a check to the Thebans.

of friendship herween E34-

is poor : and thou that haft robbed the Commonwealth of much, art rich. He lived to foberly, and was fuch an enemy unto all fuperfluity and excefs, that being on a time invited to supper to one of was nutran enemy man an imperious and access, and design and a many of the first his neighbours, when he faw a great preparation of fine meats, baked meats, made diffus, and perhis neighbours, when he faw a great preparation of fine meats, baked meats, made diffuse and perhis neighbours, when he faw a great preparation of fine meats, baked meats, made diffuse and perhis neighbours, when he faw a great preparation of fine meats, baked meats, made diffuse and perhis neighbours, when he faw a great preparation of fine meats, baked meats, made diffuse and perhis neighbours, when he faw a great preparation of fine meats, baked meats, made diffuse and perhis neighbours, when he faw a great preparation of fine meats, baked meats, made diffuse and perhis neighbours, which is not the faw a great preparation of fine meats, baked meats, made diffuse and perhis neighbours, fumes: he faid unto him: I thought thou hadft made a facrifice, not an excels of superfluity, and even fo went his way. Even the like he fpake of his own table, faying, that fuch an ordinary never received treason. On a time being at a feast with his peers and companions, he drank vinegar, And when they asked him what reason he had to do fo, and if it were good for his health? I cannot tell, faith he, but well I wot, it is good to put me in remembrance how I live at home. Now it was not for that his nature milliked fweet meats, that he lived thus frieldly, and did love and embrace poverty, for he was marvellous high and nobly minded: but by his ftraight and unreproveable life, he led, he thought to bridle many infolencies and diforders then reigning amongst the THEBANS, and to reduce them to the former temperance of their anceftors. As upon a time a Cook giving up an account to him and his fellows of their ordinary expences for certain days, he could find tault an account to min and my knows of their values of the discompanions marvelling at it. Tuth, with nothing, but with the quantity of oil that was spent. His companions marvelling at it. Tuth, faith he, it is not the expence that offendeth me, but because they have poured in fo much oil into their bodies. The City of THEBES made an open feast, and they were all of them in their ban-Epaminondas of quets, feafts, and great affemblies one with the other: but Epaminondas to the contrary, be went dry up and down the Town very lad, without being anointed with any oil of perfume, or decked with brave apparell. Some of his familiar friends met him in this effate, and wondering at him, asked him why he walked so alone, and ill apparelled through the City? Because, said he, you might in the mean time fafely give your felves to drink drunk, and make merry, taking thought for nothing. Thus have we spoken enough touching his temperance: and as for his other vertues they are most famous in arms, the which he with great good fortune and happiness managed for the good of his Now his modesty would in no wife suffer him to seek his advancement, but contrariwise he with drew himfelf from Government, onely to give himfelf quietly to the fludy of Philofophy. Howbe-

it it happened that the LACEDAMONIANS On a time prayed aid of the THEBANS, at that time being in league with them, who fent them certain foot-bands. Epaminondas being about five and thirty years of age, armed himfelf, and went with the rest. Then it was that that friendship began betwixt Pelopida; and him, which conftantly continued even to the end. For they being both in battleray, the one by the other, against the ARCADIANS, whom they had in front against them in the plain of MANTINEA, it chanced that one of the points of the battle of the LACEDEMONIANS, in the which they were, retired, and many of them left their ranks: but they being refolute, determining rather to die then to fly, flood to it like men, untill that Pelopidas being hurt in feven place, fell down upon an heap of dead bodies: then Epaminondas though he took him to be but adea man, stepped manfully before him to defend his Body and Arms, and he alone fought against many, resolved to die in the place, rather then to leave Pelopidas among the dead men, until that himself being thrust into the breft with a pike and wounded in the arm with a blow of a sword (ready to give over) by good fortune, and in a happy time, King Agefipolis came on with the other point of the battle : and faved them both. Afterwards the LACEDEMONIANS finely wan the Cafile of THERE Called CADMEA, put in a strong Garison there, and gave the Government of the City unto Archias, Philippus, and Leomidas, authors of all the milchief. Whereupon to avoid their violence, Pelopidas and many others with speed fled and saved themselves, and were banished by found of Trumper. And as for Epaminondas, they faid nothing to him, but let him alone in the City: for he was contemned as a man of no reckoning, because he was so given to his book; and if he should have had any will to have stirred against them, he could have done them no hurt for his poverty. Now whileft Pelopidas and his companions being at ATHENS, had laid a plot to free Practice, There's, Epaminondas making no fhew of any thing, had long before devifed another practice, which was, to lift up the hearts and courage of the young men of THEBES. For when they went out to play and exercise their bodies, he always found a way to make them wreftle with the Lacs-DEMONIANS. Afterwards when he faw the LACEDEMONIANS fiercely throw them and give them shrewd falls, they being the stronger, he rebuked the THEBANS, and rold them, it was a shame for them for want of courage to fuffer the LACEDEMONIANS to set their feet upon their throats, that were not half to ftrong, rough, and boifterous as they were. All this while Pelopida and his followers went on with their complot, and they had fo good fuccess in their purpose, that one night they got privily into the City of THBBE, and met at Charons house, where they were to the number of eight and forty. Epaminondas knew all well enough, and some towards night to king him afide, went about to perswade him to joyn with them in this enterprise, and to take arms with them to fer upon these tyrants: marvelling much, that he would be so backward, the liberty of his Countrey standing upon it. He answered, that he had taken order with his friends and Gorgidas, that they should put themselves in readines upon any occasion; howbeit that he would put none of his Citizens to death, unlefs they were condemned by law: yet if you will make an fent to bloody attempt for delivery of the City, so it be without murther, and shedding the blood of the Citi-Zens, I will help you (faid he) with all my heart. If you will not believe me, but perfevere in your determination, I pray you let me alone, pure and undefiled with the blood of my Citizens, and fo blameles to attend occasion, whereby I may justly take hold of that which may turn to the good of the Commonwealth: for the murther that will be committed, cannot possibly be contained EPAMINONDAS.

within reasonable bound. I do certainly believe that Pherecides and Pelopidas peradventure will specially fet upon the authors of the Tyranny: but Eumolpidas and Samiadas, both cholerick and fierce men, taking the liberty of the night, they will never lay down their Arms, nor put their fwords up into their sheaths, before they have filled all the City with murthers, and slain divers of the chief personages. Moreover, it is very convenient for the people of THEBES, that some be left free, and blamelels of this murther, and guiltless of all that shall be done in this fury of action : for so the people shall least suspect that we give any encouragement to their rising, although to good end. Notwithfranding all this the enterprise was executed, and the Tyranis put to death, the City restored to her The Tyranis ancient liberty, and the Castle of CADMEA rendred up by composition, and Lyfandridas the LA- of The bes slain. CEDEMONIAN, and other commanders within, fuffered to depart, with fafety of their goods and and the City

These were the beginnings of the long Wars of the LACEDEMONIANS against the THE-BANS, with whom the ATHENIANS joyned in league. For Epaminondas, he quietly gave himself to his book : notwithstanding he was put forward by Pammenes , a principal man of THERES, and he began to follow the Wars very hotly, and in divers encounters made great proof of his wisdom, hardiness and valour: insomuch that by degrees he attained at the length to the highest charges of Government in the Commonwealth. And his Citizens having made no Entremonter further reckoning of him, being a man of fourty years old: after that they came to know him, attained to the and had trufted him with their Army, he faved the City of THEBES that was like to have been highest degree and nad trutted film with their Army, he laved the City of These's that was not to have been of government, undone, and freed all Greece from the fervitude and bondage of the LACEDÆMONIANS: ma
Epitoni-onlist king vertue as in a clear light thine with glory, thewing her effects when time ferveth. Furthermore, freed Gretce Agefilam being entred into Bo BOTIA with an Army of twenty thousand footmen, and five thou- from fervitude fand horse, preyed and spoiled all the plain Countrey, and presented the THEBANS in open field that which they would not accept, finding themselves the weaker: howbeit they defended themselves defend themselves fo well, through the aid of the ATHENIANS, and of the wife conduction of Epaminondas and Pe- felves against lopidas, that Agefilam returned home with his Army. But after he was gone, the THEBANS went Agefilans, and with their Troops before the City of THESPIES, where they surprised and put to the sword two are revenged hundred men of the Garison, and afterwards gave diversassaults one upon another unto the Wall; on him. and feeing their labour loft, they returned with their Army back again to THEBES. Howbeit Phæ- Phæbidus and bidas the LACEDEMONIAN, he that had taken the Castle of CADMEA by treason (whereupon five hundred role all this War that followed) and was then Governour of Thespies, made a fally out of the of his men Town, and rashly went to give a charge upon the THEBANS in their retreat, where he lost five slain. hundred of his men, and himself was slain in the field. Not long after, the LACEDEMONIANS with the felf fame power returned again to make War with the THEBANS, who having won certain streights and places of advantage, so blocked up the way, as they could not over-run the Countrey, and spoil it as they had done before. Nevertheles, Ageplam had so harried and troubled them, that by little and little they came to a main battle, which held very long and cruel. Now though Agefilam at the first had the better, yet the THEBANS charged him so hotly, that at the length he himself was hurt, and constrained to retire, being well payed for teaching the Thebans military discipline. And this was the first time that the THEBANS knew themselves to be as strong and The . nebans lufty as the LACEDEMONIANS: whereupon they triumphed in fign of victory, and from that time having repulfforwards they waxed more couragious to make head against the enemy, and to present them battle. do trium; h. But the onely thing that did most encourage them, was the presence of Epaminondas, who coun- Epaminonias felled, commanded, and executed very wifely, valiantly, and most fortunately. A certain time af- a good Captain ter that, they went with a great number of good cholen men before ORCHOMENE, where they prevailed not, because there was a strong Garison of the LACEDAMONIANS, that sallied out upon them to give them battle, which was very sharp between them. And yet, albeit the LACEDA-MONIANS were many against one, the THEBANS gave them the overthrow, which never happened to them before: but what Nation foever they had been, they thought they had done a great feat, if with a greater number by many, they had overcome a small number of the LACEDEMO- A second vi-NIANS. Eut this victory, and the encountring of TEGYRE, where the THEBANS obtained anoReconstruction of the reconstruction of the property of the there is the reconstruction of the property of the there is a superconstruction of the property of the pro famous then before.

The next year following, Artaxerxes King of Persia, meaning to make War in E-GYPT, and therefore to retain divers strangers determined to appeale the Wars against the GREEKS, in hope that they being at Peace, would more eafily be contented that fouldiers should be levied in their Countrey: and thereupon sent his Ambassadors to all the Towns of GREECE, to perswade and intreat them to be at peace together. The GREEKS were very willing to hearken unto it, being wearied of all fides with fo long a War, All ortest; and were eafily drawn to treat of peace: whereby it was especially agreed and concluded, that save the Theall the Cities of GREECE should be free and use their own laws; and Commissioners were bans, make fent all about to withdraw the Garifons in every place where any was kept. Unto this the peace withthe THEBANS onely refused to agree, that every Town should by it self severally capitulate this treaty, requesting that the Towns in the Countrey of BOEOTIA should be comprehended under the City of THERES. Thereunto the ATHENIANS mightily opposed themselves, and there was one of their Orators called Calliffratus, that touching this matter made a notable Oration before the Affembly of the States of GREECE. And Epaminondas on the other

Epaminondas maketh a notable O: ation in the detence of his Countries right. The Athenians and the

round and sharp demand to King Azefi-

the treaty of

Epaminonlas

Etan:inondas his fouldiers.

fide also, made a wonderfull and vehement Oration in defence of the right of the THEBANS: infomuch as this controverfie was left undecided, and the Treaty of Peace was univerfally agreed and concluded amongst all the other GREEKS, the THEBANS onely excepted, who were not comprifed within the Treaty. So through the motion of Epaminondas, they were bold to withfrand the decrees of the rest of Greece. For the ATHENIANS and LACEDAMONIANS that many years before had contended for the principality of GREECE, made then division together: fo that the one should command by sea, and the other by land. Thus they could not like in no wife, that the THEBANS should aspire to be chief, and therefore they thought to diffmember the other Towns of BOBOTIA from the City of Thebes. And the rather for that the Thebans being strong and thate the Go-lufty of body, and encouraged for that of late they had oftentimes beaten the LACEDEMONIANS, would firive with them for the superiority of GREECE by land, but especially they had a wonderfull confidence in the wildom and prowels of their Captains, but specially of Epaminondas. Matters resting thus doubtfull, the Citizens of PLATZES, a Town of BOEOTIA, desirous to be at league with the ATHENIANS, they fent to requelt fome fouldiers of them, promifing to put the Town into their hands. The Governors of the Countrey of BOEOTIA having intelligence of it, defirous to prevent the Garifon of the ATHENIANS, brought a Troop of fouldiers against them, and they all came before PLATÆES, before the Townsmen had any knowledge of their coming: infomuch that part of them were surprised in the fields by the horsemen, and the other fied into the Town. But having no body to aid them, they were compelled to receive and accept fuch composition as it pleafed the THEBANS to grant them: which was, to leave their Town, and to go fafely with bag and baggage, never to return again into the Countrey of BOEOTIA. After this, the The-BANS razed the City of PLATÆES to the ground, and had the fack of the Town of THESPIES, enemy unto them. All the GREEKS follicited again by the Ambassadors of Persia, thought it good to make a general Peace, and to affembled the Commissioners of all the Towns at Sparts. Epaminondas that was yet scarce known, because he loved not to shew himself, and in all his exploits of war he had ever preferred the advancement of his great friend and companion in Arms Pelopidu, before himself: yet famous among the GREEKS for his great knowledge and experience, was fent thither by the THEBANS. Epaminondas finding that the other commissioners did lean to Agefilam, began to speak boldly and plainly, and made an oration, not onely in the THEBANS behalf, but for all Greece also: making them plainly see, that Wardid still encrease the greatness of the City of SPARTA onely, and keep all the reft of the Towns of GREECE under. Therefore he gave counfell to all to establish a firm Peace indifferently betwirt them, that thereby it might have the longer continuance, when all comprized within the contract should be equals. Agefilam perceiving all the GREEKS assistant at this assembly, to give very attentive ear unto him, and to be tickled, hearing him speak so freely of Peace: he asked ssim aloud if he thought it just and reasonable, that all BO EOT IA should be set at liberty. Epaninondus on the other side, did presently and boldly ask him again, if he thought not also that it was just and reasonable, that all LACONIA should be set at liberty. Thereupon Agefilams in anger frood up on his feet, and commanded him to answer plainly, if they (hould not reftore all the Province of BO BOTIA to her liberty. Epaminon das returned the felf fame speech again unto him : if they should not also put that of LACO NIA in her liberty. This did so anger Ageslam, besides that it did him good to have this colour for an old gradge hebare unto the THEBANS, that forthwith he put the names of the THEBANS out of the lift of those that should be comprized within the Peace, and immediately proclaimed open War against them. Thebam out of But this being done had evil success afterwards, and by reason of the sudden and rash enterprise of the LACEDEMONIANS, it turned to their utter overthrow. For the THEBANS, there was no remedy but they must bear the whole brunt alone: for there was not a Town that durit fend them any aid, because they were all agreed and sworn to this Peace, insomuch as every one thought them utterly cast away and undone. Many pittied their estate, and they that loved them not, rejoyced : they made fo full account, that the LACEDEMONIANS should find nothing that could fland

So the LACEDEMONIANS made King Chombretus march with his Army towards Theres: and being come near to Cheronea with ten thousand footmen and a thousand horse, he pitched his Camp there to ftay for the reft of his Allies. The THEBANS having intelligence of the approach of the Enemy, chose Epaminondas to be Captain Generall, giving him charge of this War, withits other Councellors, whom they call Bastarches, as who would say, Governors of BOLOTIA, to be Captain hath

Ca promifing victory, others threatning overthrow. He commanded them to fet those on the right Oracles of two hand of the chair for Orations, that promifed victory: and those that threatned overthrow, on the left hand. They being thus disposed of, he got up to the chair for Orations, and faid to the Theber, and THEBANS: If you will be obedient to your Captains, and couragious of heart to encounter your how they were Enemies, these here (thewing the good Oracles on the right hand) are yours: but if for faint hearts you refuse danger, those there (thewing the bad on the left hand) shall be for you. Thereupon enrolling all the THEBANS names that were of age to bear Arms, and of some parts of BOEOTIA those that he thought fittelt for Wars . word was brought him that a very honest and valiant man of his person died in his bed. O Hercules, said he, what had this man leasure to die in all these troubles His presence rejoyced, and made all his Army lively: also all the time he was Captain of the Tra-BANS, they never faw any of these terrors happen in his Camp without manifest cause, which they

call fudden fears. He was wont to fay, that there was no death more honest then to die in the Wars: and that the body of a fouldier should not onely be kept in exercise like the Champions that fight for maftery, but rather more hardened to endure any labour or pains meet for a good fouldier And therefore he could not abide very fat men, but cashiered a whole band of them for that cause onely: faying, that fearce three or four targets could cover fo great a belly, as did keep him that he could not feehis own privities. So he drew his Army out of THEBES, having in all but fix thousand fighting men. Even as they were marching away out of THEBES, divers of the Souldiers thought they had had many unlucky figns. For as they were going out of the Gates, Epaminondas met on his way a Herald, that following an ancient ceremony and custom of theirs, brought an old blind man as if he had been run away, and the Herald crying out aloud, Bring him not out of THEBES, nor put him to death, but carry him back again, and fave his life. The old men took this meeting and cry for an evil fign; but the young men kept filence, and spake never a word, for fear it should be thought that their hearts failing them, they would feek to diffwade Epaminondas from going the journey he had undertaken. And he himself, unto some that made bold to tell him, that it were well done before he went any further, to confider first what success the flying of the birds did promise unto him. answered this Verse of Homer :

It is a happy fign, to fight for his Countrey.

Such a prefent and frank refolution flopped the mouths of all those that were not very constant. But there happened yet another fign worse then the first. For there went a Secretary before him carrying a Javeling, unto the which was tyed a feroll, to make the fouldiers know that they should do what the General commanded them. The wind rose and blew off this scroll and carried it away, folding it upon the square pillar that flood upon a Tomb of certain LACEDEMONIANS, and PELO-PONNESIANS that had been flain in that place when Ageplans brought his Army thither. Alfo there came again certain old men unto him to speak with him, perswading and protesting that he ought not to go any further with his Army, fince the gods were so manifestly against it. All this notwithstanding he never ceased to march with his Camp, thinking that the conicience and resolution to fight in a good cause, ought to be much stronger and of more force to put him in good hope, then these evil signs that appeared, to make him mistrust the worst. And as in marching to meet with the LACEDEMONIANS they heard it thunder : they that were near unto him, asked him, what that thunder meant? That, faith he, betokeneth that the Enemies brains are troubled and aftonied; feeing they having hard by them to commodious places, to Camp in, they now lie Encamped where they are. Indeed they halted, flaying for divers of their Allies that came not : all or them having at better leifure confidered of the discourse Epaminondas made in SPARTA in open affembly of all the Commissioners of every Town, against the ambition of the LACEDEMONIANS. Epaminondas therefore applying to good purpose at that time all the goodly discourse he had learned by the ftudy of Philosophy, for the present time the common people blamed him much : but after the fortunate success of his intention, every man then judged him to be a man ripely understanding the duty Epaminondus of a wife and valiant Chieftain of War. For making his Army march with speed, he wan the winneth credit ftraightshard by the City of CORONEA, and Camped there. Cleombrotus on the other fide, un- in the end. derstanding that the THEBANS had gained that passage, despairing he could not pass that way, made his Army go a great compass about the Countrey of PHOCIDE: and marching along the sea fide in a Cleombrotus very troublous and dangerous way, at the laft he pierced into the Country of B DEOT IA without any codemoniums, danger. And as he went also he took in little Towns, and certain Gallies that lay along that coast, and retireth cowin the end arrived at LEUCTRES: and there fat down to refresh his men a little, over-wearied with ardly. travel in their journey. The BOEOTIANS marched presently that way to meet with them, and so paffing over some little mountains, they discovered them in the plain of LEUCTRES, which did amaze them, feeing fo great an Army.

The Bastarches thereupon came together to confult whether they should go forward, and to fight Council and one against many: or else retire, and find out some better place of advantage. In this Councill consultation is their opinions fell out to be equal : for three of them thought it good to retire : the other three to be used in with Epaminondas, faid, they must tarry and fight. So the conclusion of this Counsel being War. doubtfull, and the Baotarches disagreeing, Pelopidas Captain of the holy band came to them, who was of the second opinion: so that they all agreed together to put it to the hazard of battle. But Epaminonidas seeing their souldiers afraid through the superstition of these signs, devising by some like remedy to put this mistrust out of their heads : to bring this to pass, some being newly come from THEBES, he willed them to fay and give it out every where, that no man could tell at THEBBS what was become of the Arms that hung up in Hercules Temple: but that the voice was The policy of all the Town over, that the ancient demy-gods their ancestors had come and taken them away, Epunicondas for the aid of their defendants at this prefent time. He suborned another also, that gave it out to put away he was newly come from Trophonius trunck or hole, and that the god which giveth the Oracles in fear, the fame, commanded him to tell the BOEOTIANS that after they had overcome their Enemies in the plain of LEUCTRES, they thould celebrate yearly plays in the honour of Jupiter. And thereof it came that the BOBOTIANS long time after that did yearly celebrate a feaft, which is made in LEBADIA. Now to end the painting of this artificial device, Leandrias a Spar-TAN, being a banished man out of his Countrey, and fighting at that time for the BOEOTIANS, being

being brought before the fouldiers, whom they encouraged to fight like men the day of the battle : he did fwear unto them that the LACEDAMONIAN'S had an ancient Oracle, that faid they should lose their principality, when they should be overcome by the THEBANS, in a pitched field, in the plain of LEUCTRES. It is true indeed that the LACEDEMONIANS had had many Oracles and forewarnings to bid them beware of the anger of LEUCTRES: but the common people understood not what this warning meant, but were deceived by the equivocation of the word: for that there were three LEUCTRES: to wit, in LACONIA, ARCADIA, and BOEDTIA. Howbeit, the vision of Pelopidas, whereof is made large mention in his life, and the facrifice he made of the young Filly that came into his Camp, confirmed all the former inventions, and made them bold that were most discouraged. Adding withall, that Epaminondas having affembled all his Army, began to encourage them with thefe ftrong and lively realors to shew their valour: infomuch, that being freed from this superstitious sear, they longed for How Epaninonching more then to come to blows. Epaninondas ever concluded all his Orations in this norther manner: O worthy men, embrace facred death, advancing your felves to the most honourable ded his Orati- and famous fight for your Countrey, for the Tombs of your Ancestors, and for the holy things. Even at the fame time came to the THEBANS an aid of five hundred horle, and fifteen hundred sootmen Thessalians, conducted by Jason, who practifed with both sides to make Peace for certain days, telling them he was not wife that feared not the events. Some judge with nive munded horse and it was not at that time that Jason travelled between them both, but rather it was after the jourfifteen hundred ney of LEUCTRES. Howbeit, 1 have followed that which Disdortes the SICILIAN Wilteth, as a thing most likely. Now as Cleombrotus retired with his Army out of BOROTIA, A supply tent to Citombroise he met with a great supply of naturall LACEDEMONIANS, and some of their Allies, brought. to him by Archidamus, Agenlam fon. The LACEDEMONIANS feeing the THEBANS fo resolute, and searing their desperate boldness: sent these two Troops the easilier to daunt the courage of their Enemies. These two being joyned together they were assamed to be assault of the BOROTIANS, and whether it was that the truce taken was near expired, or that they forced not of it, they returned on the sudden again into the plain of LEUCTRES suly bent to fight. The BOEDTIANS also for their part shrunk not an inch back , and so on both fides they fet their men in order of battle. For Epaminondas , he fet his battle affetteth his batter a new fashion, never before shewed by any other Captain. For having chosen out of his Army the best men and valiantest souldiers he had, he placed them together in one of the

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points of his battle, where he should be himself and fight in person, seconded with Pelbridas, with his three hundred chosen men, called the holy band; and in the other corner he placed his weaker men, commanding them exprelly not to abide the charge of the Enemis that should come to assail them in front, but fair and softly to retire when they saw them come near them. So the matter fell out as he wished: and he hoped to determine the battle by the vertue and prowefs of that point where he had placed all the flower and choice of Now the fign to fight being given, the LACEDEMONIANS marched of even hand with

the two horns of their battle, ordered in form of a Cressant. On the contrary part, one of the Wings of the Battle of the BOEOTIANS began to give back, and the other with great fury ran to charge the Enemy in the flanck : ftraight they were both come to the fword together. And at the first, because either side sought very desperately, the victory was doubtfull for a certain time: but at the length Epaminondar Troops brake in amongst the LACEDEMONIANS, and killed the most part of them that were about King (Lister King Cleambre brotus. So long as the King was alive, he kept back the THEBANS from victory, because he was accompanied with all the most valiant men of his Army, valiantly fighting about him. But after he fell down dead on the ground, having received an infinite number of wounds, and stricken down many of his Enemies: then they thronged together on all sides, and there was a cruell fight about his body, where there were heaps of mens bodies flain one upon another. And although Epaminondas did fharply follow this point, yet the LACEDAMO-Expunerates NIANS made such relistance as the last, that they did a little repulse the BOSOTIANS and Lucedamonians cleared the body of their King out of the press and multitude: but that held not long. For Epaminondas through his perfuafions did so lift up the hearts and courage of his men, that they gave a second and so sierce a charge upon them, that they wholly overthrew the La-CEDEMONIANS, and made them fly for life. Then Epaminondas fiercely pursuing the flying Enemies , made great flaughter , and wan one of the most glorioulest victories that ever Captain did : having in a pitched field overcome the most noble and warlike Nation of all GREECE, with a far smaller number of men then his Enemies had. And also he took more glory of that above all his other exploits, and specially because it happened unto him in his father Polymnic life time. And oftentimes he had these words up in his mouth : that of all the honest and happy fortunes that ever chanced unto him; nothing joyed his heart more, then that he vanquished the Lacedamonians at the Battle of Leuctres, his father than the vanquished the Lacedamonians. ther and mother that begat him being both alive. And to fay troely, he that day preferred the life of his father and mother, and of his whole Countrey befides: for the LACEDEMONI-ANS were fully refolved utterly to deftroy the THEBANS. Now he using at all other times to shew himself amongst them, fine and near, with a pleasant countenance: the next day

after the battle at LEUCTRES he came out openly very fad, heavy and pensive. Whereupon his friends asked him prefently if he had heard any evil news, or some missortune had happened to him. None, faid he, but I perceived by my felf yesterday, that overjoyed with the victory that I obtained. I lift up my felf more then became me : and therefore to day I correct this joy, which yesterday was too exceeding in me. He knowing that it was the manner of the SPARTANS to hide and cover (as well as they could possible) all such misfortunes: desirous openly to express and shew the greatness of the loss they had fulfained; he would not suffer them to carry away their dead bodies by great altogether, but every City one after another: and so by this means it appeared that there were above a thouland LACEDEMO-NIANS slain. Some make the number of the dead to be greater, and fay they were four thousand natural LACEDEMONIANS, but that must be understood of them and their Allies: and of the BOEOTIANS, there were not above three hundred or thereabouts found dead. This battle of LEUCTRES was stricken at the beginning of the second year of the hundred and second

Olympiade. The LACEDEMONIANS having at that battle lost the greatest part of their honour and greatness, which men had seen before in their estate, lost not their courage for all this : but greatness, which men had feen before in their citate, loft not their courage for all this; but The Lacids-motion to keep their youth fill in heart, and to take away all fear which had poffelfed them that had escaped from this overthrow, Agessaw entred Arcadia with an Army, and was con-tokep their took the second of the s tented to take a small Town of the MANTINEANS, and to prey and spoil the Countrey; youthin good which done, he returned home again. Some think that this was the cause that brought Epa-courage. minordas into LACONIA. Othersome report it otherwise, and say that Agesilans would not jusfer the MANTINEANS to re-edifie their City. And there be that are of another opinion, which is: that Lycomedes Captain of the ARCADIANS having made a rode hard to ORCHOMENE, he flew upon an encounter Polytropus Captain of the LACEDEMONIANS, and had two hundred SPARTANS with him, his purpose being to win ORCHOMENE: and thereupon they finding themselves too weak to stand against the LACEDEMONIANS, they sought the alliance and aid of the THEBANS. Howfoever it was, the LACEDEMONIANS and ARCADIANS being enemies, by reason of their chief City of MANTINEA: that was the cause the THEBANS joyned with the ARCADIANS, and being followed with their Allies, led by Epaminondas, they entred into LACONIA with an Army of forty thousand men of War, and with thirty thousand others that followed the Camp. The ATHENIANS fent Iphicrates Captain with twelve thousand men to aid the SPARTANS: but before his coming Epaminondas entred into LACONIA in divers places, and facked all the whole Countrey, which had not been laid wast by an Enemy in fix hundred years space before, when the DORIANS came to inhabit there. The SPARTANS feeing their Countrey wasted and destroyed before their eyes, were desirous to go out with all the force they could make: but Agefilaus would not fuffer them, telling them how dangerous it was to leave the City, to fet upon fuch a mighty enemy. So they were quiet, and Epaminondas in the mean space descended the mountain Taugete with his Army, towards the River of Eurotas, the which at that time was rifen very high by reason of the Winter. He sought what he could to draw Agessam to sight, who beholding Epaminondas a great while, marching in battle ray alongst the River side at the head of his Troops: he wondred at his boldness and valour, but would by no means come out of his fort. Infomuch as after his Army had preyed and forraged all LACONIA, Epaminondas led them back again laden with booty. And though Apellaus had won himself great honour for his wisdom, in looking to the safety of his City: yet Epaminondas had made his Countrey so poor with the former losses sustained, especially at the overthrow sparts inipoat LEUCTRES: that SPARTA could never afterwards recover that lofs again, nor grow into verified and that reputation and power it had before. Furthermore, notwithstanding all the aid of the A-decaied. THENIANS, and the experience of Iphicrates, Epaminondas returned with his whole Army as he came. And the more to keep the LACEDEMONIANS still under their feet, and to heap new troubles upon them: he gave counfell to the ARCADIANS and other their Allies, to re-edifie and replenish the City of MESSINA with new Inhabitants again, which the LACEDENO- Epaminondas NIANS had long before that destroyed. All the whole Council giving their consents unto it, he made causeth Melfidiligent inquiry forthwith to feek out all those that till that time had been ancient inhabitants in MES. na to be repair-SINA; and in the space of fourscore and five days having re-edified the ruined houses, he set ed and peopled on foot again one of the nobleft and most ancient Cities of GREECE, and left there a strong Garrison: for the which he was as much esteemed and rather more then for any other service he had

The LACEDEMONIANS being lightened of a marvellous great fear, made an agreement with the ATHENIANS, and left them the chief command by sea, referving to themselves that by land. Afterwards through the aid of the ATHENIANS, and the supply that was sent unto them out of SICILIA, they wan their Towns again by little and little. The ARCADIANS to stop their course, assumed the City of Palle of in Laconia, put all the Garrison there to the sword, razed the Town, and preyed on all the Countrey thereabout: and doubting that the Lacedemonia ANS would be revenged, they prayed aid of the THEBANS, who fent Epaminondas thither and the other Beotarches, with fix thousand footmen, and five hundred horse. The ATHENIANS having intelligence thereof, fent their Army before under the leading of Chabrias, who marched directly to Corinth, and there had supply of souldiers, of the MEGARIANS, PALLENIANS,

the Army of the LACEDEMONIANS and of their Allies, being arrived at the very place of Co. RINTH, they made all together the number of twenty thousand fighting men. So they determine ed to repair and fortific all the paffages and entrances into the Countrey of Peloponnesus, to thop the paffage of the BOROTIANS. And beginning from the City of CENCREES unto the lamotion for the panage of the Dobotha Ray. The ways from the one feat to the other, with mighty great pieces of timber a cross, and with a marvellous deep ditch. And this great piece of work nato eccopon.

ness, sion sea was followed with such speed, both by means of the great multitude of people, as also through the good wills of those that laboured it hard : that they had finished and done all before the Bosotigood wins or those managements at his coming having diligently viewed and confidered this ANS could arrive there. Epaminondas at his coming having diligently viewed and confidered this fortification, perceived that the caffeft way to be forced, was that which the LACEDEMONIANS themselves kept. So he sent to give them defiance, though they were thrice as many men in number as his own. For all this that they had the defance, they durft not come out, but kept them close under this fortification, which receiving certain affaults, they were repulfed. Now all of them doing their best endeavour, being occupied, some affailing, other defending, Epaminondas those out the best men in all his Army, and luftily charging the guard of the LACEDEMONIAN'S enforced them entereth into to give him way, and in despite of them he entred into Prioponnesus, which was a wonderfull Pelepanatably and memorable exploit of all others. From thence he marched towards the Cities of EpiDaura and memorate exploit of an others. Atom there is howbeit he could take none of the Towns, before of Arms, and TROBZEN, and foforraged all the Country: howbeit he could take none of the Towns, because they were defended with strong Garrisons. Nevertheless he put Sicyone, Phennes, and fome other Towns in fuch fear, that they yielded themselves unto him. That being done, he went to CORINTH, and there overcame the CORINTHIANS in a fet battle, and bear them home fighting even to the walls of their City. There were fome of his men fo rash, and prefuning of their valour, that they entred hand over head with those that fled, even within the Gates of their City: which put the CORINTHIANS in fuch a terrible fear, that they ran with all fpeed poffible to get their houses over their heads. Chabrias beat them out again, and killed some of them. Whereupon he caused a token of triumph to be set up, as if it had been an overthrow. Epaminondas laughing him to fcorn for it; faid he should not call it a Trophee, or token of triumph, but rather Hecateste, as one would say, a statue of Proferpina: because in time past they commonly set this image of Proferpina at the first Gallows they found before the Gate of any City. The BORDTIANS therefore came on with their battle as near unto Corinth as they could, and Chabrias withhis Troops Camped without in a very ftrong place of advantage for him: fo there were many skirmiliss Chibita 2 32- between them, in the which Chabrias shewed such valour, that he wan great same and reputation eliant Captin. ven of Epaminondas himfelf. Who being asked on a time whom he thought to be the greateft Captain, himfelf, Chabrias, or Iphierates: Itishard to judge, faid he, whileft we are all alive. Another brought him word that the ATHENIANS had fent an Army again into PELO PONNESUS, furnified with new Armors. Well, answered be, doth Antigenidas weep when he knoweth that Tellin hah new Flutes? This Tellin was a very bad player of the Flute, and Antigenidas excellent good and skilfull. Touching the supply of this Army, they were tenthouland SPANIARDS and GAULS, whom Dionyfins the Tyrant fent out of SICILIA to aid the LACED. EMONIANS, having paid them for five moneths. They had ferved reafonably well in this War, and so in the end of Summer returned Now it fortuned in these last encounters, that Epaminondas having forced the LACEDENONI-

Epuninondas

Ans that flood to the defence of the fortification above mentioned, and having them in his power EPHINIONIALS

(pared thelives to have flaughtered a great number of them at his will: he contented himfelf onely with his gloof his enemies. ry, that in defpite of them he had entred into Paloponnasus, and fought to do them no more hurt: which gave those occasion that did envy his glory to blame him, and to accuse him of treason, as having willingly spared the Enemies, because they should particularly thank him onely. But now that we have begun to speak of this matter, we must see how he behaved himself among his Citizens, and the wildom he uled in defence of his integrity. Among all those that could not endure the glory of his vertues, was Menectides the Orator, an eloquent man, but withall most wicked and malicious. He finding that Epaminondas wan such honour by Wars, never lest perfunding the THEBANS to embrace Peace, and to prefer it before War: because they should not live always under the obedience and command of one man. Epaminondas told him one day in open Council: Thou wilt deceive the THBBANS, going about to counfel them to leave Wars: and highly commending eafe, thou goest about to put iron bolts upon their feet. For War begetteth peace, the which cannot hold long but among those that know how to feek and keep it with the edge of the fword. Then speaking to the Citizens: If ye will have the principality and command of all Graces, before all others: you must shrowd your selves in your Tents and Pavilions in the open field, and not follow Games and Wreftlings here at home. Also he knew well e-Ease and idle nough that the BOROTIANS spoiled and undid themselves by ease and idleness: which was the caule that he constantly bare this mind to keep them constantly in Wars. Whereupon when time came that they fell to choosing of Captains, and that they went about to chuse him Bastarche: he faid to the Citizens: My mafters, I pray you confider of it, now you are at leifure, before You choose me: for I tell you plainly, if I be choten your Captain, you must to the Wars. He called the Countrey of BOSOTIA, which is all plain Champion the scaffold of War: saying it was unpossible to keep it, unless the inhabitants had their Targets on their arms, and their swords in their

hands. This was not because he did not love peace, and solitariness to study Philosophy, and that he was not more fearfull of them he had in his charge then for himself, using always to watch and forhear his meat, when the THEBANS were at their banquets and feafts going themselves to all pleasure: but he knew them well enough, and he was never more carefull of any thing, then to keep his Army from idleness. For on a time the ARCADIANS intreating that his troops might enter into one of their Towns, to lie dry there in covert all the Winter, he would by no means yield to it. For now (faid he to his fouldiers) that they see you exercise your selves in Arms, they wonder at you as brave Epanimendas and valiant fouldiers : but if they should see you at the fire fide parching of Beans, they would esteem carefull o keep and valiant fouldiers: but if they mount for you at the mix pay parting of the formerine he has army no better of you then of themselves. No more could he endure coverofines: for the formerine he identify the state of the former of themselves. gave his men leave to go a booting, his meaning was, that whatloever they got should be belt wed in furnishing of Arms. For if any man went about to fill his purse with money, he thought him unworthy to be a fouldier. As on a time when he perceived that his Target-bearer had received a great fum of money for the ranfom of a prisoner, he faid unto him: Give me my Target, and go thou thy ways, and buy thee a Tavern to lead the rest of thy life there: for I perceive thou wilt no more like anhonest man put thy self in danger in the Wars, as before thou hast done, because thouart now rich and wealthy. Now Epaminondas being such a one as you have heard, Meneclides notwithstanding would never cease controuling of him: and one day he went so far as to reproach him that he had no children, that he was not married, and that he magnified himself more then ever King Agamemnon had done. Epaminondas answered him, thou hast nothing to do to counsell me to marry: | for in that respect there is never a man here in all this Council whom I would less use then thou. And this he spake, because the other was suspected to be an adulterer. And whereas thou thinkest that I do envy the glory and fame of Agamemnon, thou art fouly deceived : yet I tell thee he was not a little troubled to win a Town in ten years : where I to the contrary putting the LACEDEMONIANS to flight in one day, have delivered our City and all GREECE from them. But thanks be to you, my Lord THEBANS (speaking to all the whole assembly) through you I did it, and overthrew and ruined the power and government of our enemies. Nevertheless, Pelopidas and he were very evil recompensed for this good service of theirs: for at their return from LACONIA, they with some other of the Bactarches were accused, for that after the time of their charge and government was expired, they had kept it four moneths beyond the time the law had appointed them. With much ado Pelopidas was absolved: but Epaminondas willed his companions to lay all the fault upon him, as being forced unto it by his authority : and that for his part his words could be no better then his deeds, So upon this he being called before the Judges, and after he had justified that he had passed the time limited of his authority: inflead of excufing himfelf, he went and told bravely his worthy exploits he had done in this journey at that time; adding withall, that he was willing and ready to die, fo they caused his condemnation to be written upon the pillar of his Tomb, to the end the GREEKS should understand that they had put Epaminondas to death, because he had compelled the THEBANS, against their wills to burn the Country of LACONIA, the which in five hundred years before had never once been spoiled; that he had restored the City of Massina with inhabitants again; two hundred and thirty years after the LACEDAMONIANS had laid it waft : that he had brought all the people and Towns of ARCADIA to be as one body in league together, and had fet all the GREEKS at liberty: and all these things, said he, we did in our journey. The Judges understanding this worthy and true defence, they all arose from their seats and laughed a good, and would never take their balls to ballot against him.

But as for his fecond acculation, that he had shewed favour unto the LACEDEMONIANS for Engineeries his own particular honour, he would make no answer before the people of Thebes to this falls reducen to animpuration, but he role out of the Theatre, and passing through the assembly walked into the park swer to a sale of exercises. The people being in uproar against him, made no choice of him again as they were reputation. wont to do, although there was no great need: but created other Bactarches to go into Tuiss-SALY. And the more (as they thought) to despite Epaminondas, they commanded him to go that voyage as a private fouldier: the which he refused not, but went very willingly, and upon this occa- Pelevides infion. Pelopidas being fent the second time into Thessalr, to make accord between the people prisoned. and Alexander the Tyrant of PHERES, was by this Tyrant (not suspecting the dignity of an Ambaffador, nor of his Countrey) made prisoner with Ismenias. Whereupon the Thebans being justly offended, sent thither an Army of eight thousand footmen, and five hundred horse, howbeir under the leading of unskilfull Captains: who wanting judgement to ute the time, thought it good to return home again without doing anything. But as they went their way, Alexander being stronger in horsemen then they, tollowed them, and gave charge upon the Rear, killed some, and grievoully wounded others. So they knowing neither how to go forward nor backward, were in great distress, and the rather because their victuals fell shorter every day then other. But being now almost out of all hope to retire home with safety, Epaminoudas being then amongst the foot, was earnestly intreated by the fouldiers and Captains to help to redress this disorder. Thereupon he chole certain footmen light armed, and all the horsemen, and so falling himself amongst them in the rereward of the Army, he so lustily repulsed the enemies, that the rests of the Army afterwards marched in great fafety: and did fo well, fighting at times, making head as occafion served, and keeping his Troops in so good order, that he brought them all away sale. This act crowned him with a new glory, confounded his enemies, and wan him great honour every where, besides the love and good will of his Citizens: who see great fines upon their Captains, because

EPAMINON, DAS.

Eponinonist preferreth the friend before his own reputation.

they had behaved themselves so evil in this journey. Again, the people seeing that by so many worthy deeds Epaminondas razed out all the flanders and accufations which his evil willers had vomited out against him: they chose him they cho chofen again Army. At whole coming all the Countrey straight rejoyced for the reputation of so great and famous a Captain, and there wanted little even to break this Tyrants neck altogether, his friends and Captains flood in fuch fear, and his subjects in good mind to rebell, and very joyfull for the hope they had shortly to see the Tyrant at one blow well recompensed for all his cursed and wicked deeds he had done long before. Neverthele's Epaminondas fetting afide the confideration of his honour and glory, in respect of the deliverance and fafety of his friend Pelopidas, and being afraid that Alexander, when he should fee his estate in danger to be overthrown, would take revenge in his madness upon Pelopidas: he purposely drew his War in length, wheeling about in every place, mauners upon recopiant: he purposery new his vvar in rengin, whereing about in every place, refraining to fet on him in earneft, diffembling to make his preparations, and frill delaying, because he would prepare and soften the heart of this Tyrant by this device, not to leave him too much to his bold unbridled will, neither to stir up (to the danger of Pelopidas) the sharp and inhumane anger of this blood-fucker. Who being a Monster, compounded of cruelty and cowardice, was to afraid onely of the name and reputation of Epaminondas, and hanging the Wing, as they fay: that he presently sent men unto him to excuse and justific him. But E paminondas would not that the THEBANS through his flackness should make peace and alliance with so wicked a man, but onely he was contented to take a truce with him for thirty days, taking Pelopidas and Immiar out of hishands. So with them he returned back again to THERES, and always coninsued faithfull friendship with Pelopidas, refusing ever to have any part of his goods, but did fill perfevere in his wonted fimplicity and discipline. Now speaking of this friendship, they report that Epaminondas having committed a man of base condition for some light fault to prison, Pri lopidas prayed him to fet the poor man at liberty, but he denied him : and yet afterward being intreated by a woman he kept, he did it at her request, faying that harlors were to be granted such request, not Captains.

This boldness he shewed in all places, and to all men, yet mingled with a great sweetness, and with a good lively grace: whereof we will bring many examples, befides that he spake at Sparta a-Bainst the LACEDAMONIANS and Agestians, in the prefence of all the Commissioners of GREECE. The ARGIANS having made league with the THEBANS, the ATHENIANS for their Ambassadors into ARCADIA, to see if they could gain the ARCADIANS to be their friends. So these Ambassadors began roundly and hotly to charge and accuse both the one and the other: informuch as Callifratus speaking for them, reproved the other two Cities ORESTES and OEDI-rus. Epaminondas being present at that assembly of counfell, stood up, and said: My Lords, we confefs that in times paft we had a man that killed his father in our City, and in ARCOS one that killed his mother: but for us, we have driven out of our Countrey, and banished all such wicked murtherers, and the ATHENIANS have received them both. And to the SPARTANS that had laid many great and grievous imputations upon the THEBANS: If they have done nothing elfo, my Lords of SPARTA, answered Epaminondas, yet at the leaft they have made you lorget to speak listle. The ATHENIANS had made league with Alexander the Tyrant of PHERES, morral enemy of the THEBANS, who promifed the THEBANS that he would let them have a pound of fielh for an half peny. Epaminandas hearing of it, Well faid he, and we will find them wood that final cont them nothing to feeth this flesh withall: for we will go fell and cut down all the Trees they have in their Coursey, if they go about to make any alteration other then good. So when he went into THESSALY, and brought back Pelopidas again, the ATHENIANS made no great fir againft him: and the tyrant that had promifed flesh so good cheap, had much ado at that time to keep his skin whole. But afterwards he had his payment, as you may read in the latter end of Pelopidas. But that which did excell in Epaminondas, and did cut the throat of envy it felf, was his moderation and temperance, knowing how to use any state or condition offered him, and never to rage against himself nor others, The moderati- always bearing this mind, that howfoever they took him, and in what place foever they fet him, he was on and tempe- well contented, and all for the good of his Countrey: for proof whereof I will fhew you this carance of Eps- ample. His evil willers on a time thinking to bring him in difgrace, as they fay, for spite they made him superintendant and over-seer of all the customs, whilst others his inferiors, unworthy to becompared to him, were placed in the most honourable offices. This notwithstanding he despited not this office, but did discharge it very faithfully: for, said he, office or authority sheweth not onely what the man is, but also the man what the office is.

But now further: (horsly after Epaminondas return out of THESSALY, the ARCADIANS were overcome by Archidamus and the LACEDEMONIANS, and they loft not aman: and therefore this days journey was called for them, the tearless battle. Epaminondas forefeeing that the Ascapians should yet have a florm, gave them counfell to fortifie themselves: whose counsell they following, they built the Town which afterwards was called MEGALIPOLIS, fituated in a very convenient place. Whilft they made War with the ELTAN's their neighbours, Epaminondas heart never fainted, but his mind was always given to high enterprifes for the good of his Countrey; where being respected and honoured above all others, he made an Oration unto his Citizens periwading them to make themselves ftrong by sea, and to attend the conquest of the principality, making themselves Lords of it. This Oration of his had been long thought of before, being full of lively research fors, which did flew and prove unto them that the enterprile was both honourable and profitable,

as well by other Arguments he alledged, as also for that he told them it was an easie thing for them that were now the stronger by Land, to make themselves also the strongest by Sea : and the rather for that the ATHENIANS in the War against Xerxes, notwithstanding that they had armed and fet forth two hundred Galleys well appointed with men; they nevertheless willingly submitted themselves unto the LACEDEMONIANS. So alledging many other reasons to this purpose he prevailed fo much, that the THEBANS inclined to undertake the Enterprize by Sea. Thereupon the People gave present order they should build a hundred Galleys, and withall an Arsenall with fo many Kooms to lay them under covert in the Dock; and that they should send to them of RHODES, of CHIO, and of BYZANCE, to pray them to further them in this Enterprize. And for this purpose Epaminendas was fent with an Army unto these Cities. So in this course he met with Laches, a Captain of the ATHENIANS, and a good number of Ships in his Fleet. fent of purpole to hinder the intention of the THEBANS. Notwithstanding, Epaninendas made him so afraid, that he drave him back again : and he holding on his Voyage, brought the Cities before named to make league with the THEBANS, who on the other fide were at War with the City of ORCHOMENE, which had done great hurt and mischief in their Estate. So they having won it by affault, they flew every man that was able to bear Armes, and moreover made all the Wo-

MANTINEANS aftonied at this aid coming out of BOROTIA to their Enemies, and at the re-

putation of this Captain : they immediatly fent unto the ATHENIANS and LACEDEMONIANS. the greatest Enemies of the BOEOTIANS for aid, which both the Cities granted. Whereupon

there fell out often many great Skirmishes in divers parts of PSLOPONNESUS. Epaminonaus being

way then Agefilam, he had taken SPARTA without one stroke striken, but for a Post of CANDIA

that with speed brought Agefilam word of it : who forthwith sent out a Horseman to give them in-

telligence that were left at SPARTA, that they should beware they were not surprised upon the sud-

dain: and he himself came speedily after, and arrived there a little before the THEBANS coming

thither: who being very near the City by break of day, gave affault to them that were within to defend the Town. Then Ageflam bestirred him throughly, beyond the power of an old man. But his Son Archidamus, and Ifadas the Son of Phabidas, fought valiantly on all parts. Epa-

minondas feeing the SPARTANS in order of Battell, began then to mistrust that his Enterprise was

discovered. This notwithstanding, he left not off to force them all he could, albeit he fought with great disadvantage for the inconvenience of the places he occupied; and continued always couragi-

oully doing and receiving hurt, untill the Army of the LACEDEMONIANS came on, and the

night also: whereupon he made them found the Retrait. Now he being advertised that the

MANTINEANS came on also with their Forces , he drew his Troops somewhat further off

the Town , and there camped. After that he caused his men to refresh themselves with Victuals

and having left certain Horsemen in the Camp, he commanded them to make Fires in the morn-

ing and he himself went in the mean space, to surprise those that remained at MANTINEA

before any man wift he was gone. Nevertheless he failed of his purpose, albeit he had fore-

thought him of all misfortunes that any man possible could have considered in so weighty a Cause.

on the other fide of the Town there arrived fix thousand ATHENIANS led by their Captain

Hegeleem: who having put sufficient force into the Town, he ordered all the rest in Battell without

the Town-walls, as though he meant to have fought a Field: and immediatly after them came also

the LACEDAMONIANS and MANTINEANS together, who prepared themselves to put all to the hazard of a Battell, and therefore fent for their Allies out of all parts. They were in all five

and twenty thousand Footmen, and two thousand Horse. The ARCADIANS, BOFOTIANS,

and their partakers, made the number of thirty thousand Footmen and above, and three thousand

Horse. First the Horsemen charged with so great fury as was possible, insomuch as the Horsemen of

the ATHENIANS finding the THEBANS in Front, were the weaker: not because they were less vali-

ant and hardy then the other, but because they had not so good Leaders, and had few Archers amongst their Troops. The THEBANS on the other fide they were well appointed, and specially of THES-

men and Children Slaves. Sometime after Pelopidas death, certain private men of MANTINEA, fearing to be called to

account for their bad behaviours and robberies they had done, if the ARCADIANS and FLIANS fell to agreement : they practifed fo, that they raifed up a new quarrell within the Countrey divided A new quarrel into two Factions, of the which the MANTINEANS were chief of the one fide, and the TEGE- betwirt the ATES on the other part. This quarrell went fo far , that the parties would try it by Arms. The Mantint ans and TEGEATES, they fent to demand aid of the THEBANS, who choic Epaminondae their Captam-the Tegeates, Generall, and fent him with a good number of men of War to aid the TEGEATES. The

not ar off MANTINEA, underflood by the same Countreymen, that Azellaus and the LACEDEMONIANS were come into the Field, and that they wasted all the Territory of the TEGEA-DAMONIANS were come into the Field, and that they waited an one Territory of the LEGA-A wonderfull TES. Whereupon imagining flraight that there were few men left in the City of Spart at to de-Strangeme. fend it . he went about a great exploit, and a wonderfull Stratageme of a man of War: and had enterprised by brought it to pass, if the marvellous great good Fortune of SPARTA had not hindred it. So he de- Epaminondas. parted from TEGEA by night, the MANTINEANS knowing nothing of it, and taking another

But the prosperity of the THEBANS was come to his height, and the course of Epaminondas The Thibans life drawing near to an end, would very shortly deprive GREECE of this noble and famous prosperity Person, from whom was taken a most notable Victory, and that twice, by a most strange accident. come to the For at this second time, when he was near unto MANTINEA, left without guard and defence : height.

SALIANS amongst others, men very skilfull in their Bowes, who so plied the ATHENIANS, that they brake them, and put them all to rout. Yet they did not flie amongst their Footmen, which made them somewhat recover their honour they had lost by running away, and all because they had not broken the Ranks of their allies. On the contrary part, as they fled they met with certain Troops of Souldiers of NEGROPONT, whom the ARCADIANS fent to take in certain hils hard by the Plain where the Battell was fought, and they put them all to the Sword. The men at arms of the Thebans seeing them turn their backs, did not pursue them at all, but gave charge upon a great Battalion of Footmen, forcing them all they could to break and run through them : fo the fight was very cruell and sharp, but in the end the ATHENIANS lest the place. This notwithftanding, the Colonell of the Horsemen of the ELIANS being appointed for the safety of the rereguard, defended them, and coming to the encounter of the BOBOTIANS he relifted them, and made them speedily give back : and this reformed the fault again of the left Point of their Army. But in the right Point, after the Horsemen had charged one upon another, the Fight was soon tried. For , by reason of the great number of the men at arms of the THEBANS and THESSALIANS. the partakers of the Mantineans were prefently put to rout, and after they had loft a great number of their men, they succoured themselves about the Battalion of their Footmen. And this was the fuccefs of the fight of the Horsemen. As touching the Battalion of the Footmen, after they came once to the Sword, it was a marvellous bloudy and most cruell Fight: for never before that time was there fo great number of GREEKS in Battell one against the other, nor so great Captains, nor of better fighting and more valiant men. The two Nations that at that time barethe Name to be the bravest Souldiers for Footmen of all the world, to wit, the THEBANS, and LACE-DEMONIANS, they were feein front in the Battell one directly against the other. So the first began to charge, neither sparing life nor limme. The first charge they gave was with their Pikes, which being broken by force of the great blows they gave to each other, then they sought with their Swords, and laying about them body to body, there was no kind of fashing and wounding, but they both gave and received: and neither part shrunk nor gave over, but stuck to it mansully. And so continuing this dangerous fight a long time, by reason of the valiantness of either side: the Victorian state of the continuing this dangerous fight a long time, by reason of the valiantness of either side: ry ftood doubtfull a great while, and could hardly be judged which fide were like to have the upper hand. For every one that fought had this resolution in his heart, not to fear death whatsoever hapned; but rather desiring to make proof of the valour of his person, worthily gave his life in prey, to win honour in exchange. By reason whereof, though the fight was most sharp and violent, the event of it remained a long space betwirt two Irons , not to be discerned of whether side the Victory should fall. Untill such time as Epaminondas feeing that there was no remedy, but that therefolution of this doubtfull fight depended upon his own Vertue and Valour : he refolved with himfelf to venture his life upon it. So he presently gathered about him all the best and choice men of his Army, and of them having made a company of resolute men, he ran with great sury into the greatest preass of all the Enemies, marching himself the foremost man before his Troop, with a Spear in his hand, with the which at the first blow he gave, he slew the Captain of the LACEDE-MONIANS, straightway the other began to affail their Enemies. But Epaminendas killed so many in the place with his own hands, and did fo terrifie the others, that at the last he opened the Battell of his Enemies, and laied on them fo luftily, that they not able any longer to defend themselves against the valorous force of himself and his followers, were enforced to give back and to leave the place to the BOEOTIANS: who were straight at their heels, beating and following them so eagerly that in a short space all the Field was covered with dead Bodies, lying on heaps one upon another. But in the end , the LACEDEMONIANS feeing they could by no means fave themselves because Epaminondas followed them so near (given over too much to his passionate courage) they gathered a Troop together, and running all on heaps they fet upon him, throwing infinite numbers of Darts at him, of the which he put by fome, and received others upon his Target: but yet there were many that fluck in his body , which he pulled out himself , and with the felf-same Weapons fought with them that had thrown them at him. At the last, when he had fought more then a man, and beyond all the force a man could use to give his Countrey the Victory: a LACONIAN called Anticrates thrust him into the breast with a Dart with such a deadly wound- force, that the Wood brake, and the Iron with the Tronchion remained in his Body. Having received this great wound, he fuddenly fell down to the ground: but then was there a more cruell fight about him then before, with great flaughter of both fides: until that the Thebans which had much stronger bodies then the LACEDEMONIANS, made them flie for life : and after they had followed them a little way, they returned again to the Camp where the Battell was fought, to the end they might have the dead bodies in their power, and so the whole Victory. Thereupon they founded the retrait, and thus the Battell ceased, for the which both of them set up tokens of Triumph, either fide pretending they had the better. For the ATHENIANS having overthrown those of NEGROPONT and their Adherents which were sent to take the hils of that Plain : they kept the bodies in their power. The THEBANS on the other fide having overcome the Spartans, had the bodies of those that were dead in that Battell in their power, being the far greater number also: wherefore they faid that they were Victours. So standing in these termes, it was a good while before they sent Trumpeter or Herauld the one to the other to bury their dead : untill that the LACEDEMONIANS sent first of all, and then they all took

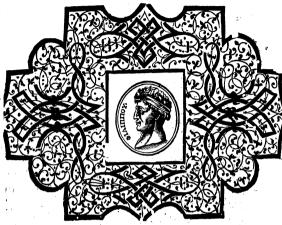
their dead bodies and buried them. And furthermore, he that had killed Epaminondas was fo well

EPAMINON"

thought of , and highly efteemed for this valiant act of his , for the great fear all the SPARTANS had had of Epaminondas in time past; that they gave him many great Prelents and Honours, and belides, made those that came after him free from all publique charges and contributions in the Common-wealth. And Plutarch also faid, that in his time one Gallierates, a Nephew of Anticrates above named, did then enjoy that freedom. Touching Epaminosade, he was brought vet alive another into his Tent: howbeit the Phylitians and Surgeons being called together to dress him, they all agreed, that so foon as ever they pulled out the head and splent of the Dart out of his Body, he must needs die. So he made a most worthy and noble end of his life : for first he called for his Target-bearer, who was always at his hand in Battell, and asked him, Is my Target fafe? He brought it straight to shew it him. Then he asked who had the Victory? The BOEOTIANS, faid the Target-bearer. Then he commanded they should bring him Diophantin and Polidan: but being told they were both dead, he willed his Citizens to make Peace with their Enemies, for that now they had no more Captains of skill to lead them to the Wars. Adding further to that above spoken, It is now time I die, and so commanded them to pluck this spill of the Dart out of his Body. At that word all his friends about him fetched grievous fighes and cried out: and one of them weeping faid unto him : Alas Epaminondas , thou dieft now , and leavest no Children Epaminondas behind thee. No that I do not, faid he, but I leave two fair Daughters behind me, whereof his death. the one is the Victory of LEUCTRES , and the other that of MANTINEA. Immediatly they pulled out the spill of the Dart, and at that instance he gave up the ghost, without shewing any fign or token that he was troubled in his mind. And thus did he imbrace that bleffed death: that fortuning unto him which he often had in his mouth : that War is the bed of Honour, and The commenalso that it is a sweet death to die for his Countrey. Now may we well see, that he excelled all dation of Epathe Captains that ever were before him, did accompany, or follow him. For who foever would minondar. compare all their Vertues with the Deeds and Glory of Epaminondas , he shall fee that the Vertue of him was more noble and excellent, then any of theirs. For in them will appear at the first fight fome special thing more eminent then all the rest, which hash made their same great and glorious: but in this man onely were joyned together all the Vertues and good Paris that could be wished for in a grave, politick, and great Captain, to make him perfect and compleat in all things. For in the liberall science, in Experience, ripe Understanding, force of Eloquence, strength of Body, disposition of his Person, in height and greatness of Courage, in Temperance, Wiledom, Watching, Sweetness and Courtese : and moreover in Hardiness, Prowess, good Judgement , and fufficiency in Military Difcipline : I know not where there is to be found to compleat a man. For my Opinion, I compare Epaminondae to himself. Also in his time he wan to his Countrey by force of Arms, the Principality of GREECE; but after his death his Citizens loft it immediatly, and fell daily to decay : that at the last Alexander the Great utterly overcame them, made them that were alive Slaves, and destroyed their City to the very ground. To conclude, before, and after Epamisondas, There is was under foot, and yet commanded all others whiles he flood on his feet. And fo we muft conclude , that THEBES was utterly overthrown in the Battell of MANTINEA, and that Epaminondas at that time wan an immortall Glory. And as in his life-time he had carried himfelf modeftly, and always detefted coverousness: so after his decease the THEBANS brought him to his grave at the common charge of the Town, because they found no money in his house to defray the least Charges of his Funerall.

The end of the Life of Epaminondas

THE LIFE OF PHILIP of MACEDON.



Anno Mundi. 3580.

Ant. Chrift . 360.

Philip : that wifedom booteth not at all; Which forming justice, hopes to clime on high. Let Princes , that behold thy Sudden fall , Love right and meekness, lest like thee they die.

Philips Pede-



Mynea, the Second of that Name, and seventeenth King of MACEDON, of the Race of Temenides or Caranider, descended from Hercules, and that reigned four hundred and ninety eight years, reckoning from Caranas unto Antipater, in whom began another Race : he had three Sons by his first Wife called Eurydice , born in ILLYRIA : to wit , Alexander Perdiccas, and Philip: Alexander having succeeded his Father, reigned but one year, during which time he made War with his base Brother Ptolomans Alorites. But to appeale the ftrife betwirt them, they fent for Pelopidas, who was at that time in THESSALIE. He took up all their quarrels, restored those that were banished unto their houses, and (be-

thirty others.

cause this Peace should be more surely kept) he took of them for hostages, Philip, and thirty other of the nobleft mens Sons in Macedon, and brought them all away with him to Thebes. Now during the time that Perdice ar reigned , which was the space of five years, Philip kept at Pammenes houle, with whom Epaminondas wasvery great: and hereof it came, that some thought Philip was a hearer of Lysis Epaminondas-School-master; and that they conferred together in Philosophy. Howbeit Epaminondas was then much older then he, and furely it can hardly be that they were Scholars together: except they will say that Epaminondas continuing all his life time to profit by the study of wisedom, made Philip destrous to hear him sometime, and to follow him also. And it may be well enough also that he had learned of Epaminondas to be so quick and suddain of execution in the Wars, as he was: which was but one of the least parts of Epaminondas Vertues. But as for his continency, justice, magnanimity, and elemency, which were the parts that in truth made him great: *Philip , neither by Nature , nor by Education , nor by Study, ever attained bind it: for all this, he wanted not great Gifts of body and mind, as 'fhall appear in the difcourfe of his Life: and as Theophrastus testifieth, he was greater then any other of the Kings of MACE-DON, not onely in prosperity of Fortune, but also in wisedom, bounty, and moderation of manners. So it came to pass that Alexander, notwithstanding the accord Pelopidas had made, was traiteroully killed by Prolomy firnamed Alorites, who usurped the Kingdome, and was slain himfelf by Perdiccas: who after he had been overcome in a great Battell by the SLAVONS, in the Alexander and telt by Peraccas: who are in the acceptance of the three Brethren, fealing away from the place Perdiccas which he was in hoftage, fled into MACEDON, and came to fucceed in the Kingdom, the which he Philips elder found in great trouble. For there were flain at the last Battell above four thousand MACEDONI- Brethen are found in great trouble. For tierre were faithful at the faith and with blows, that they thought of nothing flain, and ans, and those that escaped were so beaten and associated with blows, that they thought of nothing flain, and ans, and those that escaped were so beaten and associated blows, that they thought of nothing flain, and ans, and those that escaped were so beaten and associated with blows, that they thought of nothing flain, and ANS, and those that estraped were in brateful and admind which the Hungarians made inrodes into Macedon, and the Slavons muftered again to return thither. There was one Crown. Paufanias also that aspired to the Kingdom, by the support of the King of THRACIA. And the ATHENIA NS also, they would establish one called Argam , and to this end sent a great Fleet by Sea. and three thousand Footmen well armed by Land, led by Mantias. Philip taking heart to him in these rude beginnings, began to embolden the MACEDONIANS by wife perswasions : he re-established Philips first military Discipline, turnished his Souldiers very well, making them arm themselves, and gave order Exploits. they should be continually trained and exercised. It was he that amongst other things devised how to close his Footmen, and that framed the square Battell, which ever fince was called the MACEDONI-AN Phalange. He was very gracious in his words, and by his promites and Gitts he wan the hearts and good will of his Subjects. Now finding himself strong, although he was yet but young of years, he resolved to make head

arms the MACEDONIANS, that he overthrew the SLAVONS, leaving feven thousand of them dead on the ground: and the reft elcaped by flying away. Shortly after they were agreed together, and reftored unto Philip all the places they held pertaining unto MACEDON. Now the

AMPHIPOLITANS had of long time born Philip evill will, and whilest he was occupied in other places, they did him many injuries: wherefore he determined to make a sharp War upon them. He having belieged them with a puissant Army, and having brought his Engines of

ed to win them. But Philip having won POTIDEA, drave out the Garrison of the ATHENI-ANS, and used them very honeftly: for he sent them home to their houses, their lives and goods

faved, not because he loved the People of ATHENS, but for that he feared the power of their City.

number of Inhabitants, he changed the first Name of it, and called it by his own Name, PHILIPPI. Within that territory he had Mines of Gold, the which he opened and digged so diligently, that he

drew out yearly new made, about the fum of fix hundred thousand Crowns. By this means

ber of Picces of Gold called Philippus, wherewith he waged a great number of men, and bribed many private GREEKS: who afterwards fold him for ready Money the Towns of their Countrey,

against all his Enemies, yet not by open force , but where there was need : being always of this mind, to buy time and men as much as he could possible. So perceiving that the ATHENIANS did their uttermost endeavour to win the City of AMPHIPOLIS again, and that by this means they fought to bring the Kingdom of MACEDON into the hands of Argam: he made them leave it, and thrust out their Garrisons. As for the PANNONIANS (others read PÆONIANS) or HUNGA-RIAMS, having fent Ambaffadours to them, he corrupted fome with Money, and wan others by fair promifes: infomuch that they were all contented to live in peace with him. And by the fame means he brake the hope of Paufanias, having by prefents gained the King of THRACIA that aided him. And for the regard of Mantias Captain of the ATHENIANS, he marched with his Army unto the City of METHONA: but he remained there, and fent Argens with the Souldiers strangers whom they had brought with them, unto the City of EGES. Argans approaching near the Town with his Troop, fent to feel the Inhabitants, if they would receive him, and be the first that should be cause of his entrie into the Possession of the Kingdom of MACEDON. But perceiving they cared not for him, he returned again. Philip that followed him hard at his heels gave him Battell, killed the most part of his men, and drave the rest unto a little Mountain, where he besieged Fhilip discomthem fo ftraightly, that they were forced to deliver him all the banished men of MACEDON amongst them : whereupon he let them go their lives and goods faved. This first Victory of Philip put the MACEDONIANS again in heart, and made them bold to enterprife any thing afterwards, Hercupon he made peace with the ATHENIANS, and understanding that the King of HUNGARIE was dead, he entred into their Countrey with a main Army, overcame them in Battell, and made them subject unto him. Of all his Enemies there were lest none but the SLAVONIANS, whom he went to affail with ten thouland Footmen, and fix hundred Horse. But fince they could not agree together, Bardilli their King trufting in the Victories he had gotten before time of the MACE-DONIANS, and in the valiantness of his SLAVONS, he came into the Field and presented Battell. The which having been fought a long time, Philip behaved himself so valiantly with his men of

War hard to their Walls, he beat them with fuch fury, that he made a fufficient breach, and entred the Town by force: out of the which he drave those afterwards that were his Enemies, and very courteoully used and intreated the rest. This Town being seated in a very commodious place, upon the Frontiers of Thracia, and of the Countreys near adjoyning thereto, flood him after-won by 1 hills, wards in great stead for the furtherance and increase of his greatness. For by means of that he standeth him prefently had the City of PYDNE, and made league with the OLYNTHIANS, of great power in great flead, at that time: by reason whereof he and the ATHENIANS envying one the other, they both practis-

After he had taken in the City of PYDNE, he gave it to the OLYNTHIANS, with all the territory The policy of belonging unto it. Then he returned to CRENIDES, the which he having augmented with a great

in a short time he gathered together a great Treasure, and daily the Kingdom of MACEDON Treasure the grew great, because it had one of the chiefest sinews and props of War. So he coyned a num- finew of War.

as we shall fee hereaster. In all this business, Alexander the Tyrant of Pheres in Thessalv, having been slain by his Wife Thebe, and by her Brethren called Lycophron, and Tisiphonas, at the first they were honoured as men that had delivered their Countrey of a cruell tyranny: but very shortly after, these two men changing their minds, by Money wan the Souldiers whom Alexander kept for the guard of his person, and put themselves in his place whom they had killed. putting many Citizens to death that withflood their enterprise : and having gathered together a great number of Souldiers, they made themselves Lords of Pheres. The ALEVADES, men of authority, and greatly followed in the Countrey for the ancient nobility of their house, would have opposed themselves against this new tyranny. But finding themselves to be too weak, they made means to Philip: who entring into Thessaly with his Army, overcame the two Tyrants, and fetting the Towns at liberty, which these Tyrants held in subjection, he shewed great love and favour to the THESSALIANS; By which occasion, in all his Conquests he had obtained afterwards, he found the THESSALIANS always ready to do him service, and to aid him in all his affairs. Philips great- and not himself alone, but also his Son Alexander. But the greatness of Philip grieved his neighnefs envied at. bours, infompth as the Kings of THRACIA, HUNGARIA, and SLAVONIA, not being ftrong enough of themselves, they joyned Forces together to make War upon him, and to be revenged. Whileft they were preparing to joyn their Forces, Philip went before, and compelled them to do

About this time, to wit, in the last year of the hundred and fifth Olympiade, fifteen years after the Battell of MANTINEA, the holy War began amongst the GREEKS, which continued ten years space : and this was the occasion. The THEBANS not being contented with the Victory they obtained at the Battell of LEUCTRES, framed a complaint against the LACEDEMONI-ANS in the Affembly of the Estates of GREECE: which they call the Councill of the Amphillions: and followed the matter fo hard, that the LACEDEMONIANS were condemned in a great fum of Money, because they had in time of Peace surprised the Castle of CADMEA. The PHOCIANS also, they having plowed up a great deal of a certain Land facred to the gods, called the Land of CIRRHE, were condemned by the Amphiliyons in a great fum of Money: and because they would not pay it, the Council pronounced, without longer delay and refusall, all their Towns and Lands to be confilered to the gods, and that all other that were condemned (of which number were the LACEDEMONIANS) should be compelled to pay their Fines, and if they refuled, they should be taken for excommunicate, and the other GREEKS should make war with them, as against accursed and execrable men. Philomelus, a man of great authority among the PHOCIANS, did so much, that he perswaded them not to pay it, but contrariwise to defend their Countrey with Arms, and to win DELPHOS. Whereunto they giving their consents, he gathered together a great Army, and in despite of all hinderance made himself Master of DELPHOS : cut afunder with flears the Decrees made by the Amphilitions engraven upon Marble Pillars; posses fed all the Gold and Silver that was in the Temple : and afterwards rendred a reason of his fact, and prepared himself to make War against the THEBANS, THESSALIANS, and LOCRIANS, and wan three great Battells of them. But being overcome at the fourth Battell, he threw himfelf down off a high Rock. In the mean space , Cerfobleptes, the Son of Cloth King of THRACIA, having rendred up to the ATHENIANS the Towns of CHERRONESUS, partly for the good will he bare the ATHENIANS, and partly for the hatred he had to Philip: the People of ATHENS fent Inhabitants thither to keep and defend the Towns. Philip perceiving that those of METHONS lent out their Town to all them that would make War against him, went and laid siege before it. They that were besieged, did valiantly defend it for a time : but in the end finding themselves too weak to make refistance, they yeelded upon condition, that the Inhabitants should go out every man with one onely Gown. As foon as ever Philip had the Town in his hands , he razed it even to the ground, and gave the Countrey all about unto the MACEDONIANS. At this fiege he was wounded with an Arrow, that put out one of his eyes. Afterwards he led his Army also at the instance of the THES SALIANS, into the Countrey against Lycophron, that began again to tyrannize over those of PHE-RES: who having demanded aid of the PHOCIANS, they fent thither Phayllus with feven thousand fighting men, whom Philip overcame, and drave them out of THESSALY. Then Onomarchus that fucceeded Philomelis in the charge of Generall, hoping to have won THESSALY, made great speed thither with all his Army under colour to bring aid unto Lycophron. Philip went against him with the THESSALIANS, but because Onomarchin had the greater number of men, he overthrew him, and killed many of the MACEDONIANS, infornuch that Philip himself was in great danger. For his men also were so afraid, that they would have forsaken him, and he had much trouble to keep them together : and in the end was constrained to retirehome into his Kingdom. Onomarchus departing from thence, entred into the Countrey of BOEOTIA, overcame the BOEOTIANS in Battell, and took the City of CORONEA. But Philip returned immediatly with a great force into THES-SALY to drive out Lycophron: who having called in the PHOCIANS, Onomarchus returned thinker, followed with twenty thousand Footmen, and five hundred Horse. Hereupon Philip perswaded the Commons of THESSALY, that they must all together undertake this War. And he could so well follicite them, that he affembled in one Camp twenty thousand Footmen, and three thousand Horse. Then was there fought a most cruell Battell, whereof the Victory sell to Philip, through the valiantnels of his THESS ALIAN men of arms. For Onomarchia and his men, they fled on foot towards the Sea, where was by chance Chares the ATHENIAN Captain failing all alongst the

Philip lofeth one of his

Onomarchus overthrown by Philip.

Coast with certain Gallies. There was a great flaughter of the Phocians there, followed by the Victors. Others to flie with more speed, threw down their Arms, and leapt into the Sea, by swimming to get to the Gallies of the ATHENIANS: There were slain in Battell and flight as well of naturall PHOCIANS, as of strangers that came for pay, above fix thousand men, and there were taken Priloners to the number of three thouland: Onomarchus that was one of them, was hang. Onomarchus ed, and all the other drowned as Sacrilegers, by the commandment of Philip: unto whom Lyco- hanged, abron veelded the Town of PHERES, and fo retired out of THESSALY, which by this means was fet at liberty.

As for Philip, he marched with his Army towards the way of THERMOPHYLES, to make war with the PHOCIANS, within PHOCIDE it felf : but the ATHENIANS Ropped his paffage. Wherefore he was constrained to return back into MACEDON, where he staid not long at rest, but determined to bring the Towns of CHALCIDE in subjection to him. So he took by affault a Fort called Gyre, the which he razed. But this was fuch a terrour to the other small Towns, that they put themselves under his obedience. Passing from thence into THESSALY, he drave away Pytholaus that had made himself Master of PHERES. And intending to bring the Towns of HELLESPONT under his subjection, he took in without pain or danger (rather by treason) the Towns of MICYBERNE, and of TORONE. Afterwards he went with a great Army against the City of OLYNTHE, the greatest and of most power that was in that marches : where first he overcame the OLYNTHIANS in two great fights, so that he made them leave the Field, and shut them in within their own Town, unto the which he gave many affaults, and loft a great number of his men there. But having with great fums of Money corrupted Enthicrates and Lafthenes Governours of No Town to the Town, at the length he had it by treason: and having sacked it, he fold the Towns-men for through the Slaves by the drum. The taking of this Town brought him a great quantity of Silver to help to may be overdefray the charges of his War, and did also make the other Towns afraid, which had taken Arms to come by relift him. Now after he had bestowed many rich Presents upon his Captains and Souldiers that had Treason. done him good service in this War, he gave also all about great sums of Money to the Heads of the Towns, and found Merchants also among them that fold him their own Countrey and fellow Citizens: infomuch that he himself confessed he had enlarged his Kingdome more through Gold and Silver then he did by force of Arms: according to an answer that was made him, when he began first to put himself forward : for being desirous to know how he should carry himself , the Oracle answered:

With Silver Spears begin and end thy War, So falt thou topfic turny turn all things, what ere they are.

Now the ATHENIANS being jealous of his greatness, did ever help them whom he would The policy of hurt, and fent Ambassadours to all the Cities, to perswade them to maintain and preserve their the Athenians. liberty, and to put their Towns-men to death whom they found willing to betray the Common-wealth: promising them to aid them all, and declared themselves open Enemies unto Philip. He that set The force of them most against him, was Demosthenes, the most Eloquent man of all GREECE at that time, and Eloquence. that did more trouble and hurt Philip with the blowes of his Tongue, and his continual motions, then all the Captains of GREECE did him besides. All this notwithstanding, with all the diligence and labour ATHENS could use, they could never bridle the wicked disposition of some private persons, but they still sought to sell their Countrey: for he that bought, sowed Silver without any spare, and there were a great number of Traitours at that time through all GREECE. And touching this purpose, they say, that he being desirous to win a very strong hold, he sent some men before to view it : who returning, reported that it was unpossible almost to approach it, and did by description fet it down in all points impregnable. Then he asked them if the place were fo hard to come to, that a poor Afs loaden with Gold could not come near it : for he had oftentimes with Silver very easily won that, which otherwise was not to be had by force of Armes. And this was the cause that he practifed to have Traitours in every Town by Gifts and Penfions, calling them that received him, his hostes and friends, corrupting mens manners besides by unworthy and dishonest means. As after that he had won OLYNTHE, he made sumptuous and magnificent Sacrifices to his gods, to thank them for the Victory they had given him : and fo having fet down a day of Triumph for tilting and tourneying, and common sports, thither repaired a great number of strangers that came to fee the Feast. So keeping open Court, he invited many of these strangers to come to his sumptuous Feafts he made, and in them he shewed all the familiarity and courtesse that might be to entertain them. For he drank to some, and then gave them the Cups wherein he drank to them : to othershe gave great Presents, and unto all generally he gave good words and large promises: insomuch that many fought how to obtain his love and favour. So it is reported, that one day at a Banquet he espied Sasyrus, an excellent Comedian and Player, that he was very fad : and that he asked him why he did not crave something of him, that he might shew his liberality unto him. Satyrus answered him again, that he would be glad to obtain a fuit at his hands, but he durft not ask it him, being afraid he should be denied. Philip liked his answer well, and bade him ask boldly. Then he rold him, that a friend of his had two Daughters among other Prisoners, both of them marriageable, and befought him that he would bestow them upon him ; not for any other pleasure or profit he should have of them, but because he would marry them both at his own charge, before they should be forced to their dishonour. Pkilip thanked him for his honest Petition, and presently caused

these two Maids to be delivered unto him. Thus he bestowed many such courtesies every where,

Hypocrifie.

Philip fum-

Counfell or

Parliament.

PHILIP of MACEDON.

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whereof he made his profit afterwards with great usury. For a number being drawn by the fent and odour of fo many good turns, fludied with themselves, envying one another, which of them might do him best fervice, and find out most means to deliver Towns and Countries unto

But now to return again to that we had begun to speak of the holy War. The PHOCIANS that had three very strong holds in BOEOTIA, to wit, ORCHOMENE, CORONE, and Con-SIES, did ordinarily from thence make incursions into the Countrey of the BOEOTIANS, with a great number of Souldiers strangers whom they kept in pay, and did burn and lay wasteall the Territory thereabouts, and ever had the upperhand in all their inrodes and skirmishes they had with the Countreymen. Upon this occasion the Borotians being weak of men, and wanting Money, fent in the end to demand aid of Philip: who was not a little glad to fee them brought fo low, for he desired their pride might be pulled down, which had lift there up so high since the Battell of Leuctres. So he fent them a good number of Souldiers, not for any defire he had to aid them, but to make them think that he made great account of the Temple of Delphos, which the PHOCIANS had spoiled. After divers exploits of War, the one side and the other seeing themselves weary and bare, the BOEOTIANS prayed Philip to come and aid them: which he granted them; and taking a supply of THESSALIANS with him, he came to Locride with a good Army, and put himself in order to end this War at one Battell. But Phalleeum Generall of the PHOCIANS, finding himself not strong enough to fight with him, fent unto him to Treat of Peace: fo he was fuffered to go fafely with his men whether he would. Whereupon under the assurance of this Peace, he retired with eight thousand men into Peloponnesus. The Phoci-Ans then left without all hope, yeelded themselves to Philips discretion. Thus having ended this holy War without stroke striken, beyond all mens opinions, he called a Council of the Boeo-TIANS and THESSALIANS in the which it was determined that there should be an Assembly of Parliament of the Amphitiyns, unto whom they would wholly refer themselves for deciding of this matter. Whereupon the Committioners for the Parliament of the Amphilityous were affembled, and there among other acts it was ordained, that from thenceforth it should be lawfull for Philip and all of his Race to fit in this Councill of the Amphiliyons, and that they should have thetwo voices which the PHOCIANS (by him larely conquered) had before. Also, that he and his thenceforth should have the Government and superintendency of the Sports PYTHIAN, with the Bos-OTIANS and THESSALIANS: because the CORINTHIANS had been partakers with the Sacriledge of the PHOCIANS. The reft of their Decrees concerned those of PHOCIDE, the salety of the Temple of Delphos, and the union of the Greeks. Philip having broken up the Armories of the PHOCIANS and of the strangers that had fought in their pay, he defaced their Towns, and made them fell their Horses. After he had received of the Amphiliyons the greatest honour Philip afpireth and thanks they could devise, he returned into his Realm of MACEDON, having won him the Name of a devour and valiant Prince, and laid the Foundation of the greatness unto the which his Son Alexander came afterwards. For he fingularly defired to be chosen Captain-Generall of all Greece, with full power and authority to make War with the King of Persia, ashedid. Furthermore, the hereditary quarrels he had against the SLAVONS, being as irreconciliable, he entred with his Army into SLAVONIA, where having spoiled a great part of that Countrey, and taken many Towns, he returned back into MACEDON loaden with booty. After that he went into THESSALY, and drawe out the Tyrants there, which held the Towns in fubjection. By this means he wan the hearts of the THESSALIANS, whom indeed he had great care to use well, hoping that if the THESSALIANS remained his faithfull friends, he should easily gain the other GREEKS to desire his friendship; and so it happened: for the People, neighbours to Thessaly, did presently enter into league with him. Soon after that, he led his Army into THRACIA to repress [trfoblepter, who troubled all the Towns of HELLES FONT next adjoyning to his Realm. When he had beaten the THRACIANS in divers encounters, he compelled the vanquished to pay yearly unto the MACEDONIANS the tenth part of their revenues; and fortifying a few good Towns in the best parts of their Countrey, he bridled the boldness of these barbarous People : whereupon the Towns

within those marches being delivered from Wars, they very willingly entred into league and alliance Thus waxing greater every day then other, he held his Army before the City of PERINTH, because that stood against him, and took part with the ATHENIANS. So he laid siege unto it, and brought his Engines of Battery before it, among the which there were Rams of eighty foot long, and built up Towers of Wood higher then the highest Towers of Stone that were within the Town: upon the top whereof he marvelloufly annoyed the belieged : and battering the Walls with these Rams, he made them fall down in divers places. The PERINTHIANS on the other fide very luftly defended themselves, and reared up other Walls within, in place of them that were fallen down. He plyed them continually with wonderfull affaults, the Affailants and affailed shewing all their politible force and endeavour. Now Philip had great Crofs-bows and other Engines of all forts to kill far off, great Arrows long and tharp at the end, which did wound those that came to the cranewes of the Wals: and those that were belieged, lost many of their men every day. But at the length they were supplyed with arms and men, whom the BYZANTINES sent unto them: whereupon equalling their Enemies, they began to be couragious again, and refolutely offered themfelves unto any danger for defence of their Countrey. For all this, the Battery begundiscontinued not, and Philip dividing his men into divers Troops; gave them many affaults, continued by turns one in the neck of another night and day. Which he might eafily do, confidering he had thirty thousand fighting men in his Camp, with an ineftimable number of Miffile Weapons, with Engine to bestow great shot afar off, and of all forts of Engines to beat down Towns, with the which he wonderfully plagued and hurt the besieged. Nevertheless the siege drew on in length, and many of the Towns-men died, besides those that were hurt and wounded : and because that Victuals also waxed frant amongst them: so that they hourly looked for no other thing, but to take PERINTH. But it fell out clean contrary : for the fame of Philips greatness being blown abroad throughout Perinthrescued all ASIA, the King of PERSIA being afraid of fuch a Power, writ unto his Lieutenants upon the by the Perfiant. Sea Coasts, that they should aid the PERINTHIANS all they could possible. Thereupon his Satrapes having confulted of this matter together, fent unto the befieged a great supply of men of War, store of Gold and Silver, plenty of Corn, of Armes, and of all other necessary Provisions for the Wars. The BYZANTINES on the other fide fent them the best experienced Captains and Souldiers they had. By this means the two Forces of these Besiegers and the besieged being equall of new again, the War began to be hotter then before. For Philip beating at the Wals without cease with his Rams, made very great breaches, and with his Engines to shoot far off, kept them that none durft stay at the cranews of the Wals; and at one instant made his men to give an affault at the breaches of the Wals thrown down, and caufed others to scale the Wals that were yet standing whole, and so fighting with their Swords many were slain in the place, and others fore wounded, both valiantly fighting for the reward of honour and Victory. The MACEDONIANS hoped to have the fack of a rich and wealthy City, and more then that, to have goodly Prefents of the King. They that were belieged on the other fide, fetting before them all the calamities and miferies of the taking of a City, did luftily endure any pains and danger to prevent fo great a milchief. Besides that , the situation of the Town was a great help unto them, not onely to hope well, but also that in the end they should be Masters. For the Town of PERINTH stood all upon the Sea Side, upon a Haven of half an Island that stood of a great height, and this Haven was about half a quarter of a League long. The houses there were very narrow and high, and because they stood high upon the hanging of the Coast all the Town being underneath it on the ground, they were built much higher then those that flood beneath : so to fee them above, they shewed like the degrees of seats in a Theater. And although that they without did still beat down some part of the Wall: that vantaged them nothing for all that. For those within did nothing else but mure up the entrance into the Streets, which were narrow, and they always defended themselves, making Rampiers before the low houses, as if they had been the best Wals in So Philip having gotten the outward Wals of the Town, with all the troubles and dangers Philiphelied-

possible: he found other Wals ready built stronger then the other, as if they had been done eth the Byzanof purpole : befides that the BY ZANTINES did always furnish them with any thing they want- times for a ding ed. Philip confidering this, devided his Army into two, and let the half of them to continue them of Pefiege, under the charge of the best Captains he had: and taking with him the other half, he went to beliege BYZANCE it felf, and gave it a most brave affault : whereat the BYZANTINES were amazed, because their Souldiers, their Arms, and all other necessary Provisions for War were in the City of PERINTH. But the ATHENIANS fent them immediately an Army by Sea to aid them, as also thosedid of CHIO, of RHODES, and out of other places. Chares went thither, fent by the ATHENTANS, but he did nothing of worth, nor worthy of the Fleet he brought thither: because he was suspected of his friends, and defpised of his Enemies. So that they fent Photion thither, Photion a validation who before that time had fought bravely with Philip in the Ille of EUBOEA , (which he thought ant Leader, to have won by means of Traitours) had overcome the MACEDONIANS in Battell, and had done many other notable exploits. Howbeit after his departure Philip being the Aronger , departing from thence , came to beliege PERINTH , and after that BY ZAINCE , into the which Phocion entred with though to terrible in Arns that none could refift him, neither duff any man prefent himfelf both figes in Battell against him) role from the belieging of Perriver, and retired from By zance and with shame out of HELLES PONT, and did nothing, but loft much of his reputation. For befides the men and lofs that were killed at these two fieges, he lost some of his Ships, and many strong holds, out of the which his Garrisons were thrown , and his friends forraged by the ATHENIANS. This was the cause why he offered Articles of Peace, fearing the Forces of the ATHENIANS, defirous to forward his affairs some other way, or rather to meddle no more with them. Photion counfelled the ATHENIANS to hearken unto it, and accept the Conditions unto the which Philip Submitted himself: But the Counsellours (specially Demosthenes) that bare the sway at that time, moved the Atherita na wito a new league, the which Demofheres prepared against Philip: who bethinking himself, determined to employ all his means to subdue the Cities all at once, to the end that he might afterwards pass further. So he leavied an Army with great speed, and having Philip winneth overcome certain Troops of the Towns in league together near unto AMPHISE, he marched much into the Countrey of ELATIA, and afterwards wan PHOCIDE; and being lift up with fuch profperous beginnings, he refolved to go to ATHENS, Whereof the ATHENIANS having intelli-

gence, they were straight in arms every where, the People being so amazed, that none durst be

to bold as to speak, and they knew not what to do. They rejected the wife counfell of Phocion,

The Greeks retule the Peace offered by Philip.

of which Demofibenes was the cause. Wherefore to repair his fault, he stepped out and counof which Demognoenes was the cause. The state of the Thebans. So thereupon they fent him felled the ATHENIANS to feek the friendship of the Thebans. to put it in practife, and happily he obtained it, notwithstanding all Philips oppositions to the contraty; who being aftonied more then before with these crosses which the Eloquence of one man trary: wno being attorned more than cooker she Greeks Peace. But they kept themselves close, did against him: he sent again to offer the Greeks Peace. and made thrange of it, expecting the event of all this great Tempest: not being disposed at that time to hearken to pacification. But as if the time of their bondage had been at the Gate, they retime to nearmen to pacinication.

The full dall Conditions, year contemned the very Oracles of Delphos, and Demoßbenes had it often in his mouth, that the Prophete's did Philippizate, to wir favoured Philips affairs. These Oracles in his mouth, that the Prophete's did Philippizate, to wir favoured Philips affairs. in ms mount, that he are and the other, and especially the Greeks. Now Philip, though he threatned both the one and the other, and especially the Greeks. turcaucu oout the contains of the BOEOTIANS, yet he refolved to fight with the one faw he was deceived of the friendfhip of the BOEOTIANS. and the other. Therefore keeping his Camp certain days, looking for the Forces of his friends that were not yet come unto him: he entred into BOEOTIA, with thirty thousand Footmen, and mat were not yet come also both Camps being ready to give charge upon each other, they about two thouland Horfe. So both Camps being ready to give charge upon each other, they about two mountain rivers. So would be a southing the number of men, and skil-both had like courage and refolution to do well. But as touching the number of men, and skilfulnels of Captains, Philip did pass them far: for having done in many places so many worthy exploits of Arms, he was become very expert in Military Discipline. To the contrary, on the ATHENIANS fide, their best Captains, as Iphicrates, Chabrias and Timosheus, were deal, the ATHENIANS fide, their best Captains, as Iphicrates, Chabrias and Timosheus, were deal. The ATHENIANS fide, their best Captains, as Iphicrates, Chabrias and Timosheus, were deal. Could that he should have no charge. Then was there but Chares and Lysicles, that were too weak to take such a great charge upon them , and were much insertiour to many of the Captains Philip had

Philip overthroweth the Athenians:

The day being broken, and both Armies fet in Battell the one against the other in the plain of CHERONEA: Philip placed his Son Alexander, coming but newly out of his infancy, in one of the points of his Army, attended upon by the best Captains he had and he placed himself in the other point, with the valiantest men in his Army, giving order and direction in all things according to time and place. The ATHENIANS, having taken one of the points of their Batell, less the other unto the BOEOTIANS. So the fight began very sharply, and many were slain on both fides, and it could not be differred yet whether fide had best occasion to hope of Victory: untill that Alexander at the length, defirous to make his Father fee fome proof of his valour, and many other valiant men feeing the courage of this young Prince, following him, they with him brake into the Battell of the Enemies, and there was a marvellous cruell flaughter. Philip on his fide also giving charge upon the greatest press and multitude of his Eneraies, not enduraing that any should take the honour from him, no not his own Son: set upon them so fiercely that withstood him, that he put them out of order, and made them flie for life. There died in this Battell above a thouland ATHENIANS, and there were taken Prisoners to the number of two thousand. And, of the BOEOTIANS in like manner there were many killed in the Field, and a great number taken. After this Battell, Philip caused a token of Triumph to be fet up, and inferred the Enemies to take away, the bodies of their dead, and to bury them. He made sumptious Sacrifices unto his gods, to give them thanks for his Victory: and honoured them that had done good service in this Battell, every one according to his degree and defert. Howbeit he committed certain infolencies: for after he had drunk well with his friends, he went to the place where the dead bodies lay, and there he fell a finging in mockery, the beginning of the Decree which Demofitions had propounded, whole counfill, they following, the ATHENIANS concluded to make War against him, lifting up his voice, and keeping measure with his foot : Demofthenee, the Son of Demofthenet PAANIAN fet out abis. But afterwards when he began a little to come to himself again out of his drupkenness, and that he had thought a little of the danger he had been in then his hair began to stand upright on his head, when he entred into the confideration of the force and vehemency of such an Oratour, that had brought him in a piece of a day, to put his whole Estate and his life to the hazard of a Basi tell. And when the ATHENIANS fent unto him to Treat of Peace, he prefently fer his countenance, rubbed his Eye-brows, and laying afide all madness and Wantonness, made them a very sober and advised answer. Others say, that he drank too much at the Feat of his say crince, and that after supper he danced and made a Mummery with his Minions; passed by the Prifoners, and gave them tharp taunts in mockery, touching the mistoriume of their overthrow: and that Demades then being one of the number was to bold frankly to fpeak a word to him, which was of such efficacy, as it made him refrain from his, infolency. O King, fad be, it being now thy fortune to play Agamemons parts, thou art not affiamed to finew the Deeds of Therfites. Philip finding himfelf southed to the with the word fo well fet, the presently changed his apparell and countenance, cast down to the ground his Garland of Flowers he wore on his head, caufed all the other figns of mockery which were carried after him to be broken, and from thenceforth began greatly to effect of Demades, and would have him a bout him. Demade: , being passing Eloquent above others of his time , did so well entertain Philip , that he caused him to deliver all the other prisoners of the ATHENIANS, without paying of any Ranforn. And further yet , humbling the Conquerours fierceness, he made Peace with the ATHENIANS, but put a Gardon within THERES, and morcover granted Peace unto the part and on a martian v

on with him.

BOEOTIANS.

But that which principally brought him to incline unto it, was the defire he had to be chosen Captain-Generall of GREECE. And to this end he caused them to give out abroad, that he The cause would undertake to make War for the Greeks against the Persians, and to be revene, that moved ed of them for the outrages and facrileges which they had committed against the Temples of the Philip to make gods in GREECE: and fought to gain the good will and friendship of all the GREEKS. Peace with by all kind of courtefies he could possibly device or think of, as well openly as secretly. So Albenians, he made a motive, that he defired to speak with the Towns openly, and to communicate some things unto them, which concerned the good of all their Common-wealth in Generall. And for this purpose there was appointed a generall Assembly of the States in GREECE in the City of CORINTH, in the which he propounded this, to undertake the War against the Per-SIANS: and putting them in great hope of happy fuccess, he perswaded the Commissioners of every Town, which were prefent in this Affembly of Council, boldly to conclude this enterprise. He follicited his matter in fuch fort, that the GREEKS with generall confent chose him their Cap. Philip choseis tain-Generall with foveraign authority. Then he began to make great preparations for this War, Captain-Gieand having made a description and fess of all the Contributions, as also the number of men of War Greese, which every City should furnish for this Enterprise : he returned into MACEDON, and fent from thence two of his chief Captains before into Asia, Attalus and Parmenio with a part of his Army, commanding them to deliver the GREEKS Cities of ASIA out of bondage. But his death broke the Voyage, so that they went not very far. Now hitherto have we seen Philips naturall Disposition in the midst of his Deeds, and what is commendable and reproachfull in so great a Prince. But before we go further in the rest of his Life, it may peradventure not be much impertinent to infert in this place some of his Sentences and memorable Actions, whereby he may be the better discerned, to compare him afterwards with the others. For mens words and fashions amongst their familiars, be the very lively Tables of the Affections and passions of the Soul: it being unpossible for any man always to counterfeit so, but that they may oftentimes see his heart at his tongues end.

Battell: The third, that his Wife Olympiade had brought him a goodly Son: he lifted up his hands to

Heaven, and faid: O Fortune, I befeech thee fend me in exchange of this, some reasonable adver-

called him Traytour. He answered him again, that the MACEDONIANS were rude plain men,

that called all things by their Name. He feemed, to repute the ATHENIANS happy men, for that

they found yearly ten Captains in their Town to be chosen; and that he to the contrary in many

years could find but one, and that was Parmenio. After he had overcome the GREEKS ma-

ny advised him to put good and great Garrisons in the Towns, that they might with more fafety be

kept under. But he answered them: I had rather be called a long time courteous, then a short time

Lord. And when his familiars gave him counsell to banish a malicious Person, that did nothing but fpeak evill: he answered them he would not, fearing left he should every where else speak evill of him.

There was an ACHAIAN called Arcadian, that made profession to speak evill of him every where,

and warned every man to flie fo far from Philip, as none could tell there what man he was. Arcadian being by chance met in MACEDON, the Courtiers would have had Philip to have punished

him, and not to let him escape out of his hands. Philip to the contrary spake him fair, and sent

Physitian for evill speech then you are. Another time in the Assembly of the Olympian Games,

as the GREEKS spake evill of him, his friends faid that such ill speakers would be severely

punished to speak so much evill of him that had done them so much good. Nay, but what would

they do then, answered he, if we did hurt them? Smicythus did often accuse Nicanor unto him.

telling him that he did nothing else but speak evill of Philip: so that his best familiars thought it good he should be fent for, and be punished according to his deferts. Yea but (replied he) Nicanor is

one of the honestest men of MACEDON: were it not better therefore to enquire whether the

fault be in us , or not? And forthwith having made diligent fearch whence this discontentment of

Nicanor came, he found that he was a man oppressed with extream poverty, and that no man

my felf both in my deeds and words to make them lyers. He fent home (as hath been spoken be-

fore) all the ATHENIANS Priforers at the Battell of CHERONEA, without paying any Ran-

fom, and yet moreover they asked for their beds, their Apparell, and all their baggage, and com-

plained of the MACEDONIANS, because they did not deliver it unto them: When Philip heard of this, he fell a laughing, and faid unto them that were near about him: How fay you, do not

So then, news being brought him in one felf-day of three great prosperities: The first, that In prosperity he had won the prize at the courses of Coaches with four Horse in the solemnity of the Olymbreth adversipian Games: The second, that his Lieutenant Parmenio had overcome the DARDANIANS in ty.

fity, against fuch and so great happiness. Lasthenes an OLYNTHIAN, that for a great sum of Philips harp. Money had fold him the Town of OLYNTH, complained to him one day that fome of his Minions fentences

him Presents to his Lodging. Shortly after, he commanded they should make enquiry what talk Philip dealeth Arcadian had of him among the GREEKS. Every man brought him word, that he did wonder- kindly with fully commend and praise him wheresoever he came. Then said Philip unto them : I am a better his Enemy.

would relieve him in his necessity : whereupon he fent him immediately a good Present. After- philip reliev-

wards Smicythus brought word, that Nicanor every where spake great praises of Philip. See eth Nicanor then, faid he, how it dependeth upon our felves to be well spoken of. He was wont also to fay, oppressed with that he was much beholding unto the Counfellours of ATHENS, for that they speaking evill of extream pohim, were caule to make him an honest man of word and deed: For, faid he, I do daily enforce

you think these ATHENIANS, suppose they were overcome by us at the Play at Bones? He said al-

Philip floopeth fo, that they which gave him counfell to deal flarply with the ATHENIANS, were men of an ill bid counfell updgement, to counfell a Prince that did and fuffered all things for Glory; to deftroy the Theater of Glory. which was the City of ATHENS. by reason of Learning. There was a great number of Did Glory. Glory, which was the City of AT HENS, by reason of Learning. There was a great number of Prifoners taken at a Battell, and he was prefent to fee them fold by the drum, fitting in his Chair, his Gown being turned up a little higher then was decent. Then there was one of the Prisoners that was a felling, that cried out aloud unto him: I befrech thee, O King, to pardon me that I be not fold, for I am thy friend from Father to the Son. Philip asked him, how and from whence this irrendship fhould come between us? I will tell thee in thy ear, answered the Prisoner. Philip commanded they

flould bring him to him. Then the Priloner coming near to him, told him foirly: O King, let thy Gown fall down before a little, for as thou futeft, thou shewest that that is unfit to be seen. Then fpake Philip aloud to his men , Deliver him , and let him go: for he is indeed one of my friends and well-willers, but I had forgotten it. Such was his behaviour to his Enemies, and those that spake evil

Let us now speak somewhat of his justice, and of divers other affections worthy to be noted in him: the which do appear fomething in his words, and by the effects that followed. And and other and min the which the do frew more and more, that this Prince had learned very much with Epinisondar, but above all, to be noble minded, patient, and defirous of honour without fhame: qualities that had been much more excellent in him, if he had not made fuch Merchandize with wicked men as hedid, that fold their Countrey: besides that they saw in him an ardent ambition, as also in that he coveted to be Captain-Generall of all the GREEKS, and the Triumphs preceding his death, and all

Philip giveth counfell.

A memorandum for Magifttates.

The bold speech of a Philip.

his life do shew. And to this purpose he counselled his Son Alexander to speak graciously unto the MACEDONIANS, to win their good wils, whilest he had leasure now to be courteous unto them, another reigning in the Kingdom: as if he would have faid, that when he came to be King, he should carry the gravity of a Master and of a Lord, and that he should do justice. He gave him counfell allo to feek to get the love of those that bare credit and authority in good Towns, as well of the wicked as of the good, that he might afterwards use the good, and abuse the will. But now to return to his justice again : Being a Judge between two bad men, he ordained that the one should slie out of MACEDON, and the other should run after him. It is reported of him that he had gotten together a number of the wickedest and most disordered men that were in his time, whom he lodged all together in a Town which he had caused to be built, and called it PONEROPOLIS, the Town of Knaves. He had on a time bestowed the Office of a Judge upon one recommended unto him by Antipater : but understanding afterwards that he used to paint his hairs and beard, he took it from him, faying, that he that used deceit in his hiir, would hardly deal truly in a good Cause. Machet as pleaded a Cause on a time before him whilest he flept, fo that not conceiving nor understanding well the matter, he wrongfully condemned him. Whereupon Macheras began to cry out, that he did appeal. Philip being angred at that word, asked him prefently, unto whom he did appeal from him? Before thy fell, O King, answered he, when thou are awake, and wile give good ear to conceive of my Fact. These words touched Philip to the quick, whereupon he rose up on his seet, and calling himself better to mind, knew that he had wronged Macheras in his fentence, and yet nevertheless he would not revoke his Judgement : howbeit he himfelf with his own Money discharged the matter, whereupon the Suit was brought before him. Harpalus had a Kinfman and a Friend of his called Crates, attainted and convicted of great crimes; he belought Philip, that paying the Fine, fentence should not be pronounced against this Crates, that he might avoid the shame and disgrace. But Philip answered him again, It is better he should bear his own blame and discredit, then I for him. A Souldier of his, a valiant man of his hands, having by false report obtained of him the Gift and forfeiture of the goods of a MACEDONIAN: it fortuned that the MACEDONIAN ill willing to put up fuch an outrage, bewrayed unto Philip the unthankfulness of the Souldier whose life he had saved. Philip was so offended with the villanie of this Souldier, that after he had revoked his Gift, he made him quail in fuch fort, that his wickedness was known of every one, and the MACEDONIAN restored again to all his goods. A poor old Woman being in Suit of Law, befought him to give Judgement, and preffed him continually: but he excufed himfelf, and told her, he was not at leasure to hear it. The old Woman cried out aloud: Leave then to be King. He being aftonied and lively pricked with this word, did hear her, 'and all others in order. As for his friends, Philo a Gentleman of THERES had done him many pleasures at the time when he remained in hostage in the City of THEBES: he was lodged in his house, and after that he would never receive any Gifts or Presents of him. Whereupon Philip faid unto him: Take not from me the Title and Honour of Invincible, being overcome by thee of courtesse and liberality. Word being brought him of the death of Hipparchus, born in the life of EUBOEA, he was very forry: and as one that flood by, told him he was ripe and ready to die for age : Yea, faid he again, for himself, but not for me, to whom he is dead too foon: for he is dead before he received any recompence of me, worthy the friendship he bare me. As touching houshold matters, he fell out on a time with his Wife Olympias: and his Son Alexander: in which time of his anger, Demaratus a Gentleman of CORINTH went to vilk him. Philip then asked him, how, and after what manner the GREEKS lived one with another. Truly, answered Demaratus, thou careft much for the Peace and Union of PHILIP of MACEDON.

the Greeks, fince the persons that touch thee so nearly, and those whom thou oughtest to make much account of, are so separated from thee. This word made him consider so well of it, that af- Hethatcannot much account of, are to reparate in the safe is the well in the beginning of Alexanders life; order well his and fo reconciled himself unto them. Being told him that his fon Alexander millide it, and com- will sill govern the salt him. Since thou feelt now that they will ill govern plained that he begot baftards of other women: he told him, Since thou feeft now, that thou a Kinedom shalt have many competitors with thee for the Kingdom after my death, endeavour thy self to be an honest man, that thou mayest come to the Crown not so much through me, being mine heir, as through thy felf, for that thouart worthy. He perswaded him much, diligently to study Philosophy under Aristotle, to the end, faid he, thou do not many things that I have done, whereof now heartily repent me. Being on a time fallen backward, lying all alongft the place where they exercife wreftling: and wallowing up and down, as if he had feen the figure and print of his body in the dust: O Hercules, said he, how little quantity of ground will serve us by nature, and yet we Nature concover to inhabit all the world! He would on a time lodge his Camp in a fair ground: but being tle. told that there was no forrage for the beafts, he was conftrained to dislodge from thence, faving: What is our life, fince we must take care even to place Asses? There was an host of his, that on a time bad him to supper with him. So, as he was going, he met divers by the way, whom he carried thither with him. Whereupon perceiving his hoft was much troubled, because he had not meat enough to feed fo many mouths: Philip feeing it, fent fecretly to tell every one in their ears whom he brought with him, that they should keep a place in their stomach for the Tart. The other beeth his frends lieving that he spake in earnest, did forbear to eat, whereby there was meat enough for them all, at a banquet, That which is already faid, is sufficient to make us know the natural disposition of this great Prince : whose end we are now about to describe unto you. He undertaking to pass into Asia, to make War with the PERSIANS, in the state of Captain-Generall of the GREEKS : being desirous his voyage should be favoured of the gods, he asked of the prophetels of DELPHOS, whether he should overcome the King of PERSIA? The answered him:

The Ox is crowned when his end is near at hand, To offer him in facrifice, a man doth ready stand.

This Oracle being doubtfull and obscure, Philip took it for his advantage: as if Apollo had told Philipdeseived him, that the King of Persia should be slain by him, as an oblation of facrifice. But clean con- by an ambigutrary, the Oracle threatned him with death in a day of a folemn feast: and that he should be skain as our Oracle, a bull, whom they crown with Garlands and Hats of flowers, when they go about to facrifice him. Notwithstanding supposing that the gods did favour his enterprise, he was very pleasant, perswading himself that Asia should shortly be tributary to MACEDON. So he prepared sumptuous and magnificent facrifices in honour of the gods, and made preparation for the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra. Now he being desirous to draw to this feast as many GREEKS as he could polible, to that end made Proclamation every where, that there should be Games of prize for Learning and Musick, and sent to summon all his hosts and friends, in what part of GREECE soever they were, to come to this marriage: and commanded the Lords of his Court that they should do the like for their part. For he defired to shew the GREEKS all figns of friendship, and to make them the best chear that could be possible, in recompence of the honour they had done him, to chuse him their Captain Generall. There was a wonderfull assembly of people from all parts at this feaft; and the marriage was folemnized betwirt Alexander King of Epirus and Cleo-Cleopara, Phipatra, and the Games also at ÆGES a City of MACEDON. Where not onely Philips private lips daughter friends, and the most notable men of the GREEKS; but also the principal and chiefest Towns of GREECE (and among other ATHENS) gave him presents of many rich Crowns of gold. The de-ties. cree of the people prefenting a Crown of Gold, and openly proclaimed by a Herald; the effect of it was : that if it happened any man having conspired or attempted ought against the person of King Philip, should fly to ATHENS in hope of priviledge there, that he should be delivered into the hands of the King. In the middest of this great Feast at the Marriage, there was an excellent Player of Tragedies, called Neoptolemus, that rehearled verses touching the enterprize of Philip: and as if he meant to have reproved the pride of the King of Persia, he lively touched that of his mafter Philip; and before he was aware, foretold his death in covert terms, and which might be applyed (as also Philip did , blinded and aftonied with his prosperity) unto the estate, and unto the King of Persia. Among other verses the beginning of it was very near to this effect:

Above the skies extoll thy pride. Surmount all haughtiness that is Within this earthly vale fo wide: Promise thy self a wordly blif , And prosperous life for ever sure, Yet canft thou now no longer dure. For some already have begun Thy ruine, which thou canst not shun: And death near to that breast of thine, Shall (hortly break off thy design.

The day after this royall marriage, the Games began to be played, and the people ran from all parts to the Theatre to fee them, even untill it was dark night. And in the morning at the break of day there was a procefilon, in the which (among many other fumptuous and magnificent thews) they carried the images of twelve principall gods of GREECE, wonderfull cunningly wrought with great art; and then after them was borne the image of Philip for the thirreenth, wrought with great art; and then after them was bothe the image of 1 map for the unfreenth, as if he would have placed himfelf in rank with his gods. When the Theatre was full fer with people, Philip himfelf came in the end, apparelled all in white, having commanded all his guard to follow him afar off: defirous to shew the GREEKS, that because of the great considence he had of their faithfull friendship, he thought he needed no guard for his body. But at that time he was put to death after a strange fort : and that we may know by what occasion, we will take the mat-There was in his Court a Macedo NIAN Gentleman, called Pausanias, born in the Countrey of ter further off.

of Philips

death.

Philip placed

the gods.

ORESTIDES, one of the Gentlemen Pensioners of Philips Guard, that sometime was beloved for his beauty. He perceiving that the King loved another, whose name was as himself, Panfania: began to gall him with injurious words, calling him Androgyne (as much to fay, as womanish man) and reproved him that he abandoned his body to any that would. This fecond Paufanian very impatiently bare these words in his heart, yet made no reply to them, but onely imparted to his friend called Attalus what he meant to do ; and within few days after he loft his life after a notable manner. Philip fought a battle with the SLAVONS, in the which this young man behaved himself very valiantly, right beforethe person of *Philip*: and received upon his body all the blows they strake at h m, so that he died in the field. This valiantness of his being blown abroad through the Army, Attalus The Jecond I make the was in great favour with the King, intreated the first Paulanias to come and sup with him, and having made him drunk, he left his body to all the horse-keepers and mule-letters to be carnally abused. His drunkenness having left him, he was so grieved at his heart for the outrage Attalus had donehim, that he went and complained to the King himfelf. Philip was marvellously offended with-Private reall, because of the villany that was offered him. But because of the love he bare to Attalus, and also feeds a let to fee they he he flood in need of his families and feed to he had been to Attalus. species a let to for that he stood in need of his service, and for that he was Uncle to Cleopatra, the last and well beloved wife of Philip, and appointed his Lieutenant for the War of Asia, he made as though he knew it not. But to appeale Paufanias, he gave him great prefents, and placed him amongft the number of them of the Guard about his person. Pausanias having made his complaint to Olympias, unto Alexander, and to some other, had fundry answers, but no justice at that time. Wherefore keeping this Panfinias con-despite in his heart, he resolved not onely to be revenged of him which had done him this injury, but fpireth sgrinft also of Philip that would do him no justice. But to further him in this devillish purpose, amongst others a Rhetorician called Hermocrates did fet him on, whom Pausanias requented to learn of him. Discoursing one day together, he asked him how a man might in a short time make himself famous, to be spoken of by every body? Hermocrates answered, in killing one that had done many great things: for, faid he, it is of necessity, that remembring his facts, the name of him that killed him must also be compriled. Paufanias applying that to the purpose of his anger, having no patience to prolong time, his heart being to full of choler and grief, determined with himself to execute his enterprise the same day the plays should be: the which he did, as followeth. He layed horses ready at the gate of the Theatre, and went about it, having a fword under his Gown, after the fathion of the Gauls as they wear it. When the time was come that Philip would himself go to the Theatre, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen that attended upon him, went into the Theatre before him, who had commanded all the Philip traiter- Gentlemen of his Guard to come a good way behind him. Then Paufarias feeing Philip going all couly flain by alone, ranto him, and gave him fach a blow with his fword overthwart his flanks, that he ran him through and through, to that he fell down stark dead. The blow being given, he ran away straight unto his horse, and some of the Guard ran to Philip, others swiftly followed the mutherer, among which was Leonidas, Perdiccas, and Attalus. Howbeit Panjanias that had gotten the start before, had easily mounted on horseback before the others could come near him to overtake him, had it not been that in the way as he fled, he flumbled at the root of a vine, which overthrew him. Then Perdiccas and the reft lighted on him as he rose, and thrusting at him, killed him in the place. Behold how Philip that was the greateft King in his time of Europe, and for the greatness of his power, placed himfelf among the gods: was brought low, even to rank with the weakest of the world, and died being but fix and forty years old, having reigned twenty four years. That therefore whereof he gloried most, was in his skill of Wars, and in the actions which he managed bravely, preferring that far above all exploits of War. For (faid he) in victory all that fight in the battle have their part , but in those things that I have archieved unto, The wives and having wifely directed them, none is partaker of the honour but my felf onely. He had five wives, the first was Olympias the daughter of Neopolemus King of the Molossians, of the line of Acan, of whom were born Alexander firnamed the Great, and Cleopatra. Alexander fucceeded his father and for Cleopatra, file was married to her Uncle Alexander King of EPIRUS, and brother of Olympiat. The second wife of Philip was Andare, a Lady of SLAVONIA, of whom he had a daughter cal-

led Cyne, married unto Anymas his Coufin German: who being flain, the was betrothed unto Lagarus

King of the AGRIANIANS, who died before confummation of Marriage. After the death of Alexander the Great, the being of aymardy courage, and opposing her felt against those that would deprive the children of Alexander of the Crown of MACEDON, was flain by Perdiccas commandment. The third was Phila: and the fourth was called Mede, the daughter of the King of THRA-CIA. These two had neither of them any children. And lastly being too old to marry, he married Cleoparra, the daughter of Hippofiraths, and Attalus Necce; at the marriage of whom he would have killed his son Alexander, for throwing a cup at Attalus head: after the which followed great have killed his son Alexander, for throwing a cup at Attalus head: after the which rollowed great rouble and fould fit betwire Philip, Olympia and Alexander: but Demaratus the CORINTHIAN falved all that again. Of this last wife, he first had a daughter called Europe, and then a son called Caranus, whom Olympia put to a tright death. For his Concubines, the one called Affinors, being Philip. Congoner with child by Philip, the fell with Lagus hands, unto whom the gave Preslowy afterwards cubines. King of ECVPT: The tecond was clifted of Langus kings, called Philipsand of whom he begat Africans who first of all was possessed, and in the one cruelly murchered by Olympia: being the last King of the race of Temenides in MACEDON. For the iffue of Alexander, they were rejected by Antonder. The third was Nicalipolus, a woman of The SARY, and Jason lifter, Tyrant of Buffers: of whom he had a daughter called The flatonica, whom Coffinder married, and was afto the second of drank with their profperity.

The end of Philip of Macedons Life.



Anno Mundi. 3557.

Ant. Christ. 391.

Base Tyranny is wrongs unhappy mother, Witness this wretch, in shew both grave and wife. Yet he himself beguiling, and each other, Shew'd that his heart was fierce and full of vice.

Archies the founder of the City Syracufa.



N the fecond year of the fecond Olympiad, Archias a CORINTHIAN, not daring to return again into his City for a foul fact committed by him in the person of an honest youth called Alleon: he took the sea and failed into Sicilia with certain CORINTHIANS and DORIANS, and there built the City of Sy-RACUSA, the which by process of time became so great, that it had within as it were four Towns, of the which one was called the Ile, the second Acradine, the third Tyche, and the last Neapolm: the one near unto the other, with a Fort called Hexapyle, which commanded all the other, and it was on the top of a high

Archis flain.

five years.

Aristocracy brought to Democracy, and that to Monarchy in Gelo, the first King.

place which they called Epipoles, as much as to fay, as over all the other Towns. It was governed a the first, by the command and power of Archias onely : but he being killed by Telephus, whomhe had abuled in his infancy, the SYRACUSIANS gathered together of divers parts, brought their efface to Aristocratia, which flourished for a time. But being come to pass that Tyndaris one of the Lords of the Town carried himself after such a manner, that he made many jealous that his drift and policy was to Petalisme, ban- make himself chief Lord; the other Lords made a Law called Petalisme, to meet with his practile: howbeit it was that that encreased his enterprize. The effect of this law was, that the name of him that aspired to make himself absolute Lord of the City, should be written in an Olive leaf, the which being put into the hand of this Lord, without further ceremony it was to tell him that he was banished the City for five years, much after the falhion that is reported of the Oftracisme of the ATHENIANS. By means of this Petalisme, the Lords banished one another, so that in the end, the People became Lord. But hereupon a dangerous fedition happening amongst them, Gela, Lord of the City of GELE, did to wifely look into the troubles of the SYRACUSIANS: that they chose him King in the second year of the threefcore and twelith Olympiad. After him succeeded Hieron, who at the beginning carried himfelf very evil: but afterwards falling into acquaintance with the Poets Simonides, Pind. rut and Bacchylides, which taught him many good things, he reigned very prudently. So, he having reigned about twelve years, left his brother Thrafybulus his fucceffor: who for his cruelties and infolencies was driven out of Syracus a by force, and went to Locres, and there ended the rest of his days. Then the Syracustans established the government of Lords, which continued fixty years: in which time they make War with the AGRIGENTINES, and compelled them to fue for peace:

they destroy the TRINACRIANS and their Town : they fet upon the LEONTINES, which are aided by the ATHENIANS under the conduct of Laches and Carceadas, who behaved themselves fo evill, that at their return home they were banished. Shortly after the new troubles betwirt the SYRACUSIANS and the LEONTINES, the ATHENIANS fent Phear into Sicilia to kindle the fire a little, and to mutiny the one against the other. Howbeit it had no good success: but rather raised a cruell War betwixt the SYRACUSIANS and ATHENIANS, in the which at the last Nicias and Demosthenes were overcome by lea and land both, and afterwards put to death. and the fouldiers of ATHENS that were prisoners most cruelly used. The SYRACUSIANS life up with this victory, did put down their Lordly Government, and brought it to a popular state again. Then thinking to be revenged of the CARTHAGINIANS that were come to the aid of the Secsimans against the Selinontines, which were their friends they sent Diocles with four thousand good men against Hannibal the son of Gifeo, who lay in Camp at that time before HIMERA, the which he wan after he had overcome Diocles, and slain the most part of his Troops. The Syracusians calting their anger for this loss upon Hermocrates one of their chief Citizens, they banished him with the Petalisme, and drave him out of the Town. He helping himself with the means he had in his hand, made up and armed five Gallies, and afterwards with certain banished men of HIMERA, attempted to put in again into Syracusa. But seeing he could not prevail, he landed and possessed the ruined Town of Selinonte, he repaired it, called home again all the inhabitants' dispersed through SICILIA, fortified himself there, and in few days got together a Troop of fix thousand men. With these forces he ser upon them of PALERME, and MOTYE, in league with the CARTHAGINIANS, OVERCAME them in a pitched field, maintained his friends, and followed his victory. The SYRACUSIANS hearing good report of Hermocrates valour, began to repent them that they had so dishonourably used him. He on the other fide being advertised by his friends of the good affection of the Citizens unto him : to win their good favour again, he was very carefull to gather together the bones of those that were killed by Himera under the leading of Diocles, and sent them to Syracusa, in Carts very richly fet out. For all this they fent not for him home, the Syracu-SIANS being afraid of him, for that he was a man of fuch courage and wildom, left he should make himself Lord of the Town. He seeing himself thus resused, went back to Selinonte. and shortly after being sollicited by his friends, he sound means by night to come into Syracusa, and possessed the Acradine. The Syracustans took Arms immediately, fought with Hermocrates, killed him in the Market-place with part of his train, and banished those that favoured him. His friends faved some of them from the violence of the Citizens, and amongst others Hermogrates, Dionyjim the son of Hermocrates, a plain Citizen of Syracusa, whose life we presently write the father of Dionyfim flair. Now it is reported, that his mother being with child of him, dreamed that the was brought to

bed of a Satyre, and that the Soothfayers being asked their opinion, answered, she should have a fon that should be famous above all the GREEKS. Furthermore, a young Gentlewoman of Sy- Dreams shew-RACUSA called Himera, some time before Dionysius made himself Lord of the City, dreamed that ing Dionslius the was taken up to heaven, by a guide that having carried her to and fro, in the end brought her before his qualities, Jupiter, at whose feet she saw a young man with a yellow hair, bound with iron chains: and asking her guide what he was : It is, faid the other, the cruel fcourge of SICILIA and ITALY, the which shall spoil a great Countrey, as soon as his bolts be off his feet. Within few years after, Dionysus having already feifed upon the estate, as he came to make his entry into Syracus A, and that the Citizens went out to meet him to do him honour : Himera being there by chance, knew him, and straight cryed out: This was the young man that she saw in heaven. This being reported to Dionysius, he caused them to Hinters killed kill the young Damfel. Another time his horsefalling in the mire that he could not get out, Diony- by the Tyrant fin left him fast there: but the poor beast with strugling got himself out, and ran after his master; Dionystus, for bringing in his main a swarm of Bees. This did hearten him, especially through the counsel of his speaking trust, Soothfayers, to follow his purpose to subdue his Country: the which he obtained by this means. The CARTHAGINIANS defirous to make themselves great in SICILIA, sent thither their Captain Himileo with a great Army : against whom the SYRAGUSIANS made head, wan a battle and kil-

led fix thousand of his men. Notwithstanding this, he went and besieged AGRIGENTE, and ha-

ving upon furprise overthrown the Army of the SYRACUSIANS by sea, he enforced them that were belieged to fave themselves as they could, entred into this great rich City abandoned, and took the The occasion spoil of it. The AGRIGENTINES that escaped gave the Alarm, through all SICILIA, and re- of Dionyfustitiring themselves to Syracus a their friend Town, began in full assembly of the City to accuse singthe Captains of Syracusa, faying, that by their treason the Countrey was fold unto their enemies. Dionysius, the son of Hermocrates, a young man of a stout heart, and that did embrace great

should do justice: whereupon the Magistrates did set a fine on their heads. And having found Philip Diomphu his fins inclined that way, and gotten money of him (who was very rich) to pay this fine, with promise fubtle plots to

to furnish others if they were condemned : he followed his purpose in other assemblies, having attain the sospeech at will, and a comely manner withall, so that almost for little or nothing, he wan the hearts of veraignty. the people, who moved by his Oration, did cashier the old Captains, and chose new, and among others

matters in his mind, being in this affembly, took hold of the occasion offered; and seeing the people

out of countenance, he stepped forth, charged the Captains very much, and gave counsell that they

Dionysius, who was a good souldier, and had made proof of his valianmess in divers encounters

against the CARTHAGINIANS. But after they had chosen him Captain, he never came to counfell with his other companions, nor would not be acquainted with them: but under hand, made a foul report run abroad that they practifed with the Enemies. This made men of good judgement to prefume that he himself went about to make some alteration; and they could not forbear to blame him for it. Nevertheless the people not looking so inwardly into it, they effeemed him very much. Hereupon many affemblies were made to think of their affairs in Wars, in one of the which Dionyfiss perceiving the SYRACUSIANS aftonied, gave advice that they should call home their banished men: faying that it was a great mockery to run into Greece and ITALY for aid fince they had at their doors such as had been Citizens, who had rather die like vagabonds, then ferve the Enemy. And that the favour they should shew them, would spur them forward to do their Countrey good service. The wifest men durst not gain say this advice, perceiving that the people did incline unto it : that if they hindred that, it was to get as many enemies as there were banished : and that they being called home, should thank none but Dionysius, at whose commandment they would ever be afterwards. No man speaking a word, the decree of repeal was authorized by the people, and the banished men returned to Syracusa. In the midst of all this business, letters were brought from Gala, which demanded aid. Dionysium offered himtelf straight, and was sent thirder with two thousand footmen, and four hundred horse. Being arrived at GELE, and finding the City in trouble, he rook the peoples part, accused the principals, made them be put to death, and their goods forpeculies to a feited. With which forfeiture he payed the ordinary Garifon of GBLB, and promifed double pay to them that followed him from SYRACUSA: unto the which he returned immediately, having the favour of his fouldiers. So all the People ran about him in multitudes, asking him where the Enemies were, and what they did ? You do not confider, said he, that your Enemies indeed are in your Town, They that govern in your estate are more to be feared, then the CARTHAGINIANS: for whilest you are bulle about your plays and feafts, they divide the common treasure among themselves, and pay not the fouldiers. In the mean space Himileo prepareth himself to come and besiege you, whereof your Governours make no reckoning, neither do they give any order for it. I knew this well enough before, but now I am most affured of it : for Himileo sent a Trumpet unto me, under colour of certain prisoners, and secretly bad him tell me, that he would give me more then any other of my companions, fo that I would not fearth him too narrowly : and if fo be that I would not help him, at the leaft yet that I would not hinder him. And therefore think with your felves to find another Captain in my place : for it is no reason whilst others sell the Town to the Enemies, that I should go hazard my felf with my fellow Citizens, and in danger in the end that they should think of me I should be partaker with the wicked practifes of others. Those that heard what he spake, being marvelloully offended, carried these words immediately all about the Town. But for the present time every one went home to their house, sad, and troubled in their minds. The morrow after, as those that should speak before the people did draw by lot of letters, that they might know in order how they should speak,

threwd Fool,

Dionyfius cho-General.

Hereupon the people chose Dionysia their Captain-General, giving him full authority, and power of the affairs of the Commonwealth, and praying him to consider of all that should be expedient to resist He feeing his enterprise to well grounded, propoundeth a decree to the people, that the fouldiers pay should be doubled over that it was before: for that would make them more couragious and willing to do good service. And as for money, that the SYRACUSIANS should take no thought for that, for he knew a way how to come by it well enough. This fo fudden advancement, and his bold promifes joyned with the disposition of this young man, made many suspect him that had any understanding and judgement: infomuch that some began to go and come to houses to conser together to find means betimes to withftand the tyranny, which had now (as they fay) put the irons in the fire. But Dionysiu having an eye abroad, and a number of Spies that filty fell into companies, being afraid they would do him some hurt, determined to provide for it by a far setch to fight, but very fit to ferve histurn: which was, to obtain licence to chuse a guard for his person, unto the which he came, as followeth. He proclaimed in the Town that those that were able to bear Arms should follow him, and to make their rendevouze with their Arms at a day set down at the Town of the LEONTINES, and bring victuals with them for one moneth. There was then in that Town a Garifon of the Syracus lans: the banished, and all forts of men withdrew themfelves, whom Disnyfin hoped would have taken his part, for that they were men which defired nothing more then change and alteration, and perswaded himself that sew of the Syracustans would follow him. Hereupon he went himself into the field, and being encamped near the Town, one caused his friends to give the Alarm, and to cry help, as if the Enemies had environed him to kill him in his Tent: and making as though he had been marvelloully afraid, he fled, and faved him-felf by fwitinefs within the Caftle of the Town, where he paffed all the reft of the right, made

and that the letter F. came to his lot : fome ftander by told him, this F. fignifieth * Fool, Dionyfin, because thou wilt tell us great follies. No, replied he quickly: that I shall be a Monarch. Presently

the People being affembled, and his turn being come to speak, he accused his other companions with

great vehemency, was heard very attentively, and with great praise of all the people, whom the day

before he had angred very much : fo that in the end there were some of the affembly cryed out, that

neceflity required that Dionysiu should be chosen alone Captain General, with all authority and soveraign power, and that it was no tarrying till the Enemies be under our Walls, and that he was a fit

man to take care of this bufiness: and as for traitors, that they should think of them at better leifure

fires all about, and fent for his fouldiers in whom he put most trust, as a man that is afraid, feeing his enemies lie in wait for him. The next morning some of the people of Syracusa being gathered together in the Town of the LEONTINES, in open affembly he made a long discourse of that that had passed, to make them believe that his evil willers would have surprized him, and could speak so well, that the people appointed him fix hundred fouldiers to guard his person, such as he himself would chuse out. Immediately he chose young men to the number of a thouland, which had nothing to lose, hardy and desperate to put any thing in execution that they were commanded. These he furnished with Dionyling his all things necessary, and made them great promises: so that he wan their hearts, and got unto him guard, the fouldiers strangers that were in the Syracusians pay. Howbeit he changed the Captains from their Companies, and put in their places fome other made to his hand. And afterwards he fent Dexipus, a wife and valiant Captain LACED. EMONIAN, back again into his Countrey, of whom he stood in fear, and perceived he would be a bar in his way to hinder that he went about Over and above that he fent for the fouldiers of the Garifon of Gele, and gathered together all Over and above that he ten for the countries and Rogues that would come and ferve him, judging them to Thieves rogues be fit men to serve the turn he purposed. When he had gotten a great troop of such Rakchels, he and rakchels fit ftraight returned to Syracusa, and lodged his forces in the Arfenal, and then shewed himself assistants for a openly Lord, and Tyrant, without any longer diffimulation. This amazed and grieved the Syra- Tyrant. CUSIANS most extreamly: nevertheless they were enforced to bear this yoak which they could not help, because the Town was full of fouldiers strangers, and for that also they were atraid of the Car-THAGINIANS that were near unto them with a mighty Army. All this happened, Dionylius being but five and twenty years old, in the third year of the ninety three Olympiade, and in the three hundreth feven and fortieth year of the foundation of ROME. Thus you fee how this young man, of a base condition, meanly born, made himself Lord of one of the greatest Commonwealths in the World at that time, and continued this usurpation all the days of his life, which was the space of thirty eight

DOON YSIUS

This being done, he made them all rich and wealthy that aided him in this enterprife, drave out all

This being done, he make them at the many survey by the death before all the people Daphness and those he could find that withstood these his attempts, put to death before all the people Daphness and those he could find that withthout the chiefest men, and of greatest power that were at that time in Syra. Daphacus and Demarchus, two of the chiefest men, and of greatest power that were at that time in Syra. Demarchus pat cusa, and that had most crossed him of all others in the device of his purpose. Afterward, because to death. he would yet strengthen himself the better, he married Hermocrates daughter, a Syracusian Captain, that overcame Nicias and the Athenians, and married his fifter unto Polyxenus, brother in law unto Hermocrates. Whilest things passed thus, the CARTHAGINIANS, being masters of AGRIGENTE, after they had spoiled, burnt and razed it, they marched away with their General Himilco, and went and befieged the City of GELE, friend to the SYRACUS IANS, in manner of a like distance from Syracusa and Agrigente, very far in land, when the other two were ports of the fea. The befieged did wonderfull valiantly defend themfelves, their Town being weak and kept by the Citizens onely, accompanied with their wives and children that would not forfake them. Dionysius hearing of their necessity, brought a strong aid unto them of thirty thousand footmen, and a thousand horse, besides a great number of Gallies, that lay off and on upon the Isle, to cut off victuals from Himileo, and to land also. But when they came to joyn, Dionylius having divided his bands into three troops to trouble his enemy the more, he could not do fo well but the CARTHAGINIANS had the better, and flew many of his men. He very hardly escaping with his troop entred into the Town, and there called his friends together to counfel what they were best to do. They feeing the place dangerous, and of great disadvantage to hazard battle in, gave him counsell to retire again. He fent a Trumpet over night to Himileo, to pray him to surcease arms till the morning, that he might gather the dead bodies together to bury them. In the mean fpace. in the first watch of the night, he made all the people come out of the Town, and dislodged himself Dionysius flyets about midnight, leaving there two thousand men lightly armed, commanding them to make great cowardly out fires and noise, that the enemies might think that he and his men were still in the Town; and that of Gele, they at the break of the day should come to their troops. Dionysius having escaped thus, came unto CAMARINE, a Town half-way betwixt GELE and SYRACUSA, and commanded all the inhabitants to dislodge and come to Syracusa, that they might avoid the cruelties of the Car-THAGINIANS who facked GELE. So, all the inhabitants of these two Towns compelled to leave their houses and Countrey, all the fields and high-ways were full of women, children, and of poor people of the Countrey. This moved the fouldiers against Dionystus, who accused him that he The fouldiers had done this of purpole, that he might more easily seise upon the other Cities of SICILIA, which incensed ashould be destroyed by the barbarous CARTHAGINIANS : and thus they complained one to ano- guinst Dionther of the little aid he had given to the Townsmen of GELE: how the souldiers of his guard had fine. dealt cowardly in their service, and ran away without the loss of a man of theirs, and no body purfued after them. Upon this discontentment, the ITALIAN fouldiers that came out of ITALY, took their journey to return home. And the men of Arms of SICILIA at the first began to lie in wait to kill Dionysius on the way: but seeing that the souldiers of his guard were never from him, nor he from them, they departed all together, and went with fpeed towards Syracusa, and found Dionyfins panor he from them, they departed all together, and went with the fact towards of KACUSA, and follow them that were left there in Garifon, lodged in the place of the Arfenal, who knew nothing what here facked, and the wife had happened before Gele. By this means being entred without refiftance, they facked the parawithed. lace of Dionysim, where they met with great riches, and did so villanously abuse his wife, that for grief she killed her self. But about the time that they departed from the Camp, Dionysius imagin-

ing by the way what would follow after this, chofe out certain footmen and horfemen which he ing of the way what would conow after this, and went with all speed possible with them to Syra-thought he might best trust about his person, and went with all speed possible with them to Syracusa, supposing he should not overcome these men of Arms, unless he did as they. And even as he thought, fo it came to pass: for they perfwading themselves that Dionysius could not well tell what courie to take, whether to follow them, or to keep with his Army: thought they had won all, and walked up and down the Town telling stories of the cowardliness of Dionysius: who haon, and wanted up and advantage at one journey, came about midnight to the Gates of ving marched well near nineteen leagues at one journey, came about midnight to the Gates of ACRADINE, with about an hundred horse and six hundred footmen: and finding it shut, caused ftore of Fagots, Reeds, and Sedge of the Fennes to be laid against the Gare, wherewith the Syra-CUSIANS use to burn their Lime, and which they found there ready at hand. Whilft this Gate was burning, his menthat could not follow him fo faft, arrived one after another. And fo the Gare being burnt he entred, and found in the Market-place some of these men of Arms, who in haste had set themselves in order of battle: but on the sudden they were engaged, and killed with pikes and darts, Dionyfius on the other fide, he ran through the Town, putting them all to the fword he met here and there in the streets, that were running to aid their men. And not staying so, he entred into their houses whom he knew to be his enemies, killed fome of them, and drave others out of the City. The reft of the men of Arms fled, some here, some there, and the next morning all his force arrived at Syra-CUSA. But they of GELE, and of CAMARINE being angry with him, went into the City of the

The Carbasi-nian by reason NIANS, enforced Himileo to fend an Herald unto Syracus A to demand peace. Dionysimaccepted it very willingly. So peace was concluded, that the CARTHAGINIANS should have the SICANIANS, besides all the Towns which they had before the War in their power: That they of SELINONTE, of AGRIGENTE, of HIMERE, of GELE, and of CAMARINE, might return home to their houses, dwell in their Countrey, and in their Towns without walls, paying a certain yearly tribute unto the CARTHAGINIANS: That the LEONTINES, those of Mes-SINA and all other the SICILIANS should be free, and enjoy their liberties and priviledges: That the SYRACUSIANS should remain under the government of Dionysus: That the prisoners and Gallies taken in this War should be restored again on either side. By means of this peace Dionyfiu got the Carthaginians out of Sicilia, established his principality surer then ever, and married again two other Wivestogether: the one a stranger of the City of LOCRES, called cond marriage Dorie: the other of Syracusa called Aristomache, the daughter of Hipparinus the chief man of with two wives all the Citizens. He asked a wife of them of RHEGE, but they refused him, and fcorned his tyranny; of whom he was cruelly revenged, as we will tell you hereafter. It is reported that hemarried them both in one day, and it was never known which of them he knew first : for the rest, that ever afterwards he shewed them both a like savour. They did ordinarily eat together with him, and both of them by turns lay with him. They of Syracus a were destrous that his wife of Syracus a should be preferred before the stranger. But Doris had this good hap, to bring forth Disnyfus eldest son : which served his turn well to defend himself, that she was a Foraigner. Aristomache to the contrary was married a long time to Dionyfus and had no children though he was very defirous to have one by her: Infomuch that he put Dorss mother to death, charging her that the had by charms and forceries kept back Aristomache from conceiving. But afterwards he had children, to wit, two fors, Nifeus, and Hipparinus : and two daughters, Arete, and Sophrofyne. Dionyfies the younger, married his fifter Sophrofyne; and Arete was married unto Thearides, brother to Dionyfius the elder. and her second husband was Dion, the brother of Aristomache. Furthermore, confidering that the Disophus fotti- SYRACUSIANS being delivered from the War of the CARTHAGINIANS, thould have leifure to think to recover their liberty again: and perceiving that the quarter they called the 1sle was stronger of fituation, and easier to keep then any other of the three: he enclosed it in with a ftrongwall from the reft, and built there many great and high Towers, Palaces to keep his Courts, Hallsforhis Counsel and publick assemblies, goodly Galleries, and spacious Gatehouses to contain a great number of people. And to retire himself unto upon any sudden motion of the common people, he built a marvellous strong Castle, within the compass whereof he enclosed the Arsenal, where might lie in dock threefcore Galleys: and there was a Gate also to shut to, into the which could enter but one Galley at a time. Then chusing out the goodlieft and best place of all the territory of Syracusa, hedivided it among his friends, and gave it unto them that had charge of men of War under him. That which remained, he distributed by equal portions unto other inhabitants of the Town, as well naturall born Citizens, as strangers, come from other parts to dwell at SYRACUSA, concluding under the name of Citizens the bondmen enfranchifed, whom he called the new Burgeffes: and distributed to the people also the houses of Syracusa, those reserved of the quarter of the Isle, which he gave unto his friends and fouldiers.

gainst iuture dangers.

So having as he thought well affured his effate, he began to make War upon the free Cities of St-CILIA, under the colour that they favoured the CARTHAGINIANS. HERBESSE, a City in against the free firm land near unto the mountains, in the heart of the Countrey, was the first he attempted, and Cities of Stir went and besieged it. But the Syracusians that were a great number in his Army, and well appointed, began to have fecret meetings, and to blame themselves, for that they joyned not with the men of Arms to drive out this Tyrant. He whom Dionysius had given them for their Captain called Doriem, was aware of their conferences, and threatned one that spake louder then the others:

who replied to fiercely, again, that the Captain came to him! in choler to fittike him : but his companions took the quartell, and did fo contest against him, that they killed the Captain in the place. Then flirring up their fellow Citizens to recover their liberty, they fent for the men of Arms of the Syracus LA MS who were retired into the fort of Act NE. Dionyfine amazed with this Dionyfine foulchange, presently raised his sleges and with all expedition took his way towards Syracusa, that diers mutiny, he might be there firth. After he was gone, those that had mining chose them for their leaders that him. had killed Captain Doracnes, went and encamped themselves with the men of Arms before Syra a cusa in a place called Epipoies to make War with the Tyrant, having stopped all the passages that he could not come out into the field. And forthwish they fent to them of RHEG Band ME'S SINA, to pray them to fend them aid : which they obtained, to wit, ninety Gallies well appointed. Furthermore, they promifed by open proclamation, a good fum of money to him that would kill the Tyrant : and to the ftrangers that were in pay, to make them Burgeffes as themselves, if they would take their part against him. They provided Engines of battery to beat down the walls of the Isle, and every day gave new affaults onto them, and made very much of all the fouldiers frangers that thou their part.
Whereupon Dionyling leeing himself shut, out of the field, and that his men for fook him every hour, affembled his friends to confult with them what was to be done. Some counfelled him to tarry, alledging that tyranny and absolute power usurped by him, was a fair Tomb. Polyxemus his brother was of the mind, that he should save himself on the swiftest horse he had in his stable, in the lands which the CARTHAGINIANS held in SICILIA. But Philiftes who afterwards wrote the flory of his geft, faid then, that Dionysius should neither fly away, nor yield up his eyranny, the which he should never forgo but by force, and his feer forward. Dionyline took hold of this Dionyline refolopinion, and refolved with himself to abide all extreamity, rather then to yield up his place. But verh to abide in this case he fortuned to come to see a Butcher slaughter an Ox, and having observed that at one all extremity ftroke he fell down stark dead : Alas, faid he, were it not a great shame that for fear of death which rather then fly lafteth fo little while, and is fo foon gone; I should leave fo goodly and great a Seigniory? But knowing what people he had to deal withall, he fent Ambaffadors unto them that kept him in fo ftraights ly, to befeech them to permit him with fafety to come out of the Town with his followers. Even at that inftant he fent men to the fouldiers CAMPANIANS, to promife them all that they would have The double fo they would come and beliege Syria cusa. The Townsmen having suffered him to go his war with dealing of DIfive thips, flept quietly in hope that he would be gone : and cathiered a part of their fouldiers, fund on five. poling they should need no longer to beliege it. So that their souldiers dispersed themselves here and there in the fields, even as if the gyranny had been put down. But the CAMPANIANS allured by Dionylius promifes, came into the field, and being come to AGYRIDE, they left their carriage. to be so much the soonen before SYRACUSA. They were twelve hundred horsemen, and made such fpeed, that they surprised the SYRA CUSIANS, and in despite of them rode through the Town unto the Castle of Dionysius, in whose aid also at the very same time there arrived by sea, three hundred other fouldiers; fo that now he became more couragious then ever he was, The Syracus IANS on the other fide began to difarm themselves, some being of one mind, some of another: which Dionyfiss understanding, he made a fally out upon them that kept the quarter called NEAPOLIS, or new Town, and put them all to flight; howbeit many were not killed; for Dionylius riding every where about, willed his men to kill none that fled. Thus were the SYRACUSIANS driven and difperfed in the field, where there gathered about the horsemen above seven thousand. Now for Dion fine, he having caused them to be buried that were slain in this conflict, he fent Ambassadors unto AT NE to them that were retired thither, to intreat them to be at peace, and to return home pionificial to their houses, promising them by oath, that he would never be revenged for any thing they had eth peace of practifed or done against him. Those that had wives and children at Synacus a, were compelled them of Aint to pruft to his words and promifes. But when the Ambaffadors alledged to the others, the humanity of their mafter in burying the dead : they answered, that the Tyrant deserved to have as much done to him, and that they prayed the gods they might quickly requite him. For all this they would not fir out of E T NE, expecting opportunity to the upon their enemy: who being escaped from so greate danger, he courtequily used them that returned, to entire the others to follow. And for the rest, after he had well payed the CAMPANIANS, he put them out of the City, suspecting their inconstancy and treason. They departing from Syracusa, went unto the City of ATELLE. where they prevailed fo much, that they were received into the Town to dwell there. But their wickedness burst out into such extremity, that one night; they set upon the naturall inhabitants, kil- Treacherous led every man that was able to bear Arms, and afterwards by force thrust out their Wives: and by ingratitude: this means made themselves masters of the Town, and of all the territory thereabout. At the same time Ariffus, one of the chiefelt men of LACEDEMON was fent unto Syradus as upon a rumour given out among the people, that it was to drive our the Tyrant; but the effect thewed that it was but to negociate with him, and to bind him unto them, to ferve their turns in their affairs. Ari-I'm then immediately after his arrival having had fecret conference with Dionylius, he began to mutiny with the SYRACUSIANS promiting them all the aid he could for the recovery of their liberty. But Ariflus ameans alterwards he himself killed Nicoreles the Coranthian, who had promised the Syracustans to threngthen to be the head of this greenprife : and acculing them that gave credit to his words, he made the Tyrant the Tyrant more hold and ftronger then ever. So did he also begin to thew himself more then before a for he found the means to fend the Synacustans into the fields to get in their corn and harveft, and

in the mean space whilest they were out of the City, he went into the houses himself, and fetched

bourers to

out all their arms that had any. Then he environed his Caftle round about with another fecond wall, built divers fhips, and affembled a greater number of fouldiers ftrangers, whom he afterwards entertained. Now he thinking himself too little a Lord, undertook to conquer fome frontier Towns near unto the territory of the SYRACUSIANS, and before he would affail them, he brought his Army before ETNE, which he wan prefently. From thence he came to befiege the City of the LEONTINES, the which having refifted him, after he had forraged and preyed the Country about, he turned unto the Towns of the naturall SICILIANS, making as though he meant to fet upon them, to the end that those of CATANE, and of NAXE, seeing the War in another place, should care the less for themselves. So being near unto the Town of Enne, he put into Limnessus head, a Citizen of the same, that he should take upon him to make himself Lord of the Distoflies wind Town, promiting him to help him in it: which the other executed. Howbeit he kept the Town for neth Town by handle and have be Comparation. himself, and shut the Gates against Dionyjus: who being angry with this repulse, counselled the Ennants to drive out this new Tyrant. The people being set on by him, ran one day in arms into the Market-place, and cryed, Liberty. Dionyfus understanding that, followed with some of his faithfull friends, took hold of Limneftus , and delivered him to the ENNIANS , and went our of the Town again immediately, to make others to trust him. From thence he went unto CATANE, and wan the Town through the treason of Arcesilans Captain of the same: took all the arms from the inhabitants, and left a good Garifon there. Procles Captain of NAXE, shortly after, played even the like part that Arcefilans had done, and was well recompensed for it; and all his kinfmen and friends were given him : but the other inhabitants were fold by the drum, their Town deftroyed, and their lands given to the SICILIANS, neighbours to SYRACUSA. For those of CATANE, they were also fold to them that would give most within SYRACUSA, and their Town given to the fouldiers CAMPANIANS. This made the LEONTINES hold up their hands, leave the Town, and to dwell at Syracusa. Now Dionysius fortified Syracusa anew, and having determined to close in the quarter called Epipoles with walls, he affembled threefcore thousand labourers diftributed by troops, and ferving skilfull mafters, accompanied with Masons that had their day-work. These men encouraged by his presence, by his promises and gifts, finished the wall in three weeks of a reasonable height and thickness, being little less then two leagues about. The banished men of Syracus a being fled to RHEGE, did what they could possible to move the inhabitants to make War against Dienysu. They laboured it so well, that in the end the RHEGIANS went into the field, and induced the Governors of Massina to keep them company. But a Massinian called Leomedon, having discouraged the troops, every one went home again, and did nothing: and as for Dionyfiss, he looked no further into them, but the RHEGIANS and MESSENIANS having fent unto hint to treat of peace, he judging that the friendship of these two Cities would be very expedient for him, made peace with them. So having affured himself on that fide, and considering that many GREEKS of SICILIA field

into the Towns which were subject to the CARTHAGINIANS, and that there were Towns untouched, unto the which they carried their goods: he thought that fo long as he was at peace with them, divers of his subjects would be willing to do the like. Howbeit that in making War with them, those whom the CARTHAGINIANS should overcome by arms, would come to his side. Furthermore, word was brought him that CARTHAGE was wonderfully afflicted with the plague, which did the more strengthen him in his resolution. But knowing that he had to deal with mighty parations against the Cor- enemies of all the people of Europs, and that this War would not fo foon be ended: he gathered together into SYRACUSA out of all the coafts of ITALY, of GREECE, and of SICILIA, the best workmen and artificers, unto whom he gave great wages, and great gifts unto those that were most skilfull and diligent. Who labouring in envy the one of the other, they built up in ashort time two hundred Gallies, repaired an hundred and ten that had ferved a long time, forged an hundred and forty thousand bucklers or targets, fo many swords and daggers, as many helmets and fallets: fourteen thousand corcelets, curaces, and brigandines of all forts: Engines of battery of all fashions, and of darts, an incredible and uneftimable number. Touching the Galleys, to arm them with Pilots, Mariners, and Galley-flaves, the City of SYRACUSA furnished for the one half: and Dionyfine for the other half payed the fouldiers ftrangers. The furniture of these ships, arms, and harness being ready, he began to gather his Army together, and would not for saving charges put himself in readiness before. He gathered together within Syracus all those that were able to bear arms: he drew out of the Towns subject unto him, all that were meet for War: he levyed men out of LACONIA with confent of the Lords of SPARTA, and got a great number out of all parts because he payed well, and gave them very gracious entertainment that came to serve him. But above all the rest he showed himself a marvellous friend to the RHEGIANS, and MESSENIANS, that had a reasonable strong Army in readiness to be employed: being as raid that so soon as they should fee the CARTHAGINIANS passed into SICILIA, they would joyn with them: for to which fide foever these two Cities would encline, they would help to make a great weight in the ballance, and to bring the victory to fall on their fide. It was at that time that he gave a great Country of extent unto the MESSENIANS, and prayed the RHEGIANS to give him a wife of their Town. But they would not hear of that in any wife. Whereupon he went to the LODRIANS, who gave him her of whom we have spoken before : and for many days together did nothing else but make banquets and feafts, as well to his fouldiers, as unto the more part of the Citizens of SyracusA. For he had now changed his first sowrenes and cruelty of a Tyrant into gentlenes: he did use his subjects in a more civil fort, put no more of them to death, nor banished any mo of them, as he did at the first beginning. Shortly after this marriage was past, he affembled the people of Syna-CUSA, and did perswade them to make War with the CARTHAGINIANS, telling them that they were enemies of all the universall GREEKS, and of those especially that dwelt in SICI-LIA. whom they practifed by all the means they could, to make subject unto them. And that albeit they did not now make any alteration, it was because of the plague that tormented them much: but so soon as they were free from that, they should see the effects of their malice against all the inhabitants of SICILIA, which they cast long before in their minds. And that it were better for him, fince it must needs be, soon or late, to begin to make War upon them, they being now weak, then to tarry till they were recovered again: and that it was a great shame to them to suffer Dionysius his the Towns of GREECE To near unto them, to be made subject to barbarous people : that being perswassions desirous to recover their liberty, so much more willing they would be to yield themselves unto the SYRACUSIANS, fo foon as they should see that it were open War. These and other reasons were the Cartheeinireceived and allowed by the Syracusians, who were no less desirous then himself to make War ans. with them. For they hated the CARTHAGINIANS, because that for fear of them they were constrained to put themselves under the yoak. And next, for that they hoped Dionysius would use them more gently, so long as on the one side he should be afraid of the force of the enemies, and on the other, of the rebellion of those, whom by force he kept under. And especially above the rest, for that they hoped being armed, if occasion were offered, they might one day stand for the recove-

War being concluded upon in this affembly, Dionysius suffered the Syracustans to spoil the PHENICIANS that trafficked in their haven : which they executed out of hand, The other SICILIANS did as much: fo that the CARTHAGINIANS were driven to run away, and those that they could catch were cruelly handled in every place, for the hatred they bare them, because of the proud parts they committed in the Wars past. Dionysius having all his Army in readinels, lent a Herauld unto CARTHAGE with letters, containing that the SYRACUSIANS had de- War denouncreed in their Council to make War upon the CARTHAGINIANS, unless they departed from ced against the Towns of GREECE, which they held in SICILIA, and did leave them at liberty. The Senate Carthage. and people of CARTHAGE amazed at it, knew that they had to fight with Dionylius, neverthes less they resolved to take arms, and sent to levy men out of all parts: Dionysius on the other fide, he took the field with an Army of fourfcore thousand fighting men of foot, and three thoufand horse: and had at the sea near two hundred Gallies and ships of Oars, accompanied with five hundred great thips of burden, full of all forts of Engines of battery, and of necessary munitions for such an Army. All the Towns almost of SICILIA yielded themselves unto him, faving Mo-TYE, ANCYRE, Soles, EGESTE, PALERME, and ENTELLE. Leptines his brother and Admirall, lay before MOTYE, and befieged it: and himself spoiled all the Countrey of the SOLENTI-NES, PALERMITANS, and ANCIREIANS: and belieged EGESTE, and ENTELLE, and gave them diversaffaults. News being brought unto him that Himileo was at hand, he went and encamped before MOTYE, a Town fituated within a little Isle of Sicilia, half a league from firm land, stately built, and very rich at that time. The which he assaulted by sea and by land. drave Hinilco and his forces back, and wan the Town by affault: but they fold their lives and Town very dear, having killed a great number of the enemies, before they were forced. The SICILIANS yet angry in their hearts for the mischies they had endured through the insolency of the CARTHAGINIANS in the former Wars: were so brued in blood, that all those of Mo- The inhabi-TYE were put to the fword. They that faved themselves in the Temples, had their lives granted tants of Motre them: but Dionysius made them all be fold by the drum. Whilest he was occupied there, the flain. EGESTANS made a fally upon the Camp which he had left before the Town, and fet it on fire, which burnt the most part of his souldiers, and the rest well armed, faved themselves as they could. Bur Dionysius not much regarding this loss, set upon all the Towns of the CARTHAGINIANS with his Army. They for their part, gave all the authority and power to Himileo, to prepare for this War of SICILIA. He made an Army of three hundred thousand footmen, and of a great number of horsemen, and gave the rendezvous to the ships of burthen at PALERME: where he arrived with his Fleet of Gallies that followed him. The Admirall Leptines having descryed his coming, fet forward with his ships, and fought with them in the main fea: he killed five thousand of his men, funk fifty ships, and two hundred Carts of War : and the rest of them saved themselves by flying. But Himileo having landed his Army, went and affailed MOTYE, and wan it again of the Syri RACUSIANS.

At that time Dionysius was before EGESTE, where word being brought him of the arrival of the CARTHAGINIANS, and of the taking again of MOTYE, he began to be afraid, and to take advice to return to Syracusa: he commanded the SICILIANS to retire, and made their Dionysius flieth lands wast, to disadvantage their enemies by so much the more. This sudden change of Dionysias, ing his huge was cause that many of his friends took part with Himileo, who seeing his affairs prosper so well, Army of three made his Army march to MESSINE: took in (passing by) the Isle and town of LYPARE: and hundred thouthen befieged the MESSINEANS fo straightly, that in the end he wan the Town by affault, fand men. And there having tefreshed his troops, he razed the Town to the very ground, the which did Message won o much amaze the SICILIANS, that all, except the ASSARINS, turned unto the CAR- the Carbage THAGINIANS. Dionysius being at his wits end for to many losses, did fortifie the nians.

NE, that twen in the field with four and thirty thouland footmen, and a thouland horfe, and fible, he went into the field with four and thirty thouland footmen, and a thouland horfe, and lote, no went into the field want four the banified men of Syracusa were placed, favoured by lodged under the mount Taur, where the banified men of Syracusa were placed, favoured by the Carthaginians, and had fortified it, and made it in form of a Town: whileft he made his abode there, news came unto him that the Army of the CARTHAGINIANS was divided into two, and that the one part of them went by land to CATANE with Himileo; and the other came towards him by fea, led by Mago. He hoping to make this Fleet as nothing,

Lepines lofeth commanded his brother Lepines to make out with his shipping against Mago. But Lepines was put Lepines lofeth communicacion in ordinar and the lofs of twenty thousand men, and well near an hundred of his ships. This twenty thouto mgu, wan un to so a fear, doubting besides lest Mago sollowing his victory should draw towards Syracusa, which was easie to be won having no Garison in it: he retired into his City, and from thence fent men into ITALY and into GREECE, to pray aid against the to his Chy, and from the total the control of the c Himitobelies Syracusa, belieged it by land and by fea, wan the fuburbs of Acradine, and fet up his DYRACUSA, Delinger and James Olympian, all the other Temples of the Suburbs having been paymon in the temple of Inpute of In of their friends under the conduct of Pharacidas, a Captain of the LACEDEMONIANS. With of their files of the thips of burthen, Dionysius put to the sea to get victuals. But now whilst he this aid, and an the imps of building, producting arefull to look to their City, and fpying out all occasions to mitchief the besiegers: they described a boat that brought Corn to the Camp our an occasions to minute our Camp of Himileo. Whereupon on the fudden they armed all their Galleys, and fought fo valiantly with the CARTHAGINIANS, that they took their Admirall with twenty others, and funk four of them, and followed the reft that fled, unto the very place where their ships lay at Anchor within the great haven, provoking them to battle. But the CARTHAGINIANS aftonied with this over-

DIONISIUS.

ftrong holds that were in the territory of the LEONTINES, fent the CAMPANIANS to ET-

NE, that dwelt in the Town of CATANE; and taking order for his affairs the best he could pos-

throw, ftirred not.

Then the SYRACUSIANS fathened the Galleys prifoners unto the poops of theirs, and brought them into the City. Whereupon they being couragious again for this little advantage they had of their enemies: they began to talk among themselves, how the Tyrant had been many times over-The Syracas Come, and that they to the contrary without him had overcome the CARTHAGINIANS. And The System come, and that they to the contrary without that had overcome the CARTHAGINIANS. And are confined thereupon gathering together by troops, they went fpeaking one to another, that they were gainst Dissipase weary with ferving a Tyrant, and now specially having means to put him down for ever: For, gainst Dissipase weary with ferving a Tyrant, and now specially having means to put him down for ever: For, before they were distanted, but now by reason of the Wars they had their Arms in their bands. Notwithstanding they daily held this talk, Dionysius made the people to assemble, and praised them highly for the good fervice they had done, perfuading them furthermore to be of good courage, for within few days he would make an end of this War. But as the affembly of the people was ready to go their way, Theodorm a Syracusian, judged to be one of the beft men of arms within the Town, stepped up, and made a long Oration, in the which after he had by piece-meal laid open all the tyrannies, cowardliness, and wicked deeds of Dionysim, whom he called Grammarian, Clerk, a careleis man, ignorant of the affairs of War, oppreffor of all Sicilia, and favourer of all thieves and ill men of the world: he perfivaded them by divers reasons to endeavour themselves to recover their liberty. And fince that their allies of ITALY and GREECE were within the City, that they should bring back again the power and authority to create such Captains as they should think good, into the hands of the Chizens, according to the tenure of their ancient laws, or elfe into the hands of their anceftors and first founders, which were the CORINTHIANS: or at the leaft into the LACEDENONTANS hands, who had then the feigniority of all GREECE. The SYRACUSTANS being marvellously moved with fuch a speech, beheld the countenance of their Confederates Affiftants in this Affembly: untill fuch a time as Pharacidas being gotten up into the spartate collected Pulpit for Orations, made every man hearken, supposing it should be he that should begin first to the designs of the integral of the designs of the integral of the integra the dengns of the system first up and encourage others to the recovery of their liberty. But to the contrary, he being particularly friend to Dionysius, began to tell them, that his Lord had fent him to aid the Syracu-SIANS and Dionyshus against the CARTHAGINIANS, not to destroy them, nor to abolish his eflate. This speech being clean contrary to that the common people expected, the fouldiers strangers ran straight about him. Whereupon the SYRACUSIANS stirred not, saving that to themselves

they curied the LACEDEMONIANS, because that heretofore they had sent them Ariffin, who pretending he came to aid them for to recover their liberty, was a traitor and fold them; and now that this Pharacidas had broken the hearts of their courages, being well disposed to root out this tyranny. For Dionysius he spake smoothly for the time, being throughly asraid they would have set upon him, and so dismissed the assembly, using the most gracious words unto them he could possibly. To others he gave presents, he sent for others to come and eat with him at Table. In the mean time the The Carbagi- plague strangely possest the Camp of the CARTHAGINIANS, and in a short time killed well near a hundred and fifty thouland of them: whereupon the most part of them were for faken alive and dead, the contagion was to horrible. Some imputed it partly to the discommodity of the place, and excessive number of men living as it were on heaps together; partly unto the vengeance of God punishing their pride, the insolencies, cruelties, and sacriledges of the CARTHAGINIANS. Dionysius understanding of this mifery, would not vainly let slip such a fit occasion, but armed fourscore Galleys, under the conduct of Pharacidas and Leptines, and his troops, with whom he affailed Himileo by

Sea and by Land, took his Forts, burnt and drowned the most part of his Ships, brake the rest. and gave his reople of Syracusa means to fet upon the little Barks, and to flut them within the and gave To be short, he brought them to such extremity; that they fent secretly unto him to pray him to luffer that which was faved from the overthrow the day before, to pass the Sea, and to retire The Carthagihim to lutter that which was tayed from the overland with the preference of an hundred and four feature him to defend to Africa with fafety: promiting to make him a Preference of an hundred and four fore though the family creates him and Crowns. His answer was, that it was not possible all should be faved, yet he was contented ward. the naturall CARTHAGINIANS should pais. For he doubted much that the Syracusans and their Friends would never fuffer him to respite those other, if they once understood it. But he did it of purpose, being unwilling that the Army of CARTHAGE should be utterly destroyed, for sear Dionystus his that when the SYRACUSANS should see themselves free from this fear, they would remember the sear, Oration of Theodores, and put to all their force to recover their Liberty again. The Money promiled him being delivered, Himileo imbarqued by night all the natural CARTHAGINIANS that were left into forty Galleys, and made Sail immediatly towards Africk. Howbeit he was feant out of the Haven, but certain CORINTHIANS perceived his stealing away, and suddenly came to tell it to Dionyfius, who feeming to be very greatly bufied, commanded to found the Alarum, and that the Captains should prepare themselves to follow him. The CORINTHIANS seeing he went but family to work, would tarry no longer, but even at the present hour embarqued themselves, drew up their Ankers, and rowed hard after their Enemies : fothat in a short space they overtook the Rear of their Vessels, and so rudely hurt them, that they sunk some of them. Immediatly after, Dionyfius drew his Army into the Field : but the SICILIANS, friends unto the CARTHA-GINIANS, had gotten the frart before crofting the countrey, infomuch that the more part of them got home to their Houles. For this cause Dionysius having left a Guard to keep the passages by the High-ways, he brought his Army back again to the Enemies Camp. The barbarous People feeing themselves betrayed by the Generall, forlaken of the naturall CARTHAGINIANS and Si-CILIANS, their hearts were killed, and began to flie, stealing away, some this way, some that way: but all of them in manner fell into the hands of Souldiers that guarded the High-ways. Those that were left came before Dionysius, and casting down their Arms, befought him to take pity of them, and to fave their lives: the Spaniards onely excepted, who gathered themselves together with heir Arms, and fent unto him to offer their Service, if it would please him to accept them: thewhich he did, and received them into pay among the Souldiers Strangers. For the rest, he took the other Prisoners, and gave their baggage in prey to his Souldiers. For Himileo, after he had niconici Princicis, and Solve Carthage, he died diffract of his wits. Some hold opi- Himilto dieth. nion, that immediatly after he was arrived, not able to indure the shame he got in this War.

he killed himfelf.

Dionysius having driven the CARTHAGINIANS out of SICILIA, he built up MESSINA again which they had ruined. Then he went to besiege TAUROMENION, fortified by the SICI-LIANS, who luftily gave him the repulse, and made a Salley upon him, and killed the most part of his men, having much ado to escape himself. Oo the other side, Mago chief of the Africans in SICILIA, did courteously intreat his Allies, and received into his protection all those whom Dionifius oppressed. By which occasion having won the hearts of the most part of them, he became so ftrong in a short time, that he got a great Army again on foot, marched with them to MESSI-NA, and over ran all the plain Countrey; where having gotten a great booty, he took upon him to befiege the ABACENIANS Confederates of Dionysius: who being bound to aid them, he went Dionysius overagainst the Carthagnians, beat Mago in a Conssict, and killed eight hundred of his men, throwen Ma-So having brought his Troops to SYRACUSA and refreshed them, he armed a Fleet of an hundred go, and warreth So having brought his 1700ps to 34 RACUSA and territorial to their Haven by night; at that against them Veffels, to go and make War with those of RHEGE, and coming to their Haven by night; at that against them. instant time he did fiercely affail them, set fire on their Gates, and set up scaling-Ladders in divers parts; nevertheless the RHEGIANS defended themselves so couragiously, that he was forced to retire. And thereupon receiving certain intelligence what great Preparations they made at CAR-THAGE to begin the War again : he left RHEGE, and returned again to SYRACUSA. So the Peace conclu-CARTHAGINIANS had gotten together again fourscore thousand men, whom they sent into ded with Con-SICILIA under the conduct of Mago. But before they came to joyn with the Enemies , they ditions. concluded Peace with these Conditions, that every one should enjoy that they had gotten: That one of them should not quarrell with the other for any thing : That Dionyfius might without breach of Peace make War with the TAUROMENITANS. These being thus agreed upon between them , Dionyfius went and befreged TAUROMENION the fecond time, and did more furiously affault it then before: fo that in the end, after long refistance of them that were besieged, he wan the Town, drave out the Sicilians that dwelt there, and did replenish it with Strangers whom he kept in pay. Afterwards because his Army should not be idle and mutinous, he chose twenty thousand Footmen, and three thousand Horse, and went into ITALY with them, next adjoyning unto SICILIA, to subdue those GREEKS which had dwelt there of long time. News being brought unto them of Dionyfins intention, they affembled all the Estates of the Countrey of CROTONE, where they all refolved to joyn together to repulse this common Enemy; and making all the Forces they could , established Eloris a banished man of Syracus a their Chieftain, they made their Army march against Dionysius, who camped before the City of Calone. He understanding of their coming, raised his Siege suddenly to go and meet with them; and the next morning after his departure, by break of the day ..., he gave Charge upon the GREEKS

quisheth the Greeks that dwelt in Italy. The Rhegians constrained to

with his Troop well appointed, who marching diforderly, he killed their chieftain, and the vali-Dioryfus van- antest men of their Army: and afterwards belieged the others that had faved themselves in a Town, and compelled them to yeeld for that they had no water. Yet contrary to all mens expectation, he used them very courteously, and sent them home safe without Ransome. After he had won this goodly Victory , he led his Army into the Territory of the RHEGIANS , whom he hated to the death. They having no friends, and too weak of themselves to result such a mighty Enemy, were constrained to make Peace with him with very hard Conditions. For he made them give him threefcore Galleys, an hundred and fourfcore thouland Crowns, and for hostage and observation of other Articles, an hundred of the chiefest of the Town. From thence he returned to befrege Caulo-NA , and held them fo straight, that he wan it by affault, destroyed it, and gave the Lands unto them But forasmuch as he could not forget the unreconciliable hatred he bare unto the RHEGIANS, he

having demanded on a time one of their Daughters in marriage, they report, that the answer they

made in an open Affembly of the Town unto his Ambassadours, was, that they would give him none

of them, unless he would marry the Hangmans Daughter of the Town: this made him resolve that

The lively picture of a fubtle Tyrant.

Dionyfius very

he would fee the end of it. And where before he had made Peace with them, it was not for any good will he bare them, nor that he desired their triendship, but because he would take their Galleys from them, hoping that after he had left them bare at the Sea, he should come closer to them, and have them at his discretion. Therefore whilest he was in lTALY, he sought nothing else but to take an occasion to make War with them, so that he might not be charged, that contrary to his faith he had broken the Edict of Pacification. Having therefore led his Army unto the Straight, making as though he would pass into SICILIA, he fent unto the RHEGIANS to demand Victuals for his Army, promiting to fend them fo much again upon his return to SYRACUSA. Which he did, to the end that if they refused, he might excuse himself well if he did set upon them and if they did give him any, it should then turn to the hurt of the Town, which if it came to be befieged, should be constrained for famine to hold up their hands to him. The RHEGIANS that leaft doubted his malice, furnished him with Victuals for certain days: but perceiving he tarried there too long, now counterfeiting he was fick, then that he used other delays to prolong time, they began to fee his fetches, and refused to victuall him any more Thereupon he feigning to be much offended, fent them home their Hostages, and came to beliege the Town: and coming hard to their Walls, made daily and continual Affaults, beating upon the Walls with great Engines which he had made expressely of an incredible greatness. They having chosen a valiant man for their Captain, called Physon, and furnished all those that were able to bear Arms in the Town, they defended themselves couragiously, and did many ways hurt their Enemies: and specially in a Salley they made, Dionysias was fore hurt with a Launce in the flank, that he was like to haveded, but being recovered and well again, he purfued his purpose more obstinately then ever: whereby he took all hope of aid from them, and having continued Siege there eleven Moneths all together, in the end the RHEGIANS found themselves in great want of Victual of all fors: for a bulhel of Wheat was at fifty Crowns. After that all kind of Corn failed them, first they did eat up their Horfes, and all kind of Beafts of burthen. Then when they had no more to eat, they did feeth all their Hides and Leather they could find in the Town, and so lived a while. And last of all, coming out of the Town, they did eat and devour up such Hearbs and Roots as they could find by their Walls, even as wild Beafts. Dionyssus perceiving it, in stead of pitying of them (nay rather defiring they should eat one another of them) he caused the Grass to be cut down, and put his Beafts in the Camp into it, to feed of all that was along the Town The Rheglass Walls and Ditches, to the end they should have nothing more to eat. So that in the end the overcome, and poor RHEGIANS overcome by necessity, were constrained to yeeld themselves and their Town their City 12 to the diferetion of the Tyrant. Who being entred into the Town, found heaps of bodies dead of that Plague of Famine: and fuch as were yet alive, feemed rather ghofts then living per-

folis. So he gathered together about fix thouland Priloners , whom he fent all to Syracusa,

futtering notwithstanding all that could ransom themselves (paying a Talent) to be redeemed:

and the rest to be fold by the Drum to him that would give most. Amongst the Prisonersthere

was Phyton and his Son. Dionysfur made his Son to be drowned first: and the next morning

after, he made the Father to be tied to the highest Engine of Battery he had, and sent to tell him

news of the death of his Son. He was happier by a day then his Father, faid Physon: who

was drawn all the Town over, and whipped most shamefully : having a Strieam at his back that

cried out aloud, that Dionyfins made him be whipped thus, because he had made the RREGIANS

take Arms against him. But Physon that had shewed himself like a valiant Captain and worthy

man in this Siege, and had lived honourably all his life time, did patiently indure the pain which the

Tyrant made him suffer. For he remained constant, speaking out aloud that every body heard him:

That he was put to death, because he would not betray his Countrey, and deliver it into the Ty-

rants hands 3, howbeit that within few days ithe gods would be revenged of him for this ourage.

His conffancy was fuch that it moved Discipling Souldiers to compaffion : who began already to

murmure against him. Wherefore fearing, left they should be so bold to take him out of the Tor-

mentors hands, he made them leave whipping of him, and commanded that they should drown

him in the Sep with all his Kindred , which was done : for the reft , the City, of RHEGE WESTAZED

Dionylius cruelty towards Phyton and his Son.

to the ground.

Thus have we made a large Discourse of the practises and Wars of Dionysius. Now let us speak fomething of his private Government. He had wit enough, but troubled with many vices: and the The private more he grew in years, the more it was corrupted. The Flatterers made an end of his destruction: carriage of for they called his cruelty, the hate of wicked men, and good justice; and made him believe that he Flatterers the was a most worthy man in all things: insomuch that he thought himself the onely man of the bane of Prin-World and would be fo reputed. Being thus carried, and feeing himfelf at good leifure, he entred ces. into a course which he had somewhat discontinued during the Wars, and therewith he was strangely raken; which was, to write Verses, and to make Tragedies. He fell to this study again with more diligence then before, and fent for Poets out of all parts, whom he honoured, and gave Prefents unto. because they should correct his Works of Poetry. They seeking to gratifie him for their profit said nothing but that which they thought should be most pleasing unto him : so that being pust up with their flatteries, he gloried more in his Verses, then he did in his Wars. Now amongst other Poets that followed him, there was one they called Philoxenus, a learned man, and excellent to write Hymns in praise of the gods. Dionysius one day gave him a Tragedie of his to peruse and correct: he croffed it all over from one end to the other: and one night being asked what he thought of certain Poelies which the Tyrant made, he spake openly, that they were worth nothing. He answered tain Poeties which the Trians angrily faid, it was of envy that he cenfured his Works to, and fent him Truth procuforthwith to dig in the Quarry-pit. The next morning his friends intreated Dionystus to pardon him, reth it felt which he did: and would have him again to Supper with many others of his fort. In the midft of hatred. this Feaft , Dionyfiss that defired nothing more then to have his Verses heard, rehearsed some of them, and of those especially which he thought best done. Then turning himself to Philoxenss, he The constancy asked his opinion. But he answered him never a word, but looking about him, called one of Dio- of Philosenus. nyline Guard, and faid unto him : Carry me again to the Quarry-pit. Dionyline stilling at it , bare this nip well; and foon after taking Philoxenss apart, periwaded him not to be fo fharp. His friends alfo told him that he might eafily forbear to speak so freely to no purpose. Then Philoxenus made him an answer all new, saying, that from thenceforth he would keep such a weight on his words. that he would speak the truth, and keep himself in Dionysius savour, as he did. For Dionysius having rehearfed certain Verses full of great lamentations, to move the hearts of the hearers to pity, he prayed Philoxenus to fay his mind of them: who answered him, that those Verses had filled him full of pity. It was a sharp gird of mockery which Diony fine perceived not, no more then that which Melanthins spake of a Tragedie after the like fort, that he could not see it, it was so dark of speech. And fo was Plato not much better used then Philoxenus. Dion his Disciple and Brother-in-law of Dionylim, had spoken so much good to this Tyrant, that being at leisure he was contented to see Plato. and to hear him. So they being together, their talk generally was all of Vertue : but chiefly they disputed, what was true force and prowess? Where Plato proved unto him, that Tyrants were nothing less then valiant men. Out of that, turning his talk to speak of Justice : he shewed him that the life of the just was very happy: and that to the contrary, the life of unjust men was most wicked. Infomuch that the Tyrant feeing himfelf convinced, could no longer endure talk with him: and was Dionyfius diffiforry to fee those that were present so much to esteem of him, and to take such singular pleasure to king Plato who hear him speak. So at the last his choler being up, he asked him, what business had brought him spake truth, into Sicilia? To feek an honest man, faid Plato. And how? (replied Dionysius) by the gods be fold. (to hear thee speak) it seemeth thou hast yet found none. Dion thought his choler should go no turther, and so sent Plato away in a Galley, whom Polis Captain of LACED. MNN brought back again into Greece. But Dionysius prayed this Captain secretly, that what sower he did he should kill Plate by the way, or at leastwife fell him : adding to this jest withall, He shall be never a whit the worse for that: for if he be a just man, he shall be as happy being a Servant as otherwise. And so Plato was fold in the Isle of ÆGINE for the price of two hundred Crowns, and afterwards bought again by Annicerius a Philosopher, and sent to ATHENS. Dioryfius gave himself to all Poesie, and sent for the best Singers he could recover in the Games O-

lympials, to rehearfe and fing his Verses before the People. The Singers at the beginning were heard with admiration of every body, for the goodness and fineness of their voices : but when they came to examine their Songs, they were despited, mocked, and whiteled at, which angred him extreamly when he heard of it. So this passionate desire did so much increase in his head continually, that he became almost as a man beside himself: and said that his faithfull friends did envie him, and began to be at defiance with them, as if they had been Traytours unto him. To conclude, this fury of his did fo poffels him, that he did put many to death upon false occasions, and banished others, as Philistus, and Leptines his Brother, both of them valiant men, and that had done him great Service in his Wars. Howbeit afterwards he fent for them again, and they were his friends as before. But fince we are now totalk of his cruelties, let us fay fomething as we pass by. One of his greatest friends called Marfyu, dreamed one night that he cut his throat. The Tyrant understanding of it, put The cruckies this poor Dreamer to death : alledging that this Dream could not have come to him at night, but of Dienyfins. that he had it fetled in his mind to commit fuch an act in the day. Leptines being defirous one day to describe SICILIA in his presence, took a Halbard from one of the Souldiers of his Guard, and with the butt end of it drew on the ground that which he would : wherewith Dionyfins was fo angry, that he bitterly took up Leptines, and put the Souldier to death that had given him his Halbard. Dioryfins one day being disposed to disport himself some way, gave his Bardasse his Sword and his Cloak to keep: which one of his familiars perceiving, faid: And what, do you trust this young Boy

Mmmm 2

with your life? The Youth began to smile at it; but Dionysius made him be killed , because by smiling he feemed to allow of this word: and he also dispatched the other, because he had shewed him the mean to kill him. He was determined to have put his Brother-in-law Polyxemus to death; but

nyfius Sifter.

ther and Bro-

hehaving an inkling of it, fled out of SICILIA. Dionyfius fent to Tefcha his Sifter, and chid with her, because she had kept his flying away close from him. But she answered him with a bold coun-A bold answer tenance: What thinkest thou, Dionysus, that I am a woman so cowardly and faint-hearted, that if I of refea, Dir had known that my Husband would have gone , I would not have taken Sea with him , and have been companion of his fortune? I knew nothing before he was gone, for it had been more honourable for me to have been called the Wife of Polyxemas banished, then Sifter to thee a Tyran. Diosyfins was blank at this speech, and the SYRACUSANS wondered at the vertue of this woman: infomuch that after the Tyranny was deftroyed, they did not leave to do her all the honour that they could have done to a Queen; and when the was dead, all the Citizens by common confent went with her body to the Sepulture. A question being made one day, to wit: Which was the best Copper? Arrisbon answering quickly, that it was that wherewith the ATHENIANS melted the Statues of Armodius and Arifhogiton, Dienysius made him to be strangled, and die in great tormen, They report of him that he spared not his own Mother, but caused her to be strangled, though she wasvery old. And as for his Brother Lepsines, he suffered him to be killed by his Enemies, abeit he might eafily have faved and delivered him at that time. Some talked of his Tyranny in a Barbers Shop, and faid it was well established, and also evill to be destroyed, as the Diamond to be broken. I marvell faid the Barber, finiling, how you fay that of him, upon whose throat I pass my Razour fo often? These words being brought to Dienssius, he hanged the Barber. He had put to death at divers times ten thouland of his Citizens, and though he had written in one of his Tragedies that Tyranny was the Mother of Injustice: notwithstanding he had oftentimes this word in his mouth: That children most be deceived with Playes, and men with fair promises. And he said that the greatest pleasure and contentment he found in all his Government, was, that what he would have done,

One day he would have had Money of the SYRACUSANS: they complained and lamented, befee was fuddenly executed. ching him to hold them excufed, telling him they had no Money. He to the contrary, made them to be asked by others: which he did twice or thrice one after another. And as he continued ftill urging of them yet further: it was told him they did nothing but laugh, as they walked in the Market-place. Then he commanded his Receivers to prefs them no more: for it is a fign, faid he, that they have no more, fince they make no account of us. His mother being past age to marry, would needs marry a young man. He answered her, that indeed it was in his power to break the Laws of Syracusa, but of Nature, not. He severely punishing all other Malefactours, pardoned Thieves that took away mens Gowns and Cloaks whom they met by night in the streets: to the end that for this cause the SYRACUSANS should leave to make Feasts and Assemblies, wherein they could not keep themselves from speaking and complotting against him. On a time a Stranger promised him aloud to teach him fecretly, how he should know those that did practise any thing against him. Dienysius prayed him very earnestly. So the other going to him, Give me faid he, fix hundred Crowns, that the Syra-Cus ans may think thou haft learned of me the figns to discover the Conspiratours. He gave them him , and feigned that he had learned thefe means of him: greatly commending the fubrill fathion to get Money which this man had invented. Having heard one day a man that played upon the Cithern passing well, he openly promised him the sum of fix hundred Crowns. The next morning he came to demand this fum: Dionysus told him: thou gavest me great pleasure yesterday to hear thee play: and so did I thee in making thee this promise; and so thou were paid in the Field for the pleafure thou gavest me, by that that thou receivedst. One asked him on a time, If he were not idle. God forbid, faid he, that that should ever happen to me. He being informed that two young men of the City drinking together, had spoken many evill words of him and his Tyranny at the Table: fent to invice them both to supper with him: and seeing that the one after he had drunk a little, said and did many foolish things: and that the other to the contrary was very sober, and drank but feldom: he pardoned the one, as being a Drunkard and infolent of nature, and that through drunkenness had spoken evill of him : but he put the other to death, as one that bare him evill will in his hear, and being Enemy unto him of fet purpole. Some of his familiars reproved him, because he had honoured and advanced a wicked man, and evill beloved of the Syracusans. And he answered them , I will that there shall be one in SYRACUSA, that shall yet be more hated then my felf. Once he fent Presents unto certain Ambassadours of Corinth, which came unto him. They resuled them, because they had a Statute in their Common-wealth, that did forbid Ambassadours to take or receive any Gitts or Prefents of Lord or Prince whatloever. He was difcontented withall, and told them that they did evill to take away that onely good which is in Tyrannies, that is, to have power to give: but they taught men also, that to receive any good of Tyrants, is a thing one should fear and thun. Being informed that a Townsman of Synacus a had hidden a Treasure in the ground Disonflut Pre- in his hoofe, he commanded him to bring it him: the which he did, but not all for all that, for he referved a part, with the which he went and dwelt in another Town, and bought fome Land there: which when he understood, he sent for him to come to him, and restored him all his Gold and Silver: Sincethou knoweft now, faid he, how to use Riches, and not to make that unprofitable which is

The Corinthi-

Now his cruelties and tyrannous behaviour made him marvellous odious to the World, by made for the use of man.

reason whereof he entred into such a mistrust of every body, that he hade a Trench he digged about his Lodging where he lay, and because he would lie sarely, hedrew up a Draw-bridge, and thur him-Tyranes live in felf in with great fear , having a great Guard without round about him. His Wives durft not come great fear and into his Chamber before they had put off their Gowns, he was to afraid left they should bring a Dag-hatted. gerunder their Gowns. Yea his Brother and his own Son were fain to put off their Clothes, and the Guard of his Chamber should come naked whatsoever he was that put his foot into it : then there was another Garment cast upon him. He was afraid of his own Son as much as of any other, doubting that when he felt his own comage, and frequented men of understanding, he would make fome complor against him, and in the end thrust him our of his Seat and Seigniory. He locked him up in a Chamber, and would fuffer no man to come and speak with him : where for lack of other occupations, this young man occupied himself to make little Coaches or Chariots, Candlesticks. Saddles, Stools, and Tables of Wood. Nevertheless, after he had some more liberty, and that his Father began to let him come abroad : he straight grew to be proud and diffolure as might be. him rather vigan to termitroin above. In Theorem 2015, the when he had raviffed a Townfmans Wife by force, his Tather being angry with him a saed him: Whether ever he find feen him do any fuch thing or not? the Son aniwered him: No more had you a Father that was a Tyrant; But Dionysias replied upon him again: So Dionyshus nive thalt thou never have a Son at all, if thou leavest not to play these wicked parts. Another time pinely answergoing to fee his Son in his Lodging, and feeing there great frore of Veffels of Gold and Silver, he ed by his Son, told him: there is nothing in thee of a Lord or Frince, fince I have given thee fuch a deal of Gold. and Silver Plate, and yet thou knowest not how to get a Friend. It was an ordinary thing with Dionyfins to tell wonders, and do little, being so exceeding timorous. But specially after the execution of his Barber, and that his Daughters were now waxen great, he would not abide that any should clip Dionyflus fearhis hair with Sizers: but he made an Image-maker of Images of Earth to come to him, who with a ing the Barbers burning coal burnt his glib round about his head. Now he made himself to be known by a memo-sizers, fing burning coal burnt his glib round about his head. rable fact he did: which was this. A certain Flatterer called Daniecles, praifing the Majetty and with a coal, Riches of Dionysius, and the Magnificence of his Palace, maintained that the Sun never faw a more happy man. Dionysius to make him partaker of this felicity, made him sit down upon a little Bed. very sumptuous, and inriched with wonderfull precious things. Then he caused them to set up Tables laden with Veffels of Gold and Silver, and covered with wonderfull dainty Meats, a number of fine Pages attending on his Service, Perfumes passing rare and most excellent sweet for the Chamber. and dainty Musick both with Voice and Instruments. To be short, all the Pleasures and Pastimes possible to be thought of, did compass this Minion of Court round about. But in the midst of all pointer to the unique, of the point of the managed of the point of the point of the parties of the parties of a faffened to a small hair of a Horse, and to be hanged right over Damoeles head: who forgetting this flatterer well felicity he had so much commended, besought Dionyjius it might quickly be taken away. And like served. ashe was cruell unto then, fo did he shew himself a despiser of his proper gods, whereof we will alledge some examples: Having sacked the Pemple of Proscripine in the City of Lockes, he Dionstan Sa-took the Sea, and liaving a gale of wind at pleasure: You see, said he, how the immortall gods criticoges. do favour Sacriledges. He took off a Cloak of fine Gold from Jupiter Olympian, in the Town of Syracusa, which Cloak weighed fourfcore and five Talents, which are more worth then fifty thousand Crowns, and gave him another of Woollen, saying: that the Cloak of Gold was too cold for Winter, and too heavy for Summer: and that the Woollen Cloak would be more convenient in both seasons. He rounded also the Statue of Apollo, which had aglib of Gold. And finding that Money went low with him, by reason of his great expences in the Wars he had against the CARTHAGINIANS, he took the Sea with a Fleet of threefcore Galleys, with pretence to fet upon Pirates, but indeed it was to spoil a Temple of great fame, full of goodly and rich Jewels that had been offered up there, the which was leated upon the edge of the quarter of the City of Thus-CAN, called AGYLLE. Being arrived there in the night, and having landed his men: in the morming by break of day he suddenly and without any danger executed his Enterprize. For the place being guarded with some few men, he easily forced it, and afterwards at his leifure sacked the Temple, where he got to the fum of fix hundred thousand Crowns. Which the Townsmen understanding. came out upon him straight, to see if they could defend the Temple: but he overcame them in Battell, and having taken a great number of Prisoners, he spoiled all their Countrey, and then returned to SYRACUSA, where he fold his Prisoners and his Booty, for the which he had also three hundred thousand Crowns more.

So being now well stored again, he began to set up an Army: and because he saw the Towns Dionyline pre-Subject unto the CARTHAGINIANS willing to revolt, he did intice them, and used them very pareth War graciously that came and took his part. The CARTHAGINIANS hearing that, fent unto him to against the demand their Towns, otherwise they proclaimed War against him. So on both sides they came Garthaginians. into the Field. For the CARTHAGINIANS, they dispatched Mago into SICILIA with a great Army. Dionysim being afraid of nothing, marched before with his Troops, and being camped near to a place called CABALES: both the Armies fiercely gave Charge upon each other, and after a long Mago a Car-Fight Mago was flain in the place with ten thouland of his men, and five thouland taken Priloners. The thaginian Cap-CARTHAGINIANS were not discouraged for all this, but chose them again the Son of Mago for tain with ten their chief Captain, a young Gentleman, wife, couragious, and valiant. So after they had stayed Dio- thousand of nyfins by a Truce for a certain time, the tearm being expired, they presented him a Battell, and fought his men slain; it out fo resolutely, that after they had flain his Brother Leptines (whom he forsook at his need)

Mmmm 3

Leptines flain.

and dieth.

Diogina over- ver a whit prouder of such a Victory, they sent Ambassadours unto him that concluded a Peace for their advantage. For beside the Towns that remained unto them, Dionysius paid them six hundred thousand Crowns to defray their charges in the Wars. Also he kept not this Peace long, but brake it shortly after: for understanding that the Plague was not amongst the CARTHAGINIANS, and that they were fallen out amongst themselves, he took advantage of this occasion, and to give colour to his pretence, gave it out, that the AFRICAN Souldiers had foraged the Lands of his friends, whereupon he leavied an Army of thirty thouland Footmen and three thouland Horfe: with this Army he began to make War again, and in the first imployment of his Forces he wan SELINON-TEAND ENTELLIE: and after that he marched to LILYBEE to besiege it : but seeing it well guarded, he returned back again. Hereupon news was brought him, that fire had taken some of the Arfenals of the CARTHAGINIANS : wherefore supposing all their Ships of War had been Diosphus ever- burnt, he began to scoff at all their Forces. But they having armed upon a sudden a Fleet of two hundred Galleys, affailed unlooked for a hundred and thirty of Dionyfiu Galleys, which wintered in the Haven of Ealx, fome of them he funk, and brought away the others. After this 105 Dionysim retired into Syracusa, and fell very sick. The which Dion perceiving, entred into talk of his Children, and of his Sifter Aristomache. But the Physitians to curry favour with young Dicnyhu, hindered him that he could have no fit time to fay any thing to him. Or as Timau writth, they gave him drink (as he had commanded them) to make him sleep , and by this means took from him his fenses, joyning death with sleep. Some others say, that he was killed by his Guard: others, that he was poiloned. But Diodorus the SICILIAN setteth down the cause after another fort : which is this. He caused, said he, a little before, a Tragedy of his intituled, The LENEI-ANS, to be plaid at ATHENS: and having gotten the Victory, one of the Mulicians brought him word of it by Sea: which did so please him, that after he had richly rewarded the Messenger, he made a great Sacrifice to the gods to give them thanks for his Prosperity, and sumptuous Feafts, unto the which he invited all his friends, and drank fo largely, that he fell into a great fickness whereof he died. Now he had in time paft an Oracle, that had foretold he should die then, when he had overcome those that should be worthier then himself. He applied this Oracle to the CARTHA-GINIA NS, supposing it was meant by them, because they were stronger then he. This was the cause that oftentimes in the Battels he had won against them, he being Victor, fled, or willingly suffered himself to be overcome because of this Prediction. Howbeit he could not shun his destiny: for being an ill Poet, he was judged by the sentence of corrupt Judges, to have excelled all the other Potsbetter then even the was: and then came he to end his days, as the Oracle had foretold him. Now though he had reigned the fpace of thirty eight years full out, and had boafted many times that he would leave his Son a Principality chained with ftrong chains of a Diamond: this young Disnyfus ruled no long time, but being thorrly after driven out of SYRACUSA by the Inhabitants themfelves, secondly by Dien, and at the last by Timoleon, who overthrew him altogether: he was fent to CORINTH, where he ended the reft of his days in mifery. Afterwards the SYRACUS ANS, maintaining their liberty for the space of twenty years : they fell into Agathocles hands, who also committed terrible cruelties. After his death, they being full of civil diffention, demanded aid of Pirrbut King of Epirus against the CARTHAGINIANS. He having made a Journey into Si-CILIA, was constrained to leave it, and had great War with the ROMANS. By reason whereof the Syracusans willingly yeelded themselves unro Hieron the second of that name, under whom (a great friend of the ROMANS) they prospered the space of fifty years. But after his death, his little Son Hieroniums, a young Lord and unruly, took part with the CARTHAGI-NIANS: and having reigned onely fifteen Moneths, he was killed by his Guard. Now for that his death brought on great confusions, and that the SYRACUSANS enclined to the CARTHAGINIANS part: the Confull Marcellus went to beliege SYRACUSA, and took it in the fecond year of the one into subjection hundred forty and two Olympiade. So that afterwards it was governed by Prators, and according to the ROMANS Law, even to the declination of their Empire.

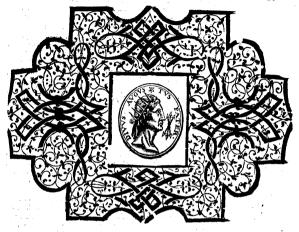
at Corinth.

Syracufa the Romans.

The end of the Life of Dionysius

THE

THE LIFE OF OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS.



Anno Mundi. 3991.

Thy Youeb Augustus, and thy tongues good gift, Thy Valour , Wildom, and thy worthy Feats, Thy Countreys Love, thy Laws, and Statues, lift Thy Throne above all other Princely Seats.



(cio, the Daughter of Accins Balbus, and of Julia the Sifter of Julius The descent Cafar, was married unto the Father of this man, whose Life we write of of Angustus, now, and who was descended of the ancient Race of the Octavians, iffued out of the Countrey of the VOISCES, and known at ROME from the time of Tarquinim, and of Servins Tullus. Their Son Ottavins was born in the year of the Confulfhip of Cicero and of Cains Amonim, at that time when as the Conspiracy of Catiline was discovered, and suppresfed. He was called Thurinus: but afterwards, according to the tenor of his Uncles Testament, who made him his Heir, he was called Caise Julins Cafar, and lastly Augustus, by the advice of Munatius Planens, and

by the Decree of the Senate. He was but four years old when his Father died, and at twelve years he made the Funerall Oration for his Grandmother Inlia: four years after that, he became a Gownman, though he were but young: yet his Uncle gave him a Prefent at his return out of Africk, fuch as the Souldiers are accustomed to have of their Captains. Shortly after he followed his Uncle into SPAIN, whither he was gone against the Children of Pompey, and passed through many great dangers to overtake him. This War being ended, because Calar undertook better longer Jour-Augustusstudineys, Octavins was lent into the City of A DO OLO NIA: and there plied his Book very diligently, ed at Appolonia And it chanced him, without having any mind to it, that being gone to fee Theegenes a learned Aftronomer, he cast his Nativity, and suddenly he leave being amazed, and honoured him. The which Augustus demade Officion conceive great hope of himfelf, and in memory of this good hap, he caused certain clared himself pieces of Money to be coined, and he himself told the opinion of Thiogener. Being returned from their Suitus Appoionia to Rome, after his Uncle was flain by Cassim, Brum, and their Allies, he declared himself to be his Heir , though his Mother and Marom Philippus were of another mind. And having put himself forward, he governed the Common-wealth of ROME, first with Antonim and Lepidm: afterwards with Amonius the space of twelve years: and laftly himself alone, the space of four and forty years. But before we speak of his Government of common Affairs Augustus ruled in time of Peace and War, let us fay somewhat (after Switonius) of his Family and his manners, alone forty He married being yet very young the Danghter of Publim Servilim Ifauricus : but having made four years.

Peace with Antonius after the War of Murine, and at the request of their Armies, who were destrous to see their friends, he married with Capia, the Dapanter of Publius Cledius and of Ful-via then Wife of Antonius. But before he knew her he sent her to her Mother, with whom he Augusturfus was forecontart discontented, and because of the War of Perouse. Immediately he married Augustatiorsa- was somewhat uncontented as and because the was too troublesome: yet he had a Daughter by her king his Wives Seribbath, and kept not her, long, because the was too troublesome: yet he had a Daughter by her king his wives of the owner, and nepr not the first part of the took another which he loved unto the end; and that was Limatried Livis, called Julia. But for faking her, he took another which he loved unto the end; and that was Limatried Livis, called Julia. whom he loved via Drufilla the Wife of Tiberius Nero, whom he carried with him great with child as she was, and had no more children by her but one, and yet she went not out her time, and it had no life. His Daughter Julia was married unto Marcellus, the Son of his Sifter Ottavia : and after his death unto Marciu Agrippa, by whom the had three Sons, Cains, Lucius, and Agrippa: and quan unto Marcii Agrippia, oy whom are use lines sons, cams, came, ame experips; and two Daughters, fulia, and Agrippine. After the death of Marcis Agripps, he chole to his Sonin-law Tiberius the Son of Tiberius Nero, and Livia Drufilla, at that time a Knight of ROME, and compelled him to forfake his Wife Vipfamia, of whom he had a Son called Drufas. But ashe and compened militororiane in water of the Common-wealth, fo was he unfortunate in his Race; for his Daughter and his Niece Julia committed fo foul faults in ROME, that he was constrained to banish them. Agrippine was married unto Germanicus, the Son of his Sisters Daughter. Cains and

Augustus un-

his Posterity.

Lucius died in leis then a year and a half one after another: whereupon he adopted his Nephew Agrippa, and his Son-in-law Tiberius. But because Agrippa was of a churlish nature and unhonest, the did diffinerit him, and confined him to Surrentum. His Necce Julia had a Child after the Augustus man- was banished, but he would not know it, nor suffer it should be brought up. He was very modest ners in his pri- and continent in all the parts of his life, faving that he was fomewhat given to Women and play: for the rest, he liked not great Palaces, but was contented with mean Lodgings: and if there were any Ornament, it was in Porches and Parks. His Houshold-stuff and Apparell was nothing sumptious nor coftly. It pleased him well to make Feasts; he very carefully made choise of his Guests, and oftentimes he face down at the Table a long time after every body, and would rife before others, which remained after he was up. In his ordinary diet he banified superfluity of Means, he delighted to be merry and pleafant among his friends, or to bring in pleafant Players of Comedies to pals the time away. And he did not tie himfelf to any certain hours to eat his meat, but when his flomach ferved him he took fomething. So that fometimes he supped not at all, and then whenevery man was gone, he made them bring him meat, neither dainty nor delicate. Also he drunk very little Wine, he slept in the day, and by times in the night, talking with some, or reading: so that oftentiates he steps in the break of day, and for that he took no rest in the night, he gight chance to fleep in his Litter as they carried him in the ftreets in the day time up and down ROME. He was a goodly Prince, and that kept himself in good state from the beginning of his life to the latter end : not curious to fet himself out , as little taring to be shaven , as to wear long hair: and inftead of a looking-glass, reading in his Book, or writing, even whileft the Barber wastrimming of him. Whether he fpake or held his peace, he had fo comely a face, that many of his Enemies bent to do him hurt, their hearts would not ferve them so soon as ever they looked on him. He had very clear and lively eyes, but with time he was subject to many diseases and infirmities, What exercites the which he remedied with great care. As for his exercites; he left Arms and Horses immediately for Angular arely after the Civill Wars: for he was never any great Souldier. He would play at Tennis, at the Ballone, he would go abroad in his Coach to walk and stir himself. Sometimes he would go a fifthing, or play at the Bones, or at Nuts with young children of the Moors and Syrlars that had fome pretty manner and behaviour with them, and always fpake words to move laughter. He was learned in the Liberall Sciences, very eloquent, and defirous to learn: infomuch that during the War of MUTINE, in the middeft of all his infinite Affairs, he did read, he wrote, and made Orations among this familiars. He never spake unto the Senate nor People, nor to his Souldiers, but he had first written and premeditated that he would fay unto them, although he had speech at commandment, to propound or answer to any thing in the Field. And because he would not deceive his memory, or lofe time in superfluous speech ; be determined ever to write all that the would fay: and he was the first inventer of it. If he had to confer with any man, or with his Wife in any matters of importance: he would put that down in his writing Tables, because he would speak neither more nor less. And he took pleasure to pronounce his words with a sweet voice and good grace, having continually about him for this purpole a fine man to frame his voice. But one day having a pain in his mouth, he made his Oration to the People by an He rauld. He made many Books and Verses of diversalors; but all is dead with the time. His speech was as the reft of his life, eloquent, well couched together, and fententious. He delighted to read good Authours, but he gathered nothing other then the Sentences teaching good manners: and having written them out word by word, he gave out a Copie of them to his Familiars; and fent them about to the Governours of Provinces, and to the Magistrates of Rome and of other Cities. He was somewhat, and too much given to Divinations: he was marvellously, alraid of Thunder and Lightning: he had a great confidence in Dreams, and in fuch like vanities. But peradventure we are too curious fearching out his private life: yet that may fometime discover great personages more then their publick actions, in the which they are more carefull to frame their countenances, and do

Now, as we have lightly run over his private life before spoken of ; so shall the memorable Augustus me- counterfex most. done while he deeds done by his Authority be briefly represented; being unpossible to comprehend in a few lines

fo many notable things, unless a man would make a great Book of them. This is to be noted in him, that fo young a man having fo small beginnings, coming out of a mean House in comparison of others, hath excelled all other young and old men in wildom and greatness of courage: thould rife so high, that before he had been Prator, the Senate gave him the name of Augustus, created him Mafter of the Horse, when as yet he never had charge of a Company of men at Arms: proclaimed him Emperour and Soveraign Captain, afore he had been placed in any publick Office by Authority of the Senate. Furthermore, for the first time he was chosen Confull when he was but twenty years old : and he was thirteen times Confull, and twenty times called Soveraign Captain. Afterwards, when he was not yet four and thirty years old; the Senate and People of ROME gave him this goodly name of Father of his Countrey, because he had maintained and preferred the Common-wealth. It is a wonderfull thing that he could wind himself out of fo many great Affairs and Wars, that he could within four and twenty years of age, reftore again into fo good estate the Common-wealth of ROME, turmoiled and troubled with so many. Proscriptions and Civill Wars at it was. And that afterwards fo long as he commanded alone, he did so firmly eftablish this Monarchy, that notwithstanding the infinite troubles received under other Emperours, yet it stood upright and in so great prosperity for so many hundred years. After the death of Julius Cefar, this man being but bare eighteen years old, came to ROME, where he was welcomed , and immediately did contest with Antonius, hated of Cicero and of many others : from whence the advancement of this young Cafar came; and the declaration of the War against Antonius judged an Enemy of the Common-wealth, and overcome by the Confuls Histus and Panfis. Cefar who was their Affociate, was called Soveraign Captain, though he had not yet fought: both the Consuls being dead of their hurts. But the Senare after this overthrow, beginning to change their mind, he perceiving that they were flow to grant him the Confulfhip, refolved to poffels it by force of Arms, and began to acquaint himself with Antonius and Lepidus which were joyned together: he made that the Souldiers promifed by Oath the one to the other, that they would fight against none of Colurs Troops, and sent four hundred men to Rome to ask for him, in the name of all the Army, the Office of Confull. They having delivered their charge unto the Senate, Cornelius, the Centiner chief of this Legation or Ambassade, perceiving they would give him no prefent answer, casting up his Cassock and shewing the Senate the Pommell of his Sword, said unto them: This shall do it, if you will not do it. So they being returned without obtaining their demand, Cefar made Antonius and Lepidus come into ITALY, and he for his part having passed the River of Rubicon, marched with eight Legions right to Rome. This put all Rome in such a fear, Angashus obas they fent to Cefer to prefent him the Confulfhip: and twice fo much in gift, as they had promit tainen him fed the Legions. Now whilest the Ambassadours were on their way, the Senatours beginning again Consulthip by totake heart to them, encouraged by the arrivall of the Legions of AFRICK, they determined to force of Aims. try all means before they would betray the Liberty of their Countrey, being minded to call back that which they had fent to Cafar, and fo disposed themselves to make War. Cafar being offended with this inconstancy, sent certain Horsemen before, to affure the People that he would make no tumult at all : he drew his Legions near, and made himfelf Lord of Rome without one stroke stricken: and contrariwise, the People and Senate received him with shew of great joy. Then, in the Affembly of all the People he was chosen Confull, just at the full accomplishment of twenty years of his age. So he demanded in the Field, that they should proceed criminally against those that had killed his Father Cefar. Q. Pedius his fellow Confull published the Decree. So were Brutus and Cassiss, and all their friends condemned, with interdiction of water and fire. But forasmuch as Angustus had too small means to set upon Brutus and Cassius, he reconciled Antonius and Lepidus with the Senate, and made alliance with them, followed with great Armies. They joyned, and were in consultation of their Affairs the space of three days together, near unto BOLONIA, or unto MUTINE: and as if the ROMAN Empire had been their own Inheritance, they divided it between them three. So that Cafar had the high and base Lybia, with Sicilia and SARDI-NIA. SPAIN and GAUL NARBONENSE fell unto Lepidus: and the rest of GAUL was for Antonius. They did decree also that they should be called Triumv.ri, appointed for the reeftablishment of the Common-wealth, with Soveraign Authority for five years, to dispose and pilat, Legive the Estates and Offices to whom they thought good, without asking advice of the Senate or towing joint-People. So they established Lepidus Consult for the year following, in the place of Decimus Bru-Rulers. that was killed : and they gave him the Guard of ROME and ITALY , fo long as they two that remained made their Preparations to go against Brutus and Cassius. Besides the Presents they should make unto the Souldiers after the Victory, they promifed them to give them leave to eafe themselves, and eighteen rich Towns in ITALY for them to dwell in. Then they began to fet up a Roll of all the Citizens of ROME appointed by them to be flain. And they decreed to every Freeman that should bring the Trium-viri a head of the Proscripts, the sum of two thousand five hundred Crowns, and half fo much unto the Slaves with enfranchifement: and the like fum allo to who. Amonius and foever could discover any man that had hidden as favoured the Description. foever could discover any man that had hidden or favoured the Proscripts. Antonins and Lepidus thours of a were thought to be the chief Authors of this horrible Tragedie: and Cafer feemed willing to none bloudy Trabut to the murderers of his Father, and did a long time oppose himself against the other two: but at gedy. the leagth he gave over, and they made wonderfull changes, abandoning their own Parents and Friends the one to the other, to be revenged of their Enemies. But when the Sword was once drawn he was no less cruell then the other two. Cicero was not forgotten, as we may see in his Life ;

and it would be very hard to describe the wickedness of that time, the which like a surious stream carried away formany Citizens of ROME. In whole History do appear most rare examples of all forts of Vices and Vertues in all manner of persons: of whom we will make mention, after those that have Wife and fage written more at large: as amongst others, Appianus Alexandrinus: which will ferve to shew, how much a man is a furious Beaft, being lift up in Authority in the Common-wealth, and given to revenge, That there is nothing certain nor fure in mans prosperity, which bringeth much envy to his Servants; as to the contrary, advertity maketh the afficied contemptible, and every body alhamed of them. But they are wife men, that in fuch Tragicall accidents do carry an invincible heart, refolutely obeying necellity, and a more high Providence then that of man. We must not call that intolerable which may happen to great or mean men: for all human accidents are under the feet of Vertue. It chanceth often that force and wildom do defend a man, as always these two Vertues do preserve his Ho-

thousand Knights, appointed to be

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Enfranch fed Slaves fome treacherous, fome true.

nour. He is well advifed that can finely pacific and divert the fury of an Enemy : as to the contrary, shame and despair do gripe cowards, slothfull, and fearfull. But in fine, necessity pressent on the So they did fet up the names of the Proferipts fattned in divers places of ROME, to the number of one fide, and danger on the other. an hundred and thirty Senators for the first time, an hundred and fifty at the second time, and two thousand Knights. Then was the gate open to all villanies and cruelties, fought withall by patience and nity 50- and fidelity: but the examples will thew that better then all the discourse a man can make. Salvius Otho, Tribune of the Feople, was one of the first: who having invited his friends to his last Supper, a Centener came in , and in the prefence of all his Guefts , half dead for fear , strake off his head. Minutius the Prator was also killed, sitting in his Seat of Judgement. L. Villius Annalis, a man that had been Confull, being escaped out of the hands of the murderers, faved himself in the Suburbes in a little houle of one of his Clients : but his own Son having no patience to flay for the Inheritance of his Father, bewrayed him unto the Souldiers, who went to kill him there. Shortly cides jully puaiter, this Parricide being drunk had a quarrell with the felf-fame Souldiers, who stabled him in with their Daggers. C. Toranius was betrayed in like manner by his own Son, who having confumed in a few days the Succession which he had so execrably pursued, and being condemned for their, was banished into a place were he died for want and poverty. Now against these wicked, let us fet fome vertuous Children. 2. Citero was hid by his Son, whom they could never make confels (though he was tormented) where his Father was: who, nor able any longer to endure they should afflict so vertuous a Son with so many evils for his sake, came and presented himself to the murtherers. The Son began to intreat them to kill him before his Father : but they were both killed at one time. The Eguaces, Father and Son, one imbracing the other, were both run through and slain at one blow. C. Hofidins Geta was buried for dead by his Son : who saved him, sustained and kept him till it was peace. Arrantins, after he had comforted and strengthened his Son, pur himself to the Swords of the murtherers. The Son died immediatly after for grief, and famine. Some other Children carefully faved and kept their Fathers, and hid them, Certain Women also shewed themselves marvellous faithfull and loving to their Husbands and fo were there to the contrary, fome unfaithfull, that discovered their wonderfull wickedness. their husbands Tanufia made fuch earnest fuit, that she obtained grace of Cafar for T. Junius her Husband, or other unclus. who was hidden by Philopamen his Bondman enfranchifed : whom Cefar Knighted for his fidelity to his Master. Q Ligarius having been kept by his Wise, was discovered by a Slave, and killed: wherefore his Wife killed her felf with famine. Lucretius Vefpillo , having erred and run in great danger here and there, not knowing whither to flie, came fecretly to his Wife Thuria, and was hidden and kept close betwirt the seeling and the top of the House, until she had obtained his grace of the Trium-vivi. Apulcius was faved by his Wife, who fled with him. The Wife of Am us wrapped up her Husband in Coverlets, and made him be carried to the Sea as a Packet of Stuff, where he imbarqued, and failed into Sicilia. Coponius was faved by his Wife, who put her Honour afide in respect of her Husbands life: for fhe lent her body one night unto Aumins to preserve him (which she did by that means) whom she loved better then her felf. Now to the contrary, some women unfaithfull to their Husbands, delivered them into the hands of the nurtherers, because they might marry again. Amongst other, the Wife of Septimius having shamefully given her body unto one of Antenius familiars , the caused her Husband to be put in the number of the Proferipts, that the might more easily continue her adultery : and fo was Septimins pur to death. Q. Vettius Salassus, was hidden in a sure privie place, wherewith he acquainted his Wife; but she straight revealed him to the murderers. The which he perceiving from a high place where he was, cast himself down headlong, choosing rather to die so, then to make his cruell Wife pastime. Futivins was discovered by a Slave of his, and his Concubine, jealous because he had married a Wife, and had left her; although notwithstanding he had made her free, and had given her Goods to live withall. Now let us prefently speak of the faithfulnes and unfaithfulnels of Slaves enfranchifed. P. Nafo was betrayed by his Slave freed, with whom he had been too familiar. But he fold his death, for he killed the Traytour with his own hands, and afterward held out his neck to the Hangman. L. Lucceius had put into the hands of two of his Slaves manumiffed, as much as was necessary to have relieved him in his banishment : but they ran away with all, and he came and put himfelf to the flaughter. Haterius, that was in a feeret place, was fold and discovered by a Slave of his. Caffin Varus being bewrayed by a Freeman that was his Slave, escaped nevertheles, and hid himself among Reeds: where being found by those of

companions: he discovered himself to be a Senator of Rome, but they would not believe him, because he was in poor estate. But whilest they were reasoning of the matter, there cometh a Centener that strake off his head. C. Pletim was faved by his Slaves: but being a man given to perfume and rub himfelf with odoriferous Ointments, the fcent and fmell of them discovered him to the Souldiers who went ferriting up and down in his House : yet could they not find him , but cruelly tormented his Servants, to make them confels where he was: which they could never do. But Plotius having compassion of the evils of his faithfull Slaves, came out of the place where he was hidden, and because he would prolong their life, he shortned his own, and presented himself to the murderers. Appim Clauding, as he was near to be had by the back, changed his Gown with his Slave, who went in that fort to prefent himself to the murtherers: but they took off his head, and so he saved his Some entian-Masters head. Another Slave of Menenius did the like: for he went into his Masters Litter, and chised men offered his neck to the Sword of the murtherers : who dispatched him whilest his Master got to the give their own Port of the Sea, from whence he escaped into SICILIA. But the Slave of Urbining Panopio is wor-lives to fave thy of memory every where: for he hearing the murderers came to feek his Mafter, took his Ma- their Mafters, fters Gown from him and his Ring, gave him his own, and put him out at the back Gate. Then he goeth up into his Mafters Chamber, and lay down upon his Bed, where he boldly attended them that killed him for Panopio. Another shewed himself no less faithfull in the behalf of Antius Reflio: for although his Mafter had throughly thwacked him for his knavish tricks played a few days before, and that then it feemeth he had opportunity to be revenged : he to the contrary imployed himself after a marvellous fashion to fave his Master: for he meeting with an old man in his Journey, strake off his head, and shewing that with his whippings together to the murderers, he made them eafily believe that he had been well revenged of his Master, with whom immediarely after he faved himself in SICILIA. The Slaves of Martin Cenforinus kept him a long ately after ne taven innutes in Science, and Sances of Science Longitums appeared to time, and fo well, that he had leifure to go to Sextus Pomprius. 2. Oppius an honourable old man, and being almost at the pits brink, like to be killed, was referred by his Son, who having scanned by the son, who have some science by the son, who have some science by the son of the sum of of finely gotten him out of Rome, took him upon his shoulders, and afterwards led him into SI-CILIA, where all the poor diffressed ROMANS were gently received : for Pompeius had sent Profitipis, certain Ships to keep upon the Coast of ITALY, and Pinnaces every where, to the end to receive all them that fled on that fide: giving them double recompence that faved a Profeript, and honourable Offices to men that had been Confuls and escaped, comforting and entertaining the others with a most singular courtesie. Many went into MACEDON to Brutus and Cassius: others into AFRICK to Corneficius. Some having escaped the tempest that was in the time of Sylla, were even glutted with this cruelty: as amongst others , M. Fidustius , and Lucius Philuscius. T. Labie- T. Labiemes num was one of the number of the murderers in the Profeription of Sylla, Afterwards he did nothing to mented else but go up and down with a soul possessed with suries : so that being weary of his life at with a guilty this time, he went and fate in a Chair at his gate, quietly attending that they should put him in conscience. the number of them that should be killed. Statius Samnis, an honourable Senator, being fourscore years old, because Thieves should have no part of his Goods, he lest them in prey to whosoever would take them : and afterwards fet his House on fire, and burnt himself within it. Aponius being kept a good while by his Slaves, was fo weary to be shut up in a troublesome place, and Straight impriwhere he lived very poorly, that he came out to the Market-place, and held out his throat to the fonment and murtherers. Cestim being possession with the like grief, caused his slaves to make a great fire, and work then then cast himself in it. Sulprime Russu, a man that had been Confull, died because of an lite of his death. the which he would not fell unto Fulvia: as also Ampins Balbus, for that he refused to give this wo- A treacherous man a pleasant place of his. Balbus was betrayed by a Servant of his, that shortly after was hanged Servant puniupon a Gibbet by Sentence of the People : and fo had his reward for his villanous fact. Antonius did put in the number of the Profcripts a Senator called Nonius Struma, and onely to get out of his hands an Emerald effeemed at fifty thousand Crowns. But Nonius found the means to escape with his Emerald, to the great despight of him that greedily defired this preys. Some valiantly defended

themselves, as Atteins Capito, that killed many Souldiers running rudely upon him, thinking he

would have suffered himself to be killed as others were. Howbeit after he had fold his flesh dear,

he was overcome by multitude of Affailants. Vetulinus aided with his Son, having many times

valiantly repulsed the murtherers, he would have faved himself in Sicilia: but in the Straight

he met with such a number of Enemies , that there he was killed. Sicilius Coranus a Senator,

was put in the number of proferipts, and because he would not with others condemn Brutus

and Cassius, devising how to escape, he put himself in rank among those that carried a dead

Corps to buriall : but he was discovered and put to death. The Trium-vivi appointed such

men as they liked of, to take charge of them that had been killed. They fold the Goods of the

Proferipts by the Drum, at such a price as the Souldiers would : and yet the most part of them

CABSAR AUGUSTUS.

MINTURNES, they took him for a Thief, and would have wracked him to have bewrayed his

were spoiled and given away. They promised the Widows their Joynter, and to the Sons beit there were few, and in manner none, that had any benefit by that but to the contrary, Wdows and they facked many that demanded fuch Rights. On the other fide, they did exact great fums Children of of Money upon the City of ROME, and over all ITALY: the Owners were conftrained to give the the flain men. half of their yearly Revenue: the Tenants to furnish one years Rent of that they held of others: Great exactihalf of their yearly. Revenue: the Tenants to furnith one years Rent of that they up to others: onsufed by the Matters of Houses, the half of the Rent of their Houses, according to the Rent they went for Tribm-toil.

were fooiled and given away. They promited the Widows their Joynter, and to the Sons Promife brothe tenth part of the Patrimony of their Fathers, and to the Daughters the twentieth part. How ken with the

CÆSAR AUGUSTUS

To encourage the Soulders, the Trium-viri gave unmeasurable Gifts, granted them daily new Fillage: the Legions wintered in the richeft Towns, who were compelled to feed the Souldiers at their own charge. Furthermore, all the rich men were confirmined to pay in nature of a Tribute at one time, the tenth part of all that they were worth. To be fhort, fo that they could find out new inventions, it was enough to exact Money. For the fear and cuftom to indure all, had falhioned men to be more flaves, then the murderers and exactors would have had them. And to close up all, the Trium viri cauled Money to be coyned, the which on the one fide had the Image of Antonius with an Infeription in Latin , the effect whereof is this: M. Antonius Emperour , Augur , Trumour, for the establishment of the Common-wealth. And on the other side there were three hands joyned together, with the marks of the Confulfhip, and had these words: Salus generis humani, that is to say:

Now during the cruchies of this Triumvivate, Brutus and his Followers, made themselves strong The health of mankind. in Macedon, and did divers exploits of War: and were afterwards overcome in the Fields Phi-LIPPIANS, as hath been said in the Life of Brutm, which we need not rehearse again, the principall being comprehended there. After this Victory, Anionism went into the East to dispose of his Affairs in ASIA, and to leavy Money there to pay his Souldiers, having promifed to every one of them five hundred Crowns. Cefar returned into ITALY to refresh himself, to affigne Colonies to his Souldiers, to pacifie the troubles Lepidus had procured, and to fet a Pike betwist him and Pompey at a need, if he were never so little in league with him. Cefar fell grievoully sick at BRUNDUSIUM: but being recovered again, he entred into ROME, pacified all things, and kept Lepidus in his wonted degree. But when he came to bring his Souldiers into Colonies, then the formbegan to rife : for the Owners cried out that they were tyrannized, being driven out of their Inheritances: the old Souldiers they complained that promifewas nor kept with them. Fulvia and fone others practifed to fet them on, to the end to draw a War into ITALY, and by this means to make Antonius come again, belotted by Cleopatra. These things proceeded so far that Fulvia took Arms, for the was then in the Camp, her Sword by her fide, and commanded like a Cap-Augustus lead-tain. Cafar on the other side being angry, sent her Daughter home to her, unto whom he was eth his Army betrothed, and led his Army against the Nurs I NIANS and SENTINATES the Allies of Fulvia. In the mean space Lucius Antonius departed in the night with speed, and entred into ROME by Ailies of FulTreason: used it as a City taken in War, and drave out Lepidus. Cefar left Sulvidienus to bevisa and after via: and alter fiege the SENTINATES, returned to ROME, and drave out Lucius, followed him and frormed tentate out of his Journey as he was going to GAUL, short him up, and befreged him a great time in Perouse, and compelled him through famine to yeeld himself, and to crave pardon, which he granted him. PEROUSE was burnt by a strange accident; for one of the chiefest of the City having let his House on fire, after he had wounded himself with his Dagger, a boisterous wind being rilen upon it, so dispersed the flames abroad, that it burnt all the Houses desides. Cefar caused some of his Captains to be killed that were against him. He condemned the NURSINIANS in a great sum of

Money, and because they could not pay it, he drave them out of their City and Territory. Afterwardshe suppressed some troubles raised in NAPLES by Tiberius Claudius Niro, Father of Tiberius Cefar, and favourer of Fulvia: who freing her felf under Foot, the fled unto ATHENS. But Cofar to prevent a new Conspiracy, sent Lucius Antenius far from Rome, to command the legions that were in Spain: he gave him also Commissioners to look into him, and to observe his actions. He finely drave out Lepidus also into Africk with fix Legions. On the other fide Fuivia being dead, Cafar and Antonius agreed being ready to fight : after that they made Peace and after make with Pompty that governed SICILIA. Immediatly after that he went into GAUL to appeale

fome troubles that happened there, and fent Agrippa before, who compelled the Adultans to submit themselves, and pacified all GAUL. On the other side Cneins Calvinns subdued the CE-RETANIANS in Spain. And because the Legions had committed certain insolencies, whereupon they fell together by the ears, and the Enemies had the better hand, after he had sharply reproved them, he took the tenth man of the two first Bands, and belaboured Jubellins with a cudgell.

In the mean time Celar fent at times Troops of men of Armes into Dalmatia and ILLYRIA, to the end to breath them for other Wars that were a hatching, as that of Sicilia was the fift. For Menas the Pirate, Sextus Pompeius Lieutenant, having for despight brought his Fleet unto Ca-Sar, and taken his part, unto whom also he delivered the Isles of SARDINIA and CORSICA, with three legions, Cefar did him great honours, and refused to deliver him again unto Pompey, who asked

him of him. Belides that, Pompey complained of Antonias, and pretending to have just occasions, he took Arms again. Wherefore Cafar lent for Antonius and Lepidus out of GREECE and AFRICK, to come to aid him. Amonius cathe to the Haven of BRUNDUSIUM : but upon the fudden, not known wherefore, he took Sea again, and returned from whence he came. Lepidus came too late, which made

Angulus Lieu-Cefar (feeing all the weight fall on his arms) that he fent his Lieutenants against Pompey: who fought with them by Sea and by Land, and had the better, and put Cafar to great trouble, who had like to come by Sexuse
with them by Sea and by Land, and nad the detter, and put eafar to Bis Mafters Father, that was a
Pamptins.

Are been killed by a Slave also that would have revenged the death of his Mafters Father, that was a Profeript. After that Antonias being come to TARENTUM, with intention to make War against

Messa revolts Cafar, Octavia Sifter of the one and Wife of the other, agreed them, fo that they did yet protong with from Jugullus Lepidus their Triumvirate for five years more. Antonius went against the PARTHIANS, and Coto his old Ma: for prepared to fee upon Pempey again. Hereupon Menas being angry for that he was not for wellther s. Pompelar counted of as he thought he deferred, he recurred again to join with Pompey with feven Calleys.

and made it ftronger then before, under the Conduct of Agrippa, who failed unto Lipane, be gas Battell by Sea unto Pompey. Lieutenanis, But they being aided by Menas (that was returned the fecond time) he overcame and wan therty Ships. But the other Fleet that Cafar himself brought, was wholly overthrown by Pompey, near unto TAUROMENION, and Cafar brought to that extremity. that he was ready to kill himself. But Cornisseus ran to the shoar, who saved him, and brought him Augustus reato the Camp: from whence he retired further off, and very quickly (but with great danger) un-dy to kill himto Massala. After certain encounters where Pompey ever had the better, infomuch as Lepidus felf, is faved was suspected to lean on that side, Cefar resolved to commit all to the hazard of a latter Battell; and by Consiscius. to draw Pompey unto it hecut him to thort of Victuals, that he was conftrained to come to blows and the Fight was very cruell: wherein Agrippa bestirred himself so valiantly, that he wan the S. Pompeius Victory, funk twenty eight ships, brake and spoiled the most par: of the rest, and took two of overcome by the chiefest Captains Pompey had ; one of the which called Demochares , killed himself with his own hands. Now for Pompey, who but a little before had about three hundred and fifty fail, he fied a-way with all fpeed onely with feventeen, and went to Messina fo discouraged, that leaving all hope and his Army he had by land, he went to the Isle of CEPHALONIE, where being somewhat come to himself, he determined to repair to Antonius. But Tifienus a French-man (his Lieutenant of the Army by land) led all his Troops unto Lepidus: fome GREEK Historians report that it was to Cafar. Plemminius was within MESSINA with eight Legions, and did capitulate with Lepidus to render up the Town to him. Whereupon Agrippa happened to come thither: who maintained that they ought to regard Cafar that was absent then. But that stood him in no stead : for Levidus entred the Town, and gave the spoil of it as well to Plemminius Souldiers as to his. Thereupon Cafar undertook a thing worthy of memory, which was: that being unarmed he went into Augustus un-Lepidus Camp and turning by the blows of the Darts that were thrown at him by fome, which armed enterth hit his Cloak and pierced it : he took hold of an Enfigne of a Legion. Then the Souldiers all of into Legidus them armed followed him, and left Lepidus : who shortly after loft Empire and Army : he that with Camp, who twenty Legions promifed himself Sicilia and a great deal more, Cafar gave him his life and the being fortaken Office of foveraign Bishop of ROME, whither he sent him. Some say he was banished : upon these

med. Afterwards he did great honours unto his Lieutenant Agrippa for his notable fervice, and

commanded Statilius Taurus to go into Africk to take possession of the Provinces of

Lepidus. Whilest Antonius made War with the PARTHIANS, or rather unfortunately they

Cofor & Ele wyng in fathed great hurt by tempeft, was also beaten by Menas. Lepidus wan Liky's

BEE and took certain neighbour Villages. Cafar having repaired his Ships and Army by Sea.

ftirs there rofe a fedition in Cafar's Campthrough the infolency of the Souldiers , that ran even to

his fudgment Seat, using great Menaces. But he wisely appealed all, punished the Authours of the numult, and did cassiere all the tenth Legion with great shame and gnominy, because the Souldiers of The tenth the same did overbrave him in words. He dispersed and sent some others to their houses, and gave Legion unto them that had used themselves gently, two thousand Sefterces for every Souldier; which is caffiered for their infolent thought to mount near to fifty Crowns. He made them to be muftered, and found that they were words. five and forty Legions, five and twenty thousand Horsemen, and six and thirty thousand lightly ar-

madeWar with him to his great confusion: his Lieutenant Titius found themeans to lay hands up- Sexius Font on Sextus Fompeius that was fled in the Ifle of Samos, and then forty years old : whom he put to peius put to death by Antonius commandment : for which fact he was fo hated of the People of Rome , that death by the though he had given them the pastime of certain Plaies at his own cost and charges, they drave him of Antonius;

Moreover, Cafar thinking to have failed out of SICILIA into MAURITANIA, the Seabeing rough, flaved him; which was the cause that he sent his Army into ILLYRIA, and set upon the

JA PUDES, which did him much mischief, yet at the last he overcame them. Then he ran upon the PANNONIANS, and the DALMATIANS, whom he made Tributaries, being hurt in his Augustus hurt thighs, in his arms, and in one of his knees, in this War against the ILLYRIANS. On the in his thighs, other fide, Mesala his Lieutenant fought against the SALASSIANS, dwelling in a Valley enviro- arms, and one ned with high Mountains of the Alpes: and after divers overthrows, he made them subject to of his knees. the Empire. And shortly after Cafar was chosen Consull the second time : but he resigned the Office the same day unto Autronius Patus, being about to make himself friends against Antonius: who being stayed about Cleopatra, gave his Wife occasion to return from ATHENS to ROME. Now after the fire of enmity betwixt these two Competitours had been a hatching a certain time, it flood either of them both upon, to feek all the means to overthrow his Companion. The strange proceedings of Antonins in favour of Cleopatra hastened the War, where upon followed the Battell of ACTIUM, the flying of these wicked Lovers, and the beginning of the Monarchy of Cafar , confirmed by the Conquest of EGYPT , and the Tragical death of Antonins and Cleopatra. The which we touch briefly, the whole being largely fet down in the Life of Antonius. They did great honours unto Cefar after these exploits. The memory of Antonius was condemned, and his Statues maimed and thrown down to the ground. A little before, M. Lepidus . Son of the Trium-vir and of Junia Sifter of Brutus , conspired against Casar. But after M. Lepidus they had discovered it, he was put to death by the wisedom of C. Mecenas a Knight, and Gover-put to death nour of ROME: his Wife Servilia killed her felf, as Portia the Wife of Brutus. After the utter for configuracy. Overthrow of Antonius, Cefar took order for the affairs of the East parts, he made alliance with Herodes King of Jud. A. He fent the King of the PARTHIANS Son in hostage to Rome, until they

between Au-

PADOCIA and PAPHLAGONTA: and he punished fome others by Fines, that were not his friends,

He gave priviledges to the Cities of EPHESUS; of NICE; PERGAME, and BYTHINIA, to build

Temples in the honour of Julius Cafer, of Rome, and of himfelf. He fet the SAMIANS at liberty, and after he had taken order for all the reft, he went towards IT all? where ; after he was drawed;

it cannot be expressed with what great joy he was received of high and low; from Baundus tun un-

to ROME. There he triumphed three days together, for the ILLYRIANS, for Anionius and for

Cleopatra. He gave great Presents unto Souldiers, and besides the Money that was made of the boory

and the treble to a Knight; and to every person among the People ten Crowns, even to little Children. He brought such store of Gold and Silver out or ÆGYPT (by him reduced into a Province,

and condemned to pay twenty Millions of Gold to the People of Rome for a Fine) that he brought

down usury from twelve in the hundred, to four; and made that Land and Houses were fold dear

where before the rich men had them almost for nothing. Furthermore, he brought in a marvellous change in all trafick: he also abolished all Taxes and Subsidies imposed by necessity of the

civill War. He cried down all ftrange Coins, which were at too high a price for their Law, and all through the iniquity of time. He lent out Money for a time without interest, unito those

that had means to make double profit of it. He would not receive the Gold which the Cities of 17ALY fent him to make him Crowns: but fent them it back again with his thanks for their

good will. He gave the pattime for all manner of Games and magnificent fights unto the People, fuch as they had never feen before. He made goodly Feafis uso the Senatours and Magifrares, and by a World of pleafures he appealed the forrow of proferrition, and of to many civil Wars.

Being occupied in these matters, Letters came from Crassus, Casars Lieutettant, devertising that he

that he had won feven or eight Battels of them, that with his own hands he had killed the King of

the BASTARNES, and had brought the King of GETES to such extremity, that he killed himself. These news did increase the joy, and the Triumph was granted to Crassas, and to Cefar also: who

Augustus tri-Angustus great and distributed by even Portions, he gave every one fifty Crowns apiece, the double to a Centener, umpheth.

brought to had bubdied the Bastarnes, divers People of Masia, of Dacia, and of Thracia: Lieutenant.

The Temple of by Decree of the Senate cauled the Temple of Janus to be shut the third time, which had remained Fanur fhut the

Imperiall Dignity.

Macenes diffwadeth Augustus from wealth.

open the space of two hundred years. At this time Casar that was in his fifth Confulship, numbred and mustered all the People of Roms, reformed the Senate, the order of Knights, the distribution of Augustus fee. Corn: and because of the great dearth that was then, he made Corn to be distributed to the Peoteth the Com. pleat a very mean price to lome, and for gramercy to the poor. They that had been bound to the mon-wealth in Common-wealth of too long a time, he discharged them, and burnt their Obligations. He confirmed order the propriety of Houses in strife betwist them and the Common-wealth, if they had been in quiet possession any convenient time. And to assure all those that had adhered unto Antonius, and to keep them that they should no more give ear to any new rumours, he sware unto them in good saith, that having taken Antonius Coffers he had burnt all the Letters he found in them, and read not one of then. He fet down an Order for Cuftome, ealed the Cuftomers that had been too much oppreffed: also he restored the Treasure again, and the Augur of health. And by reason of that above named, he was called Father of the Countrey in open Senate: and at the fame time he fent People to CARTHAGE, to fet upon the Families of the Patricians, greatly diminished by the Proferiptions fullest whether The next year following, which was the feven hundred twenty five of the Foundation of ROME, he were belt to and the fixt of his Confulthip, feeing all the Wars appealed, Peace established, Arms laid down every where, the Common-wealth in good strength, the Laws honoured, Justice in authority, the Senate in their ancient Glory, and the People reftored by him to their rights of Affembly to choose their yearly Magistrates, and to give out their Commissions and Charges according to their old custome: he began to reason the matter with himself, which of the twain was most profitable, either to keep (for the good of the State , and under the Title of a Prince) the Empire which he had in his hands : or whether be should render it up unto the People. He found himself grieved for that Antonius had oftentimes accused him of tyranny and unjust invasion: and on the other part also he apprehended the fury of the People, and the factions of ambitious men, which like the billows of the Sea, would incontinently tofs in horrible fashion this unconstant Sea. Being thus perplexed, one day he took afide Agripps and C. Mecanas, his two faithfull friends, very wife men and of great experience above all others : and prayed them to tell him plainly without flattery, what they thought of it, being relolved to follow that which should be most expedient for the good of the Commonwealth. Agrippa by an ample discourse did counsell him to render up to the People his Principality and figniority. Mecenas was of the contrary opinion, and gave such counfell as Cefar followed, tempering both opinions, and made himself Mattee in such fort that the People felt it not, but rather coniested that they needed such a Physician to faile them up again from the incurable maladies they were fallen into. He thanked both his friends , gave his Neece Marcella to be the Wife of Agrippa, the rule of the did him new honours, proceedeth to a new review of the Citizens of ROME: and is chosen Prince of Common wealth.

The control of the did him new honours, proceedeth to a new review of the Citizens of ROME: and is chosen Prince of the citizens of ROME: and is chosen Prince of the Citizens of ROME: and is chosen Prince of ROM himself that so much good and honours as had been communicated to the small and great, would make them they would not much pass for their ancient Dignifies and Liberty : and that the sweetnels of the eale and reft they did enjoy, would make them forget all the good and evill past : he

borrowed of his magnanimity the marvellous counfell that followeth. He refolved to discharge himself of the Principality into the hands of all the Senate, to render it unto the People; hoping that the Senate feeing his affection to to Submit himself to the accustomed order, and not to feek a domination and Government ill-willed, they would thank him the more : that all the great perfons would lay afide the envy which they might bear unto him, and that the People would efteem and love him so much the more. Upon this thought, and after he had acquainted some of the Senatours withall that stood affected to him, to the end to win others by their means. he made an Oration in open Senate, well studied, and fit for the time. Having made a long discourse of the great extent of the Empire, and of his insufficiency, he added unto it, that this common burden could not be carried but by the immortall gods: that he had continued fome years to manage a part of it, and that experience had made him know that his shoulders were too to manage a part is a representation of the principality, subject to infinite changes, and exposed to a thouland ambushes. He therefore required, the City being surnished with to many Noble against affi-Persons, that the affairs might be managed by many men, who joyning themselves together, stants to rule might more easily faishe the charges; then one alone : that in a good hour, having fet all things the Empire. in good estate again, he did put the Common-wealth into the hands of the Senate and People of ROME. This Oration diverfly moved the Senatours. Some of them thought, that there was more Art then Truth in it. Others judged, that it was not expedient to put the estate into the power of many. The most of them enriched and made great by $Cef_{\mu\nu}$, and that were rifen up by the ruines of their Countrey, faid: that they should prefer that which now they had in hand, before all the time past, beaten with so many Tempests. Many others inclined to that side, not that they were in good earnest of that mind, but for fear to be looked upon with an evill eye, if they did speak against their Companions. So then all of them with one consent unadvisedly, rather then of a against their Companions. So that a so that was the waste of the Senare Common and ripe judgement, began to befeech and to adjute Color, that it would pleafe him to The Senare be chief and preferver of the Empire, of the which he had fet down to many goodly and happy Founand the Perple of the Empire, of the which he had fet down to many goodly and happy Founand the Perple of the Empire, of the which he had fet down to many goodly and happy Founand the Perple of the Empire, of the which he had fet down to many goodly and happy Founand the Perple of the Empire, of the which he had fet down to many goodly and happy Founand the Perple of the Empire, of the which he had fet down to many goodly and happy Founand the Perple of the Empire, of the which he had fet down to many goodly and happy Founand the Perple of the Empire, of the which he had fet down to many goodly and happy Founand the Perple of the Empire, of the which he had fet down to many goodly and happy Founand the Perple of the Empire, of the which he had fet down to many goodly and happy Founand the Perple of the Empire, of the which he had fet down to many goodly and happy Founand the Perple of the Empire, of the which he had fet down to many goodly and happy Founand the Perple of the Empire of the White Perple of the Perple of th

dations. Immediately they ordained that Calars Guard should have twice as much pay as they had take the Gobefore, Agrippa was of opinion , that they should cassiere the Spanish Guard, and Cafar in veriment into their place should choose a Guard of ALMAINS, knowing well that in those great bodies there was their hands. little malice hidden, and less subtilty: and that they were a People that took more pleasure to be

commanded, then to command.

He being thus established in his Empire by the consent of the Senate and People, to the end they Augustus takes should not think he would lift himself up above measure, or to give sure footing to a perpetual charge of the Monarchy: he would not accept the charge to provide for the affairs of estate, and the Go- Empire for ten vernment of the Provinces, but for the space of ten years : with condition to give up his charge years, before this term, if things were sooner fetled in their full estate. First therefore, he left a part of the Provinces unto the Senate and People, to take care for the Government of the fame:

AUGUSTUS.

and for himself, he kept those that were not yet in order, and in the which he should be driven to make War. In those that were quiet , he established Pro-Consuls : and for others , he governed them by his Lieutenants, which had their leffon, according unto the which they were bound to be directed. Among other Laws they were forbidden to leavy any Money, or to gather men of War together, or to affail any Province, without the commandment of the Senate. or of Cafar. That forthwith when they fent any Successours, they should leave their Government, and repair to ROME, within three Moneths. He appointed also unto the Pro-Consuls a certain fum of Money to bear their charges for their Horse and Carriage of the stuff. Furthermore he established a Law, that the Pro-Consult or Governour should not go to his Province appointed him, till the end of five years after his Commission granted him : to the end that they which were convinced for taking of Money corruptly, should pay to the Provinces the Fine they should be condemned in : and he deprived them of all estates and honours which through their evil behaviours had been condemned in fuch Fines. And further, he would not that the Officers that had todeal in his affairs should have any Authority, but to demand their Stipends and Money which the Provinces were bound to furnish. And because he would beautifie and adorn Rome, as Augustus rethe Majerly of the Empire required, he raifed up many common buildings, and repaired many paired the City of Rowe. that had been left unfinished or ruined, leaving the Names of the Founders. His Buildings among other were the Temple of Apollo in the Palace, with the Porch, and a Library of Greek and Latine Books. Also the Monuments, and the Park, for the Walks and Pleasure of the People of ROME. In his feventh Confulfhip, certain Senatours propounded that they should call him Remulue, for that he having preferred the City of ROME, it was as much bound unto him, as unto The Name of the first founder. But he would not accept of that Name. Wherefore Munacius Plancus bethought Augustus inhimself of another, the which was given unto him by common consent of all, and he held it to vented by M;

his death: as also we will call him from henceforth in all that remaineth to be set down of his Plantar. deeds: to wit, Augustus. He not to seem unworthy of this Name, and to carry himself so, that no man should repent his change of Government, began diligently to fet his hand to these affairs. He wifely reformed the ancient Laws, and made new that were very necessary. To make Augustus by He wilely reformed the ancient Laws, and made new that were very necessary. 10 make good Laws re-fure work in these affairs, he chose from fix Moneths to fix Moneths fifteen Senatours that had formeth the

been Confuls, and did privately acquaint them withall that was requifite to be done for the Commonprefervation of the quietness of the Common wealth, giving order that nothing should pass but wealth. it should be searched and examined to the bottom : saying that he would give the People Laws

formed the Assemblies of the City, where all things were carried by Suita, Presents, and Violence, He then reffored the People their right, by Voices to choose the Magistrates. And to cur off all Suits, he forbad them to make any Roll of Suiters Names, but of those that had laid down great Sums of Money, to the end that being convinced of their Suits, they should be put to their Fines; adding also this ignominy, that such should be deprived of all Effaces and Honours for the space of Augulus care five years. And furthermore, he finely hindered the bad practice in Elections, giving order that for Election of none thould be out in nomination but furth as were verticals and of good recursion. La lation. none should be put in nomination but such as were vertuous and of good reputation. He less unto the Magistrates their charges whole, and did always require in all his Confulfitips that they should give him two Companions i howbeit the Senate would never agree unto it. The year before, he had reduced the number of Senatours to fix hundred, all honourable men. At that time also he rechtablished the ancient Order and Dignity: ordaining that the Senate should have the superintendency of the Treasure, and of all the revenues that belonged to the People of ROME. That all the expences for the Common-wealth should be made by their Ordinance. That the Senatours should have the hearing of all crimes of treason, conspiracy, ambushes, and offencer to his Majesties Perfon : and that it should pertain to them to give entertainment and answer that should be fit; to Ambaffadours of Nations. When in matters of importance he asked the advice of the Senate, inflead of coming to the Prince of the Senare according to the accustomed manner, or to him that was appointed Confull, or to other Senatours by order : he made clioice of any one of them which he thought good, to the end that every one should give attentive ear, and be ready to deliver his opinion: and not to hold his head down in his Rank, and content himfelf to be of other mens minds. He ordained also, that the whole body of the Senate should not aftemble but from fifteen days to fifteen days : howbeit that in ordinary matters the Magistrates should think of that that were expedient. In the Moneth of September and Officer , the Senatours were not bound to meet, but onely four hundred drawn by Lot: who might establish any Decree.

And as for himself, to honour this Company the more, at the day of the Assembly he never sale-Augustus his ted any of the Senatours apart, but all of them together in the Councill-Chamber when they juffice toward were let, and all of them Name by Name, the one after the other. If he would go out, and that those that were fally ac- he faid, he would detain the Company no longer, he bade them farewell in the lame manner that were miny according to the had falured them at his coming in. He ruled justice also civill and criminall, and willed cuted, and to he had falured them at his coming in. ward Slander that amongst other things the Criminals accused by certain Enemies, should be set at liberty: with condition notwithstanding that they should be brought to Prison again, if the Accused did submit himself to receive the like punishment as the oftender, if it were found he standard

ed him. Moreover, he made provition for common works, and reparations of Bridges, Causeys, and High-ways. And because he was determined to make a Voyage into Gaul.

he eftablished Meffala Governour of ITALY and of ROME, for fear left any trouble should tray treed from Theeves happen in his absence. But this place being troublesome unto Messala, he belought Augustus he and Robbers. would discharge him: and therefore Agrippa was substituted, who rid all ITALY of a great

number of Theeves and Robbers on high-ways, and stayed the Courses of many other troubles of The affairs of ROME and ITALY being in to quiet effate, understanding that ENGLAND was full of fedition , SPAIN next unto the Mountains PIRENEI in arms , and GAUL ready to rife : he opened the Temple of James , and took his journey to give order for all. But the Ambaffadours of England prevented him, and promised Tribute. Then he went to Gaul in Augustus ma NARBONE, to draw nearer to SPAIN. And so holding on his journey to NARBONE, he keh Peace in pacified the Gauls, he made an exact numbering of all the Gauls, of their Goods, Possessiand distributions, and caused the Rolls to be brought unto him. He established Laws and Customs in evideth it in very place, and divided GAUL into four parts: of the which the first part was called NARBO-NENSE, which extendeth it felf from the River of Varunto the Mountains PIRENEI. A Qui-TAIN the second, unto the River of GARONNE. The third, GAUL LYONNOISE, unto the River of Seine. Then Gaul Belgica, bottlered with the River of Rhine: and rated all the Gauls atten Milions of Gold for a Tax. Now there remained no more for him to do, but to bring SPAIN to order : in the which the ROMANS had made continual Wars the space of two hundred years together. Nevertheless the CANTABRIANS and ASTURIANS (which are the BASQUES) and other People neighbours dwelling in the Mountains, they neither cared for Augustus, nor for the Empire: for they were ever in arms, and made incursions upon the Allies of the People of ROME, and did them great mitchief : who complaining unto Augultus of the great necessity they were brought unto , he being near unto them, came to aid them : and found the CANTA BRIANS befreging of a Fort, having taken the Town by it called SAGESAME. He charged them home with fuch fury that he left them dead in the place, after they had valiantly defended themselves. Afterwards he divided his Army into three parts, and environed the Countrey of the CANTABRIANS, who made head for the space of five years, and did marvellous great hurt to the ROMANS; and if the straights whereby they might easily enter into their Country, had not been discovered umo Angustus, they had fent him home again to Rome with shame. But having found the way to furprize them on every fide, he made a cruell War upon them, putting all to fire and blood. They retired with speed to one of their highest Mountains, with all that they could carry with them. The ROMANS perceiving that it was too hard a match for them, if they should go thinher to

fet upon so warlike a Nation, and that could not be subdued by force: they made Forts in the midft of the Mountain, and placed a strong Guard there, to the end to famish the CANTABRIANS, and Augustus maby that means to bring them to reason. But they on the other fide, instead of yeelding themselves, keth War with did abide all the miferies that any man can politibly think of: and it came to that pais; that even to the cantarrians did about an tite insertes that any inserted property of the mothers their Infants, and the young them to exmen did devour the old, eating up their Flesh. Upon this evill, there followed another, to wit, tream famine discord among them. Some would yeeld, others were of another mind. The tormer alledging, and misery. that they must needs submit themselves to the mercy of the ROMANS : the other, that they should make a desperate salley upon the Enemies Camp, and so sell their lives. Their contention waxed fo hot and violent, that the CANTA BRIANS thrust out ten thousand of the ASTURIANS with their Wives and Children, and compelled them to descend along the Forts made by the ROMANS; whom they intreated with the tears in their eyes to make them Slaves, and to give them somewhat to eat. Tiberius then one of Cafurs Lieutenants, would not suffer them to be received, to the end to famish the one by the other, and to end this War without any bloudshed. This Poor People being deprived of sustenance and hope, and being afraid they should yet endure greater evils, began to pownd a venimous Hearb like unto Smailage, and poyloned themselves, The young men killed themselves running one against another with their Swords in their hands, The others, to the number of three and twenty thousand, came down in a most miserable estate from the top of the Mountain, and yeelded themselves to the discretion of the ROMANS; who fet afide ten thousand of the strongest of them, to serve them in the War which they intended to make against the ASTURIANS. The rest were fold by Troops, with condition that they should be carried far from their Countrey , and that they should not be made free , before they had ferved them as Slaves, the space of thirty years. They difarmed ten thousand of them; which they bare so impatiently, that many killed themselves with their own hands, esteeming their life nothing without Arms. They fay, that a little Child with a Dagger killed his Father and Brethren that were chained together, and that by the commandment of the Father; and that a Woman did the like to some of her kinsfolks. And that many of these Mountainers accustomed to rob Passengers, being upon the gibbet fang out Songs aloud, even at their death, shewing a joy and marvellous courage. Augustus being then in those parts, gave leave to the Souldiers of his Guard of SPANIARDS to depart into the Territory of the GASCONS with great Prefents, and Priviledge to enter in rank amongst the ROMAN Legions. He built SARAGOUSSE, and other Towns, which he replenished with Souldiers , to bridle the courses and tumults of the CELTIBERIANS: and afterwards made a stone Bridge over the samous River of Eber. Then having overthrown the Co-Augustus war-NISCES, friends of the ASTURIANS, taken their head City, and put all the Inhabitants thereof sing against the to the Sword : he fet upon the Asturians, who being environed of all parts, and choosing rather Asturians, to die than to be made Slaves : burnt, killed, and poyfoned themselves, and with them many other of driveth them their neighbours. There were some of them yet left alive, with whom the CANTABRIAN'S joyned All goods and other their neighbours, and that a long time. These People had this custom, that all goods were common acommon amongst friends, and when one of them came to the other, he received and used him as him-mongst felf: and so also in adversity they ran one fortune, or else killed themselves immediatly after their friends, friends were dead. Among them were certain loose People gathered together out of divers parts, who resolved all together to go charge the ROMANS, and came to fight with such a fury, that nothing but the night could separate them, having lost many of both sides. The next morning they began to joyn again with more violence then before, and the fight continued even till night, that the ROMANS obtained the Victory : but they contessed, that they never encountered with such cruell Enemies. They that were left alive fled into a Town, in the defence whereof they made themselves all to be killed, rather then to yeeld themselves. August un built certain places there in that Countrey, which afterwards by time were much enlarged. In this felf-fame year of his ninth Confulfhip , Terentius Varro his Lieutenant subdued the SALASSIANS , which are those of the Vale of Ostre : he disarmed them , fold the young men by the drum , gave part of the Territory unto the Souldiers Pratorians, and built there a City called Augusta Pretoria. Vinicius alfo appealed some troubles in GERMANY, and made War very fortunatly in divers places. By means of which Victories, Augustu was called the eight time Imperator, as much to lay, as foveraign Captain: and they suffered him to wear from that time forth the first day of the year, a Hat of Lawrell, and a Robe of Triumph. At his return he shut the Temple of Janus the fourth time, married (Laghers (the Daughter of Artenius and Cleopatra) unto Juba the Story-writer, overthrown by Julius Cafar in Africk, with a part of MAURITANIA, and of GETULIA, to reign there. He reduced into a Province GALLOGRECIA and LYCAONIA, which made a Portion of a Kingdom: and by reason of his sickness nor able to be present at the marriage of his Daughter Julia. whom Marcellus married, the Son of Ottavia his Sifter, he left all to the charge of Agrippa, and went Augustus libeto ROME. There being chosen Consull the tenth time, the Senate gave him absolute power over the rality towards Estate and Laws, to make and undo them at his pleasure. They did him greater honoursthen before, and gave Marcellus his Nephew before his time great Offices in the Common wealth; and to Tiberius his Wives Son. He in token of thankfulness, gave to every one of the People ten Crowns apiece. Whilest these matters were in hand, the CANTABRIANS and their neighbours revolted,

by fubrilry, caught fome of the ROMANS and cut their throats. Alins Limia, Governour in those parts, to be revenged of this outrage, put all the whole Countrey to fire and bloud, destroyed some

for Augustus

Companies,

CASAR AUGUSTUS

971

Towns, and fold their young men by the drum. To be short, he followed them so hard, that he brought them in subjection. Alim Gallm Governor of EGYPT, almost about the same time being feat by Augustus commandment with ten thousand men, five hundred Souldiers of Herods Guard, and fifteen hundred NABATEIANS: under the Conduct of a Nobleman of ARABIA called Syllew: he did nothing to be accounted of, bur discover the Countrey. But having lost the most part of his men within the Defarts where this Syllem brought them, and overcome the SABEANS in a Battell, he was enforced to retire. Afterwards this Syllens, for that he killed his King Oboda by Treason,

he was taken Prisoner, and beheaded by the Decree of the Senate. Angust when Being Confull for the eleventh time, the Plague was in Rome, and for himself he was grievoully fick, but restored again to health by Antonine Masa his Physician. The People therefore caufed a Statue to be fet up to this Antonism, the Senate did him great honours, and in favour of his Profession, gave immunity to all others that from that time forth did practice Physick, Fur-The People of thermore, by many Ceremonies they did shew the joy they had for the health of Augustus: and Roma are glad specially Fathers of housholds dying, expressely commanded their Children to bring their Sacrifices to the Capitoll with a Title in great Letters , faying : THAT AT THE DAY OF THEIR DEATH THEY LEFT AUGUSTUS IN GOOD HEALTH. It was also ordained that from that time forththey should never put any man to death, as often as Augustum entred into the City. Shortly after he did affociate with himself Calphunius Pifo in the Consulfhip, who had followed the party of Panney and of Brutus. Afterwards when he was gone from Roms into the Countrey, he made Lucim Cestim his Deputy for him, an inward friend of Brutm and of his memory. Where-

at the Senate marvelling, by Decree made him perpetuall Pro-Confull of the ROMAN Empire, Tribune of the People, and gave him power to affemble the Senate as often, and when it pleafed him. The People would have compelled him to have been Dictator : but he bowing a knee, cafting down his long Robe, and shewing his breast, befought them to discharge him of so odious an

estate. In the mean time he accepted the Decree of the Senate, and the charge to cause Corn to be brought in, because of the dearth that chanced in Rome. In the which he served his turn by Tiberom created QueRor at the age of nineteen years. As for Marcellon his Nephew, he was cholen & diliu Curulus, who aided him to fet forth all the magnificent pomp of plays, which he

caused to be plaied before the People. Every man judged that he should be the Successour of all his power: but this young man of great hope, died shortly after, to the great grief of every man: and no man can tell whether it was of naturall fickness, or of poyson given him by the practites of

Livia. A littlebefore his death, Agrippa impatient to bear the rifing of this Marcellus whom he despited, went into Asia under colour of another Voyage. They say that Angustus much troubled with fickness, returned to his first consultation, to put the Common-wealth again into the hands of the Senate and People: and for this cause he called for the Senatours and all the other Magistrates:

unto whom he gave an account of the Empire: and that was a little Book containing the numbring of all the Riches, Towns, Provinces, Allies, Legions, Armies by Sea and by Land, of all the Kingdoms and Countriestributary, of all the Cultomes of the Empire of Rome, that which was necessarily to be leavied or released. But being somewhat amended again, he changed his mind.

And furthermore, having given Audience to the Ambassadours of Phracries King of the PARTHI-ANS, which demanded a Son of his brought by Tyridates unto Augustus, he sent back the Child, and fuffered Tyridates to remain at ROME, where he fumptuously entertained him. By this means be kept himself in friendship with the one and the other, and held the PARTHIANS in suspence, to the end they should alter nothing. At the beginning of the next year following, under the Con-

fulfhip of Marcus Claudins Marcellus, and of L. Arumius, the Famine increasing at Rome, he wifely provided for it. And then the People would constrain him by force to accept the Dictatorflip, and threatned to fet the Palace on fire and to burn all the Senators in it, if they refused to allow this Decree. He would none of the Office of Dictatorship, and did resule also to be Censor, al-

though that Office had been void the space of twenty eight years. But for as much as Monacius Planeus and Emylius Lepidus, who were chosen Cenfors, deferved themselves to be censured, because of their discords, Augustus without the Name took upon him to discharge it : and provided to Augustus re- reform infinite disorders that were in Rome, in Apparell, Countenances, Companies, and in the formeth many Fight of Fencers at the Sharp. At the same time Fannins Capio and L. Murana, having conspired

against him, and being discovered by Castricius, were taken as they thought to have escaped, and put to death. In the mean time the ASTURIANS and CANTABRIANS ill intreated by Carifus, the rebelled, but were overcome in a fet Battell, and the prifoners fold, The CANTABRIANS preferring death before fervitude, killed, burnt, and poisoned the one the other. The ASTURIANS being overcome the fourth time, did submit themselves, and their Arms were taken from them. In the

fame time, Petronius Governour of EGYPT, followed with ten thousand Footmen, and with eight hundred Horle, went to make War with the ETHIOPIANS, which dwell under ÆGYPT, who had invaded and ruined certain Towns, overthrown and carried away the Statues of Augustus. Thereupon he purfued them, and made them flie before him: took certain places upon them, and

pierced far into their Countrey: so that he inforced their Queen to fend her Ambassadours unto Angustus (then wintering in the Ille of Samos) to pray Peace, which he granted them paying

At the beginning of the Spring, he prepared himfelf to give order for the Affairs in the Eslt: but because they that bent themselves for the Consulfnip land almost put the City in Alarm, and that

in the end, notwithstanding the Order he had set down, the People had chosen men whom Augustias feared : through the advice of Macena, he made Agrippa come again to govern ROME in his abfence, and married unto him his Daughter Julia, Marcellus Widow, Now whilest Agrippa gave orders for the Affairs of the City, Augustus took Sea, and having provided for the Affairs of SI. Augustus fail-CILIA, he went into GREECE, did much good for the LACEDEMONIANS, and to the contrary reprefied the pride of the ATHENIANS, from whom he took away the Tribute they had, and what he work and the soft most price of the ATHENIANS of the meantings theoreby have did the they had. leavied of the Isles ÆGINA and ERETRIA. In the mean time, though he made little account of did there, strangers ceremonies, yet he made himself to be received into the Fraternity of Mysteries : and the Ambaffadours of Persia having caused the Temple of Ingiter Olympian to be finished, begun of long time in ATHENS, they ordained that it should be dedicated to the Spirit of Augustus. Being passed from thence into Asia, he gave order to his Provinces and those of the People of ROME punished the CYZICENIANS, that had killed the ROMAN Citizens in their Town, He imposed a Tribute upon those of Tyre and Sidon, who had dealt badly, and brought them into the form of a Province. He did much good unto the Towns that had been faithfull unto the Common-wealth ! to some of them he gave the right of Burgesship of ROME, and to others the same rights and Priviledges which the naturall Citizens of Rome had. He built up again the Cities of LAODICEA, and of THIATIRA : he fet them up of the Ille of CHIO again, afflicted before by an Earth-quake : he did exempt them from all Subfidies for fix years. He reftored certain Realms unto their Kings whom he had subdued : or else he did establish others anew, who came to attend him at his Court as Subjects, without any figns or tokens of Royall Dignity. He fent Tiberius into Armenia, to install Tieranes unto his Royall Throne again, having been driven out of it. Tibirius returned thither, and having fought with the ARMENIANS, he gave them Artavafdes to their King, who ruled not long. Phraartes King of the PARTHIANS being afraid they would fet upon him; was very carefull to get all the ROMANS together, which were taken after the overthrow of Craffus and Antonius; whom he sent every man of them unto Augustus, with all the Standards and Ensignes. and also his Son and Nephews for Pledges of his faithfull triendship unto the People of ROME. Auguffus granted him Peace, and then he came into the Isle of SAMOS, comforted RHODES, replenished CORINTH and PATRAS with a great number of men enfranchifed, whom he made Burgeffes of Rome. In this place also there came unto him Ambassadours from Porus and Pandion two of the mightieft Kings of the INDIA NS, who prayed alliance and friendship with him, and brought him very rare Presents. There came with them a Philosopher of India called Zarmanus; who being brought to the City of ATHENS; burnt himself alive, as one Calamus did in the time of Alexander

In this mean space the City of ROME was full of great trouble by the practises of Equations Rufus, Rome full of In this mean space the City of ROME was full of great troubles by the practice of Legislation Anymos, troubles in who by force would needs be chosen Confull in Angulus place being ablem: who gave not him his Angulus about the chosen and angulus and angulus and angulus and angulus angulus and angulus angu voice, but named Lucretius Vespillo, escaped from the Proscription, as hath been spoken of before, fence, But this put him in fuch a rage, that he conspired with M. Genucius, and Plantius Rufus to kill Anguffus. But they being discovered betimes, were imprisoned and executed by decree of the Senate : who made infinite numbers of honours unto Augustus at his return : howbeit he would not accept them all, but carried himself very modeftly in every place where he was. The People chose him Censor for five years , and perpetual Confull ; and at his request they gramed Triumph unto Cornelius Balbus, although he were no ROMAN born (for he was a SPANIARD) by reason of his notable Victories he had obtained as Lieurenant of Augustus, upon the GARAMANTES. Agrippa on the other fide was fent into GAUL troubled by the invafions of the GERMANS, whom he ordered Agripps is well enough. Then he led his Army into Spain, troubled with the rebellion of the Canta-fent to appeade BRIANS : the which came thus to pals. The Prisoners CANTABRIANS whom they had fold by troubles the drum, by a complot they made together, cut their Masters Throats, and then fled into their France and Countrey, where they follicited others to take arms, got their fortreffes into their hands, and fet upon the ROMAN Garrifons. Agreppa could by no means bring his Souldiers thither, whether that they defired to take reft, or that the resolution of the CANTABRIANS did aftonish them. But after that he had brought them to his hand, he marched directly against the Enemies: who had the

better at the first encounter, and the ROMANS were well beaten. But they being rebuked and punished by Agrippa, who gave them Barley for Wheat, he returned again to fight. But then the CANTABRIANS that bare arms were all cut in pieces, the rest disarmed, and drawn from the Mounrain to dwell in the Plain. Angustus was faluted Emperour or foveraign Captain, because of this Victory: but Agrippa modeftly refused Triumph, and within a while after he overcame the PAN NO-MIANS alfo. The year following, the GETES and DACES being at civill Wars, Lemalus that had Subdued them before, counselled Augustus not to lose this occasion: for he might easily subdue these

barbarous People being thus divided. But Angustus not being of the mind to make any Wars at all Angustus would not would not with any Nation, without great and just cause, (although there were more hope of gam, then appeadingly make War renee of lofs. The answered: There was no cause for him to do so: adding also, that those that without great fought a little gain with great lofs and danger, were like unto those that would angle with a golden and just cause: Hook; the which breaking and falling into the water, no Fift is worth the value of it. And therefore that the barbarous People were to be left to their own mileries: and that by their bloud-fied, by their

own Companions, they were more then enough punished for the ills they had done to the ROMANS, who ought not to begin first to do evill. In the same year Augustus being very defirous to put his hand to the reformation of abuses

Suits for publick Offices. He fer Fines upon their heads that would not marry, and beflowed much

upon them that had Wivesand Children. He gave unto Hortenfius Hortalius five and twenty thou-

fand Crowns, to procure him to take a Wife, that he might raife up iffue to that Noble house and

Family of the Hortenfes. He ordained also that Maidens should be twelve years old at the least

before they married, and fuffered them to kill Adulterers taken in the fact without punishment,

condemning the Sodomites without remiffion. And for Military Discipline, he looked very care-

fully unto that. And because a Knight of Rome had cut off his own Sons thombs, for that

he thould not go to the War, he made him to be fold by the drum, and all his goods. But be-

caule the Regrators were greedy to feize upon them, he made them ceafe the fale, and put the

Knight into the hands of one of his bondmen enfranchifed, and was contented to drive him our

of ROME. Furthermore he procured that the Senate should not be kept but with great Reverence:

that the Senatours should come together as into a Temple of Devotion, and that no Decree should

país, but in the presence of sour hundred Senatours, it it might be : that no man should be made free of Rome, but upon great consideration. For the rest, he and Agrippa gave the People the pleasure of secular yearly Games, which had not been seen an hundred years before. But he took

very great care that there should be no infolencies committed. He punished the Players in divers forts, that behaved themselves more licentiously then became them. And when one of them a-

mongst them called him Lord, he shewed the People with his voice, his eyes, and his hand, that he was not well pleafed withall: and the next morning he published a sharp Edict, forbidding all

Perfons expresly to fay to, and would never fuffer that any of his should give him this Name. But

thefe Plaiesbeing ended, he adopted Caus and Lucius the Sons of Agrippa. In all this great bufi-

nes, the SICAMBRES, USIPITES, and TENCHTERES, People of GERMANIE, Surprised

GAUL, and took away an Enfign from him. Yet though he were a man of fmall action, and very coverous: nevertheless he was revenged of them, and coming upon the invadors, fought with

them, and drave them beyond the Rhine. On the other fide, C. Lennium made War with the

DAGES, and killed three of their chief Leaders with a great number of men: and afterwards he

established a Garrison by the River of Danuby, to stop the incursions of this wild Nation. Angu-

fim feeing these troubles, disposed of the Affairs of ITALY to go into GAUL, to rid himselt of

thele griefs, and by his ablence to make his prefence more honourable. At that fame time, divers People inhabiting upon the River of Danuby, rebelled ; but Augustus Lieutenants bestirred them so well, that they were all compelled to feek Peace. At that time also all Gaul was in commotion, and

found the means to escape well enough. For after he had gotten an infinite Mass of Gold and

Silver together, he brought it to Augustus, faying he had never other intention but to take from

the Gauls the means to rebell. For all this Augustus withdrew him from therce, and sent Ti-

beriss thither to fettle all things in good estate again. Almost during these commotions, and out-

ragious diffentions, the RHETIANS, near unto the Lake of Come, brake into GAUL CI-

SALPINE, and took out of ITALY flore of booty. They were a People separated from all others,

and so cruell, that having taken any place from the ROMANS, they killed all the Male Children,

and further, did ask their Soothlayers of Women with child : and if they faid the was great

with a Boy, they prefently ran her through, and killed her and the fruit of her Womb. Angulus

their little Children by their Leggs, and did most barbarously force themselves to smite their E-

nemies in the face. Those that were driven out of ITALY would have entred into GAUL, but

they were repulfed by Tiberim. In the end , thefe People and their Allies were conftrained to fub-

Augustus re- Cenfor, and did establish him Tribune for five years. First of all he began to correct some difformeth abuses orders that were in the Senate, he reformed the Knights, Spectacles, and Plaies, and the manner of and diforders in Rome.

Augustus scvere againit Adulterers and Buggerers.

nisherh a Rofor difabling

Divers Rebels certain Romans in their Territory, hanged them up, passed over the Rhine, spoiled Gaule, subdated, overthrew certain Horsemen, and iollowing their purpose, overcame M. Lollins Pro-Confull of

The coverouf- that in divers forts. But the coveroulness of Licinim Enceladus, made free, and folliciter of the net, of Man- affairs of Augustus, was cause of all this mischief. For he having commanded the People to furflut his follow ter caute of great troubles accused to his Master for Money ill gotten, although all the world cried out of him, yet he

Drufus feat by would not endure these outrages, but sent Drufus the Son of Livia against them : who drave

Augustus over-them out of ITALY, having overcome them in a fer Battell, near unto TRENT. They say that cometh the their Women shewed themselves so cruell in this Fight, that their Darts failing them, they took

Augustus sent a Colony unto NISMES in LANGUEDOCK : and made them free Burgesses of ROME. It is thought that he fent another unto ARLES, of the fixth Legion : and one of the fecond unto ORANGE. So make report of these Colonies in the time of Tiberius. M. Agrippa on the other fide, he gave order for the Affairs of Asia, and of all the Orient, where he behaved himfelf fo well, that all that were friends to the People of Roun, were of better courage then before, and all their Enemies to valiantly suppressed, that Augustu was saluted the tenth time soveraign Captain. But Agripps after his wonted manner, would have no Triumph; which was the cause of the lofs of this cuftome, and others following his example, were contented from thenceforth with the Ornaments of Triumph. But of another fide, the PANNONIANS, the GENOUESES, and those of PIEMONT rebelling, they were fubdued by the Lieutenants of Augustue; who builded two Cities in teftimony of his Victory against these two last People : whereof Turin (called Angulfa Pretoria) was one, and GENBA the other.

AUGUSTUS.

Ansastan having pacified GAUL, stayed the invasions of the GERMANS, and quenched the rebellion of SPAIN : he left Drufus with authority and his Army upon the Rhine, and the recention of States and out of Asia, and became extreamly fick of the Gout. Lepidus Augustustedied at the same time, to whom Angustus increeded in the estate of this Bishop, and made turning to sumptious Speciacles and sights unto the People. He built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the built all the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, successive the Books of Divination and Pro-Rome, succe phecy, except those of the Sitylles : and yet he kept them not all. He reformed the Kalender, and the citize of ordained that there should be no Leap years for twelve years following. He suffered that the chief Press. fixth Moneth then called Sexilla, should be called Angustus after his Name. All that year was foent in Plays and Pastimes, saving that Angustus (having been sick) caused all that he had done in his Government to be rehearled before the Senate, He took a review of the Senatours, and in his Government, to be retreat a coordinated by the first of a Tribune for five years more. But shortly after, Agrippa, Anthis great person being returned from a Journey out of PANNONIA, whither he was gone to pre-gular his Newent disorders that were likely to be renewed, he fell lick and died, before Angasam could come phew dieth, vent uniquers that was a marriellous grief unto him: and not knowing now on whom he should be, and full in time. That was a marriellous grief unto him: and not knowing now on whom he should be, and full in the end he chose Tiberine his Wives Son. and married them require. Widow is mirror. from his Daughter India, in the end he chofe Tiberini his Wives Son, and married them together, ited to Tiberitow ins Danguet 1 min, in the state of the s whom we shall speak to best purpose in the Life of Tiberim, yet we will briefly note it here. So then Tiberius went and made War in PANNONIA, rifen by means of the death of Agrippa; yet he made an end of it, killed some of them, fold and subjected the rest: and compelled all that People to submit themselves unto the People of ROME. Drusus on the other side made War in High and Low Almain, and brought the most part of these Nations unto some reason : and afterwards he returned to ROME: where Augustus held so straight a hand to bring the Senate to order, that there were few men desired to be of the Senate, and many to the contrary that gave up their Offices. But Angustus compelled those that were of age, of quality and sufficiency, and gave order also that the Dignity of the Tribunes of the People should remain entire : suffering those notwithstanding which had this Office, their time expired, to be amongst the Senatours, or with Knights. As for the Towns of Asia afflicted with the Earth-quake, he payed of his own to the Common-wealth, the yearly Tribute which they ought. And for the regard of those which were of his Provinces, he freed them from all Imposts for his years, and gave them of PALESTINE a great quantity of Corn, which fultained great want and famine. In the mean time Drafau Drafau overpalled over the Rhine, made War with the USIPITES, SICAMBRIANS, TENCHTERES, cometi the CATTIANS, CHERUSIANS, and SUAUBIANS, whom he overthrew in divers encounters: confident preand effectably in a great Battell, were where killed a very great number. For these People were ga-fumptions thered together with such a considence of Victory, that they had already made agreement a Rebels.

mong themselves for division of the booty. But especially at the last Battell, the CHERUSIANS. should have the Horse, the SUAUBIANS they should have the baggage, and the SICAMBRIANS the Prisoners. And yet to bind themselves more straightly together, they burnt twenty Centeners of the ROMANS. And this was the cause that the Battell was so long and cruelly fought betwixt them: yet in the end the Victory remained to Drufus, who gave the Prisoners and all the booty to the Souldiers, making the Horfe, Baggage, and captives to be fold to them that would offer most. All the Field for a great league and a half of length was strewed with dead bodies, and they found in the Enemies Camp great store of Iron Chains prepared by them for the ROMANS: howbeit they served for them. Drussu set up a token of Triumph, and was called Imperator of his Troops in the Field where the Battell was pitched. Afterwards he built above fifty Castles upon the Rivers of Menfe, Vifurge , and of the Rhine. Tiberius on the other fide was in DALMATIA. where he brought them under that role in arms against them. The Triumph of Ovatio was decreed to them both, and Augustus was faluted by the Senate Imperator or foveraign Captain, and this for the twelfth time. But in these businesses , the War was hot in THRACIA, and more then ever before : all the Provinces being in rebellion under the Conduct of Bulog afes, who had killed the King Rhacuspolis, an Ally of the People of ROME, driven out his Uncle and Lieutenant Rhymetalces out of THRACIA into CHERONNESUS. L. Pifo Governour of PAMPHILIA Went against them, and at the first encounter had not the advantage, but in the second he overcame them unterly. Drusus having made a Voyage to Rome, to celebrate the birth day of Augustus in great magnificence, whilest his Troops reposed themselves in their Garisons, about the Spring he returned into Germany, overcame the Suaubians, gave them a King: then he invaded the Countrey of the Marcomannes, fought with them diverstimes, killed a great number of them, and made all the reft subject to the ROMANS. Because of this Victory, and of that of Pife, Augustus was called Imperator the thirteenth time. Almost in this time he put Proculus to death in prilon, one that he loved best of all his bondmen made free: being convinced of many Adulteries. He made the Proculus on thighs of his Secretary Thalks to be broken, for the fum of an hundred Crowns which he took for Adulterer put to death by Thewing a fecret Letter. In this mean time Tiberius continued War in DALMATIA and PANNO-Queufius. NIA, moved through the great Imposts, whereof the People complained : but in the end he subdued Thalluspun shthem, and built many Caftles upon the River of Danuby to ftay the invafions of the Enemies. Pife ed for disclos-

also in Thracia overcame the Masians, and Bastarnes, and brought away a great ing secrets of number of Prisoners, who bit their Iron Chains for anger, and most impatiently did bear their fer-

vitude. Densin made the Cattians subject also, then he came to Lyons to meet with Angufus: from whence they both returned tegether into ITALY. They had a cuttome shift that yearly on the first day of January, though Augustus were about all the Senatours: Officers of yearly on the first day of January, though Augustus were about all the Senatours: Officers of yeariy on the nrit day of January, though him New-years Gifts to the Capitoll; and allo every Juffice, and others of mean efface, brough him New-years Gifts to the Capitoll; and allo every junite, and oniers of mean errain, and the Lake Continus, for a Wow that they had made to his health, one caft a piece of Gold or Silver into the Lake Continus, for a Wow that they had made to his health. the did befrow all these New-years Gifts to buy many rich Statues of the gods, which he set up in all

CESAR AUGUS

In the five and thirtieth year of his Principality, under the Confulate of Drusus Nero, and of In the rive and thirtieth year of this remaindancy, under the Commune of Drujan Nero, and of the New York, and preparing 60 for Omits dieth, there, a Vision having the shape of a great Woman, that spake bigger and louder then a man voice in whose place could do, said to him in Latin: Go no surther: which was a sign of his death, the which followed in whose place could do, faid to him in Latin: Go no surther: which was a sign of his death, the which followed n whote place could do, taid to min in Latin: On no intrict: which was a light to be being but thirty years old; And Tiberius lucceedeth in the gastu had put him the Roll of his Heirs; and made an Oration in his praise. Alterwards all the charge of wasts from the roll of his Heirs; and made an Oration in his praise. Alterwards all the charge of the Wars of Germanny was committed unto Tiberius. And for Angustius, he being charge of the Wars of Germanny was committed unto Tiberius. the fame year called for a Witness in certain Causes, did patiently suffer any man to ask him, or refusehim, as he had oftentimes done before. One day as he spake in full Senate, one of the Senatours told him: I understood nothing: another, I would speak against it, If I might be heard. As nother time being weary with the contestations of certain Pleaders, he went in choler out of his

Seat. But fome began to fay unto him, that it was lawfull for Senatours to speak freely to any matter that came before them : and that no man was ever offended for the Replies or contestations

of any man.

Nonius Afprenas, one of his greatest friends, was accused by Cassius Severus to have poyloned an hundred and thirry bidden Guefts at a Banquet. August w did not recommend him, but letthe Senatours alone, who banished Cassiu. An old Souldier upon complaint being brought before the Senatours, and in danger of his life, befought Augustus to help him. And when he had given him an Advocate to defend him, the Souldier opened his breaft, and shewing him the marks of the wounds which he had received in the Battell of ACTIUM, faid unto him : But I befeech thee Augustus confider that I have received these wounds here upon my body for to defend thee, and Magustus please would put no other in my place. Magustus moved with these words, appeared in justice, and of anold Soul. of an old Soul- the fourteenth time; because of the Victories which Tiberius and Sextus Apuleius had obtained in Germany, and in Italy. And the authority which had been given him for ten years over the State of the Common-wealth being expired, was continued unto him for ten years lowing. Then he did greatly enlarge the bounds of the Territory of ROME, and having advanced Saluffins Crifpus (the Son of the Historian) anto the place which Macenas held, the ROMAN Knight , his faithfull friend and principall Counfeller, deceased in those days : and by Tiberius continued to bring the GERMANS under : for the Victory of whom, and also for that he had subdued all the People inhabiting alongst the Alpres, the Senate had fet up a token of Triumph, and granted

Under the Second Consulate of Claudius Nero, and of Calpurnius Pifo, Caius and Lucius the Triumph to Tiberius. young Sons of Augustus, were called young Princes, and appointed Consuls, although they were but of tender years, and under fourteen years old. This pleased Augustus greatly, though he fained to take no pleasure in it. Furthermore, he then made an Edict touching slanderous libels, declaring who should have the hearing of those crimes, and how they should be punished: although he himself cared not much, and patiently suffered they should gibe at him, contented to answer by open defence, unto the reproaches and mockeries they made of him. They feattered abroad one day in the Palace many bils of Paper of cruell injuries against him. This moved him not at all, neither did he trouble himfelf much to answer it : but instead of fearthing it out, he did advise that hereafter they should have an eye upon those, that by little Booksor Epigrams published (under false Names) scandall against any man. Tiberius wrote a round Letter to him one day to the end he should carry a straighter hand upon that : but he sent him these words, 1 pray thee my friend, 1et not thy youth over-rule thee in this matter, nor be not fo hot, though I be evill spoken of by some. It is enough if we gain this point, that no man can hurt us. Afterwards he divided the City of ROME into fourteen Regions , and two hundred and ten Streets, and in every of them he established Officers to see that all things should be maintained as they ought to be, and to report unto the Prince any memorable thing that should happen. Augulus pro- He provided for the violence of fire, he built up the Temples that were burnt or ruined by time: Augulus pro- and gave at one time unto the Temple of Jupiter Capitoline, for the renewing of the fame, fixteen videth against the vidence of thousand Pounds of Gold, and of rich and costly Pearls, to the sum of twelve hundred thousand

against infiand his patient

Now Cains and Lucius his young Sons growing apace, and Julia his Daughter beginning to

be too well known for her wantonness: Tiberius that could no longer indure her, nor these two young Princes. (and because he would have the ROMANS a little to long for him) he demaned and obtained leave with extremity, threatning to kill himfelf with famine, if they did not grant him : and fo went to fludy at RHODES. In the mean time Augustus provided for the Affairs of ISTRIA, divided ITALY into eleven Provinces: and because he doubted they did envy his greaness, he chose nine Pratorian Cohorts for his Guard, of the which he kept three of them in ROME, lodged here and there in houses, so long as they were in their quarter: and the fix others were quartered in the next villages unto it. He also erected new Offices, to impart to fo many men more the honours and charges of the Common-wealth. At the fame time when before the Senate they did object many crimes unto Amilius Alianus, and amongst other Augustus his things that he spake ill of Augustus: he returning to the accuser, said unto him as in choler: patience for-Prove me that, and I will make Elianus know that I have a tongue : for I will fay more of him, then bearing of ill he hath spoken of me. He made no further inquiry afterwards, and shewed himself very gen-tongues. tle and courteous also unto Cassius of PADUA, a man of a mean estate : who having spoken openly at a Table, that he lacked no good will nor courage to kill Augustus: he contented himself to impose this onely punishment upon him, as to drive him out of ROME. From his eleventh Confulship unto the twelfth, there passed seventeen years: all which time he divers times had refuled his charge: but now he demanded it, and obtained it. His intention was to advance Caius his little Son to great Dignity, whom he caused to be proclaimed, young Prince, and senthim to fee the Provinces and Armies, in the Title of a Pro-confull. Then he commanded him to go into ASIA, having given him for Governours Lollius and Sulpitius Quirinus. He himself in the mean time remained at ROME, where he established extraordinary Guards, under colour to keep Theeves and masterless men from offering violence, whilest the Armies abroad were far off. The year following, Caim having travelled in divers parts of the Orient, made peace with Phraates King of the PARTHIANS, and brought away hoftages for affurance thereof, the Kings three Brethren, and all the Princes of the bloud. The which was practifed by the means of the Queen Termufa, born in ITALY, who being fent by Augustus for a Gift unto Phraates, he fell so in love with her, and held her in such high estimation, that after she had brought him a Son called Phrastaces, he received her for his lawfull Wife. She being desirous her Son should possess the Crown, drave the right Heirs far off by means of this Peace. And at the end of certain years Phrastates who entertained it, killed his Father, and possessed the Kingdom. But he was not A particide long in quiet possession, for the great Lords conspired against him, and took from him his life justiypunished. and Crown together. Furthermore, Caises conquered ARMENIA, and fhortly after Augustus demanded the thirteenth Confulship, to the end to advance his little Son Lucius as he had done Caim. Hesent him Pro-consult into SPAIN, but he fell sick by the way, and stayed almost a year at MARSEILLES. Though these two Bretheren were far enough off Tiberim, who kept himself as affingle Scholar at RHODE 5, yet they loved not him greatly, nor he them: for which purpofe, the process ferved not much against their Mother Julia, banished because of her adulteries into the Isle Julia the elder of PANDA TARIE. Shortly after, her Daughter also called Julia, married unto Luciu Paulus, banished was also convinced of the same crime that her Mother was : and was banished into another Isle of the whose leudness Sea Adriatick, called TREMERA. This affliction to near unto him, marvellously grieved Au- was a great gustus, who could not bear it but in mourning, and pining himself with forrow. Then all the Pro- grief to Auvinces of the ROMAN Empire being in Peace, Augustus shur up the third time the Temple of gustus.

Janus and the King of Kings, the Saviour of the World, being born of a Virgin in Judan, appearing amongst them, thut up the Oracles of all the Painim gods, as the Oracle of DELPHOS a- At the birth of mong others was conftrained to confels, and never spake afterwards. Wherewith Augustus being Christ War affonied, caufed a great Altar to be fet up in the Capitoll with an inscription, signifying that it was, ceaseth, and The Altar of the God first born. The year following to stay the violent course of great usuries, and the Oracles of to raise up again many Families decayed, he put into the exchange two Millions and a half of Gold: Painim gods that is to fay, five and twenty hundred thousand Crowns, and suffered private men to take of it for three years without Interest, putting in pawn into the Exchequer, Lands and Possessions being twice as much worth as the Principall: and condemned the Uforers that had taken Interest more then Juliw Cafar had ordained, to pay four times as much : and deducting out of the Principall that which had been paid over and above the Tax of the Law, he gave the Debtors three years space to pay it, at three equall times from year to year. He made provision also for distributing of Corn, and brought it to twenty hundred thousand heads of those that should come to have any of it: and did wisely re- Augustus remedy divers discontenuments of the People. Shortly after Lucius Cafar being fixteen years of age, preffeth Ufur dyed at MARSEILLES: which was the cause that Tiberius being reconciled for some other occasion with Cains, he obtained leave to return from RHODES to ROME, with condition (for fo was Cains will) that he should meddle with no affairs of estate, that he should remain the rest of the year at RHODES. As touching Augustus, he laboured to recreate himself with his friends, and did willingly fee Learned-men, and amongst others, Titus Livius that renowned Historian, the Poets, Virgil and Horace, but especially Virgil, who was one of his most familiar friends. Which Augustus visimaketh men think that Ovid committed fome great fault, fince he was a banished man fo long, and ted Learnedthat he could obtain no grace, though the greatest men were Suiters for him. And yet the Histo-men. rians fay, Augustus was not angry, as appeareth by the fact of Timagenes the Historian, having dispersed abroad some pleasant by Names against Angustus, Livia, and their familiars, whereat every one of them laughed, it was so pleasant an encounter, Augustus was contented to advise him to moderate his tongue from thenceforth, and did onely forbid him his house and familiarity, fuffering him to wax old in the company of Afinius Pollio. He did greatly support some also that were accused to have sealed a false Will, and mingled with the marks of condemnation and absolution a third, pardoning all those that it should seem had through ignorance singed in this fact.

One being evidently convinced to have killed his Father, was even at the point to be fewed up

in a Leather Sack, according to the custome, and thrown into the Sea ! but Augustus defirous in a Learner sace, according to thus handled, put the answer in his mouth, in faying unto him; this curfed wretch should not be thus handled, put the answer in his mouth, in faying unto him; Surely I beleeve thou haft not killed thy Father. The Son of Tarius being charged to have con-Surely I beteeve thou nan not kind any long was fent for into Tarini houle, to countell him what forired against the life of his Father. Augustus was sent for into Tarini houle, to countell him what were best to be done; he gave the Father. countell to banish him far off from all knowledge. And when Tarius would have made Augustu his Heir, he refused ir, and ordained that the Son should be when I arms would have made any man that during his Fathers life he should have a Pension to maintain banished unto MARSEILLES, and that during his Fathers life he should have a Pension to maintain In the four and forty year of the Monarchy of Augustus, Tiberius having been absent the space

of eight years, he came again to ROME, where he lived, and medled with no matters. But that held

or eight years, he came year Caim, upon whom Augustus principally looked, died.in Lycia:

Tiberius re-

Tiberius ad-

vanced, and

to what end.

and fome fay, that Livia knew well enough of what death: for the greatly defired the advancement of her Son Tiberim, knowing that Augustus did not greatly love the last Son of Agrippa and Julia, by reason of the rudeness of his nature. Augustus took the death of his Son Caiss very unpatiently. by reason of the rudeness of the made his Schoolmafter and domefticall Servants to be drowned; and furthermore, he disposed rie made nis Schoolmaker. And the Legions amongst the Provinces in commodious places as well by all the Forces of the Empire and the Legions amongst the Provinces in commodious places as well by Sea as by Land. Afterwards he obtained the Tribuneship for Tiberius more through the procureoca as by Land. And The Art and the control of Livia then otherwife: although in the end he was content to advance him, to make his mement of Light uten content of the more defired, when they had made proof of his Successour, whom he knew mory to be so much the more defired, when they had made proof of his Successour, whom he knew mory to be to much the most ever spake any thing well, but he spied always some cross thing in him better then any other, and never spake any thing well, but he spied always some cross thing in him of a dangerous nature he had. And yet fome judge, that Angulum did repute the Vertues in Tiberiof a uningerous nature in Imperfections, confidering also that in the Oration he made, his words no to be greater than he adopted Tiberius in favour of the Common wealth. But beforehe would tended to this end, that he adopted Tiberius in favour of the Common wealth. declare this adoption, he compelled Tiberim to adopt his Nephew Germanicm the Son of Drufu, and he adopted with Tiberius, Agrippa Posthumus, the Son of M. Agrippa. Then to prevent the complots of fome of the chiefest of ROME, the made Tiberius to be chosen Tribune for ten years following. That was the caufe that in ROME they began to fpeak well of Tiberius, whom they faw by that means some what stepped into Augustus place to soon as he should happen to die. Furthermore, at the inflance of the People of Rome and Tiberius himself , Angaftus tolerated the banithment of his

Julia an Adul Daughter Julia: howbeit for no intreaty he would ever revoke her again. So after the decrate of Jute an Adult Daugust , the was defittute of all help, and Tiberius made her die for want in an unknown place, terefs, through Augustu , the was defittute of all help, and Tiberius made her die for want in an unknown place, want dieth in The year following, Valterins Melfala, and C. Cimna Grand-child of the Great Pomper, were clefted Confuls. Cinna that took part with his Cofins, was taken prifoner, and brought to Angult u, who gave him life and advanced him. This notwithflanding, he was afterwards attainted and convinced to

Commonwealth.

have confpired against the life of Augustus, whom through the counsell of Livia he fent for into his Chamber, and gently rebuked him for all the good deeds he had done to him: pardoned him this last Augustius by his fentry offence, and afterwards raifed him to the Dignity of a Confull, being forry that he durft not demand offence, and afterwards raifed him to the Dignity of a Confull, being forry that he durft not demand offence, and afterwards raifed him to the Dignity of a Confull, being forry that he durft not demand offence, and afterwards raifed him to the Dignity of a Confull, being forry that he durft not demand of the dignity of a Confull, being forry that he durft not demand of the dignity of a Confull, being forry that he durft not demand of the dignity of a Confull, being forry that he durft not demand of the dignity of a Confull, being forry that he durft not demand of the dignity of a Confull, being forry that he durft not demand of the dignity of a Confull, being forry that he durft not demand of the dignity of a Confull, being forry that he durft not demand of the dignity o n. Augustus, Commover any man confpired more. His Lieutenants in Africk obtained some Victories, and Tiberius continued the War in Germany, from whence he oftentimes returned to ROME to keep himlelf in Augustus good favour. Who having limited the pay, recompence, commodity, and time that the Souldiers should have, he procured for some time the good of the Common wealth, which had continued longer in profeerity, if his Succeffours had better entertained Military Discipline. Afterwards to resist the muniples of the People by reason of famine, he established Corps Augulus expelleth drones de guard in all the places of ROME, and drave out a multitude of unprofitable mouths. And when Corn came again to the ordinary price, he was about to abolifh the distribution of Corn which the Common-wealth made : breaufe that the People trufting unto that , made no reckning to plow their Land. At the fame time many Towns in divers Provinces were inclined to rebell, which caused the Senate to make a Decree, that the Governours of Provinces should command two years one after another, and should not depart thence till their Successour were arrived. The II-LYRIANS also began to rise, but they were supprest immediately by Valerius Messalians. For Divers rebelliGERMANY, all were subject under the name of the ROMANS, except the MARCOMANNES, and their King Marobahus; a valiant and wiseman, that kept himself and his People in good Disconsistance. pline, having always an Army ready of threefcore and ten thouland Footmen, and four thouland Horse, all the which he trained and put in readiness against his neighbours, to defend him the better against the ROMANS, if they came to assail him. Tiberius prepared himself with twelve Legons to make War with him, but being conftrained to go against the ILLYRIANS, he made a greement with Marobaduss, that fought peace and quietness, and so marched where necessity called him. For the ILLYRIANS, to the number of eight hundred thousand men and upwards, role in manner all at an inftant ; and muftered up in short time , with such order in their affairs and Warlike exploits, that they possest and brought in subjection almost all MACEDON, and put Angussius into a marvellous perplexity, because they prepared themselves to come into ITA-LIE. Hereupon Tiberius is chosen to go against them, the which he did with so good direction and Warlike judgement, that he dispersed their Army. But now concerning the Countrey of THRACIA, there the Army of the ROMANS was put to flight : yet taking heart again, they returned to meet with their Enemies, and obtained an honourable Victory. For which canfe they called Augustus Imperatour or foversign Capsain the fixteenth time. The ILLYRIANS made head

again better then before under the conduct of Bato Defidiates, they made violent and strange invasions, and Tiberius never came against them. Whereupon Augustus conceiving an evil opinion, difpatched Germanicus the fon of Drufus, to go into ILLYRIA with a compleat Army. On the other fide Agrippa Posthumus shewed himself so insolent, and committed so many follies, that Augustus could no longer endure them, and therefore he difavowed and difinherited him, confifcated his goods. Agrippa Poltand confined him to Surrentum: where being more audacious then before, he banished him into bumus for his the Ille of Planasia, near unto Corsica: and caufed the Senate to make an ordinance that he follies and inshould remain there till his death. By this means every man began to regard Tiberius, who was also nished. declared the son and colleague of Augustus by decree of the Senate, who committed unto him all the Armies and Provinces of the Empire. Livia his mother did help him greatly in all these affairs. Furthermore he would not fir out of ILLYRIA untill he had made an end of this War, which continued three whole years.

Now at the arrival of Germanicus, the Chieftains of the ILLYRIANS came fuddenly to affail the

Camp of the ROMANS: who faining to be afraid, staid till the enemy came to charge them in dif-

to fly. Germanicus wan another battle against the DALMATIANS, and pursuing his victory, he playing and followed them so near at the heels, that they submitted themselves and demanded peace. By reason Dalmatians. whereof they gave Augustus the name of Imperator the eighteenth time. Bato Desidiates came to falute Tiberius fet in his tribunal chair, without holding down his head, or any imbasing himself: and being asked why after fo many battles loft, he did yet rebel again? he answered boldly again, that the ROMANS were the cause of it: who instead of Shepherds had sent them Wolves to keep their Oppressors Flock. Peace was granted unto the DALMATIANS upon certain conditions. And as for the BREU-caulers of re-CIANS which continued their War, they were overthrown in many encounters, and at the length brought to subjection by Plantins Silvanus, who triumphed. Their King Bato Benerus had betrayed and delivered unto the ROMANS another great Captain of the ILLYRIANS called Pinnetes: and afterwards he was delivered himself by his own men unto Bato Desidiates, who killed him with his own hand : and then fortified himself in DALMATIA, where having made head almost a year and an half against the Armies of Tiberius and Germanicus, he won and lost-many battles: at the last, being able to hold out no longer, he fent his fon to demand peace of Tiberius, promifing to yield himfelf and his into the hands of Augustus. He obtained fafe conduct, and came by night unto Tiberius Camp: who gave him very gracious entertainment, and many rich presents. Afterwards he made him be brought to RAVENNA, and was also gently used, because that in an encounter where he was inclosed, and in danger of his life, he had given him means to escape and fave himself. And because of the divers victories obtained by Germanicus and Tiberius, Angustus was faluted for the nineteenthand twentieth time Imperator or foveraign Captain. And for the PANNONIANS, their young men that had so many times threatened IT ALY, were constrained to bring all their Arms together on a heap, as they were commanded, and to fall on their knees before Tiberius to demand peace of him. He received them into grace, and fent them home to their houses, disposing his Garisons in strong places. under the charge of Marcus Lepidus. The glory of Tiberius was yet more noble, and the anguilhes

Prince of the CHERUSSIANS, was inclosed in Marshes, and utterly overthrown with three Ro- rusoverthrown MAN Legions that were flain in the place : and for himself, fearing to fall alive into the hands of the CHERUSSIANS, he killed himself with his own hand. The victors did never so cruelly handle the ROMANS as those whom they might know were common counsellers and pleaders. For at the beginning when Farus came to command their Countrey, where they knew not what process meant, he perswaded himself he should tame them well enough, using the same form and order of process there amongst them, as they did at ROME. So he had a judgement seat, and all matters were pleaded before him. Some of them amongst the rest very subtil, seemed to esteem much of this pleading; and to bring him alleep, they of purpose moved occasion of processand suit one against the other: and then they went before him, and by the ROMANS themselves whose tongues they borrowed, they demand- The Roman ed justice. Then they rejoyced not a little when they could catch any of these Counsellors: for they Counsellers put out the eyes of fome of them, cut off the hands of others of them; and they fay, that they cut out cruelly handthe tongue of one, and afterwards fewed up his mouth, and he that held the tongue in his hand, faid led by their unto him: O viper, at the last yet thou wilt leave whistling. Augustus was so astonished at this

The year following Tiberim returned into GERMANY, and to keep the passages of the Rhein, Aufuftus ferved his turn with the flaves enfranchifed, which caused afterwards great confusions and fediti- Andalius and ons in the ROMAN army. In all these stirs, two men of no worth, called Andassus and Epicadus, complotted to take away Julia the daughter of Augustus, and Agrippa Posthumus from the places where ing to reliore they were, and to bring them to fome Legions, to alter the estate. But they were foon discovered, and Julia and Apunished for their rashnels. Some others also committed the like fond enterprises, but they vanished gripps, are pu-

loss, that at times he would beat his head against the wall, crying out, Varus, give me my Legions:

Certain years after, Germanicus buried the bones of the ROMANS that were killed in this overthrow.

Furthermore, Augustus being now old and broken, began to leave all great companies, cashiered Augustus his his Guards, and fent them to Garifons far off, to the end they should not go about to make change. acts in his old He gave commandment that the GAULS and GERMANS should depart the City by a day pre-age. fixed. In the mean time Tiberius having divided his Army into four parts, entred into GERMANY,

order. Then they came out with fury against them, killed a great number of them, and made the rest Germanicus o-

of Augustus increased by the overthrow of Quintilius Varus: who being gone to affail Arminius Quintilius Va-

CESAR AUGUSTUS.

about five and twenty leagues into the Countrey beyond the Rhein, and put all to fire and blood : then he retired fearing some encounter of Varus. Touching Augustus, he qualified some strick Laws against the unmarried, the gifts of husband to the wife, the banquets and fuits: he did forbid the Divines to answer the vain question of those, that would know how long they should live: and he suffered the Knights (if they were challenged) to fight at the sharp. Germanicus being returned to Rome, obtained the Confulfhip, and Tiberism triumphed of the Illyrians, Pannonians, Dalmati-ANS, and GERMANS: followed with his Lieutenant Germanicus, Vibius Posthumus, Plantius Silvanu, and Marcus Lepidus, with triumphing robes. But before he went up to the Capitol, he went out of his Charret, and fell down on his knees before Augustu. Then he made a dinner for all the people, and had a thouland tables fet up for them, and gave to every one of them feven crowns and a half. Under the Consulship of C. Silim, and of Munatius Plancus, Augustus having obtained ten years with Tiberius to provide for the affairs of the Commonwealth: to the end to quench many falle rumors, about fixeen moneths before his death, he made his Will, and gave it to the Veftall Virgins to keep. Because his sicknesskept him from coming to the Senate, he prayed the Senators to think of fome means to entertain the men of War. Which they having well confidered, found no better means then that which he himself had found out, to wit, of the twentieth part of the inheritances: and they all agreed unto it. The next year following, he went (as they fay) to fee Agrippa in his Isle of PLA-NASIA, the which troubled Livia much for the knew what was past. At the same time he and Tibe. rius took muster of the Roman Citizens, and shortly after he fell sick, whereof they recite many caufes. But thereupon he went into the Countrey unto fome places of pleasure, where he mended a little. eth fick and and passed the time away prettly merry, carrying Tiberius with him, whom he would have brought dieth, appointdieth, appoint-ing Tiberizator on his way to BENEUENT, from whence he went into ILLYRIA. At his return his fickness increased, his last Will. that he was fain to stay at Nola, and sent for Tiberius and talked with him a long time very privately, and after that did never any thing of importance : although the Historians do not agree whether Tiberius was come before his departure or not. For Livia had fet spials in the bouse he lay sick in. and on the high ways, giving it out abroad that Augustus was well: and on the other fide fending melfages upon messages unto Tiberius, fame spreading it abroad that Augustus was dead, and that Tiberins held his place. Augustus being at the point to give up the Ghost, made himself to be combed. and speaking to his friends, asked if no body made any noise without. So he exhorted them to rejoyce with him, for that he had to happily played the Comedy of this humane life. Then having fent them all out of his chamber, he asked if Livia Drusus daughter were in health: and so embracing his wife, faid these words unto her: Farewell Livia, behave thy self well, and remember our marriage: and fuddenly went away, making a fweet end, which he always defired as often as he heard talk of those

that died quietly. He died in the same Town, and in the same chamber that his father Olfavius died in, his defire.

Augustes libe. and gave him three parts of his goods, and his wife Livia the fourth part. Furthermore he gave to the

bout thirty five millions of gold: howbeit that he had spent all that, with two patrimonies of his own. for maintenance of the Commonwealth. With his testament there were three little libels or codicils, the one shewing what he would have done at his funerals. The second was a brief of all his actions, which he commanded should be graven in copper tables before his tomb. The third contained the state of his revenue, and of the principal affairs of the Empire. He had added to them also the names of the enfranchifed bondmen and of the flaves, whom they might bring to account, and therewith he advised them to keep the limits of the Empire which they had at that time. They carried him with great pomp into the field of Mars, where he was reduced into afhes, which they closed up in his Sepulcher built in his fixt Confulship, after all these Ceremonies the Senate appointed him a temple and divine honours, and he was placed in rank with the gods. To make his honour yet greater, one Numerius Attient that had been Prator, a man of great authority in Rome, was enticed by Livia, who gave him five and twenty thouland crowns, to swear before all the people, that he saw Augustus carried up into hea-Divers speech ven. After his death, many speeches were diversly spoken of his life: some reproving him, as much guffus after his as others commended him. But his fueceffor made him oftentimes to be lamented. And so he was wont to fay of Tiberius, that he should leave to the ROMANS in succession of the Empire, a succession that never confulted twice of one thing. And as he was a happy Prince in all his enterprises, and that by his Lieutenants had done an infinite number of worthy exploits against the enemies of the Empire: 10 in his life amongst his friends he shewed himself very gracious, pleasant, and well disposed in company: being learned, eloquent, and fententious in all his talk. And to conclude, fuch as the Empire of Roma

and lived near unto the age of threefcore and fixteen years. His corps being brought to Rome, the

Vestall Virgins brought out his Will and Testament, by the which he appointed Tiberins his heir,

people of Rome twelve hundred and fifty thousand crowns: to the five and thirty Tribes, thirteen hundred, seven and thirty thousand, five hundred crowns : to every one of the Prætorian souldiers twenty five crowns, to those of the Town twelve crowns and an half, There were other Legacies to be paid

within a year, and he faid, that all his legacies performed, he left his heirs four millions of gold. With-

in twenty years before his death, he did inherit of hisfriends goods which had made him their heir, a-

The end of Octavius Caefar Augustus Life.

had never any Augustus Casar but him alone.

THE LIFE OF LUTARCH.



Ann. Mund. 4053.

Post. Christ

Thy precepts are a Crown of purest gold To Trajan deem'd the glory of mankind. In hands, and hearts, if great men would thee hold, Vertue should rule, and Vice should go behind.



Aving undertaken to gather the Lives of Plutarch, and of Seneca, as they themselves are amply shewed in their Works, the which in despite of the sury of an infinite of strange accidents have yet remained whole and in reputation untill this present time : First, this thought hath possessed me before, that some men marvel, how, and wherefore I do joyn Philosophers, quiet men, and friends of folitariness, unto so many Noble and Worthy Warriors. Wherein it seemeth I wander too far off from the principal intention of Plutarch, who was fo willing to honour the Muses, joyning into one body so many members and parts of Hi-

stories offered unto the posterity, that in the mean time he hath accompanied, and as it were environ-

With Darts, and Targets of Mars redoubtable. But I hope, that if those (which think strange of my doings) will but at leisure, with a reposed eye, look upon the Lives before i they shall find that I have not gone so far from the right meaning, as at the first fight may be judged. For, besides that the Lives of some Orators, especially of Demosthenes and of Cicero, are feen amongst the others: you shall find few Noblemen represented by our The reason Author, but that they have as carefully handled books, as their fwords. And if fome feem to be why the Lives fo much given to Arms, that they have left the study of learning behind them, yet we may see that of Philosophers they have loved Philosophers, and that they themselves have earnestly and effectually reasoned of are joyn Philosophy, in time of War and Peace. And whereas Plutarch hath mingled some with vertuous with the Lives men, fome (I say) which have done infinite hurt to themselves, and to all the world during their Why Physical Lives, and whose names are detested at this day by those themselves which follow their execrable doings: his intention was not to place them in the Theatre of Vertue, as if they had deferved it : of fome vicious but as Learned Painters finely apply cloudy and dark colours in their tables, to the end that the lively men amongst and fresh colours should appear more beautifull, and as it were imbossed; so in intermingling the the vertuous. strange excesses of some GREEKS and ROMANS amongst so worthy Acts of others, he hath so firly mingled the sweet and profitable together, that it is not possible to be better. But if my two Philosophers (fince I have begun to qualifie them thus) were contented to shut up themfelves in some School or Study, and to do nothing else but declaim and fashion some Scholars,

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it may be indeed I should better have lest this enterprise unto some follower of Diogenes Lacrism, that would describe the Sects of Philosophy, and the principal founders of the same. Now there are here two personages, which (as the soul within the body) have through their notable counsels given motions unto great and mean men in their time, and by other mens eyes and hands have done infinite things in the lociety of mans life, unto the which they ferve at this day with their precepts and goodly inftructions, without the which the exploits of others should be partly buried and abolifred, as those have been of so many other men that came before and after. They be the two Schoolmasters and Counsellors of two Emperors. They be men that beside their study have born great and honourable Offices, in the which they have fo carried themselves, that by their actions a man may gather, that knowledge is a great prop and flay to a vertuous man. If they have not worn Armour and commanded Armies: if a man fee them in a long Gown, and their Books in their Armour and commanded armors in a man rectuent at a rong Gown, and their books in their hands, they lofe not thereby their glory, which fo many ways recommendeth them at this pretent, having lift up learning in honour, and furnished strong Arms, by means whereof all Princes may wifely and happily maintain their estates against the sury of Wars, and under the quiet governwhen y and happy mannant that the contrary, when wedence alone would rule, and that men thought there ment of Peace. As to the contrary, when wedence alone would rule, and that men thought there was no need that our spirits (hould be kept in and directed by the exhortations of Philosophy, con-Mif. hiefs that was no need that our spirits included and overdrew that which they thought had been furel fer nunous came on mineaps, which it is to represent the ground. Moreover, I did not bear my felf in hand, that I could attain to that, as to represent the ground. fent Plug. rch and Sence in their beferning comelines. They themselves could have done that, and ction by Phiin their writings there are draughts very agreeable to their gravity. But as we do not willingly take the Penfill to paint our felves, but to pleafe our felves, the discourse of our thought sufficesh. In like manner also these goodly spirits, being contented to be known by the glass of their vertue which followeth them, they leave every body to think of their deeds and words that which is meer, Amongst all the Books that ferve for the use of mans life next unto that which concerneth the Soversign good we hope for in a better place then this world, I think there are none more profit-

table nor necessary to all forts of men, then Histories. And amongst Histories, those of men which

have been brought to honour and place of Government in the Commonwealth; and among fuch

men, those that have brought their deeds and sayings to some commendable end. Wherefore I will

nen, those that have brought their accurate asymptotic former than the prophage, or not enter into disputation nor conference of stories, nor mingle the Scriptures with the prophage, or confound the discourse representing men destitute of the knowledge of the true God, with the boly

and admirable confiderations of the life of them which have been lightned with the happy and super-

natural light. That requireth a whole Book, and separated from this present work, our pur-

lofophy.

follow the

The profit of

The end or scope of the Plutarch and

pole being otherwise bent. But as in the former Lives I was desirous to waken the good spirits of our Nation, and by the interjection of fome of my conceits to induce them to do better, I do the like also in these two, attending the commodity to set forth others, if the Author of life do per-Now before we proceed any further, for as much as Seneca was long time before Plusarch, fome mit me. might also require another order in my discourse. Notwithstanding as Plutareh doth ordinarily place the GREEKS before the ROMANS, and that for the matter of their Lives there is no need otherwise for a man to trouble himself much about the disposing of them, and that those which be dead do not quarrel together to know who shall go before or behind, I have thought with my self, that I might begin this work where I thought good, without binding my self too curiously, either to the order of time, or to such other circumstances. For if any man be offended, I will alledge that unto him which was spoken unto one displeased because his horse was painted standing on his feet, which he would have had lying on his back and his feet upward: Turn the other fide upward, and you shall be pleased. Even so is it in his choice to read such a Life sirth as he thinketh good, and to turn the table at his pleafure, no man being conftrained to come into the closet of the Muses, but at his own will, and by the gate which pleafeth him best. I could have been contented to have offered Plutarch onely, or left him hidden in his works, the true and durable treasures of his glory: but having been follicited to shew some patterns, I was unwilling to let him go alone. Now, I cannot cast mine eye upon that personage, but Seneca dothalso present himself unto me, for many reports and agreements that are between them. For, befides that nature hath brought them into the world in the revolution of one Age, both came out of a strange Countrey to ROME ; both of them were rich and of great power, Mafters and teachers of two Emperours, which did enrich and advance them to honour, and great Offices of the Commonwealth. In regard of their Learning, although the one of them was of a Sect impugned by the other in divers respects, yet they both tended to one end, although it was by divers ways, to wit, to drive away vice and vanity out of the hearts of their disciples, and to plant in them the love of Vertue, the contempt of Death, and of the world, with fo found reasons, and so well combined the one to the other, that it is unpolfible to enter into a School of the Heathen better ordered then that of these two, to learn (as we ought) to be ashamed of dishonest things, and to exercise those that be honest and vertious. But as touching other agreements and diffemblances which may be noted as well in their fife and behaviour as in their doctrine, peradventure it shall be better to referve it to fitter place, or to leave the Discourse unto the studious Readers, who advisedly considering this little which we presently prefent unto them, and joyning thereto the writings of the one and the other, shall know what Authority and Art these two wise men have to draw the most ignorant and foolish to the love of Vertue. Also that their stile, with their pertinent and plain manner of discourse, is accompanied

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with great gravity and forcible reasons, to make men confident to believe them. If the one flow fweetly, and almost always maintaineth himself in the same; the other in his wanderings and rollings Phatach and ahout can well reform his errors, and come to it again in time, and then go on better then when he first Sences combegan. Plutarch useth a world of reproaches and hooks to pull down vice. Seneca feemeth to pro. red ti gethe. voke him to the combat, and when he fetteth upon him, it is by taking him by the choller and shaking him in all parts. The one feemeth to be a company of light horfemen charging very fwiftly, and at divers wheelings and returns: the other, to a battallion of footmen well fer in order, affailing resolutely, and not removing out of the place before he hath won the victory. The opinions of Plutarch are handled with Platonical inftructions, enriched with examples, with fimilitudes, with quick fentences, and gracious recitals, which force the reader to yield. Seneca drawing that which is praife worthy from the STOICKS, and from EPICURUS also goodly instructions, as the Bee finely draweth from the herb of bitter juyce that which maketh sweet honey, differing somewhat from the common use, he maketha very profitable and fure harbour wherein a heart ill fetled may repose it felf. The one speaketh as a friend, the other as a mafter : and both with fuch a grace, that whether they give good counfell, or that they command, the ears and hearts do bow at their voices. Infomuch that the wicked are constrained in reading of these Philosophers to acknowledge, and plainly to hear within this grave School; The forcible a million of truths which condemneth them: and I cannot tell with what hidden force: dist Adminating draweth iron) they feel themselves to be carried that way; unto the which the learned instructions of virtous and the truth with the learned instructions of virtous men. these two Philosophers do direct them, to delight in them even with mourning, and to confess, that thele be the persons of whom men may learn to be less vicious, and more vertuous, Good men also they gather there as sweet fruit as possible may be, for remedy against so many cruelties of this prefent life. And although they find their true and perfect contentment in a far better School without comparison, yet so it is, that in this School here they understand things which afterwards makes the other more acceptable and more honourable. Now for as much as afterwards we have mixed the memories of their lives with divers particularities, which will make us fee a part of the comparisons that may be noted between them, let us begin with Plutarch, and confider his Life principally by the inftructions which he himfelf hath left, and namely in many places of his Morall and mingled

Paulanias, in the ninth Book of his Description of GREECE, faith, that there ran a common rumor abroad among the THEBANS, that Cadmus the fon of Agenor coming from DELPHOS into PHOCIDE, was guided by a Cow marked in both her flanks with white spots in form of a full Moon: and that the Oracle commanded him to ftay with his Troops in that place where the Cow should lie down. Which came to pass in the territory afterwards called BOEOTIA, because of this Cow. At the beginning of the same book he saith, that BOEOTIA took the same name of Become the son of Iton, and of the Nymph Menalippe : which should feem repugnant. But the one and the other opinion may well agree, if we fay that Cadmus being come into that part of the Countrey, Bastin that had a charge in these Troops, and remaining there after the others, left his name to all the territory which is near neighbour to ATTICA, but in a thicker air because it standeth betwixt two mountains, and that the Countrey is more Northwards. So that the ATHENIANS were ever thinner in body, and of livelier spirit; and the BOEOTIANS to the contrary, fuller of flesh, and duller of wir also. From whence came many flents of laughter against the masse and weight of their understandings, and they made Proverbs dispersed in Greek and Latin Books. Yea the Poets themselves, and Ebulin among others, do flout the BOEOTIANS, that they are great feeders, and love to fpeak much: which agreeth very well with the rest of their manners. Plutarch also himself in his first treaty of eating of flesh, noteth somewhat of that. Nevertheless, of such a Countrey came Pelopidas, and other excellent men, but namely him of whom we are now prefently to speak of, no simple nor fottish man; but as

Midft bushes, and the thickest of the thorn The flowers of tendrest violet are born:

Even so out of a Countrey accustomed to bring forth fat men, as they say, and fitter for War then learning, came Plutarch, born in the City of CHERONEA, near unto LEBADIA. In old time (as Plutarch came Paufanias faith) it was called AR NE, because of Arne the daughter of Aolus. But afterwards because out of Charonca it stood evil, and looked towards the West, Charon the son of Apollo, and of There the daughter of oils. Phylas, caused it to be new built, and turned to the East, to make it more wholsome and habitable. Upon which occasion, in token of thankfulness for the good act of the founder, it was ever after called CHERONEA. And although for many memorable accidents this Town is noted in Histories, yet do I not know any thing that hath fo much kept up the memory of it untill this prefent, as the name of Plutarch, whose ancestors, men of a noble race, maintained themselves from father to the son Plutarchs dein honourable office and place of charge in their little Commonwealth, untill the time of Nicar- fcent, and educhus his great Grandfather, who lived in the time of Angustus Cafar, as Plutarch reporteth in cation. the Life of Antonius; where he faith also, that all the Citizens of CHERONEA, not one excepted, were compelled themselves to carry upon their shoulders, a certain measure of Corn to the sea coast, which is before the Isle of ANTICYRE: and yet they were driven forward, whipped with many a fore lash. Again, as they were preparing for a second journey, and that every man had his burthen ready, news came that Antonius had loft the battle before Actium, which faved CHERONEA. For Antonius commissioners and souldiers fled immediately, and the Citizens 00003

among those of his time, and of whom Plusareh maketh often mention in his books, where he speak-

eth of talk at the table: how that he had been in company with other learned men at many feafts,

where there was no talk but of learning and matters of Philosophy. He speaketh also of his father,

the fon of Lampriae, not expressing his name although he representath him discoursing of many

points of Philosophy, and namely in the books above mentioned. Of this Philosopher then the

fon of Lamprisa were born many children, and amongst others Plutarch, Timon, and Lamprisa: all which three were very carefully brought up and instructed in the liberal sciences, and in all the parts

of Philosophy: unto the which, they shall ever see an humble reverence toward their grandfather

membred that Platarch in those books speaking of his grandfather, he makes always honourable mention of him. And as for his father, in the instruction of those that deal in affairs of the estate,

he reporteth that he being young was fent with another in embaffage to the Pro-conful, and his com-

panion remaining upon fome occasion behind, he went thither alone: and executed the commission,

And at his return, as he would have given the Commonwealth account openly, and have made re-

port of his charge and Embaffage, his father rifing up alone, forbad him to fay, I went, but we

went; and I spake, but we spake: and so commanded him to make his report, always joyning his

companion with that he had done. We fee in the treaty of brotherly love, how heartily he loved

his brother Timon, when he faid in these words : For my felf, although fortune hath shewed me ma-

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on remouspuy: unsome when, and amongst themselves a fast and pleasant friendship, as may be gathered
and father joyned together, and amongst themselves a fast and pleasant friendship, as may be gathered
The amity and in many places out of their table talk. Whereupon in respect of the grandsather and father, I resarch and his

ny favours, which deferve that I should be thankfull to her for them, yet there is none that maketh me so much bound to her, as the love and good will my brother Timon hath born, and doth bear unto me in all things: the which no man can deny to be true, that hath but a little frequented our company. And in his talk at the table, bringing in his father and brethren with many others, or together, refolving divers questions of Philosophy, he representeth men that with a grounded knowledge had joyned a sweet behaviour, and a wonderfull good understanding, and namely the young Lampring, who was of a pleafant nature, and loved to be metry. Plutarch then having a lather that loved learning and vertue, was in a good hour put out to learning, whereunto he was wholly inclined. And amongst other good masters, he met with Ammonius, an EGYPTIAN born, sith Amounts Plu-tarbe School- Eunapius, who having with great praife taught in ALEXANDRIA, he did also visit the Cities of GREECE, wherein learning did yet flourish, and tarried a great time in ATHENS, respected and well beloved of every man. In the latter end of Themistocles life, Plutarch sheweth that he was a boarder and lying in Ammonium house, and in talk at the table he brought him in, either disputing, The old cut or teaching his Scholars. So the cuftom to teach the youth at that time was very fine and eafe, to give children a taft and learning of vertue: for as the Tutors imployed part of their time to discourse in the presence of their disciples, they occupied them in the same exercise afterwards, and made them declare, and fay their opinion of divers matters: so that in few weeks, by way of sport and recreation, they had run through the fecrets of Philosophy. Unto the which they joyned also, befides their compositions and particular exercises, their familiar talk and recreative disputations in their walks, at their suppers and feafts, where nothing elfe could be heard but that which made the young men wife and vertuous in a fhort space. That may be gathered out of Platarchi writings, and out of those especially where he speaketh how children should be taught, of the lecture of the Poets, how they should hear his talk at the table, and a good number of declamations dispersed in the middeft of his Moral works. In this place I remember that which he himfelf spake in difcourse, how a man should know a slatterer from a friend, touching the direction of this his Tutor. Our master Ammonius, faith be, perceiving in his lecture he made after dinner, that some of his disciples and familiars had made a larger dinner then was fit for Students, he commanded one of his fervants, a freeman to beat his own fon: he could not (faith he) dine without vinegar. When he had spoken that, he cast his eyes upon us: so that they which were indeed culpable, found that he meant it by them. We may see also in the first and second question of his third book of talk at the table, how ready this Philosopher was to sharpen the spirits of young men that frequented him. Thus therefore Plutarch having fo good a help, in few years he profited greatly in the knowledge of all the parts of Philosophy, and never went out of his Countrey, nor travelled to understand strange languages, although the Latine tongue was common in ROME, and in divers places of the ROMAN Empire: which extended it self into GREECE, and beyond, as Plutareh noteth in the end of his Platonicall queftions. Without notwithstanding that he ever profited much in the knowledge of any other tongue, faving in the knowledge of the GREEKS: the which also hath a tast of his Philosophy of BOEOTIA. He doth also confess in the beginning of the life of Demossibenes, that whilest he was in ITALY and in ROME, he had no leifure to fludy, nor to exercise the Latin tongue, as well for the businels he had then in hand, as to satisfie those that frequented him to learn Philosophy of him. So that very late being well stepped on in years, he began to take Latin books in hand, wherein there happened a ftrangething unto him, but yet true notwithstanding: that is, that he did not learn nor understand things so much by the words, as by a certain use and knowledge he had of things, he attained to the understanding of the words. But furthermore (they are his own words) to know how to judge well, wherein consistent the beauty of the Latin tongue, or to speak it readily, or to understand the figures, translations, and the fine knitting of fimple fayings one with the other, which do adorn and beautific the tongue, I think well (faid he) that it is a goodly thing

tongue in his latter years.

and pleasant: but withall it requiresh a long and laboursome exercise, fit for those that be at better leisure then I am, and that be yet able for age to attend such sineness. That which is above spoken of, sheweth that in that time they learned Sciences in their Mother Tongue, so that even from their Cradle, children began to enter into the School of the Mules, and pierced into the goodlieft fe- Sciences of old Cradie, cuidern organ to enter into the oction of the mines, and present into the goodheit te-crets of the fame, having in their own Tongue the Artis and goodly difciplines difcovered even to learned in the theory of the fame, the state of the good beauty may in learning of wards and what wholes tongue the bottom: whereas prefently the best of our age stealeth away in learning of words, and when we should enter into the knowledge of things, our memory is over-whelmed, and judgment al-tered with an infinity of objects, which (like divers fawces) have more times aftered our right rafte. Infomuch that almost commonly we see, that we delight for the most part to heap together letters upon letters, and after a great provision of strange words, we find our selves children, and void of the true knowledge of things. But now to come again to Plutarch, as touching his fufficiency and his advancement in Sciences, we need not speak of them in particular, considering that his writings do fufficiently prove them, and that we have also spoken something in the preface of his Morall Now, as his good fortune made him meet with excellent mafters, and men very carefull to manure

fo noble a spirit : so he for his part answered their hope very sufficiently, shewing himself even from his infancy to the end of his life wholly given to study, with an earnest defire (but well governed) to Platarch given keep his body in health, to content his mind, and to make himself profitable a long time to himself, to study. and to others also. Which was no hard matter for him, having been carefully brought up, even from his cradle, and so well governed, as was requisite to maintain himself long in strength: his fathers house and table being a School of temperance and of frugality. Considering furthermore that talk with learned men was very necessary for him to attain to that which he pretended: and having a mind desirous to excell in all things, he travelled into EGYPT, and talked there of all the ancient Plutarchetta. doctrine with the wifest men, whereof afterwards he made a collection and intituled it, of Isis, and yels. Ofiris: which is yet left unto us, where he sheweth himself to be well studied in the divinity and Philosophy of the EGYPTIANS. From thence he returned again into GREECE, and visited the Towns and Universities where there were any Philosophers, and frequented them all, to gather together the goodly instructions which he hath left us. Moreover he began to make collections, and culled our remembrances not onely out of the books already published, but also of the notable talk and discourse which he understood of the one and the other: also of Registers and Authentical instruments kept in the Towns where he came, whereof afterwards he did most artificially frame the most part of his works. And pretending such a laudable end, the better to establish his conceits, and to speak with a more commendable authority and good manner: he made a journey unto the City of SPARTA, of purpose to see the papers and memories of all the government of this goodly Commonwealth, and of their Law-makers, Kings, and Ephores, and gathered together all their notable deeds and fayings fo carefully as could be possible even to the least words of the simple fouldiers and women of SPARTA, together with all their cuftoms, ordinances, ceremonies, and fashions to live in common, and particularly, in War and in Peace. He did the like in divers other Commonwealths. as his Lives, and the Demands of things pertaining to the GREEKS and ROMANS doth amply prove it : without which collections also it was unpossible for him to have left in writing such particularities, and he could not but of necessary have had communication with a great number of men lovers of Antiquities. Unto that he joyned a curious fearch of Statues, Metrals, Inscriptions, Paintings, Tables: also of Proverbs, Epigrams, Epitaphs, Apophthegms, and other ornaments of Hiftory, to leave nothing behind him. And being continually almost in the company of learned men in all professions, it seemeth his memory was always bent to gather, and his judgement occupied to discern that which was to be rejected or retained. By which means he saw himself in a short time advanced to the knowledge of all things: moreover he had in his hand goodly briefs and collections. with the which he finely holp himself, and afterwards made a good part unto his friends and posterity. He himself at the beginning of his book treating the contentment and quietness of the mind,

makes mention of the memories which he had of long time made for his own use. So that out of this Plutarths book rich closet he hath drawn the excellent pieces which have remained unto us, and which shew how of contentment much we have loft being deprived of them that are no more to be found, and the which time hath and quietness dispersed, or utterly consumed.

Now shough that in generall it may be faid, that this man was ignorant in no Learning, nor of the goodly fecrets of Nature : yet this word we must add to it , that whosoever shall duly consider the entrance, continuance, composition, binding and inclosing of his Discourse, be it that he Write an History, or that he by any Treaty apart will put back vice, and make Vertue to be beloved : be it that he sport himself in clearing the difficulties of natural Philosophy, or of the Mathematicks : be it that he beginneth to commence some disputation against those whose opinions he disproved : we Platacht meshall find in his writings an exact and easie method both together, his proofs found, and his in-thod of writing ductions pleasant and agreeable to all forts of wits, and of such pithy discourses, so that of force we must confess, that this person had been most excellently directed in his studies, considering that Plutarch sounin speaking after such an easie manner, he presenteth so profound instructions, and I cannot tell what, deeth of setts where there is always somewhat to be learned. Furthermore, seeing divers Sects in credit in his and converseth time, it seemeth he had a good will to found into the depth of the value and error of them. Then with learned reaching higher yet, he hath fearched out the opinions of the first Sages. So that the Pythagoreans, men. Platonians, Epicureans, Stoicks, and Peripateticians, with their precepts have been very familiar

PLUTARCH.

with him. But being not content with turning over the leaves of their Writings, and feeing to the wan min. Dut oring not content wan taking to the end all that which the natural Philosophers have thought of the fecrets of the world: yet would be familiarly frequent those whom he understood to be practised in Sciences, and confer with them, underfland their reasons, and be throughly resolved of them: and at the length obtained his desire, as his books make mention. That was accompanied with a continual reading of all forts of good Authors, as well to amplifie his collections, as still more and more to enrich his memory, and to polith his judgment; as may be noted in his Worksthree feveral Excellencies of his fpirit. For some of them are certain declamations made in the School, and by way of exercise, as we have shewed them, placed at the beginning of the fame : fo that if he would have taken the pains to have reviewed and imoothed those pieces there, they would have seemed to be other then they were. But we perceive that he left fome unperfect, not thinking that that (which ferved not but for a proof of fome thing better Plut of the lives laboured) deferved to come to light. There are also some other discourses better politically and morals be furth fort notwithstanding, that it plainly appeareth, he might have amplified them and made them berter. And there be other pieces, unto the which it may be faid, he hath put his laft hand : as are bis Lives, and the most part of his Morall works written at leifure, very adviedly, considered in all understanding and to divers recreations. He could have done the like in all, and with the like stile have raifed his Writings to their perfection : but having as it were more exprelly flayed himfelf upon some, he hath shewed therein the disposition of his studies, and with what discretion he spent his time.

Now, though he had tafted of all the Sects of the Philosophers, yet you may perceive that in clining to the Platonians (for he greatly reverenced Socrates and Plato, whole birth-days he did yearly celebrate) he nevertheless thut himself within the bounds of modesty of certain Aca-Platurch a fol- DENICKS, being content fimply to propound the things, but to leave them to the judgement of Platario a 101- BENIA CAP, Comp. Description of Plato, the Readers, forcing no man. Furthermore, we fee with what diligence he had turned over the leaves and an enemy of the Writings of the Epicureans, and of the Stoicks; against whom he stoutly opposed himself, to the Epicary of the Virtungs of the Application of the Rational, the Natural, and Mathematicks (the which he had greatly (tudied) they were but simple pastimes in comparison of the other. Whereupon may be differend, that having received in himfelf a fingular pleafure of fuch study, he always

fought to print the same desire and contentment in the thought of all men, leaving the speculations and pricking queftions: onely tending to this good, to bring wildom into the houses, to establish it in the Thrones of Kings, to make it go in the streets, to lodge it in the eyes and ears, upon the tongues, and in the bottom of the hearts of all men. See here what his thoughts have been, which he could well digeft afterwards: fo that it feemeth he was altogether given to that. Now though he was occupied in meditations and fo excellent works, he forgot not therefore any thing that was requifite for the exercises of his body, such as menused at that time, to keep their spirits in strength, as also more joyfully to pass over so many other crosses as our life is assailed withall. And we may dily exercites and his skill in fee also in the precepts he hath written of health, that albeit Physick was not his profession, nevertheless he learned that which was the principall for his own private good. For in that

book of his, he speaketh reasonably of the use of meats, and sheweth from what meats we should abstain. Afterwards having declared in what fort one should use his appetite and the pleasures of the body, he condemneth the excels of drinking and eating, he teacheth how to prevent fickness, fetteth down remedies, Treateth of Diet, and of figns of fickness, and of the true ways how to keep health. And thereupon he cometh to reason of the exercises and diet of Students, laying that open which we should most carefully observe therein: which maketh nie believe, that he having known fo wellwhat was fit for the prefervation of the body, he did wifely help himfelf: as allo

even to very old age he hath born Office in the Commonwealth, and always carried a body and mind lufty and ready to take pains, having had this wildom, to confider well his nature and difpofition: also to take such meats and drinks as were good for his stomack, and to use them soberly, and keeping his body in good state by commendable exercises and nouriture, to make him profit able a long time for humane fociety. It is the, that he being a graveman, raifed to honour, and a Philosopher by protestion, his chiefest exercises of body were to talk with other learned men, where

without contention of words, he always decided fome points of Philosophy. Furthermore he loved to talk at the table, and to mingle pleafant grave matters with fome new device: fo wittily and sweetly to enterlace and divide the course of his life, being no crabbed nor fullen person, but pleasant, and whose company was troublesom to none: and otherwise as sober and discreet in his talk, as he was in

So then his manners, as well alone, as with his friends and openly, do shew, that truly he had a good foul within a body well tempered. Now I do not enter here into the examination of the ridiculous opinions of Plutarch in matter of Religion, being forry that fo rare a spirit hath been so miferably environed with the darkness which was at that time in the most part of the Towns and Men Platarch igno- of Greece, and especially among so many wise men, strangely ignorant and dull in respect of rantof the true the knowledge of the true God. If we had not been warned betimes by the true and onely wife men raught in the School of erernal wildom, of fuch a judgement of God upon the wife men of the world, who have been confounded in their discourse, when there hath been question of the honour due to our toversign Lord: then we might have been aftonied, and remained as men caft away. And whereas fo many great wife men have erred in their ways, that will not excufe them before their Judge, as if he had kept the light from them. For, fince that which may be known of his eternity and omnipotent power, hath been revealed unto them in nature and in Philosophy: flaying a man

upon himself, or upon other creatures, and forfaking the onely Creator, they condemn themfelves by their own words and writings. Now to come again to Platarch. He having been Apolle's Prieft, as himself consesseth, a d from his youth suckled with the foolish doings of the GREERS: I do not find it firange, that many about opinions and without good ground (yea wicked and pernicious) are featurered in his disputations, touching the default of Oracles, of the Religion of the Jevys, of the inscriptions of the letter ET in the Temple of Delphos: why the Prophetels Pythia doth no more give her Oracles in Verle; and in many places of the Lives and works, in the which he openly inclineth to the superfittions and Atheisms of the PAGANS. There he sheweth a conscience evil informed, and a man running very swiftly out of the right way. By the lame means a man may plainly note that in matter of supernatural and divine Philosophy, another manner of light then that of our corrupt understanding is wholly required, not being possible that a man left to his own wit can comprehend the things which are of God: because they are discerned after a fashion meerly unknown unto him, and of the which he cannot be partaker but by a speciall grace, and which nature doth not bestow upon him, but he which hath made and reformed nature. It is no marvell then if Plutarch should be misled, that hath had so many instructions and masters strayed from the way of Eternal Truth, and whose predecessors were drowned in the bottomies pir of ignorance. Yet notwithstanding, in the middest of that darkness he hath had so much light, that he feemeth, at times, to note and condemn the Labyrinth of errour, as a man that hath loft his way in an horrible dark night, should from one time to another be directed rightly by the light of the flashings of lightning. For fome do gather by his discourse of the Cessation of the Oracles, and by other places, that he did acknowledge one God, and very liberally condemned many old and new superstitions, unto the which both himself, and others his like, did cleave, rather by custom for fashions fake and to please the people then for any opinion they had that they were ought worth. But as I have faid, my intentions is not to judge this person nor his deeds : considering that besides the matter I touch (every where, where he goeth out of the way) he confuteth himself sufficiently: witness his discourse of superstition, and the seventh Chapter of his first Book touching the opinions of the Philosophers, where he will dispute of the Eternal Providence : and the third question of the second Book at talk of the table, making mention of the egg; and the last question of the fourth Book, where he meddleth with speaking of God, and of the Ceremonies of the Jewys. In the mean time, and in the middeft of this great blindness, they see in Plusarch a heart that is enemy unto vice, and a friend of good manners. Let a man fee him in his Family, in the School, in Banquets. with his Friends, and openly: behold, there is a grave man modelt in behaviour, fharp, learned and Plut arch pleafant in his Discourses, offending nor hurting no man. If he speak of vice, he letteth out the fil- wherein he is thiness, and feantly maketh the patient cry. If he spake for vertue, it is with such efficacy, that every commendable. man may know he spake of the abundance of his heart. He is a good Father of a house, a wife School-malter, a grave Historian, a brave Politician, an extellent Philosopher, a good Writer to imitate: and furthermore, a faithfull, profitable, true, and a joyfull counsellor and friend. His plainness, simplicity, and grave modefty shineth in all his writings: his vertue, accompanied almost ordinarily with all other things, which we need not speak of particularly, neither to unfold the life of our Philosopher from one part to another to fee his uprightness, integrity, gravity, fweetness, constancy, force, prudence, temperancy, and liberality: that may be truly spoken of him, which had been long time before applyed in the Theatres unto Amphiaram, and to Ariftides.

He little cares to feem upright, but striveth fo to be, In deepelt thoughts preferring vertue still : Whence day by day, proceeding we do fee Wife counsels, that without respect, true honours laws fulfill.

In testimony of his fweet Gravity, and of part of his thoughts, I will alledge some word couched in his own Discourse against Choler. As for me, faid he, If I have done well or evil I know not not by that means I have rid my felf of Choler. As the LACEDEMONIANS did in old time, who Plutarche to learn their children not to be drunk at all, shewed them their slaves being drunk : so do I con-speeches afidet the effects of Choler in others. And afterwards he addeth more, that a man should accustom gaint choler? himself to bear many of his wives words, and of his familiars and friends, which do reprove us for that we are too gentle and fort. And this was the chiefest cause (said he) why I was so often angry with my fervants, fearing they would wax worse for want of reproof and correction. But I obferved my felf at the laft, though laire, that first I were better by patience and pardoning them, stake my fervants worse, then to burt my felf by standards and choice, seeking to reform others. I considered also with my felf, and remembred (faid he) that as he which teachests us to shoot in a Bow, doth not forbid us to draw, but to fail in drawing : so he that teacheth us to punish in time and place, moderately, profitably, and as we should : doth not let us but that we may punish. I do labour all I can to withdraw, and utterly to banish all choler : principally because I would not take from them that are punished, the mean to justifie themselves, and to hear them. For time bringeth, in the interim to the passionate mind, a delay and forgetsulicis, which dissolveth it: in which space the independent of reason findeth both the mean and the measure to give reasonable correction. And besides that, they give the party punished no place to resist the punishment, if he be not corrected in anger and choler, but convinced for that he had well deferved it. And (which

briety.

were yet more unseemly) they shall not find that the servant punished speaketh more justly then his master that punisheth him. Touching this purpose, I will remember the pleasant report which the Philotopher Taurus made of Platareh, as Gellius reciteth it in the fix and twentieth Chapter of the first book of his Nights Attiques, as some man hath heretofore expressed it in our language. A flave, a vile and vicious man (but yet that had his ears somewhat instructed with books and disputations of Philosophy) having been stripped naked for some fault he had done, by the commandment of his Mafter Plutarch, whilest they were whipping of him, he grumbled at the first that it was without reason, and that he had done nothing: but in the end crying out amain, and injuring his Mafter, he told him that he was no Philosopher as he braged himself to be: and that he often nis matter, ne totu ilitu that he was no i ilitolophet as he bragen infinite to be; and that ne often heard him fay it was a fowl thing to be angry, yea that he made a book of it; and that now (over-come with Choler) in making him be beaten to cruelly, he unterly belief all his Writings. Therence with Choler in making him be beaten to cruelly, he unterly belief all his Writings. Therence to Platarch coldly and quietly answered: Why, how now Roifter, faid he? whereby doft thou think that I am angry at this prefent? My countenante, my voice, my colour, my words, do they give the any fign that I am angry ? I do not think I have cruel eyes, nor a troubled face, nor any fearfull cry. Do I blush ? do I fome? doth any thing cleape me that I should repent me? do I statumetry. Do I rage? For to tell thee truely, these be the shews of Choler. Afterwards he turned to him that whipped him: faying, Forward with your bufiness, whiles he and I do reason the matter. Furthermore, we may eafily gather what Plutarch was amongst his friends, from the nine books containing the questions decided at the table. And for his disputations against the EPICUREANS and STOICKS, they flew that this perion for the regard of his actions concerning the Commonwealth, having respect unto those whom at that time he made his Judges, and to the posterity into weath, naving scipes among the combeneafter, he always carried himself in such a modest gravity, whose hands his writings might combeneaster, he always carried himself in such a modest gravity, that they could require no more of him. And if fornetime he did feelingly touch fome, as Colotes, and Herodorus, it was not in vain. Also he always used terms which witnessed that he had an upright foul. To be short, it appeareth everywhere that his passions were marvellous well stayed. And if any of them were furious or violent, he could tell in time and place how to reform them by the pre-Platerth ruled cepts of Philosophy, leading (as is faid) a life without blame of men. But above all the reft, when well his affe- any difcourfe or diffound drew him into it, to speak of shamefull or disthonest things, he did well his affeconvey it with fuch diferetion as it cannot be amended : whereof we need not to bring forth examples dispersed in his writings, and especially in the Dialogue of Love, seeing that being concealed it doth no hurt, as also remembred or too expresly revealed, it cannot but hurt the eyes, and an honest Furthermore, Plutarch: study of Philosophy took not away the care he had to live with some

profit amongst men, nor made him to dildain the means which his predecessors had lest him. But as he came of a noble house, and with time being advanced unto office and charge in the Commonwealth, greatly efteened of Trajan the Emperor, and of the Noble men of ROME, he saw he had goods enough to live at eafe; whereof notwithflanding he never made fuch account as that he would forget fludy, and intangle himfelf in the fnare of the love of riches, in the which fo many mifer-Flurnels child able fouls have been engaged unto death. His means ferved his turn to maintain himfelf among his friends, and to bring up his children: for he had many of an honourable Lady which he married, and loved most dearly. Amongst his other fons, himself maketh mention of Autobulus, of Plus tarchus, and of Charon, who died a young infant, and fome others whom he nameth not at all. Alfo of daughters, two of the which were married to Firmus, and unto Craton, learned Philosophers: and Timoxene, who died very young. As for Autobulus, he married in his fathers life time, and is not well known, whether Sextim of Cheronea, a Philosopher of the Scepts, who lived in great honour in the Empire of Antonius, was his fon, or the fon of Plutarchus. That which I am now about to speak of, may be gathered out of divers places in the works of Plutarch, and specially of heddisons to the substitute of the second states ally of the discourse at the table. And in the consolation which he wrote to his wise upon the death of their daughter, they may note that the was an honourable Lady, modeft, and vertuous, well attended on will women and fervants, and otherwife loving to her children, and bearing great reverence unto her husband. That the house of Plut areh was very well governed: that he had a great number of house well governed. we may know that his Sons and Nephews were studious and learned, and specially in the fixt queflion of his eighth book of talk at the table, speaking of his youngest children; who because they tarried somewhat longer at the Theatre then they should have done, to see and hear the pastimes they made there, came by that means late to supper : is shewed sufficiently that they now began to follow the fathers steps. And there appeared in no part any evil touch amongst these persons, but as Plusarch did conversein a singular reverence, friendship and gentleness, with his Grandsather, his Father and his brethren, we are to judge the like conversation with his Wife, his Children, and his Nephews: 25 also they being in so good a School, could not fail but every day to go forward in the knowledge and

But as a fountain hidden ferveth to no use, so it had little prevailed Plutarch to have feen, read, and gathered fo much together, unless he had made little ftreams run from such a lively and goodly fountain, unto such places where his vertue might shine more then in any other parts of the Where Pla-World. That was ITALY, and the City of ROME, the feat of the Empire, and where (not-tarchy retrues withfranding the difforders brought in by former Wars, and by the diffolutions and tyranniss of fone Emperose) there were many learned men, and in the Emperors Court also fome counfellors,

and other persons of authority which loved vertue. Now Plutarch having begun to advance himself in GREECE, about the time of Vespasian and Titus, it seemeth he came to Rome immediately after What moved the death of Titus, under Domitian, as well to make profession there of Philosophy, as also that he Plutareb to might more nearly know the ancient government of the Commonwealth, and to encrease his collecti- come to Rome. ons, from the which proceeded afterwards infinite particularities inclosed in his works: but especially the Lives of the noble ROMAN'S compared with the GREEKS. For my part, I think Plutarch was drawn to Rome by means of some friends he had there, especially by Soffine Senecio, that had been a Conful, who was of great estimation at that time, and namely under the Empire of TRAJAN. And that which maketh me think fo, is because of Plutarchs own words, who faith in the beginning of his first book of his discourse at the table, that he gathered together all his reasons and discourses made bere, and there, as well in ROME with Senicio, as in GREECE with Plutarch and others. Not being likely that he would have taken the pains to have made fo long a voyage, and to have come to fuch a City where he understood not their vulgar tongue, if he had not been drawn thither by Senecio, and fuch other men: as also in acknowledgment of the good turns and honour he had received by fuch men, he dedicated divers of his books unto them, and among others, the Lives unto Senecio, and the nine volumns of his discouse at the table; with the treaty, How a man may know that he profiteth in vertue. Now for the time, confidering what he faith in the end of his book against curiofity. I fupposethat he taught in ROME in the time of Titus and of Domitian: for touching that point, he maketh mention of a noble man called Rusticus, who being one day at his lecture, would not open a let. The revergees ter which was brought him from the Emperor, nor interrupt Plutarch, but attended the end of his de- a noble man clamation, and untill all the hearers were gone away : and addethalfo, that Rustiens was afterwards gave Plunach put to death by the commandment of Domitian. Furthermore, about the beginning of the Life of Demosthenes, Plutarch faith, that whilest he remained in IT ALY and at ROME, he had no leisure to study the Latin Tongue: as well for that he was bufied at that time with matters he had in hand, as also to fatisfie those that were his followers to learn Philosophy of him. He doth not tell what matters he had in hand befides his profession: but following that which Suidas and others spake of him, that he was near to the person of Trajan, and had the honour and place to be his Schoolmaster and Teacher, or, at the leaftwife; one of fo many learned men as this Prince made much of, as fome ftory writers to tefifie, he was honoured and advanced to some charge or government : which, I think, is that he speakoth of in this place. Now furthermore, his chiefest labour was publickly to teach all the parts of Philosophy, mingling in his declamations and lectures a diligent and curious fearch of all that the ancient Philosophers, reasonable, naturall, or morall, of what sect soever they were, had treated of: as appeareth by the writings, which are as fummaries of his lessons and Orations he made with his own woice. His feech doth not flow fo as that of many other Philosophers, Orators, and Greek Historians, but being come later, and in a more rude and harsh world, his stile also is more hard, brief, en-Platarchs slile. forced, and Philosopher like: aiming at this mark to instruct the mind first, not tarrying to tickle the ears much, though he did fill and content them learnedly. But the flowing sweetness we tast in Plato, in Xenophon, in Herodotus, and in some other, wanting indeed in Plutarch, is supplied and recompenced in him by infinite ftories, fentences, fimilitudes, and notable particulars which he borroweth of others, and whereof he composed a work so well divided, so rich, and so pleasant, by reason of his variety, that it is not possible to read books of a more gentle and profitable reading, amongst all the Hiftorians, and Philosophers, GREEKS or ROMANS. If Plutarch then doth at this present content all forts of men, what may we think he did with his lively voice? but after the example of this Hercules of GAUL, which held his auditors ears fast chained to his tongue: so hath he by his goodly documents, moved an infinite number of men, to leave vice, and to cloath them with the love of vertue.

So he having continued these exercises for some years, being heard and visited of all forts of men, Plutsichs regrew to be of such reputation, that the greatest persons began to seek him and to make much of him, putation. yea to think themselves honoured by his friendship: as his books dedicated unto some of them do sufficiently testifie it. And touching the access he had about the person of Trajan himself, it may be gathered from the beginning of his goodly collection of Apophthegmes, which he dedicated to this great thered from the beginning of his goodily collection of Apoplangians, which in teachiaction his great Emperor, what was his intention: that is to wit, to ferve for the good of all the ROMAN Empire, giving wholesome instructions unto the head thereof. For he wisely judged, that in ruling the thoughts of great imof that man, it was to give Phylick at once unto all the subjects of that great Monarchy. The same be-portance, ing a common thing, that

> Subjects and Kingdoms commonly do chuse The manners that their Princes daily ufe.

It is true that fuch instructions, in respect of Trajan, do onely concern his person and Politick affairs. For as touching the onely true Religion, it was meerly unknown of Plutarch, and rudely persecuted under the Empire of Trajan: who notwithstanding in the end being softened by the precepts of moral Philosophy, and through the advertisements his deputy governors gave him, and namely Plinius fecundus governor of BITHYNIA, of the innocency of the Christians: or rather restrained by the secret providence of our soveraign Lord (who excellently strengthened his, put the Oracles Trajan forbad of the lying spirit to silence, and overthrew Idolatry in most places) he carried himself more gently, of Christians. and did forbid to vex and trouble them any more, whom before they had purfued with all forts of cruelties. Furthermore, I think that it was in favour of Trajan chiefly, that Plutarch made

as was possible, and as much an enemy of coverousness, as he was of murders and robberies. In

without oppressing or wronging any man : for he was a noble Prince, that defired rather to he be-

he shewed himself courteous, and easie to have access unto: grave and honourable among the Se-

nators. The ROMANS loved him as much as they could possible, and his Enemies infinitely were

afraid of him. His Pastimes were hunting, feasting and the Theater to see common Playes and

Sports. Oftentimes he would be private with his friends, and came without his Guard into their

houses; yea sometimes he would lye there, and pass away the night. He was not of the wisest, al-

though by his behaviour they could not judge otherwise of him, but that he was a wife and learned

Friends. Furthermore, he was fo fortunate and brave a Chieftain of an Army, fo beloved of his

Captains and Souldiers, that there was never any mutiny or diforder in his Camp. That made him

dreadfull to those that troubled him near or far off, of which the chiefest was Decebalus King of the

DACIANS: whom he pursued so hard, that being unpossible for him to escape, he killed himself.

Furthermore he made War with the PARTHIANS, with the ARABIANS, and with the IE WS.

with divers events, but almost always to his advantage. Furthermore, to come to his manners, he

Guard, first he made Sura his Physician come to him, and shewed him his eyes to help some grief

that troubled him: not being so contented, he sendeth for his Barber to shave his beard: then being

trimmed, and having washed, he sate down at the Table and supped. The next morning some re-

porting unto him the ill will that Sura did bear him: If he would have killed me, faid he, vefterday he might have done it, for he had means to do it. This Sura was he unto whom Trainn had given

the Office of the great Marshall of the Empire: and coming to him to tie his girdle baudrick-wise

about his neck, having the Sword drawn in his hand, he used this speech unto him : receive this Sword of me, and if I command as I ought, imploy it in my defence: If I do otherwise draw it against me, and take my life from me. He caused Statues to be set up of Soffin Senecio, of Palma,

and of Celfu, who were all three Senators whom above all others he loved and honoured. He fet

all other doth commend him, is, that having done wonderfull much good to the Empire, by Decree

of the Senate, he was firnamed Optimus Imperator: that is to fay, most good Emperour. And so

washe wonderfully beloved of the Senators, and Officers of the Empire, of all the People, and

especially of the Souldiers, amongst whom he would be so familiar as if they had been his companions. Furthermore, nothing pleafed him so much as this Title of Optimus: wherein he gloried

amongst his friends, and did more and more indeavour to shew himself fo. And also after him (as

Eurropius reporteth) when any new Emperour was chosen by the Senate, after the stioutings of

Philosopher: and on the other side, that the Philosopher had framed the deeds of the Prince to the rule of good life, which he hath fo fitly propounded to great and mean men. And therefore

it is not to be marvelled at , if Platarch declare (to the high praise of Train and the Senate) in his Treaty, where he instructed those that deal in publick Assairs, that in his time for peace sake,

People had no need of wife Governours to defend them : for (faid he) all the Wars against the

GREEKS and barbarous People are fled from us. Thus standeth the estate of the Empire, the

which if any man will particularly confer with that which Plutarch fetteth down in his Writings, he

shall find it was happy to have met with so well disposed hearts, to receive, and carefully to practise

his goodly Leffons. And that it was a fingular honour to Trasan by his Vertue to have obtained a Sir-

name that made him greater then the most part of the ROMAN Emperours: fo is Plutarch every way to be commended, that was the excellent Instrument to advance and maintain fogreat a good.

Whereupon I desire his Morals should be specially remembred, to apply that which he speaketh

of Vice and Vertue, unto that which hath been touched in the Life of Traian. For I think the

one can hardly be spoken of , but that the other by the same means must be remembred. And it feemeth that one felf-foul hath put forward these two hearts, both to give and receive one com-

mendable instruction. Onely for proof a man may with his eye run over two or three Discourses.

shall a man find the Rules which the Emperour Traian could wifely apply to himself, and pra-

Stile in all Actions.

PLUTARCH.

certain particular Treatifes (besides the Lives of Noblemen) amongst others that, where he maintaineth, that it is requifite a Prince should be wise: The instruction for those that deal in the affairs of estate: the notable sayings of GREEKS and ROMANS, and others concerning the duty of or create: the notable rayings of Organization and Advances, and briefly defendeth (but Princes, and great Lords. Now confidering that wherein he reasoneth, and briefly defendeth (but gravely, and with affured proofs) that a Philosopher ought to converse with Princes, some may gravery, and white anurus proof of Plutarch, against the common and light objections of some Courtiers, which think that Princes cannot be well counfelled, but by men that blow (as they fay) fire with their mouths, and that carry the rapier and dagger in their hands: and would that men of learning (whom in from they call Schoolmafters and Philosophers) should be turned to their study, or into a School, to cry out there as much and as loud as they think good. Therefore he was willing as well to encourage himself first in that discourse, as also to remedy what in him lay, certain evils infinitely abounding and overflowing in others. In all times and ages every man bath granted and confessed, that amongst those that want good company, are Princes, Lords, and great pergood company fonages. For their affairs being to important and weighty, as every man knoweth, their bodies being weak, and their foirits not able to dispatch all things: they must needs see by others eyes, and wean, and there is and the work with others hands. Whereupon there are three forts of men which are to be reproved. For the first, they are the Princes themselves, who instead of calling and drawing near unto them,

Three forts of

men of honour that might help them in any matter, they give access unto ill minded men that corrupt them, and overthrow their eftate. The fecond (but a small number at all times) are the Philosophers, that is to say, men of authority, wife, learned, lovers of vertue, and of the good of Princes and of their subjects: who being able to do much, yet they draw back: or being advanced, have not always that confideration nor courage that is fit, being oftentimes carried away with the greatest opinion, and mingling somewhat too much their humane wildom with the apprehension of their duty: whereof their confcience being cleared divers ways, doth fufficiently inform them. on or their cury: whereon their connecticuting current ways, when remaining minimum. For the last, they are ignorant Tutors, or Atherits, minions, shifters, lietters, flatterers, brokers of filthy pleasures, and such practifers, which by wicked means creep into Princes Courts, houses and flores. And in recompence of the charges they boldly accept, and of the treatures which they heap together with a wicked conficience, and do afterwards spend of the same, they do deceive, dishonour, and finally undo their unwise masters: as a million of examples in histories do testifie. Plutarch therefore confidering these things, doth attempt in this Treatile to give courage unto those that have a desire to see all things well ordered: and such manner of men doth he exhort to be about Princes. But because gravity and wisdom maketh men modelt and slow: as to the contrary, ignorance and malice maketh them have brazen faces: he sheweth, that it is no ambition of a Philosopher to be about great Lords, but rather that his duty doth bear it, fithence that fuch receive honour, pleasure and profit: and this he proveth by reasons, and notable examples. But above all, he forgeneth not to fet upon them that come to Princes Courts to make themselves great, shewing that Philosophers should shoot at another mark. And last of all he treateth of the contentment those Plusard bran- receive, which ferving one alone, do by the fame means help an infinite number of others that are detainer that bound unto them for fo great a good turn. I have written at large the argument of this treaty of follow Princes Plutarch, because it containeth the brief of all the conceits of this Philosopher coming to the Encourts to make peror: and it is a pattern also to all learned men that enter into the service of great Lords, which if they will painfully follow, the chiefest may recover some part of their ancient glory. Now I make no doubt of it, but that Plutarch hath affayed by all possible means to practise that which he teacheth in this book, to gain to himself a great contentment in his foul, and to leave a good sent of him un-

Plutarch praftifed that he

The caufe that maketh me speak this, is the consideration of the estate in the which the Empire of ROME frood at that time, the which if any man will at leifure confer with that which he may gather out of many parts of Platarchs works, he shall find the words of Plato very true: that happy are those Commonwealths which are governed by Philosophers, or by Princes that have Philosophers about them. For like as an expert Pilot by his skill and knowledge relifted the wind and billows of the Sea, and in despite of their force beareth fail to the desired haven even so when the ship of the Commonwealth hath a mafter that guideth it by the precepts of Philosophy, the Govern-The benefit of ment is peaceable and happy every way. And if any florm happen, and necessity required it, a wife govershe finely plucketh down the fails, and yieldeth himself in such fort to the waves, that he escapeth for. and overcometh it with honour. Dion writeth, that one of the first acts that Trajan did, after he was cholen Emperor in the place of Nerva, was, that he wrote letters with his own hand to the Senate of ROME promiting by them he would never put any man to death, or make him infamous, that was an honeft man: and this he afterwards confirmed by foleran oath. He put Alianus and the fouldiers Pratorians to death, because they mutined against Nerva. And after he had made his entry into Rome, he gave good order for the affairs of the effate, and specially favoured vertuous men many ways, granted them great priviledges, and gave means to the Cities of ITALY to bring up their youth. He reigned Emperor nineteen years and a half, being two and fourty years old when he was cholen. His behaviour was fuch that he obtained the name of a just, valians, The comment moderate, a good Prince: fo that in the flower of his youth, they noted in him a flayed judgement, and in his age a great courage. He envied no man, he hurt no man, he raifed good men to honourable place and charge in the Commonwealth: whereby it came to pass that he was never afraid, nor had no enemy in the world. Accusers had no access unto him: he was as gentle a Prince

time of Peace and War he was at great charge in stately Buildings, witness the wonderfull Bridge Covetousness over Danuby. But with Magnificence fuch Enterprifes and Reparations ordinarily were necessary, as bad as murloved of his Subjects, and much made of, then feared, as fome of his Predecessors. To mean men bery

Prince. There was nothing in him but it was excellent, and in manner blameless. For although he Doved to drink Wine, and delighted to fee fair Boys: yet for all this he never committed any foul Trains multoract, being very wary in his pattions, and above all, keeping himlest from abuling his Authority, ed his aftective defined nothing but War, but it was principally to overcome his Enemies, and to inrich his ons.

loved to faithfully, that it was a hard thing to make him think evill of those whom he loved, which we will prove by some examples. Certain ill-willers brought him word that Sura Licinius, one of Traian gave his private friends, did practife somewhat against him. Instead of taking it ill to conceive a hard opino credit to nion of him, he went (unbidden) into Sura his House, he would sup there, and sending back his false reports.

up Libraries, and did many notable acts, in testimony of his great courage. But that which most of

happy prefage, and well-wishings, of the Senators, they cried out unto him : What, canst thou be Trains better more fortunate then Augustus, and better then Trains? Now if we bring to the Writings of Pluse ed by Plutrebs tareb the life of this Prince, we will fay that the Prince did always think of the wife Precepts of the Writing,

As for example, that of the difference betwirt the Flatterer and the Friend: Against choler: How Some Specials a man may know if he profit in the exercise of Vertue: That it is requisite a Prince should be wise: Treatiles of The instruction of those that deal in the Affairs of the Estate: The Apophthegmes: and there Platarch.

ian.

So could he well acknowledge the good he had received of Plutarch, being a noble and bountifull Honours done Prince, as hath been faid here-before. For, besides the great honour he had done him at ROME, to Plusarch by having made him a Confull, he commanded (as faith Suidas) that all the Magistrates and Officers which were in the Province of SLAVONY, should do nothing but under his Authority. If we had the Books of Marius Maximus, of Fabius Marcellinus, of Aurelius Verus, and of Statius Valins, which have written the Life of Traian: we might eafily draw on this matter further, the which Suidas (according to his stile) is contented to touch in one word. And Dion who was a GREEK, a man very forgetfull for an Hiftorian, and that in some places shewed he had no great judgement: he seemeth to have suppressed the name of Plutarch, as though he had been offended with the same obtained by this man. Or elfe, if one will take things in good part, as I incline unto it, it may be he thought he needed make no mention of one whole Writings made him to be known fufficiently. Yet furthermore, I do not find that Plutarch was in SLAVONIE at all, and if fo be that he made any Journey thither, I think he tarried not long there : because it appeareth in divers places of his Works, that his abode was most in ITALY and in GREECE. And for his honourable charges committed unto him, that should not be thought very strange, if we consider the merits of Plutarch, the names of Traian, and the good will that Soffini Senecio (one of the principal men of ROME, and of the chiefest favourites of Traian) bare unto Plutarch. For he that was in fo great credit with his Mafter, would not forget him whom he loved above all other men : wherein he loft not his time. forasmuch as the Statue that was set up for him, and that which Dion and some others do briefly pass over, do not commend Soffins, as do the Prefaces of Honour, and the Books which Plutarch dedicated unto him. The which we need no more rehearse, then to write over again the Epiftle of Plusarch unto Trasan , the which is written in Latine , as Amyor sheweth in his Preface of the Lives: where he hath inferted the Epistle at length, because he thought it wisely and gravely written, a Brief worthy of fuch a Philosopher as Plutarch. That which Cufpinianus faith in the latter end of the Life of Traian, feemeth to touch this : fpeaking also, as if it had been expressed out of Greek into Latine. But time hath deprived us of that, and of many other goodly peeces of the felf-same, as we have somewhat spoken of it before in the beginning of the Morall Works. Now he bath written nothing touching his behaviour in his publick charge, but contenteth bimself to fpeak a word fometime paffing by, because he made no account of any thing but of Philosophy, through the help whereof he affayed to make himself and others wifer, and more vertuous every day then other. Being a thing very likely, that fuch a man as had so painfully considered of the flate of the World, and of all forts of publick Governments, and had joyned his studies with so great experience: that he hath happily managed the charges that were committed unto him. To conclude, to live as we should amongst men, the speculation and knowledge of things being joyned with the bringeth torth practife of the fame , do bring forth excellent effects : whereas those that do content themselves with the fimple Theorick, and others that follow Exercise, contemning the true understanding of the Causes and Grounds of Affairs, as Philosophy doth shew them, they oftentimes fall into won-

PLUTARU

Speculation

derfull difficulties. For Plutareh, though he tarried a long time in ITALY, and in ROME, yet that took not away the remembrance of the sweet air of GREECE, and of the little Town where he was born : but being touched from time to time with a Sentence of an ancient Poet, who faid, that

In what foever Countrey men are bred, (I know not by what sweetness of it led) They nourish in their minds a glad defire Unio their native homes for to retire :

Greece his

tarchs Lives.

Platach retur- He refolved to go back into GREECE again, there to end the rest of his days in rest and honour amongst his Citizens, of whom he was honourably welcomed home. Some judge that he left ROME after the death of Traian, being then of great years, to lead a more quiet life. So being then at reft, he earnestly took in hand that which he had long thought of before, to wit, the Lives: and took great pains in it untill he had brought his Work to perfection, as we have done at this prefent : although that some Lives, as those of Scipio African, of Metellus Numidicus, and some other are not to be found. Now himself confesseth in some place, that when he beganthis Work, at the first it was but to profit others: but that afterwards it was to profit himself , looking upon those Hiftories, as if he had looked in a glass, and feeking to reform his life in fome fort, and to formit in the mould of the vertues of these great men: taking this fashion of searching their manners, and writing the Lives of these Noblemen, to be a Familiar haunting and frequenting of them. Also he thought (faid he himself) that he lodged these men one after another in his house, entring into consideration of their qualities, and that which was great in either of them, choosing and principally taking that which was to be noted, and most worthy to be known in their fayings and deeds. In summe, he declared that by continuance of reading ancient Histories, and in drawing out the Lives which he hath written, and retaining daily in his understanding the memorable things of the most bonest and vertuous men of times past, he instructed himself, and prepared him to lay aside all evil, soolish, dishonest, or spightfull conditions, if by chance, by often frequenting their company he must of necessity keep, he kearned any evill touch: the which he did reform, turning his quier thought, not ftirred with any passion at all, to the consideration of so many goodly examples. Now because that some might object unto him, that for the finishing of so great a piece of work, he could not have made choice of a fitter place then Rome : or rather that being a man given to his

Book as he was , he should have lest that Work unto some other that had feen more. This obje-Aion being of fome weight, he answereth it at the beginning of the Life of Demosthenes . and faith : That to attain to true telicity, (whereof the greatest part confisheth in the manners, qualities, and condition of the foul) it maketh no matter whether a man be born in an obscure Town and of Northe place, fmall name, no more then if he were born of a foul or little Mother. For it were a mockery to but good manthink that fome fmall Towns or little Islands could not with standing bring forth good Poets and think that fome fmall Towns or little Islands could not with standing bring forth good Poets and the standard man cellent Players of Comedies: and that they could not in like fort bring out an honeft, just, constant, wife, and noble or worthy man. And although we have reason to think, that Arts and Sciences. invented to make things necessary for the use of men, or else to win a name and reputation, are made and counterfeited in poor little Towns: fo we must also think that Vertue, none otherwise then a ftrange Plant, can take foot and root in any place, where it meeteth with a good nature, gentle and patient to endure pains. Wherefore if we come to commit an errour, or that we live otherwife then becometh us, we must not accuse or blame the meanness of our Countrey, but justly attribute the fault to our felves. It is true (faith he) that he that hath undertaken to frame a piece of Work . or to write any History, in the which many things should be put, not familiar in his Countrey, and that they find not always at their hand every where , but strange for the most part , dispersed here and there, and that must be gathered from many places and divers Authours : in truth he must first and before all other things dwell in a great and noble City, full of People, and a great number of men loring goodly and honeft things, to the end there may be store of Books, and that in searching up and down, and hearing them tell with lively voice many things, which other Story-writers peradventure have left unwritten, and that shall bear so much more credit, because they are tresh in memory of the living: he may make his Work compleat and perfect in all things, and not wanting many things that should be necessary for it. Having made this Presace, he exculeth himself, that he could not profit so much in knowledge of the Latine Tongue, as he defired, and sheweth how he did help himself. But forasmuch as it is in this Work of his Lives that Plutarch had most shewed his sufficiency, whether you consider the length of the Work; or try with what judgement he had proceeded : peradventure it will not be hurtfull to speak somewhat of it, beside that which hath been spoken by his Tranflator in the Preface. I do not enter here into commendation of History in generall, nor we need not apply that unto Plutarch, which Gicero and many others have spoken. For if ever there were The commen-Books , next to that we call the holy Scriptures , it may be faid , that that which containeth the Lives dation of Pluof the noble GREEKS and ROMANS, is an affured testimony of many hundreds of years, a tarths Lives, Sun of Verity , a Life of Memory , a true Miltress of Life , and an excellent Messenger of Antiquity. And as the Stone called the Opall, sheweth many orient colours above all other precious Stones: fo do the Lives of Plutarch make an abridgement of all the best things contained in the Greek and Latine Histories. For there are seen worthy examples of Vices and Vertues, and infinite number of Maximes, and notable Precepts touching the duties of every one, their Vertues and Vices. Now although Plutarch in the ignorance and blindness of the true God, could not (no more then other profane Historians) touch the true end of History : yet we may note some admirable thing in him in that respect. Since History (which containeth in it an infinite number of particular deeds and honourable actions, as the Collection of the Lives of Platareb) is a Gods Provigoodly glistering Glass or Table, within the which may be different the wonders and admirable dence may be working of Divine Providence. For to comprehend that well which God and men do, there are feen in Hillothree things to be confidered in every History: to wit, the men whereof there is a question, the ries, in which three things to be commerced in every rimory; to wit, the new waters in determining the Epicureans and the circumflances, keeping this ground against the Epicureans and the remarkance in the Epicureans and the Epicureans are the Epicureans and the Epicureans are the Epicureans ar maintaineth the World, wherein nothing happeneth by chance, but all is guided by a most wife Civill State. disposition of the same, for the preservation of Families, of Civil Policy, and of a Company and Church, and happy Congregation that shall be taken out of this World into a better. A wife and lear- preferred by ned Historian must have an eye upon these three things, for to apply them unto three other Verdence. tues that ought to shine in him: Verity, Moderation, and Eloquence. For almuch as if he set Verity, Modeout Fables, or if he talk to no purpole, and make Discourses at pleasure, or if he be troublesome ration, and Ein a Speech not coherent and hanging well together : then he deserveth no more the name of an loqueace, the in a Speech not coherent and hanging well together: then he deterved no more the hand of an evertues of an Historian. As for these Vertues, I do affure my self that every man of judgement will agree, vertues of an Historian, to that they are readily to be found in Plutarch, accompanied with a fweet gravity that always plea- be found in feth the Reader, and giveth him at an hundred times Reading as good a favour and tafte of him as Planach. at the first. Let a man look upon Stories that have nothing in them but the Name, and upon fo many Books ill composed, of the which Europe is full : they find that the parts necessary to be observed in the persons, is nothing at all regarded: that those which think to represent others, they do sample them after a strange sastion. Thereupon the affections and passions, the harred, the envy, evill speaking, false reports, flatteries and lies, present themselves so untowardly, that they mar all. To the contrary, we fee Plutarch very exact in that respect. It sufficeth me to touch the Plutarch a difthings passing by : whether he shew the vices or vertues of great or of mean persons, he doth it in creet Hillorian good terms, without aggravating or making it lefs. He taketh no manner of pleasure to speak evill of any, but wifely hideth that whereof we ought not to speak but with shame and compassion of mans infirmity. And he is more enclined to commend the good in vicious persons, then too much to fet open the shops of their wickedness, But if necessity enforce him unto it, it is with such

manifest proofs, that others which are wicked feeing him wash the head of their Companions,

Marters remembed in Histories.

they are compelled to hang down their heads, and to condemn their wicked thoughts. Now touching matters that ought to be remembred in Histories , therein are to be considered , the counsells, executions, and accidents. For counfels, who noteth better then he; the wickedness of those which ask counsell of the World, of the unconstant multitude, of men of as little judgement as themselves, or of themselves? With what grace doth he lay open the crrors committed by Xerxes, Pyrrhus; Marius, and infinite others? and though evil counfell prosper for a time, yet the eternall Wisdom hath a fecret intention to bring things to pass, which the Wisdom of a man cannot see till it be done i as Platarch doth finely discover them in the Life of Cato Utican, and of others. The executions are of divers forts, according to the Workmen and their means. In this point Platarch is admirable, shewing particularly infinite thoughts in actions which he reprefenteth: fo that for one felf-deed he given always entrance and direction unto the studious Reader, to make half a dozen of fundry rules for the direction of mans life : he was ever fo fortunate to comprehend all things well, and to draw that which was to be offered unto the view of Posterity. If accidents come in question, he can excellently refer them to the counsels, and draw out goodly instructions for all forts of men. Now there remainesh the circumftances of times, of places, of People, and others fo diligently fearched in Platareh, that in this matter he seemeth to have surmounted himself. To prove all that hath been presently spoken in few words, behold here the Book lieth open, and under the indifferent examination of the learned

I am not ignorant that fome men well thought of among the learned men of our time, have very and vertuous men. boldly cenfured Platarch, accusing him of ignorance: also that he had written things incredible and Platered defen- fabulous, and that he had made unapt comparisons. For his ignorance, that hath been sufficiently handled heretofore speaking of Plurarchs tongue. And if we must speak of the sufficiency of an Historian, I think it is most excellent in him: howbeit I shall not need to defend him, seeing that he desendeth himself sufficiently well. If he be mistaken in some circumstances, and that they discover fome fault in his memory, or of discordance condemned by many other Historians: that deserveth not fo sharp a reprehension. And for all the reft , I will add to the answer of a Noble Person, well studied in Plutarch: Lecture, for that it sufficeth and fully agreeth with that which we now fpeak of. And these be his words: If one had spoken simply that Platarch reciteth things otherwife then they be, it was no great reproach: for those things which we have not feen, we take them at other mens hands of credit; and I fee that to his knowledge he reporteth at times one self-History diversly. As the judgement of three of the best Captains that ever were, given by Hannibal, is otherwife fet down in the Life of Flaminius: and contrary again in the Life of Pyribu. But to charge him to have taken for ready Money things uncredible, and also unpossible, it is even to accule for want of judgement, the Authour of the best judgement in the World. And here is the example which they alledge, to wir, that Pintarch faid, that a child of LACEDAMON fulfered his belly to be torn our by a Fox he had ftoln, and hid under his Gown, even to fuffer death, rather then to bewray his theft. First of all I find this example very evill chosen to bound the indeavours of the faculties of the foul, whereas for corporall forces we have more Law to limit and know them. For this caule, if I had had to do withall, I would rather have cholen an example of the second fort, and they are less credible. As amongst others, that which he recitethof Pyrrhu, that being hurt as he was, he gave his Enemy armed at all pieces such a blow with his Sword, that he clave his head down to the lowest parts, so that the body sell afunder in two parts. In the other example I find no great wonder, neither do I like the excuse they make for Plutareb, for that he added to this word (as they fay) to advife us, and to be wary in our carriage and behaviour. For unless it be in things received by Authority, or in reverence of Antiquity or of Religion, he would not himfelf have received nor have made us believe things of themselves incredible. And that this word (as they fay) is not used in that place to that purpose, is easie to be judged : for that he himfelf reporteth in another place upon the subject of the patience of the children of LACEDAMON, of examples that fell out in his time unlikelier, to perfuade us. As that which Ciero allo hath teftified before him , for that he was (as he faid) even in the very places : that even till their time there were children, for proof of patience, that were tried before the Altar of Diana, who suffered Things feem then felves to be whipped until the bloud ran down their legs, not onely without crying, but allo ing incredible without weeping, yea and fome of them even to death. And that which Plus are telleth with an hundred witnesses: that at a Sacrifice a burning coal being fallen into a Boys sleeves of the La-CEDAMONIANS, as he was cenfing, he fuffered all his arm to be burnt, untill the very favour of the burnt flesh came to them that were present. There was nothing according to their custome that did more difgrace them, and for the which they should suffer more reproach and sname, then to be taken stealing. I am so instructed with the greatness of these men there, that it seems to me, that this report which Plutarch made should not be incredible, or not so much as rare or strange. Marcellin also reporteth, touching this matter of theft : that in his time there could be found no manner of torture or torment how cruell foever that could force the EGYPTIANS taken with theft, (whereunto they were accustomed and hardned) once to tell their names. I know that there were certain poor Countreymen, in the miferable Civill Wars, that did endure the frying of the foles of their feet against the fire, and the nipping off their fingers ends, to thrust their bloudy eyes our of their heads, their foreheads being fast bound with a great cord, before they would be ransomed. I have seen one left stark naked in a ditch for dead, having his neck swollen with a halter than the start of the same of the s

tied about it, with the which they had dragged him at a Horfe tail all night long, his body thrult in

LUTARCH. with a Dagger in an hundred places, not to kill him, but to make himfelffull of pain : who had endired all that, having loft his speech and senses, resolved (as he told me) to die a thousand deaths. rather then to promife any thing; and he was one of the richest Labourers in all the Countrey. We must not judge that which is possible and that which is not, as it is credible and uncredible to our capacity. It is also a great fault, (unto the which notwithstanding the most part of men do fall) to make it nice to believe that thing of another man, which we our felves cannot do. This is that which Men are not to make it fuce to occure that thing of another hand, touching the fact of the boy of LACEDANON fet believe that of out to accuse our Platarch overthwardly with a lie. The other example which they alleadge of in-functions another, which out to accure our Financia ore tilinaria, poken by Flutarch, is: that Agefilam was condemned in cannot do, a Fine by the Ephores, because he alone had won the hearts and good wills of all his Citizens. I know not what note of falshood they find in that : but so it is , that Plutarch speaketh of things which he should better know then we. It was no new thing in GREECE to see men punished and banished onely for that they were too great with their Citizens; witness the Oftracisme and Petalisme. And where they accuse Plutarch, that he did not well fort the GREEKS with the Ro-MANS: witneffes, Demosthenes and Cicero, Aristides and Cato, Lylander and Sylla, Pelopidas and Marcellus, Agefilans and Pompey; judging that he favoured the GREEKS, for that he gave them companions fo little refembling them : which is justly, to blame Plutarch for that wherein he was most excellent and praise-worthy. For in his Comparisons (which is the most admirable part of Plutarchs his Works, and in the which (in my opinion) he took more delight then in any other of his Wyrist of first by indigenents, equalleth their protoundness and their weight.

Romans.

Romans.

of malice and fallhood. I think that which hath been the cause of this censure, is the great shining colour of the names of the ROMANS which we have in hand. It appeareth not to us that Deme-

fibenes can equall the glory of a Confull, Proconfull, or Quartor of this great Common-wealth. But

he that shall consider the truth of the thing, and the men in themselves, whereat Plut arch ever most

aimed: and to weigh their manners, their indispositions, their sufficiency and their fortune: I think to the contrary, that Cicero and old Cato are indebted to their companions. For the purpose of this

censure, I would rather have chosen the example of the younger Cato compared unto Phocion: for

in this comparison there might be found a more likely disparity to the advantage of the ROMANS.

For Marcellus, Sylla, and Pompey, I fee well that their Exploits of War are more puft up, glorious and sumptuous, then those of the GREEKS which Plutarch compareth with them. But the

most fair and vertuous actions are not always (no more then in Wars) the most famous. I of-

tentimes see the names of Captains drowned by the glory of other mens names of less merit: winness Labienus, Ventidius, Telesinus, and diversothers. And to take it from thence, If I were

to complain me for the GREEK'S , might I fay , that much less is Camillus comparable unto The-

misseles, the Gracehi unto Agus and Clements, Numa unto Lyeurgus, and Scipio unto Epaminen-das, which were also of his roll. But it is a solly to judge things on a sudden of so many men. When

Plurarch compareth them, he doth therefore equall them. Who could more eloquently or confei-

onably note the disparities and differences? Doth he come to compare the Victories, the Exploits of Arms, the power of Armies led by Pompey, and his Triumphs, with those of Agefilans? I do not

believe, faid he, that Xenophon himself it he were alive, although that they suffered him to write

what he would to the advantage of Agefilam, durst put him in comparison. Doth he speak to com-

pare Sylla with Lyfander ? There is no comparison, faid he, neither in number of Victories, nor in

hazard of Battels: for Lyfander wan onely but two Battels by Sea, &c. That taketh away nothing

from the ROMAN. To have fimply presented them to the GREEKS , he could have done them

no injury, what disparity soever there might be : neither doth he weigh them also all together : in

the great there is no preferency. He hath compared the pieces and circumstances one after another,

and judgeth them severally. Wherefore if they would convince him of savour, they must unfold

some particular judgement, or to say in generall that he had failed to match such a GREEK with

fuch a ROMAN: because there were others fitter to be compared, and of better report. So much

objection. And to accuse Plutarch to have wanted judgement (he that hath always been very dif-

creet in his Writings, as he protesteth at the beginning of his Book of fatall destiny) isto shew him-

felfmad, and out of his wits. Those things that men judge to be small are not fo always, if they

bebetter considered of : neither is his length fo far out of square and troublesome, neither is that

out of the matter, which he intermingleth of the Poets, but is spoken to good purpose, and often-

times upon good ground of advice in matters of great weight : whereof his Work shall make proof

for this point. There are other that have blamed the length of Plutarchs Discourses, also that he The length of hath mingled many light things, and that he delights to thrust in many Verses of Poets, without any Platarchi Difneceffity, fay they; judging that he did that to lofe no part of his memories, and so hath consuledly courses defenput all pieces together in his Work. But that which hath been spoken of before, answereth this ded.

wholoever will examine them without passion. But now let us leave these censors to think more advisedly hereaster what they speak, and come again to Platereb: who after his return to GREECE, gave himself more to his Book then he did before: and notwithstanding he was very old, he made an end of his Lives. And surthermore, continuing still the love he bare unto his Countrey, he imployed himself in divers Offices of the Common-wealth, whereof he maketh mention also in fundry places of his Morals; and especially in the Book where he instructeth those that deal in the Affairs of Estate. For he saith there

Old age no hinderance unto men to profit their Countrey.

Plutarchs death

Wildom.

Pleafure wherein dangerous.

Pleasure a

Drunkennefs

thele words: I answer them that reprove me when they find me present in our Town, to see them measure, and tell brick, and tile, stones, sand, and line which they bring: that it is not for my measure, and ten orter, and the, stokes, and and in this treatife, Whether an old man should yet deal in the Affairs of Estate. Thou knowest (faid be, writing unto Euphanes) that there are many Pythiades, that is to fay, many terms of five years that I do exercise the Priethood of Apollo Py-THIAN : yet I think thou wouldest not say to me, Plutarch, thou hast sacrificed enough, thou haft made Processions enough, thou hast led many Dances; and now that thou art old and ancient, it nate move reoccusions chough , and abandon the Oracle , because of thy age. At the beginning of the eighth Queftion of the Sixth Book of his Difcourfe at the Table, he mentioneth his Office of being Mayor of the Town of CHERONEA. To conclude, even to the end of his life he thewed in his deeds, that which he excellently handled in his Writings: which is, that there is nothing letteth old men to ferre and profit their Common-wealth in divers forts of Government, whether it be with good words, with good counfell, with liberty and authority to fpeak boldly, and with grave respect, as the Poets say. For they are not the feet, nor the hands, nor all the strength of the body onely, which are the parts and good of the Common-wealth : but they are first of all and principally the Soul, and the beauties thereof: as Justice, Temperance, and Wildom; the which coming late to their perfection, it were to no purpole they should enjoy a House, Land, and all other Inheritances of his Citizens, and that it could receive no more any profit by them for the good of the Common-wealth, because of their long time, the which doth not so much deprive them of strength and ability to do fervice, as it doth increase them with sufficiency and knowledge of faculties requisite to command and govern. Furthermore Plutareh having lived always honourably even to old age, he died quietly among his children and friends in the City of CHERONEA, leaving in his Writings an immortall savour of his Name unto Posterity. Besides the honour his Citizens did him, there was a Statue let up for him by Ordinance of the People of ROME, in memory of his Vertues. Now furthermore, though time hath devoured some part of the Writings of this great man, and diminished fome other: nevertheless those which remain being a great number, have excellent use to this day among us. Howbeit, having met with fome tragments in Stobess, of fome Treaties which are not to be found any more, I thought it would not mislike the Reader to cull out some pieces to prefeat them unto him, to shut up all this Discourse. Wildom, faith he, (in the Book of profit which tuenledge of the time to come brirgeth) confliteth not in shew , but in affairs , before a man fetteth to his band: and sheweth how he should come before them, and receive them when they be offered him: for it confidereth the things to come. The body hath no eyes but before , the back feeth nothing at all: bur wisdom by help of memory, feeth even the things that are past and gone. It is the Secretary which always remaineth and abideth within, as Plato faith. It is the part or inftrument of the Soul which taketh hold of things past, keepeth them, and layeth them up fafe, making a circle, within the which that that is past joyneth with the thing prefent, and will not fuffer it to extend it self beyond compass, and to pass the bounds of Nature and knowledge. Of the Book against plessure. Pleasure undoeth the body, and daily maketh it tender by deliciousnels, the common ule whereof cutteth down the luftiness and confumeth the firength, fo that weakness and fickness do abound, and in youth they begin to wax old. Voluptuoulness is a Beaft that maketh men Slaves, but yet no favage Beaft: for it the did openly affail any body, there would foon be an end: but the is formuch more dangerous, because the hideth her ill courage, and taketh upon her the habit of good will. We must shun her therefore for two causes, the one, that she should not hurt us, the other, that the should not seduce us. Let us no more call voluptuousness honest pleasures, but rather acknowledge that they be troubles 2 fervices, and duties: and efteem the reft as shamefull and violent things, which by their diverfity flatter us, and in the mean time finely hurt us. Now our felves and affairs ought to be subject to the same Law that the brute Beasts are, to the end that when we have fatisfied our defire, we have no new mind to cover further, but that our moderate pleafures be contented when they have things necessary. Is there any man that will commend Traytours? Now pleafure is even such a one; for the betrayethall that depend upon Vertue. Doth any body eftern Hangmen much? See notwithflanding what it is to follow fenfuality, which tormenteth and renteth afunder all moderate things. Will any man commend avarice? Voluptuousness is as unsatiable as the love of Money. What pleafure can we take of a Beaft that destroyeth us by flattery ? I ask, why doeft thou not play the fool and knave in the presence of all men? To the contrary, thou slieft, and bearest reverence to thy self, abusing thy self in the night and darkness which cannot depose against thee. No man seeketh to hide him that doth well, not is afraid of the light that is round about him : but rather to the contrary , he would all the World were become a bright Sun , to give light to all the parts of the good Works he doth. But if he happen to commit any fault, he doth all his possible endeavour to hide it, and blameth his passion. Now let us take away the veil, and openly mule upon these pleasures. They make us drunk, even to lose our senses: they continually make knaves and drowfie lubbers to follow Harlots when they should labour: Enemies of mans life, neither caring for Father nor Mother , void of all reverence unto the Laws. In the Book that treaterb , how women flould be saught and learned. It is no eafy thing to hide this ignorance, faith Heraelitus: and much less then when he hath drunk more then ordinary. Plato saith also, that the thought is discovered by Wine: as much as to say, after a man hath drunk too much. Sephecis blamed & febylus, because he wrote his Tragedies when he had drunk our of measure : for faith he, though Afebylus doth well, yet he knoweth not what he doth. Pythagoras being asked how it

could be brought to pass, that a Drunkard should abstain from being drunk? If he remembred; faid he, oftentimes what he did when he was drunk, It is a common faying in every mans mouth. Let not the child have a knife. And I fay, Keep riches from a child, and ignorance from a man. Of the Book of acculation. Hippins faid, there was nothing so intolerable as accusation because there was no punishment ordained by Law for acculers, as there was for Thieves; although they Acculation, ftole triendship from men, which is the goodlieft Riches a man can have. So that an outrage of fact. though it be great, is less then acculation, which doth much more hurt because it is hidden. Of the Discourse or Epiftle of friendstip. He is a true witness of the truth, that is not bound by benefit unto him that bringeth him forth, and that speaketh before the Judges without exception of person. A true wit-We must win love by gentleness and bounty, rather then by means: and for the Common-wealth. wildom and gentlenels should be joyned together. Agrippinus in his Government, attempted to How to win perswade them whom he condemned to lose goods and lite, that it was expedient for them they should love. be condemned. For, faid he, I do not pronounce fentence against you, as a Thief passing by should fay . Deliver thy purfe , or thou art dead : but I do that as your Tutour , and one that hath a care of you: like unto the Phylician that comforteth his Patient from whom he would cut some member. and perswadeth him to be ruled. Cotis King of THRACIA was very cruell unto his Subjects; and when one of his familiars told him , That is called fury not Kingly Government. But so it is, anfwered the King, that this fury of mine maketh my Subjects wile and quiet. Of the Book against the Grength of the body. Doest thou think the strength of the body to be so great a happiness, that Strength thou wilt conclude that Nature which hath given more strength to Beasts then to men, should be Mother to them, and Step-mother to the other? Doeft thou think it is by reason of the massiveness or weight, or by the swiftness, or strength of the eyes? The true strength of men consistent in discourse of the soul, by means whereof he hunteth in the Forests, and taketh the Elephant in a fnare : he r deth Horses and breaketh them , he bringeth Oxen subject to the yoak , he beateth down Birds with bolts, and catcheth with angles Fish that lie hidden in the bottom of waters. There is his ftrength which is feen much better, when he confidereth at his ease, the roundness of the Earth, the breadth of the Elements, and the revolutions of the Stars. Such were the worthy Exercises of Hercules, and who had not rather be Ulyffes, then Polyphemus the CYCLOPIAN? Alfo when one spake much in commendation of a venturous and hardy man, as if he had been some brave Souldier : There is great difference, faid Aratus the SICYONIAN, betwirt esteeming vertue, and regarding life nothing. Of the Book of Divination. It is most apparent that from the beginning Ne- Necessity moceffiny invented and polished certain Arts, which she doth keep even till this present. It is she that there of arts, bath taught all things. For , is there any thing that necessity bath not thought of ? the hath brought forth the occupation of weaving, of building, the art of Physick, tilling of the ground, and all that belongs unto it. There be other crafts also found out, I connot tell by what pleasure: as Perfumers, Apothecaries , Cooks , and others that serve for ornaments of the body : also Painters. Again , there are Sciences which men feek, learn, and teach, because of the probable and apparent reason which they discover, and for the beauty of them: as Arithmetick, Geometry, and all others confifting in measures and proportions, then Astrologie. And yet though we contemn them, nevertheless because of their excellency, we are constrained in some fort to know them, faid Plato, Of the Treaty, That Love and Judgement are divers things. Some fay, that Love is the faculty of the Love! foul, which we call understanding: others, that it is a concupiscence or voluptuousness: others, that it is a madness: and there are that think it is, I cannot tell what divine agitation of the foul; and others that make it a god. This disputation hath made that some have judged, and rightly, that from the beginning, Love is a simple defire or lust: but if it exceed, it is fury. Also that friendship doth resemble it. If Love be despised, it begetteth melancholy : if it increase as wished, he that is possessed withall, bath a thousand conceipts and fantasticall imaginations, and doth imagine all the greatures and favours of Heaven and Earth. And this is the reason why the Poets fav. that Love is a Torch : and the Painters , Potters , and Statuaries do represent it in that estate. For that part of the fire which doth give light, is very pleafing, profitable and commodious: but that which burneth, bringeth nothing but trouble and forrow. Like as it is a good thing to reprove and admonish our When to add: friends, and fuch as belong unto us, whileft they be in their right wits, and capable of judgement monith our and understanding : so to the contrary , if they be light-headed and diffraught of their wits we do friends, not use then to reason and contest with them, but we rather do yeeld to that they say. So must we freely and lively reprove them, that commit a fault through choler or covetoulness: but as for Lovers, they must be excused because they be sick. And therefore from the beginning, it were the best way not to suffer Love to take root in them : if it do, repair then to the Altars of the gods that give remedy, as Plato faith, that is to fay, keep company with wife men. Drive this Beaft far from thee, before his teeth and nails do grow: if not, thou must fight with the evill when it is great and full grown, the which thou didft imbrace in thine infancy and youth. But which are these teeth and nails of Love? Suspition and Jealousie. Now some will say to me, that there is also I The reeth and know not what, a thing that draweth, and is pleasant. So had this famous Sphinz wings of divers nails of the colours, very pleafant to behold : for when he turned them to the beams of the Sun, they shined beast Love. like Gold : and when he was against the clouds, one would have faid it had been azure mingled with yellow and red , like the Rainbow in the Element. Love after the fame fort hath in it (I know not how) a gracious, gentle, and fair shew. But it destroyeth men, overthroweth houses, dissolveth marriages, and confoundeth great Captains, without propounding of hard Enigma's or Questions

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vanisheth a-

confilteth.

to be refolved: but himself being so taken that he connot be freed. For example. If one asked: What is that which at one instant loveth and hateth, flieth and pursueth, threatnesh and prayeth, evenatis that which as one material deveth, laugheth and weepeth with a breath? it is a knot which angretti and matteretti, tanctus and the Sphine had many things devited for pleasure, mingled one cannot eafily undo. Furthermore, the Sphine had many things devited for pleasure, mingled one cannot carry man. For though an old man go with a ftaff, yethe hath not three leet; and the little child is not a beaft with four feet, although he creep of all four, beloing his weak

legs with his two hands. But there be no fuch Enigma's in the paffions of Lovers. They love and regs with his two names. The state of the st and kill themselves for the thing they love: they defire not to love, and yet will not leave to love; they repent them, and wax blind: they become wife, and yet cast themselves away: they will command, and yet yeeld themselves slaves. And therefore it is that such a passion is holden for

a pure rage: as also Euripides doth confess it. Now Love is not begatten upon a sudden, nor a pure rage: as any Estrophics doint coincid at Leow Love is not organize upon a under, nor doth invade all the perion, a scholer doth; but it kindleth by little and little, as a little fire. Itiliped in foftly, and when it hath poffeffed the foul, it diflodgeth not easily; but we fee it fometimes lufty and fresh even in old men that have white hairs. If it cease, and begin to cool by succession

of time, or that it be dead by some accident, it doth not altogether leave the foul, or the substance or time, or that it to use a system extension, it south not altogether have the rout, or the morante of his fire confumed; where the marks of his heat passed are to be seen, as if lightning had passed to his fire confumed; thorow there. As for the forrow past, and the choler after it is quenched, there is no spark left in the foul, but they perceive that the inflammation of the passion which made a great noise is quiet; but the bitings of Love, albeit the Beaft be gone, do not therefore lofe their venome, but the inward wounds do renew and refresh themselves again. To be short, no man knoweth what such a

ward would not renew and renew and renew whence it flippeth into the heart. In the Book where he disputeth for beauty. Are not men compounded of body and soul? Is the one enough for us with out the other? How could that be? For if the body were not governed by the foul, it would not live, and the foul had need of a place to be kept and lodged in. Since then both the one and the

other are adorned with gifts proper unto them; the foul with justice, temperance, and wildom: and the body with force, beauty and health: were it not to be wondered at, if one despifed that which concerneth the body, and that he made no reckoning but of the goods of the foul? Corporation and the foul, which make a prefent of the gift to the body. For when the full beauty is a work of the sour, which makes a person of the girt, and foul is gone, there remaines nothing good in the body. The firength, the colour, the fight, and the voice do vanish. To conclude, the body being abandoned of his ancient inhabitant, there is no

thing left that is amiable. Thoutherefore that acculeft Beauty, unawares thou fpeakeft outrage to the foul, which is cause of this beauty. Aristotle to one that asked him, why a man did love fair things, answered : It is for a blind man to ask such a question. Diogenes called fair Curtizans, Queens, because many do execute that which they command. Of the Book against Nobility. What do we think that Nobility is, but Riches gathered together by Ancestors, or some Honour anamed unto long time before? whereof the one nor the other proceedeth not of our Will : but the one co-

meth by unconstant Fortune, the other proceedeth from the disorders of the World. So then this proud name of Nobility floweth from two strange springs. Now Riches maketh not those that are born like unto them: but Vertue proceeding from the lincere habitude of the Spirit, is planted in the Race of the Vertuous, and doth make them truly noble. In this is true Nobility, to wit; the

conformity unto vertuous manners. But I pray you, King Midus Riches, were they more richthen the Foverty of Arifidat? although he left not wherewithall to defray his charges of Funerall. To the contrary, King Mida. Tomb passed for magnificence all the Riches of the World: but Nobility the contrary, King Mida. Tomb passed for magnificence all the Riches of the World: but Nobility is not inclosed in Gold nor Silver. Vice is rightly compared unto fire: for when either the one or the other wanted nurture, it goeth out. But the balenels of the Race of Socrates the Philosopher, the Son of an Image-graver, and of a Midwife, is it not more noble then the glory of Sar-

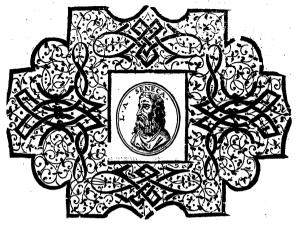
puer, the sou of an among grant, and think Aerxes more noble then Cyngynus, who had one of his hands cut off fighting for his Countrey: fince the other fled to fave his life, being a King environed with coward lines. Of the Treaty against riches. Hunger gave never any man cause to be an adulterer: nor hath want of Money made any man diffolute. Poverty is a kind of temperance, and need may

be called a furnmary observation of the Laws, Arcesilans saith, poverty was rude, no less then the sile of ITHACA; but surthermore, a good nurse for children; because it did use them to frugality and about the sile of the flinence: and at one word, it is the healthfull School of Vertue. Thus have you some fragments of our Philosopher, of the which, as of the rest of his works, we desire that all may learn to

The end of the Life of Plutarch.

THE

THE LIFE OF SENECA.



Ann. Mund. 3967.

Post. Christ.

A knowledge that doth many errors flie A life relisting vices poisoned breath: A death, in death, that conquer'd death by death, O Seneca, are fruits of thy Philosophy.



PAIN is divided by the Geographers into three severall parts, of the which one of them abutting upon the Straights of GIBRALTAR and the Mediterrane Sea , called by Strabo TURDITANIA, was in old time the beft inhabited. And albeit he doth confine it into two thousand furlongs in compass, yet he faith that in his time they made account of two hundred Towns within that circuit, which at this day is called ANDALYSIA having taken the name of the VANDALS, which have dwelt there fince the ruine of the ROMAN Empire. In this part of SPAIN was (and yet is) fituated upon the River called of the Ancients Bætis, and at this day Guadalquibir, (that is

to fay, the great River, by reason of his long course) the City of CORDUBE, or CORDOVE, which was in old time one of the most famous Cities of SPAIN, built by Marcellus, and inhabited with noble ROMANS, 28 Plinie and Strabo do witness. This place amongst others was a feed-plot or gar- The Family the ROMANS, as Plume and Strato do witness. This place amongst outers was a recurption of gard and Race of den of good spirits, and men given to study. Among other honourable Families of that time, was Seneca. that of the Anneans, which befides their Nobility loved Learning, specially since the Father of Seneca, whose life now we write. He was a simple Gentleman bearing no charge in the Common- seneca's Father wealth, for that he had no fpirit in him to imbrace fuch burdens, and gave himself most to Learning, although otherwise he left not his Sword, being a Knight as many other PATRICIANS in the Province where he was. With his Arms he joyned the Profession of Learning, but specially of Eloquence, in the which he excelled the most in his time. He married a Lady called Elbia, of whom he had three Sons, the eldest bearing the name of the Father, to wit, Lucius Annaus Seneca. The fecond , Annam Metarm , afterwards called Julius Gallio. The third , Annam Mella, Father of Lucan the Poet. The Father was very carefull to have his Children well taught and brought up, but the eldeft especially, who with time gave himself wholly unto Philosophy. For Gallia, befides his Learning, he was raifed up to some publick Dignities at Rome. Mella on the other fide, he cared not for advancement, and therein he followed his Father, as we will shew hereaster more at large. Seneca, of whom we have presently to speak, was born as it should seem, In what time a little before the death of Augustus Cofor. For himself writeth in the hundred and ninth Epistle Scarca was unto Lucilline, that he was a young man when by the commandment of Tiberius the Ceremonies bo.n.

998

Spanistd.

of the Strangers Religions were driven out of Roma , the which were lim Tacism in the lecond or the strangers actigions were adopted in the fifth tear of Tiberim. But of this we will freak more hereafter, treating of the Writings of Seneces. Furthermore, the occasion why himself and more nereaster, treating of the variable of the Reign of his Brethren came out of Spain to Rome, was this. About the tenth year of the Reign of uis Dreturen cause out of State of the Dominion of Rose, by Tiberim Empire, matters began to be troublelome in divers parts of the Dominion of Rose, by reason of the cruelties and infolencies of this Prince : who having about him Sejanne, and some other dangerous Counfellours, he shewed his disposition more then before. The fickness of the head flowuangerous Countenours, a section of that the Provinces were left without Governours, or elfe were eth into all the principall members: fo that the Provinces were left without Governours, or elfe were etti into au the principan incharacter followed great alterations. SPAIN amongst others, in many tyrannized by Prattors: whereupon followed great alterations. places lived as they lifted: it was managed at that time by Exactors, which caused People to rebell places lived as may inited. It chanced amongst others, that L. Pife Prator, was killed by a Ter-MESTAN, because he carried himself tyrannously amongst the People. This Termestan being MESTAN, Decause or carried minutes, samples of the state of the caught by the back, and cruelly tortured, he shewed himself to front notwithstanding, that they could not possibly make him contels any of his associates. But being quickly dispatched by the hands of the Hangman, who would have put him to a new torture, he knocked his head against a stone with fuch force, that he died prefently in the Field. Shortly after the Cities began to be weary of their yoak, and Corpove specially among others, which being of the principallest and of great imyoas, and Cordove specially among outsile, which bong or the pennsparent and of great importance, an Army was fent thither under the conduct of Cnew Domitsia Anobarban, who having fubdued Cordove, took amongst others Seneca, his two Brethren, and Lucan his Nephew, their Father being dead some years before. Domitim knowing what men they were, he set them at liberry, and did fo much that he perferaded them to leave SPAIN and go to ROME, 25 well to continue and to advance their studies well begun, as to be known and honoured with publick Office. Now the that of Spain was fuch at that time, that Senece and his were easily perswaded and won by him that had Authority over them, and at the last they went into ITALY. Some think that Anneus Making Changing over them, and at the law they man and the privately, and that made no account of the honour and vanity of the World. For his Son Lucan, he was brought very young His Masters at after his two Uncles, who did hear at Rome Pampenisu Maruidus, Julius Higinus, Cossius and Afinist Gallus in Rhetorick : and in Philosophy, Socio Alexandrinus, and Photisus a Stoick, very famous. Under which they all profited, and Seneca specially, who joyning to the gravity of

the Doctrine of the Stoicks, a compendious and fententious speech, in short time made himself to

Now having remained a space shur up in Schools, or hidden in the company of some learned men, whom he hearkened unto, and familiarly frequented, he was put forward at the beginning of the Empire of Caligula, by Cneus Domitius (who had married Agrippina the Daughter of Germanicus, and little Daughter of Tiberiai, of whom Nero was born, nine Moneths before the death of Tiberius) and began to thew himfelf openly, pleading before the Senate with great grace; for from that time forth he was eftermed for one of the wifert and most eloquent men of Rome. By means whereof his credit increased from day to day. But as pricks be hidden under Roses, and where men think to win Honour, oftentimes they get repulse and contempt: the revolution of mens where men think to win Honour, oftentimes they get repulse and contempt: the revolution of mens Affairs flourishing, yet marvellous brittle and subject to fall: So Senece proved that his eloquence profited others more then himfelf: and that as fometimes it is a wifer part to keep the Sword in the scaberd, then in the hand, even so

Seneca wife

The Emperour Caligula was a Prince that cared little for Liberall Sciences, yet he was very curious nience.

110 Emperour Cangula was a runte mate take mine of Landau and Cheened, among others: [pecially of Art of tenner of Arts. if sometime he disposed himself to speak against any man, the words and whole sentences did man create in his mouth, with such an accent and gesture, that they heard him and knew him afar off, and fometimes he threatned men with the force of his tongue. This quickness and vain eloquence of his, made him (besides that he had an ill shaped head) wonderfull presumptions. For there was never a learned man and eloquent in all the ROMAN Empire, but he would prefer himself before him. And those that directly or indirectly went about to cross him, they put themselves in manifest danger: winess that which happened to the Oratour Demirius Afer, and unto Sencea. Caligula bearing ill will a long time unto Domitius for fome light fpight he had unto him, Domitius was accused before the Senate: where Caligula made a long Oration written, and therein laid open all his fufficiency, to shew himself better able then Domitims, efteemed one of the best spoken men at that time. Now his purpose was to put Domitius to death, if he had studied to an fwer eloquently. But Domitias eafly discovering this dangerous resolution, made no reply, nor excused himself, but said he was aftonied at the Oration of the Emperour : and seining that the babling of Caligula had ravished him, he made a brief repitition, as if he had come thinker to hearken. Then having magnified his Discourses, and being commanded to defend himself, he to nearken, and to crave grace, and kneeling down belought Caligula, being more atrait of his word then of his hand. Caligula wonderfull joyfull of this honour, and thinking to be Eloquence it self, received Domisius into grace. Senses taking no heed otherwise to that manter, and having at that time the free spirit of the Stoicks, within few days after he fell almost into the like perill or greater danger then Domisius: he knew that Caligula did bear him ill will, and did also speak evil of him amongst his friends: and did compare him in his talk to gravell or fand without lime, as if he would have faid, that there was neither good band or consequence

in Seneca's Discourse. And to conclude, that he was but a jungler. But Seneca being carried away with the glory he had won , which pleased him well , continued notwithstanding to be in the Senate: Infomuch that one day having a Cause to plead before Calignia, he behaved himself with Scneca indanfuch a grace and vehemency, that all that heard him efteemed him more then they did before, Call- gered by reagula onely excepted: who being vexed, and as it were pierced through with eloquent words of Semeta, (he having in the mean time let fall no word to offend Caligula, but went on roundly with
well fooken. his matter) he was even at the point to put him to death, and then had executed his thought, had it not been for a woman he kept, who perswaded him not to do it, assuring him that Seneca had a disease that would soon dispatch him out of the World. But after that, Seneca forbare, knowing with whom he had to deal. And foon after Caligula being flain by Chavea, and Julies Sabinus his Uncle (Son of Drufus and of Livia) called Claudius, was chosen Emperour, at the beginning Seneca came again into his former credit and fame, and continued it for fome years; but at the laft he was banished Rome for this cause. Clanding was a Prince of small judgement, and carried by Screen banished certain Minions and Parafites of the Court, and by his Wife Messalina, one of the most shamelels from Rome: women that ever was. This woman wholly pofferfing Claudius, caused men and women of all quafires to be put to death and banished, as she thought good : and those above all others that went about to hinder the course of her strange waies. Among others the did bear Julia the Daughter of Germanicus ill will (as Dion reportest) because Julia did not regard nor flatter her. Furthermore Julia was a very fair Lady, which made Meffalina jealous, who by little and little, found the means to accuse this Lady of many crimes, and specially of adultery: and made her be banished, then put to death immediatly after. Seneca was carried away with this tempest, as culpable of the faults pretended against Julia. Some think that Julia is this Agrippina Mother of Nero, whom Claudis married after the death of Moffalina, and that the was banished from the Court but for a time onely. The which is very likely, as also Cornelius Tacitus feemeth to incline to that opinion. But Scarca bold for Seneca, it is not onely in one place, but in many, that Dion and others do accuse him, that he with Agrippina. had been somewhat bold with Agrippina, as if the credit he had in the House of the late deceased Chens Domitius, had given him the boldness to defile the bed of his Benefactor, dead a little before Tiberius. Furthermore, he was banished into the Isle of Corse, where he remained about banishment two years: during which time he earnestly disposed himself to the study of Philosophy, with singular contentment and quietness of mind, as may be gathered out of the goodly Discourse he wrote, and fent unto his Mother Helbia, who did bardly bear this banishment of his. But he did comfort her, and by lively Reasons shewed her, that his entertainment was not grievous unto him. but that Philosophy had strengthened him after an excellent fashion, against all the affaults of Fortune. Whileft he was in this profitable solitarines, Mesalina continued in her wantonness with fuch an impudent and hot fury, that without the testimony of so many worthy Historians. it were impossible to believe that the wife of an Emperour durst once have thought to have committed the thousand part of the villanies unto the which she had given her felf over to the fight and knowledge of all the World. Infomuch as in the end in the day time, within Rome, in Meffalina impresence of many persons of quality, and in the sight of all the People, Claudius being no fur-pudently went ther off then Hostia, the married with great pump an Adulterer called Silling, a Gentleman of ROME, with all accustomed Ceremonies and Solemnicies. She made a Feast, and held Sillius for her Husband. Tacitus in his Annals reporteth these things at large. Now though Claudius was fo foolish before, and then too, that he perceived not that which all others faw so openly : in the end being wakened by Narcifus one of his Minions, he put Sillius to death, and fome others culvable of this strange excess. And for Mesalina, the had almost comeagain into grace, but Mesalina pur in the end she was killed by the commandment of Narcisus. After Mesalina was executed to death. the three Minions of Claudius, to wit, Narcifus, Califus, and Pallas, they layed their heads together to give their Master a Wife. But in the end Pallas, that pleaded for Agrippina the Widow of Cneus Domitius, little Daughter of Tiberius, the Daughter of Germanicus, and Neece of Claudius, carried it from them; the reasons he propounded had so much more sorce, being accompanied with dainty fugred words : who under the colour of a Kinswoman , came often to visit her Uncle, and the flattered him to bravely, that the being preferred before others, and not yet married, the did already use the authority and power of a Wife. And out of hand, immediatly after the Marriage was folemnized with her Uncle Claudius , the advanced Domitius Nero her Son . and the Son of Cneus Domitius. Furthermore by her practifes, Ollawia the Daughter of Claudiss, and of Messalina, bethrothed unto Sillanus, was promised and afterwards given unto Nerofor ried to Claudihis Wife. Who being yet very young when his Mother married Gland us (and but eleven years us the Empeold onely) it was in question to get him a good Master and Tutor to teach him his Book betimes, rour, and Oda and to train him up in Affairs of Estate. Agrippina, a woman of a m. vellous spirit, and that via betrothed plotted great things, as the effect shewed afterwards, as Tacitus hath wife noted : the resolved to have Seneca called back again, and immediatly obtained his grace of the Camperson. She did this to divers ends, the one was to have a man of great authority and bringing up about her Son, to the end to maintain Nero under the shadow of so great an appearance, entill the time of his advancement were come. The other, to make the remembrance of Meffaliza the more odious, who had been the cause of the banishment of Seneca to put back Britamnicus, the Son of her, and Brother of Ottavia, and by that means to have men at her commandment, little affected unto Claudins. So then Agripping over-ruling Claudius at her pleasure, she did not onely obtain the repeal,

but also the Pratorship for Seneca, whom they sent for quickly, and he returned to ROME with great

SEN ETA

Agrippina, 28

Honour, to the contentment of high and low. nonour, to the contenument of the analysis received him graciously, made him a Senatour, and Immediatly after he was arrived, Claudius received him graciously, made him a Senatour, and immentative after the was attitude, Changain scaled into the Palace of the Emperour, Domitiscatted News infitalled him in his Charge. Afterwards being called into the Palace of the Emperour, Domitius Nero is given him in charge, with great promifes of Agripping, who had two vices common to fuch persons. The one was, that she was set on fire with extream covetoulness to get Money, under colour that she layed a foundation in store to help to maintain her Estate. The other, that the gave largely unto those whom the knew meet for the advancement of her Son, whom the would raife up to be Emperous whatfoever it coft her , yea were it her own life : as appeared by her answer to a wife man, whom the had asked what should become of the future Greatnels of her Son Nero. For that he having answered her, that he might be Emperour, but it should be to her undoing: Let me die then, faid she, so he may reign. Tacirus writeth that Agrippina thought the People would rejoyce at the return of Sensea, because of the great same of his Knowledge: and also procured this good, to the end that the infancy of Domitius might grow untill his adoletcency under fuch a Mafter, and she to use his counsell, to attain to the greatnels of command which the hoped for. Seneea, inflead of continuing in his foliarinefs, and not remembring that

Who entreth Tyrants House, doth become

A Slave , though he thither a Freeman come. He to the contrary, thinking he had found the means to shew the effects of a Philolopher (the wit of man, yea of the wifeft, is fo finared in darknels upon darknels, when there is question of the troubles of this life) went and engaged himself in the service of Agrippina. And although for a time he bridled the youth of Nero, and did withftand certain diforders, yet in the end he was conftrained to leave all, and suffer the fierce stream to run, having defired (but too late) solitarines: and with lefs Goods and Honours of the World, more Liberry, and quietness of mind. Now, as he himself knew very well, and did excellently teach it unto others, that so as Megrims and pains in the head are not healed by a Crown or Royall Band, neither to the contrary, is good health, nor the good flate of a man loft, though he be not a great Lord: fo this greatnels in the which he faw himlest highly lift up in a short time, did nothing else but increase his cares, wherewith he found him fels bound, as with strong chains to the end of his life. And though he did shake them, and at times had proved to break them, yet he could not possibly unloose them: and in the end there was no way

but he must perish under the weight Of maffie chains, that of no iron were, But fuch as hamefaftnefs did make him bear.

New trastable It is true, that at the first his Charge and Government seemed light unto him. For New was a young Prince of great hope, and in youth he shewed himself gentle, tractable, obeying his Schoolmafters inftructions, who delighted to manure this Plant, hoping all the World should have joy of him. But as the Emperours that were before, even in their young age, had made some shew of that which might be expected of them in time to come: Somes also perceived through the goodly apparence of his Scholar, some part of his wild, naughty, and untoward nature, which he thewed within tew years after. Allo Caesu Domitius his Father, as some came to gratifichim for that Agrippina his Wife had brought him a Son: he holding down his head, answered, that they should not think that of him and of fuch a woman should be born an infant, but to the ruine and confusion of the Empire. This Prediction was not noted, but when Agripping her felf felt by the loss of her life, what a child she had brought into the World, and advanced by so many strange practites, and by the degrees of incest, of bloud, and filthings, unto the Imperial Dignity. Now whilet Seneces imployed himself to polish the spirit of Nero, and sought to print in his heart the love of Vertue, Agrippina carefull of the worldly greatness of her Son, the followed her purpose cumningly helping her felf (asmuch as the thought fit, to ferve her turn) with the counted of Senece, whom she acquainted not but with the least part of the corruption of her intentions; for she being a cruell woman, and that never received those into favour whom she hated, caused Lolia Paulina to be put to death, that had reasoned against her for the marriage of Claudiss. "She caused Calcraell woman. purnia to be banished out of ITALY. And having through Pallas credit, who privatly governed her , and allo kept her , made her Son Afro to be adopted , who was preferred before Britanniem, the right Succeffor unto the Empire: to the end she would have her Power and Authority to be known to the Friends and Allies of the Empire, the caused a number of Souldiers of the old Bands and People to be carried to the place where the was born, a Town of the UBIANS, at this day his Train went the same time before Agrippina (who was set upon a scassold joyning unto that MANS. But the maintained that the was a companion of the Empire obtained by her Predecelfors. Now those were but slight approaches in compartion of this that followeth. For having caused

called Cullen, upon the Rhine. So that this City was afterwards, and is at this prefent called COLONIA AGRIPPINA. Afterwards, for a new testimony of this Authority, Carathacu King of ENGLAND, was led Prisoner unto ROME, and presented with his Wife and Brethren unto Claudius: who in prefence of the People and of his Guards pardoned them. This King and

felves to Class of her Husbands :) they did her reverence, and thanked her with the fame praises they gave the Emperour. Which was found very ftrange and new, against the custome and fashion of the doing of the Ancients: to fee a woman fer amongst the Standards and Ensigns of the Roher fon to be declared to be mr Age, in teltimony whereof he took the Robe due unto those that were come to many effete, and obtained that he might receive the Consulship at twenty Preparations years of Age: she made him have the power of Pro-Consul out of the City, and the name of for Niro's adverse of Age: the made him have the power of Pro-Consul out of the City, and the name of for Niro's adverse of the City and the name of the City and the name of the City and the name of the Niro's adverse of the City and the name of the name of the City and the name of the city and the name of the name of the city and the name of the nam years of the youth. Befides all this, there was great largefs made unto the people in his name, vancement to prince of the youth. Befides all this, there was great largefs made unto the people in his name, vancement to prince of the youth. See the plant of the people directly the first of the plant of the people of the plant. and a fum of money given to every fouldier. Allo Nero himfelf paffing to go to the Plays and a number of circes, went apparelled with an Imperiall Robe, and Britannicus as he was wont : who remembring fo many outrages as they had done unto him, could not contain but must shew some discontenuent. And this served Agripping her intention; for she prevailed so much with Clau-

uncommunities, that the procured him to banish or put to death all the Governors of his son Britannicat. And worse yet: he committed him unto men suborned by Agrippina; who passing surther vet, discharged Lucius Geta of his Captainship of the Guard, Rufus Crispinus, servants of the house of Messalina, and placed in their rooms , Burrus Afranius, a man greatly esteemed for a Warriour, but who knew well enough by whole favour he was advanced. Such was the boldness of this Agrippina, a great Lady in truth (for the was the Daughter, Sifter, Wife, and Mother of an Emperour) but of a spirit compounded of all forts of mischiefs. We have touched these things passing by, upon the occasion of Seneca: who being occupied about his Pupil, was confirained to be partaker of many counfells, of the which he understood not the depth always. But

to it is, that Agrippina ferved her turn much by his authority, to advance her business: the seneraunderfo it is, that Agrippina terved ner tuli most by the address of the bought of it too late. Now flood nor the which Seneca perceived well, but he could not remedy it, for he thought of it too late. Now depth of Awhich serves patterned with, one admonitions of his mafter were bars to keep him in order, yet grippinats the corruptions of that time, and the working of his mother alfo, began by little and little to differ appear in him : fo that by time he made it manifest, that the good instructions had beaten his ears a little, and troubled his brain somewhat: but that evil had taken too deep root in his heart,

Furthermore, whilft Nero remained to as under the rod, openly there could be noted in Agrippina nothing but feverity and gravity, no infolencies in her houle, otherwise then she thought might ferre for the advancement of her affairs: for then, her felf, as alfo all her train, gave themfelves over to all diffolution. Now after she had advanced a part of her intentions, Nero being sixteen years old, married Octavia the daughter of Claudiu: and to fhew that he had learned under Seneca, he pleaded many causes of importance unto the Senate, with the praise of all men, Immediately after, a matter happened, that compelled Agrippina to look advisedly unto her af-

fairs, Claudius having drunk well at a feaff, let thele words escape bim, that his deftiny was first to endure all the mischiefs of his Wives, and afterwards to punish them. She being afraid to be prevented, determined to make hafte, after she had first destroyed Lepida her Cousin-German, Lepida made who wan the heart of Nero by her kindness and liberality. These troubles of Agrippina gave away.

who wan the neart or Mero by her Annual and Hollands. But in these firs Claudius was poi-Marciffus the alarm, and made him joyn with Britannicus. But in these firs Claudius was poi-foned by a Woman, an Eunuch of his, and his Physician, practiced of long time by Agrippina, who Emperor poyhaving didained Britannicus and his fifters a long time, fuddenly the Gates of the Palace were opened, foned by the and Mero accompanied with Buryus presented himself to the souldiers PRETORIANS, of whom procurement of being faluted Emperour, he was confirmed by decree of the Senate, and afterwards allowed by his wife Agrip; the Provinces. Then Nero made divers Orations penned by Semeca, who besides the content- pina.

ment he had of the high dignity of his Pupill, wrote a pleasant Discourse upon the death of Claudist, and did intitle it, Apocolokynthosis, that is to say, immortality gotten by Musstrooms, because the meat was sprinkled all over with Mussirooms, whereof Claudius was poysoned. The which Nero afterwards called the meat of the gods, feeing that by that means his Father in law was scraped out of the World, and made one of the gods after the fashion of the Ro-MANS. Also Gallio Seneca's brother gave Clauding a mock, saying that he was drawn up to heaven with a hook, slenting at the custom in practise at that time, to draw the bodies of malefactors put to death in prilon, with an iron hook into the River. Such was the end of Claudins, rewarded for his incest, and for the injury he did unto his son Britannicus, to advance a fon-in-law, for to pleafe an ambitious woman, to wit, Agrippina. Nero being thus raifed up, his

Mother fet upon Julius Sillanus Pro-conful in Asia, who was poyloned because the feared him, for that being the laft fort of Augustus, the people did greatly honour him, and faid he should be preferred before Nero. On the other fide Narciffus was halfily compelled to die, although Nero was Naciffus put very angry withall. To be short, the knives were drawn, and this woman had shed much blood, to death.

if Burns and Seneca had not beaten down the blows. They being Nero's Governors, and agreeing well together in this equall and common greatness, they had both alike power and autho. Burnst and serity, but by divers means, Burrus, he disposed of all matters military, and was a grave man, but nece confer to rity, but by divers means, Burrus, he dispoted of an matters minitary, and was a grave man, our gether for Neg * had four manners. Seneca with a pleasant and comely fashion taught this young Prince eloquence, re's good. They did carefully help one another, and often conferred together what means they should use

to make Nero love Vertue, whereof he feemed to have great beginnings. To hold him in more eafily, they let him have his own will in exercises and honest pleasures, and lest him to his disposition to do as he thought good. This young man from his infancy used his wit, which was quick to divers things, peradventure better for a man of fome other quality, to wit: to grave, to paint, to fing, to play on the Cithern, to ride horses, and to make verses. That a Prince have all the parts in him, and be furnished with others, is not a thing in it self to be blamed, so that the prin-

cipal do always go before, and that nothing be forgotten requifite for difcharge of his Government received of God. Otherwise, as he was justly reproved, that of a wise Physician was be-

Queen sub-Reme.

Caractacus 2

the prairies of a Prince: He was a good player at Tenorcellin other nis, a cunning Workman, a brave Fencer, a fine Dancer, a great Talker: My fair friend, thou

doeft as if one being about to speak of a man and his contentment, came to tell us that he handleth neglect act the his feet and his hands finely, and that he hath fine shooes on, and weareth his hat gallantly; and thou forgest bodies without a foul, and men without vocation, and vocations ridiculous. laighearing one call the King of Persia, a great King: Why, faid he, is he greater then my felf, unless it be that he is juster then I am? Nothing furely maketh Kings and Princes truely great Justice onely but justice. Other things how exact foever they are found, they shall oftentimes meet with maketh Princes more excellent in a poor crafts mans hand, hidden amongst the refuse of the people. The Prince therefore is not desirous of true honour, nor a man that deserveth praise, that is carefull to cloub his body fumptuously, and that glorieth to be a Painter, a Graver, a cunning Workman, a Singer, a player at Tennis, a Hunter, a Dancer, and that his house be richly furnished with houshold ftuff, and himself daintily served: and all this while he giveth no order for his speech, his company, and conversation, that therein he be Graver and Wiser then a base and common person. making no account to have the Palace of his Soul Royally apparelled and fet forth, as appertain-A Prince given eth to a royall magnificence. But how can a Prince be great, what power of authority foever he

to bife things have, if he be given to vile things, unworthy of his true greatness? and worse then that, if he cannot be great joyn vice unto these ridiculous things in him? Away with this trash, and take vertue from a great man in the world, you shall see him little in all other things. Little in his gifts and presents : because he will not, or knoweth not how to dispose them. Little in pains, because of his delicatenels: little towards God, because of his superstition: little unto the good, because of his envy: little unto men, because of his cowardliness: little among women, because he is subject unto voluptyousnels. For like as evil Workmen, which set up little statues upon great and large bases, do by measure shew the smallness of their statues: even so when Fortune lifterh up to high estate a man of a weak and little heart, where he is to be seen of all the world; and in the place of the Robe and Staff of Justice, he is seen apparelled like a crasts man, or an enterlude player: she doth discover, descry, and dishonour him, making it appear how he recleth and stumblesh for his lightness. Let this be spoken to the purpose of Nero's pastimes, who shortly after less all fuch Comedies, to play terrible Tragedies. And for his small pleasures, although at the first Burrus and Seneca were wary that this young Prince lived modeftly enough: yet we must confefs that fometime they gave him liberty to entertain women, which the eftate of his Court of ROME did offer him at pleasure. But that which most troubled them, was the boldness of A. The motioncy grippina: who being fet on fire with all the passions that may be found in a wicked Governof Agripina a grippina: ment , had near about her Palace an arrogant man, and that having forgotten with what conand Seneca's dition he came to mount so high, braved all the World, and Mero himself: who notwiththand-

ing his youth, did very unpatiently bear the infolency of this Minion. And yet he bare it, because he would not anger his Mether, to whom he spared no reverence, honour, and kindness amongst his Lords : also be called her his good Mother , even to give this name otherwhile for a watch-word unto the Captain. In these beginnings Nero made many goodly and well penned Orations, after the manner of Seneca, who had a gentle spirit, and meet for the ears of the time. These exercises fashioned Nero, kept under his wild nature, and framed it to

Mere governed the affairs of effate: in such fort, that the first five years of his Empire, he was so finely handwell inhis fust led by Seneca, seconded with Burrus, that the affairs of Peace and War prospered, every man having great hope of Nero, who shewed himself lowly, and given to vertue. Seneca reporteth wonders in his books he did dedicate unto him, where he treated of clemency, fingularly of this gentleness of his. For at the beginning of the second book he saith, that Burrus desirous to hang two Thieves, fued to the Emperour to fet to his hand, against whom, and for what causes this execution should be done. This being put off divers times, Burrus sollicited the dispatch, and being angry, prefented the paper unto Nero: who with a discontented countenance,

and doing it as against his will, he cryed out : By my will, I would I could neither write nor read. See to what end the instructions of Seneca served : where I will tell you another story, although it chanced a long time after the first, to shew the credit of the Master towards his Scholar. Nero having made a pavillion with eight panes wonderfull sumptuous, Senica told him: Thou hast shewed thy self in this pavillion that thou art poor : For if thou lose it , thou shalt never have the like again. As it came to pass: for the ship wherein his pavillion was, was cast a way; and Nero remembring Seneca's words, did bear the loss of it more patiently. Furthermore Senec. accompanied Nero in the affemblies of Councill, and oftentimes told him in the field what he should do, according to the occurrences: and in divers Orations he procured that Nero made protestation of his gentleness before the Senate. The which turned to the praise of Seneca, in such fort

notwithstanding that the people perceived, and rejoyced at it. So they report that the Emperour Trajan was wont to say, that all the other Princes were far from the first five years of the Em-Pire of Nero: as Tacitus and others do testifie. In the mean time Nero shewed himself very liberal unto Seneca, and did esteem him as much, or more, then any man in ROME at that time: for he made him a prefent of great fums of money, unto three thousand Sestertium, which some think do amount unto seven millions and fifty thousand Crowns; of the which, part of it yielded

him great profit at usury: the other part was bestowed upon sumptuous Gardens, houses of pleasure, lands and poffettions far off and near ROME: and furthermore a Palace in the City, full of all forts of precious moveables. For all this Seneca waxed nothing the prouder, but fearing fortune, and remembring his old state and condition, fought to keep himself upright in the middest of the great Seneca in procombats which were like to come, having upon his arms the unconstant youth of Nero, the which sperity forgetcompany which was the state of the control of the other fide, the ambition of Agrippina to fight withall think of adand beat down: this woman being of such a spirit, that she could tarry in no place, but set her versity, felf and others on work. But this credit of Burrus and Seneca, and their great riches alfo, especially of Seneca, made them to be envied of many, that did blame and accuse them openly. Whereany of servers, maximum popoled the gravity of his manners, and fought by divers writings to firengthen himfelf more and more: as some of his works, especially the discourse of a happy life, seemeth to be done by him during these alarms.

Now the beginning of these griefs of Seneca, came partly for that he perceived Nero's mind so corrupted, that he began to be very diffolute : and partly also for that he discovered that Agrippina and her Minions would fee upon him and Burrus also, which with time would bring them into many dangers. And though for his own part he was relolute against all accidents, nevertheless the charge and care he had of the affairs of the Empire, and the love which he bare unto Were his Scholar, troubled him exceedingly. Nevertheless as hope entertaineth us in all dangers, attending better, he determined to keep himself upright as long as he could possible, and to expect some other issue in the affairs. Nero was enamoured on a bond-woman called Atte, which his familiars did endure, alledging they must suffer one evil, for fear a worse should happen: and that so long as he should satisfie himself with her , he should not run after the Ladies of An inconveni-ROME. But Agripping that could not bear with this infolency, began to take up her Son ence fufficied roundly, thinking the could by her magistrality remedy this well enough. To the contrary, this chief. was to kindle the fire, and to embrace it altogether in this Girl. Nero being waxen great, and counselled by Otho and Claudius Senecio, who made the messages of Love, he southed at these reprehensions, and began to despise his mother: who on the sudden came to change her subtilties. And she had not been so sharp before in rebuking, but she was now as gentle in yielding, and offered her closet to her fon for the accomplishing of his desires. This sudden change made Nero's mothet Nero and his Minions think much of it, infomuch as they prayed him to beware of the deceits unconfiant. of this woman, that practifed in her heart some villany, Nero countermining her, presenteth his mother with many rich jewells and apparel of great price. But she being suspicious as could be possible, gave them injurious words that brought them. Wherewith Nero being offended, and knowing that Pallas was the chief counsellor of Agrippina, took his offices from him, which were committed to him by the Emperor Claudius. Agrippina began then to diminish in reputation, and to see off the hooks: and coming to Nero himself, threatned him to take his Empire from him, and Agripina to establish Britannicus, the lawfull successor of Claudius; and hereupon detested in express tearms threatner the wickedness she had committed, to bring up a son that was so unthankfull unto her: adding Nero. moreover, that the would go find out the Armies with Britannicus, fo long as they could, the on the other side, this baggage fellow Burrus, and this banished pedanticall companion Seneca (so did she qualifie him) barking after the government of the world. These threatnings were accompanied with such strange countenances and imprecations, that they troubled Nero; besides that Britannicus came now to be fourteen years old : and that one day playing, he could fay aloud before Were himfelf. that they had taken his Empire from him. Shortly after Britannicus was poyloned, and died fud Britannicus dealy, to the great aftonishment of Agrippina and of Ollavia also. Afterwards, Nero desisted poyloned. to converse so privately with his mother as he did at other times; and began to give ear unto them that would fet them further at odds: fo that a certain fool, called Paris, having told Nero one night that Agrippina conspired against him, he was resolved to make his mother to be put to death; Nero purpoand to take from Burrus the charge of Captain of the Guards. But Seneca kept him from that, feth to put his and after some reasons passed between them, Burrus being sent for, to put Nero by his choler, he mother to befought him to let him have the charge of this business, affuring him that he would put A- death. grippine to death, if the were convinced of any villany. Notwithflanding that every body thould be heard speak in their defence, and above all, a mother: adding also that the accusers wete not present, and that there was but one accuser suspected. And that he could not justifie, that such an important deliberation should be made by night, and at the Table: and that all that would shew his rashness and folly more then any other thing. Nero being somewhat pacified they tarried till day, that they might go to the mother, to know how these accusations fell out. Burrus was there by express Commission with Sinesa, and some others, to mark what should be faid. But Agrippina could so well justifie her felf, that her accusers were punished: for one of them was put to death, and the rest banished. From that time forward Nero began to run rior, as is described by Suetonius, Tacitus and Dion. But the beginning of new and horrible mileries (the other that went before being but light in respect of them) was the falling in love with Sabina Popaa, the Wife of Otho, who had taken her away from her first Nero fallets husband Rufus Crispinus, a Knight of Rome. Nero did the like unto this Otho, and took in love with from him this Minx that knew the tricks of the occupation. She having gained Nero in a little Sabina Poport pace, prevailed so much with him, that he determined to put his mother Agrippina to death.

Qqqq3.

Nero waxeth

Who hearing of the ill will her Son did bear her, fought by all means to get into his fa-Who nearing of the in win her son and ocal had, rought by an incans to get into his ba-your again; even to prefent her felf fo fhamefully unto him, that I shame to be the reporter of your again: even to present that the state of the state o commanded Anicers Generall of the Galleys of MISENE, to fee her drowned: the which was commanues Anteres Central of the Agrippina for that time eleaped being burt, and got to a house of pleafure of hers. Agro hearing thele news, more dead then alive, thinking he was undone, fent prefently for Burrus and States to have their advice : and we cannot tell faith Taciem) whether they were of counfell and privy to this fact, or not. Both of them therefore were a great while with about they were a counter and party at the land they flould lose time, if they flould go about to diffwade putting Agrip and spake not a word, being afraid they should lose time, if they should go about to dissuade and space not a word, only assault of space to the space of the space come, that Nero must needs die, it Agroppina were not prevented. Sencea, who until this prefent time was ever ready to speak, looked upon Burrus, as to know of him if he thought good to command the Men of War to do this murther. Burrus answered, that the Presorian souldiers were to affectioned to the house of the Cefars, and did to much reverence the memory of Germanicm, that they would never enterprife any thing against the life of his children; and that Anicesus was to perform his promife, Who without any further thought, demanded and excepted the Committion, which was forthwith executed, and Agrippina put to death in her house, where the thrusting out her body to the Centener, who took his fword in his hand to kill her, she crych out: Ventrem feri, destring that the womb which had born such a fruit as Nero, should be first stricken, and run through. Nero defiled with this execrable murther, added thereto other infinite abominations, especially the putting away and doing his Wife Octavia to death, a vertuous Princes, and that deserved better. Now this is enough that we have touched these things by the way, because they specially concern the life of Nero, who payed his Master with an evill reward, entangling him in fuch wicked counfells. On the other fide also it cannot be denied, that Burrus and Seneca yielded too much to the civell will of this Paricide. And as for the extremity they feared, there were means enough to have holpen it: and we must never do evil , that good may come of it. And what good could come of fuch an exercise abomination? For though Agripping deferved fuch a cruell punishment, for fo many wicked deeds as she had done, yet should not her Son have had his hand in it; and his counsellers should not have confented unto it, nor Anicetus have executed it. As all were much to be blamed for this seed, yet some more then other; so they had all their turn, as Tacism and Successions do show

SENECA.

Burrus dislodged the first, and as least to be blamed for so many dislorders, he was spared, in that he faw not the other incredible confusions that fell our afterwards. His throat fwelling within, by Bierner dieth: little and little, he died, his pipes being stopped that he could fetch no wind. Many affirmed, faith Tacines, that by the commandment of Ners, making as though they would help him, the palate of his mouth was rubbed with poifon, and that Burrus perceived that wickedness, and when Nero came to fee him, he would not vouchfafe to look on him, but turned on the other fide. And Ngro ask. ing him how he did, he answered onely, I am well. This man was wonderfully lamented of the ROMANS, because of his vertue, and of the foolishees of one of his succeptours, and of the notable villanies of the other called Tigellinus, who was the utter ruine of Nero. The death of Barrus much impaired the power and authority of Seneea: for that the means to do good were weak, as having loft the half part of their life; and because that Mero inclined unto those which held him up in his wickedness, against the which Senses opposed himself as time and occasion would fuffer him. But his enemies having the Princes ear, they failed not to fet upon this honourable perfon, because of his age and the services he had done to Neve. They did falfly accuse him, saith Taci-Seneca acculed 1817, for that he having great riches, and more then was fit for a private man, he did fill encrease by his enemies. them, and grew greater and befides did gain and draw the good will of the people too much unto him. That he had goodlier gardens and more fumptuous houles of pleafure, then the Emperor himfelf. Furthermore, that he imputed all the honour to himself for knowing how to speak excellently well: and that he made Vertes oftner then he was wont, after that he perceived Nero took plafure to make them himself. That flatly condemning Nero his exercises, he mocked him, seing him ride and mannage horfes, and laughed at him hearing him fing. And all this was but to make men believe that nothing was well done in the affairs of the effate, that proceeded not from his invention. Now that Nero was come out of his infancy, and in the flower of his youth, that he should leave his mafter, considering that his ancestors should serve him well enough for great and good tutors: Seneca understanding by the report of those shar yet somewhat regarded great and good uttors: Seneta understanding by the report of more and year withdraw yearner and honour, how these lewed incensers did accuse him, perceiving also that Nero withdraw yearner and honour, how these lewed incensers did accuse him, perceiving also that Nero withdraw himself more and more from his familiarity, which he had shewed in times past, he befought him to hear him , the which having obtained , he faid thus unto him , My Lord , it is now fourteen years since I was first called to accompany the great hope that was had of your infancy, and eight general Orayears fince you have been Emperor: during which time you have heaped to much goods and
tion anto Nero
honour upon me, that nothing wanteth to my felicity, but to know how to use them well. To his purpose I will lay before you notable examples practifed by men of your quality, not of mine. Asguffus great father of your grandfathers father, licenfed M. Agrippa to withdraw himself unto MYTILENE, to lead a private life: and to C. Mecena to live at his case within ROME it felf, as in some pleasant remote place sarther off. The one of them had accompanied him

in his Wars, and the other having been beaten and tormented with great Tempests in Rome, had heen both, to speak the truth, amply recompenced, as also the great service they had done well deferved it. As for my felf, I brought nothing that deferved you should be so noble and liberal unto me, but onely my Studies nourished (if I may be so bold to speak it) in the shadow, and covertly, from whence notwithstanding all my reputation is proceeded, for as much as it seemeth I have been in your Apprentiships: which truly is to me a great reward and rich recompence. But befides all this , you have infinitely favoured me , and prefented me with innumerable Goods. Insomuch that I often reason thus with my self: Is it possible, that I that am but of a simple House of Knights (also dwelling without ROME) should hold the place of one of the chiefest Lords of ROME ? and amongst the most Noble, and those that are noted to be of so great Antiquity, that a new come man as my felf, hath dared to shew himself in place? Where is that Spirit that contented it felf with Mediocrity? What meaneth he to have so fine and goodly Gardens? What? he walketh by such and such Houses of Pleasures, near unto the City. His Lands and Possessions are of fo great an extent, and his Money bringeth him in fuch a commodity many ways, that he is full to the throat. For the which there is nothing to be offered, but a defence for my felf; That I could not refuse your Presents. Now we have, both the one and the other, performed our duty you, in giving so much as a Prince could give to him that he loveth, and I, in receiving that which a man in great favour might have and take of his Prince. As for my Honours and Estates, envy looketh awry upon me: howbeit (as all other things of the World) fhe is under the feet of your greatness. Yet in the mean time she lighteth upon me, and therefore I have need of help. And as in War, or otherwise travelling abroad, if I were weary I would require rest: so finding my felf in the Travell of this Life now old, and very unmeet for the least Office, fince I can no longer support the burthen of my Riches, I do desire to be discharged. Command therefore that your Receivers henceforth do take them and put them into your Treasure. I shall not therefore become poor, but when I shall be rid of those things which blind-fold me with their brightnels, I shall bestow my time in study, which I was wont to employ in my Gardens and Possessia ons. You are young and lufty, and time hath established you in the greatness of your Estate: but we that are your ancient Servants have leave as it were to repose our selves. It shall be also a great honour for you to have raifed those to great Office, to whom mean things had sufficed. Nero sanswer Unto this Nero made answer, in manner as followeth: For that on the sudden I do answer your to senter's premeditate Oration, it is because I have learned it of you, that have taught me how I should deal. Oration. not onely in things feen far off, but also in those which are presented upon the sudden unto me. Augustus my Grand-father suffered Agrippa and Macenas to repose themselves after their Travels: but it was in such an age, that his authority might maintain that, and any thing else by him granted: and yet he did not take from the one nor the other any goods that he had given unto them. They got it in the Wars, and with danger of their lives: For Augustus spent his youthin Wars. I do affure my felf that your arms nor hands would have failed me, it I had gone to the Wars: but as the Estate of my affairs did bear, you have by reason, by counsell, and by instructions railed up my infancy and youth. So will I remember all the days of my life the good service I have received at your hands. That which you hold of me, your Gardens, Money in bank, Houses in the Countrey abroad, all that is subject unto divers Accidents. And though all together feem much, yet is it to, that many far short of your deferts have possessed more. I am ashamed to name bondmen made free, whom men see richer then you; and the cause that maketh me ashamed is, that you whom I should cherish above all others, do not pass them in Riches and humane greatness. Furthermore, you are yet in good age, to govern your Lands and Revenues, and we do but now enter into managing the affairs of the Empire; but it may be that you efteem your felf less then Vitellim, three times Confull : and commend Claudius above me, as if I could not by my liberality give you as much goods as Volusius by long sparing hath gotten. Moreover, if our flippery and unconstant youth sway on one side more then it ought. you reform it, guiding by your aid and vigilancy that small direction we have. If you bring your Money into my Coffers, if you forfake the Prince, they will not fay it is because you are content with little, and feek your eafe: but their talk shall be none other, but of my coverousnels, and my cruelty. And although they should much praise your moderation in this action, yet it becometh not an old man to feek honour by doing any thing that should dishonour his friend. Wero added to this fine speech, many embracements and kiffes, being made by nature, and brought by custom to cover his malice with falle and counterfeit kindness. Seneca (as it is the conclusion of a speech holden with him that commandeth) thanked him: yet he immediately changed his accustomed manner he was wont to use during his former greatness : gave them leave to depart that came every morning in Troops to falute him; turned away from others that offered to follow and accompany him : very feldom he went into the City, and stirred Senecachangnot out of his house, as if he had been fick, or troubled after his study of Philosophy. This was eth his tormer the talk betwirt Nero and Seneca, who having leasure to bethink himself better of the answer Custom: of Nero, knew very well that his fortune was changed, and that the Disciple was become the Master: yea and that so much more dangerous, for that his cruell courage was wrapped up in so

gracious words and countenances, the which a man was conftrained to truft, or at the least to make Nero being as it were overcome by Seneca, was as cruell and more then before, counfelled by Qqqq3

Tigellinus and Popaa. First of all then he began to cut off the heads of Plautus and Sylla, honour-

ablemen, banished before into Asia and to Marshilles. He refused, confined, and finally ties and heaft- put to death his Wife, the Princels Octavia, using an infamous and strange manner in his proceedings against her. He married the Adultres Popea, who brought him a Daughter that died soon after. He counterfeited the Player, always intermixing fome new cruelty with his passimes. Afterwards he being prefent at a Banquet made by Tseellinus, in the which were committed all forts of villanies, and he himself being defiled with naturall and unnaturall whoredoms and abomination ons, within few days after (a matter incredible, if so many grave Historians, amongst others Tasitus did not affureus of it) he married one Pythagoras, as his Husband, which was of the company of these Villains, and was solemnly married according to the Custom of other Marriages. The yellow Veil of the married couple covered Nero's head. Soothsayers were sen for, the joyner was affigned, the Bed of the Spoule prepared, the wedding Torches were lighted : and to be short they faw that openly which the night hideth, when the question of Marriage is in hand with a Woman. Thirdly he fet fire on a great number of houses in ROME, so as the most part were burnt. And to clear himself of this wickedness, he faisly layed it upon the Christians, (being a great number at that time in ROME) that they were the author of this disorder: massmuch that they failty accused were fet upon with a strange cruelty. And yet as they put them to death, they did a thousand and perfecuted mockeries unto them, putting beafts Skins upon them to be torn in pieces with Dogs, or else they were hanged upon the Crofs, or burnt with a little fire: their Wood-houles or Stacks of Wood ferved to give light in the night. Now though the People of Rome were bloodily bent against these innocents, yet there were many that had pitty of them, seeing honest men tormented, to satisfie the cruell insolency of Nero: who apparelled like a Coach-man, and driving the Horse himself in the midst of these consusions, made the People passime. Besides all this he forraged and ransacked all ITALY with Impositions and excessive Lones, ruining the Towns, and not fparing also the Temples of ROME, of ASIA, nor of GREECE. It was given out abroad, faith Tacitus, that Seneca (whom Nero went oftentimes to visit, to keep him in breath, and gently to full him affeep) to avoid the fuspition that he had been of counsell in this facriledge, had asked leave to go to some House of his far into the Countrey. Which being denied him, he kept his Chamber faining to be fick of the Gout. Some have written that a bondman of his enfranchiled, called Cleonicus, did prepare to poylon him by the commandment of Nero: the which he avoided upon warning given him by him, or for that he feared fuch a thing, living meanly, eating fuch Fruits as were brought him out of the Countrey, and being contented to drink clear running Water if he were athirft. Such deteftable wickedness of Nero having of long time offended many honourable Perfons, which could no longer endure fuch a Mafter, they refolved to fet themfelves at liberty, and conspired to kill him one day when they faw opportunity. The day being come, one called Milliem, an enfranchifed bondman of one of the principal Conspirators, went to discover to Nero what they had complotted against him. This gave a strange Alarm unto the Emperor, who caused them to lay hands of one another, amongst which number there was Lucan the Nephew of Seneca, that was a party in this conspiracy, for anger against Nero: who was the cause that his Verses were not had in that estimation they deserved, and commanded him not to publish them, thinking (but in vain) that he could make as good. From that time forth they could fee nothing in ROME but imprisoning of men of quality, and preparation for execution

Seneca, that stirred not out of the Countrey was not forgotten of Popaa, nor of Tigellinus Nero can foon which were the fecret counfellors of Nero in his cruelties. And Nero also failed not to take hold of find a staff to this occasion to take away his School-master, whose shadow did torment him. It was not for that Seneca was partaker of the counfell with the Conspirators, but Nero was glad to find the mean to dispatch him with a Sword, fince he could not do it by poyson. For one of the Conspirators called Natalis (whom Nero had pardoned) faid nothing elfe of him, but that he was fent to visit Seneca being fick, and to complain because he thought not good that Pifo (being the head of this enterprife, and should be created Emperor after the murther of Nero) should come to see him, and that he would confirm their friendship, frequenting familiarly together: but that Seneca had answered, that their talk and meeting would neither be profitable for the one, nor for the other: and moreover, that his life depended upon that of Pifo. Gravius Silvanus Captain of a Band-of Guards, was commanded to go to Seneca, to know if he would take any knowledge to have spoken the words confessed by Natalis, and the answer that he made at that time. By chance, or wittingly, Sineca was come home that very day, and remained in a house of his two small Miles from RONE. Pompels PauThe Captain came thither about night, and placed his Souldiers round about the house: and aftertina the Wife wards came in, and found Seneca at supper with his Wife Pompeia Paulina, and two of his friends. So having delivered his meffage unto him, Seneca answered straight being nothing moved; that Natalis was indeed fent unto him to complain in the Name of Pife, for that Seneca would not fuffer him to come and fee him: and that for himfelf, he did excuse himfelf as well by reason of his sicke nels, as for the delire hehad to take his ease. And for those words: that his life depended upon that of Pifo, he faid he had no occasion to prefer the prefervation of another private mans life before his own. And that furthermore, he gave not his mind to flatteries, whereof he would have no better testimony then Nero bimself, who had offner known that Seneca was a Free-man, then 3 Slave or a Bondman. Silvanus returned unto Nero, and made report in the prefence of Popaa and

Tigellinus, who were very defirous to hear his answer: which being heard, Nero asked him, if Seneca made any shew to be willing to die. The Captain affured him that he perceived no fign of fear nor of forrow, in the words, nor countenance of Seneca. Thereupon Nero commanded this Captain to return to Senera, and to command him to die. Some think that this Execu-Nero sendent Captain to return to Senera, and to command min to the Source mine that this Execute tioner returned not again that way he was come, but went another way, to find out Fenius Captions of the Mellinge of the service of rain of the Guards, whom after he had acquainted with Nero's commandment, he asked him if he death. would execute this Commission. Fenius that was of the number of the Conspirators, nevertheless advised him to obey the Emperors commandment, by a fatal cowardliness of as many as were of them. For Silvanus that had this commission to go to Seneca, was also one of the confipracy, and yet his hand was ready to encrease the wickedness of Nero, of the which before he was defirous and procured to fee the punishment. To hide his offence in some fort, he would not, or durft not return into the presence of Seneca, nor speak to him : but made one of his Centeners go into the house to declare the Emperors commandment, which was that Seneca must die. At that time it was half a favour unto those that were condemned to lose their lives, to suffer them that time it was nan a bayon under those the medical and the same and vers forts. Some pricked their Veins, and let themselves bloud, and then went into a hot-house solves to death where they ended. Others swallowed down poyson: Others stabbed themselves in with their divers ways. Daggers, or their Swords. It is judged this was done: that they should not fall into the hands of the Hang-man: for when it happed to, the bodies of the condemned were not buried, and their Gods were forfeited: whereas if they put themfelves to death (of the which the most part following the Doctrine of the Stoick's were nothing atraid) their bodies should be buried, and their Buried and thei

rouell punishment.

Now to return to Seneca. Having heard the Message of the Centener, without changing countenance, and wholly resolved, he called for his Book of Tables, in the which was written his will. Seneca undantation to the seneral day the seneral day that seneral day the seneral day the seneral day that seneral day the seneral day the seneral day the seneral day that seneral day the seneral day the seneral day that seneral day the which being denied him by the Centener, turning to his friends, he protefled, that fince he was let to fige of death. acknowledge their merits, that he would leave one onely thing (and notwithftanding the best) yet his. to wit, the Image of the example of his life, the which if they remembred, they would carry a commendable reputation of honest and vertuous men, for a worthy reward of so constant a friendship. And feeing them weep, he fought to appeale them, or to flay their tears, now with fweet words, by and by with vehemency, as if he would have reproved them. To conclude, he did encourage them to re- seneral encoumain firm and constant, asking them where was the resolution they had learned so many years in rageth his the Schools and Studies of Philosophy, against all the chances of the world. He added further, that friends, every one knew well what Nero was, what cruelties he had committed: and after that he had so wickedly behaved himself to his Father-in-law, to his Mother, to his Brother, and to his Wife, there was nothing left behind for the accomplishment of his cruelties, but to add the murther of his School- senecacomformafter. After he had discoursed such or the like words before them all, and as in generall, heems teth his Wife braced his Wife, and having a little emboldened her against this blow, he instantly prayed her to tho- against the feat derate her grief, and exhorted her to remember how vertuously he had passed his life, and gently to of death. bear (and with a heart worthy her felf) the forrow of the death of her Husband. She for her part affured him that the was refolved to die, and bad one of them give her the blow. Then Seneca. not to deprive himself of that honour, and being touched with the love he did bear her, was contented not to leave to the mercy of the diffolintion that then reigned, her whom he had most dearly loved. I did fet before you (faid he) the sweetness of life : but fince your felf have chosen rather an honourable death, for my part, I shall not be forry if you shew me the way. Let the constancy therefore of fo couragious a death as ours, be alike to us both a although the end of your life shall senera and the be more famous. Immediately thereupon, they caused the Veins of their arms to be opened: but Wise would because that Seneca had an old body, and thin by eating little, there would no blood come out but have died by drop by drop, he made the Veins of his legs and hams to be cut. Then weary of such a cruell bleeding. butchery, being afraid that his pains would make his Wives heart fail her, or that he himfelf should grow impatient for fo many torments as he endured, he perswaded her to withdraw her self into another Chamber: and for himself, having to his last gasp his words at commandment; he caused his Secretaries that were wont to write under him, to come unto him, and told them there many notable things in fine terms, the which were published after his death : but time hath taken them from us for want of Story-writers : although some think that that might be kept as well as other Writings of Seneca. Others carrying some envy to the Vertue of this man, have kept it back, being loath that the Posterity should enjoy a Table, where the Visage of Seneca might be better known, then in other places of his Works. Nero that had men coming and going every minute of an hour from Seneca's house to Rome, understanding how every thing passed, and manders to every minute of an hout from Seneca's house to Rome, understanding how every thing patied, and the bearing no particular harred to Paulina, fearing also he should encrease the blame of his cruelty. Secured Wife he commanded they should keep Paulina from dying. Wherefore his Slaves and freed bond should be kept men, warned by the Souldiers themselves, bound up her Arms, and staunched the blood, not know- from death, ing whether she felt any thing or not. For as there are always among the People that take things at the worst, there wanted not men which thought that so long as Paulina stood in sear of Nero's anger, fhe defired to have the report that she was a companion of the death of her Husband. But afterwards when there was a better hope offered her, she was contented to be won with the flatteries of life, unto the which the added fome few years with commendable memory and

seneca's death.

forrow for her Husband: being otherwife so pale of countenance, that she shewed to have lost a norrow for the russiana county of the other fide Seneca feeing his death prolonged, he prayed Statists Annaus (whom he efterned much for his faithfull friendship he had born him a long time, and for his Skill in Physick) to bring him of the like poyson to that which they keep by publick Ordinance in ATHENS to put offenders to death, whereof he had of long time made provision. So when it was brought him, he swallowed it down without regard, his members being cold, and his body constant against the force of the Poylon. In the end, he entred into a bathing Tub of hot Water, with the which forinckling his flaves that were about him, he added to it, that he offered this liquour unto Japiter the deliverer. After that being carried into a Stove, and having through the heat thereof yielded up the ghoft, his body was buried without any folemnity of Obfequies. He had to appointed by his Will made at that time when he was very rich, and of great credit. It was reported that Sabrius Flavius one of the chiefest Conspirators, had secretly determined was reported that one in the content of the content means of Pife, they should also dispatch Pife himself, to the end to make Seneca Emperor, as an honelt man, onely elect and chosen to that greatness for the fame of his Vertues. Such was the end of Seneca, that had lived in honourable and publick charges, of Prator, Questor and Confull under two Emperors, and was long in credit with the last: who seeing himself coverily despited of his Master, that could no longer endure such wickedness, sought the occasion before mentioned, but with extream injuffice, to rid him out of the way. Furthermore, Dion thinketh that Seneca's two Brethren were likewise put to death. But because he is contented to touch it but in a Line, and that which Tacitus faith is to be marked, fet down in particular, and with most likely circumstances; we will speak one word more. Shortly after the death of Seneca, he commanded they should put Annam Lucanm to death, the Son of Mela: who seeling his Nero commands A. Lu. rect and in the extremities of his body, his heart being yet lively; and his understanding good, calling certain Verles of Poetry to mind, in the which was prefetted a Souldier hurr, dying of the same death, he recited the fame Verses, which were the last words he spake. Altitia Lucans Mother was left alive, neither being pardoned nor punished. For Junius Gallio, who was a Senator, was so a-Stonished ar the death of his Brother, that before all the Senate he fell down at Nero's feet beseching him to give him his life. Whereupon another Senator called Alienns Clemens, fet upon him with injurious words, calling him Traitor and parricide. But the other Senators with one confent made Clement hold his peace; telling him that he should not seek common adversities for to revenge his privatequartell, or to draw on the Prince to a new cruelty, who had now by his clemen-cy quieted and forgotten all. Within a few moneths after Annaus Mela was dispatched: he was a Knight of ROME, but of the Dignity of a Senator. And although Seneca and Gallio his Brethren were advanced to greatet honour, yet he would never purchase it by extremity of ambition; but being come out of Spain to Rome, more for the love of his Brethren and of his Son then for himself, he was contented to have this honour, that a Knight was ever equall in power and credit with a Confull. The Name of his Son Lucanus greatly efteemed of every body, and specially of Learned-men, had gotten him great reputation. Immediately after his Sons death, he feeking fomewhat too eagerly after his Sons goods, raifed against him an Accuser called Fabius Romanut, one of Lucanus chiefest friends. This man shewed counterfeit Letters as done by Lucanus, which charged Mela that he was partaker with his Son of the complot against Nero. Though this The death of Acculation was utterly falfe and feigned, yet Nero that thirsted after the riches of Mela, commanded those Letters should be carried to Mela: that was as much to say, he must die. The which Mela knowing well enough, made his Veins to be opened, and followed the way of others. Seneca in his Writings yieldeth great teftimony of the constancy and Vertue of his Brethren: and I think he was a man that was not given to fpeak lightly. Notwithstanding, I have simply recited that which Tacitus faith, who fufficiently showeth in the example of divers others that it is not to be marvelled at if the cruelties of Nero, who less spared the great then the small, made the boldest hearts of them all quake fornetimes.

Now there remaineth to tell you fomething of the Philosophy and Writings of Seneca: for it is phy and Write- in those Tables that we must look to see him lively, and speaking with that self vehemency of spirit ings of senter, that followed him even to the last salto of his life. It is true that the insolencies of Nero had oftenthat followed him even to the laft gaip of his life. It is true that the infolencies of Noro had oftentimes as it were stopped his mouth, and hindered that good Soul to give free passage to his discourse, yea and in some places they made him stumble. Yet he called himself back again to his first thoughts, and remained conftant in the midft of the cruell raging ftorms of his time. Now as it is easie for men that be on the Land where they do idly behold fome Mafter Pilot striving with the force and fury of the wind and billows, to fay: That man there should guide his Ship after another fashion: who if they were in his place, should without all comparison find themselves more troubled, or at the leaft would make a forrowfull wrack. Even fo is hapneth, that Seneca's Philosophy is despited of many, that think he could speak Philosophy but by his Book, and that then when he should come to shew it in deed, men would say he doth like the Masters of Fence, who being in a School of Fence, with young Youths, they downders, and give mortall Vennies at pleasure: but if they come to have been a any private Fight at the Sharp, where it Handeth them upon for their lives, affoon as they fee the Philosopher in gliftering of the naked Sword, you may perceive all their flourishes and tricks are gone, or changed into flat running away. I will say at one word, that I think Senece as much and more a Philosopher

in deed then in name. His life and his death can fay it, and in the last Chapter hereafter we must fpeak more at large. For this present let us a little confider his tongue. Life is a sweet thing, and all defire to live, yea the beafts themselves seem to have a singular contentment, for that they have a being and life. If life be a pleafant thing, yet it is much more pleafing and acceptable when it is well governed, and tendeth to a good end. So then a quiet and contented life is much better, fweeter, and more excellent, then a lifefull of troubles and passions. This quietness is none other but selicity and good fortune. Furthermore, all men do not aspire to this end, but onely wise men, and the true friends of wildom. For the most part of men whom the earth sustaineth, do run a strange course when they should set a foot forward to betake them to some course of life; and all in manner erre, when they should Judge what happy life is. Those that delight in money and to gain, in judging feek felicity in riches. The idle and floathfull think, that to make great chear, to live (as they fay) happy life in the shadow of Tables, of Pots, of Curtains, and at theease of their bodies, is the onely soveraign good. There are another fort of men greedy of worldly honour, which establish an unipeakable happinels to command many (in what manner, or how dear foever it be) taking themselves to be half gods, if they may fee many men, or two or three go under their feet. But wife men e-Rablish soveraign good in vertue. And if they be asked, what is a happy life? they answer. That it consistent in living vertuously and serving God. This was the Philosophy of Seneca in generall. Happy the But because there are certain clouds of opinions which darken humane felicity, it is good we look what. to examine them briefly. Nature hath dispersed in us some seeds of vertue, and hath given us some grains of knowledge and wisdom, which are born with us and take root (if we may say so) in grams or knowledge and windom, which are both while to and take root (if we may fay 10) in our hearts. This nonwithflanding, we must manure it, and vertue hath her precepts which openet the the way to attain the foveraign good, whereunto the Philosophy of the Stocks dorth lummon us. Four things are enemies to that good, yea they obscure it, they corrupt and abolish it in an Four things evil disposed heart. The first cause is death, that is to say, the fear and imagination to lose this nemies to mank earthly and corruptible life. For where there is fear, it cannot be faid there is contentment and good. felicity, but milery: it is not a pleasant life, but a forrowfull life, and a torment of the mind. The fectord is the bodily griefs, lingering difeases, the torments and tortures cruel and sharp in a shouland kinds: and briefly a thousand evils which hurt the concentment of the soul. For no man will fav, that to be troubled in his mind with a burning Feaver, to cry out night and day because of the Gout, or for pain of his Teeth and the Reins, or to be brought to any extraordinary toron the Gours, of the parties of the hangman, is a thing where there is no apprehends that moved the fpirit. Befides all this, there are the griefs of the foul a mourning, loss of children, of kinsfolks and dear friends: for that afflicteth and eateth our thoughts withour ceafing, and giveth Tragical Poets ample arguments to write upon. If the grief of the body affecteth the reft and contenment of the mind, much more doth the inward grief and anguish. And finally there are pasfions, as joy and pleasure, which hinder and abolish the feeling of a happy life. Those that are pollefled with an extraordinary joy, oftentimes both do and fay many fond things and jeftures, in words and works. As if a man be told that land is fallen to him, or that he is raifed to wished dignity not looked for, ye shall see him play the fool and wanton like a child. There are some whose manners honour changeth in such fort, that from the day rill the next morning you shall mor know them by their face, by their countenances, by their words, nor by their apparell: they will ftraight didain them that they called before fervants or loving friends. Now this vain bride and foolilhnels are in manner one felf thing; and it may be faid, that all ambitious men are altogether beforted, or doubtless they will be fo. If thou wilt make me fee a proud man. are autogether resources.

The area of that prefument to know much, and that looketh upon his feathers, as fifty fay, I will prefently the a fool furnished at all pieces. There is no furer fign of foolishness then pride: and who will lay then that the life of fuch a one is happy? And as for pleafures, we fee how a man is carried away, who then is no more himself: but to the contrary, thinketh that the destruction of body and foul is his foveraign good. Now amongst all the Philosophers which have tried to remedy these troubles of the mind, and to maintain a man in this contenument which they eall foveraign, it may be faid the Stoicks were the chief, and among the Stoicks Seneca. I will not here enter into examination of the doctrine of this Sect, nor declare that which Zeno and Chrysippus have written, as may be gathered of Laertins and of Plutarch, but simply to thay my felt upon my principal purpole, which is of Seneca; and in this place to follow that which many learned men have gathered of his works, to fhew what was his Philosophy: unto the which we will add fome Summary of reasons with the which he helpeth himself, to fight with those passions, and to make the soul at peace, as much as he himself could apprehend it. This is out of all question, that Seneca was one of the first and principal Philosophers of the Seneca prefer-Stoicks among the Latins, as he himself doth boast in his own writings. Furthermore, he ex-red the Stoicks alterth this Sect above all others, and faith, that the Stoicks do make profellion of a Philosophy before allother works of men. Greatment as there is difference betwirt them and others as between males and Philosophers. worthy of men : forasmuch as there is difference betwirt them and others, as betwirt males and females. That the other kinds of Philosophy are made, to hear and to obey: but that the Stoick is born to teach, and command. He being desirous to present some perfect Idaa of a wise man, bringeth forth Cato: and in the Treaty where he will thew that the wife man cannot be offended nor outraged, he lifteth up this man out of the ranck of all other men, and specially commendeth him in his death. If he spake of the Stoicks, he calleth them his, and doth make open profellon of their instructions. Now in many places he distinguisheth Philosophy into three parts,

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which he calleth Rationall, Morall, and naturall. But after the fathion of the Stoicks, he rested more upon the Morall, albeit that all his discourses shew that he had a marvellous vein in the rationall. And the books of naturall questions shew that he had a deep insight in the secrets of Nature. So then his principal end was to frame good manners, and to bring men to the knowledge of the contentment of the mind, to defire and apprehend it. They faw him oftentimes exhort Lucilius to the study of Morall Philosophy, as in the end of his 89, Epistle: So set down these things, faith he to others, that thou thy felf maift take pleasure to comprehend them. Write, to read afterwards thy Writing, referring all things to the reformation of life, and to the means of appealing the fury of passions. Study, not to be wifer then others, but to be better. On the other side, he turned the fame Lucilius from the study of Logick, and from the subtile disputations, in the which they please themselves that do but linger after fyllables and words. Leave (faid he to him in the 71. Epifle) this occupation and lifting of letters, to thole mafters that shut up a thing so magnificent as Philosophy is, in fyllables : and do imbrace, yea bring to nothing, and unerly deftroy the mind, in teaching things that are not worth the labour and fludy. I am content that thou refemble wife men that have invented letters, but not those that teach them. In some other places he laugheth at the subtilties of these School disputers, namely, where he setteth down one of their fathions of speech, to wit, in the forty eight, which is the forty ninth in the Editions not well corrected, upon to with, in the corrected, upon these words: Mus (that is to say, a Mouse) is a syllable: a Mouse earth Cheese, therefore it followeth that a syllable earth Cheese. But it is not onely that he setteth upon Logick, or rational Philosophy, but also on Sciences commonly called the liberall Sciences and assembly. question of the Philosophy of manners, Witness that which he writeth in the fourscore and eighth Mark Lower h 324 Epiffle worthy to be diligently read of all, but especially of them whom such sciences do pust up, and who for the rest do little care to rule their life within the compass of vertue. In sum, he deand who for the state of places, that Philosophy confifteth not in the knowledge of those things; but that the end thereof is, to give counfell against all the accidents of this life: and that men were wont to repair unto Philosophers, who do shew them in the midst of darkness (wherewith humane fociety is fnared) the way they must follow not to erre, shewing what things are necessary and profitable: how easie the Laws of Nature are: how joyfully we live, and at our ease, following of the same. And to the contrary, that there can be nothing but milery in the condition of those, which suffer themselves to wander rather by opinion, then by Nature and Reason. I think thereforethat all the Philosophy of Seneca looketh unto that, to establish the mind all that may be : to attain to the which, it speaketh of the soveraign good, to the end to draw us to aspire unto it. And because the accidents of this life, namely the causes before mentioned, do observe this happiness, he striveth with infinite discourses and reasons against them. Now it were to make a great volume, if all were put together that he speaketh, and it were better to leave it to their liberty that shall read the works of this Philosopher, of the which I will note here fome heads or rules, on the which he reafoneth very amply to remedy the griefs before named. The intention therefore of Seneca, above all in matters most important, isto beat down first, all corporeall and spirituall passions: to wit, opinion and apprehension. He discoveresh the vanity, sheweith the wrong which men of understanding do, and the error of their judgement, who fee things as in the water, and with a corrupt eye. Which done, he goeth further, and feeketh to shew, that when that which is called evil is arrived, the wife man feeleth it not : as also it is as little trouble to him when one thinketh to touch him, as it is then No man hurt when one threatned him afar off. For proof of this, he sheweth that they cannot hurt a wise man out by himfelf, any manner of way: and that no man is injured or hurt but by himfelf. That the wife man bending all his thoughts unto vertue, cannot be offended, but rather overcometh all humane accidents, as well for respect of himself, as for all others. Hereupon he cometh to this point, to maintain, that that which they call evil, is good to the wife man: who like a good husband maketh his profit of all in such fort, that there is nothing in the world but serveth his turn, and whereof he is not master with a fingular contentment. Or mete rules and maximes, there rile many Paradoxes dispersed in his books, the which it a man confider apart, are very ftrange and ridiculous withall: but being brought to their originals, they may receive some exposition. Furthermore to frame a perfect wise man, he will have nothing pleafant unto him but vertue, which confifteth in contemning all that the world admireth: and a love of beautifull things which give contentment to the foul. That all that which is earthly and corruptible, should be esteemed as much as nothing; that the wise man infolding himfelf in his vertue, feeth all the greatness of this world very low under him, and as it were troden under the feet of his heart. And that in the midst of all dangers, yea even in the most fiercest death of all, and when heaven should fall upon him, he remaineth merry and pleased with the selicity which his vertue bringeth unto him. Afterwards he reasoneth particularly against the apprehension of death: and sheweth that it is as inevitable, as it is also good and necessary. That the greatest contenument of a wife man is, that he can break in funder the Iron Chain that holdeth him, as often and when he thinketh good : and upon this occasion treateth in some places of the immortality of the foul, as in the end of the feven and fiftieth Epiftle, in the threefcore and fifth, threescore and fixteenth, and the hundred and seventeenth, in his comfortable discourse unto Martia, and elfewhere. Touching these corporal pains, he sheweth that they cannot turn a man out of the path-way of Vertue, nor from the profession of constancy and truth, nor from the resolution

to maintain a just cause. That there is no pain or grief so sharp, that can let a wise man to think

of his duty, and to acquaint himself so far as his hands may reach. That these corporal griefs can-

not eclipse the least of the beams of vertue, and the hope of the immortality of our fouls, for the which we exchange in the day that our pains come, as it were to have greatest strength, all the difcommodities we apprehend in this transitory life. Furthermore, that the troubles which the estate of this world doth spread as a veil before our minds, cannot blindfold them to see the perfect beauty of vertue, and to hear the excellent comforts which she proposeth. Also that the wife man fufficiently defended not to be overcome by pathons, which have no power on him that is in the ordinary safeguard and protection of vertue, in possession whereof he is already so entred, that he fill goeth forward every day more then other, shortly to enjoy her with periection. To conclude, that there is hindrance at all for him whom vertue pleafeth, and whom the bringeth to immortality. And this is a little touch (me thinketh) which may be particularly noted in Seneca: in the beauty whereof, as in faces better formed, there are fome spots discovered as in other Philosophers, namely the Stoicks. Above all, in his protraicture of this wife man, he imagineth in this life a thing that is not to be found in a corrupt man given over to fenfuality; which is, vertue and perfection. But let us refer that to the ignorance of true Religion, and confider this Philosopher in the limits of his feet. For other Paradoxes, as of the world, of the spirit, of passions and affections of vertue, and fome others borrowed of the School of his Mafters, that i lutareh hath examined in his book of Common conceptions, and in that which he entituleth, The contradiction of the Stoicks: that which is evil doth condemn it felf, or exculeth it felf under the questions and disputations, which permit a man to say somewhat. And for the other, for a source made profession to form manners, he seemeth therein to have given way and free passage to some of his conceptions, and after the example of Painters, to give fome shadows unto his Tables, the better to retain the judgement of the Reader. That which I least allow in him, or rather which I cannor What is mit. approve, is the excessive praise he givest to his wife man, litting him up, yea above the goods. And liked in Street. approve, is in executive prane in ground of his wife man put himself to death, and of his authority and power diffolve the bands of this life, without leave of the loveraign Captain, and with a celtimony of a strange cowardines and distrust of the doctrine of the eternal Providence; the which would have us keep a ftediaft hope and confidence, yea even when things feem to be most delperate. And that which he often applieth unto the death of Cato, whom he inhintely commendch, hath been by us examined in the comparison of Caro and Photion. Furthermore, Some a stay. of not upon one or two in his difcourfes he hath left unto us, but hath culled out all the Philofophers, Greeks and Latines which were before him, all that he thought good to fet down for the rule and government of our life, according to the end he looked unto. And as for his writings, all that we have left concerning morall and naturall Philosophy, with the pleasant discourse upon the death of Claudius, is out of all disputation until this present: as the stile that is hard, thort, fententious, and in apt terms for that time, and after the manner of teaching of the Soicks, doth shew it. But for the books entimaled Controversia co- Saafasia, that is to say, pleadings and orations, or declamations, I am of the same opinion that divers learned men of our time are, to wit, that thele books are not of Seneca, but of the father of Seneca. And because many other learned men ancient and modern have thought the contrary, we must need say somewhat for proof of the opinion which we follow. The author of these collections saith, that he heard ovid and Gicero declaim, and that he was familiar with Portim Latro, Valerim, Messala, and with others that were in the time of Angustus. When he heard Cicero, he could be no less then fifteen years old: how can that be attributed unto Seneca, dead in the end of the Empire of Nero, well-near fixfore years after that time? Now, that which Tacinas speaketh in divers places of the age of Seneca, reacheth not so far : and Nero speaking to Senesa a little before his death, said, that he had by tracending to the first speaking to sense a fine octors in usual, said, matternau yet firength enough to the his goods and govern his possessions; that could not be spoken of an old man of anhundred and twelve years old. Also Senses speaketh otherwise of his age in one of his Epistles, noted here before, where he telleth, that about the fifth year of the Empire of Tibeing, he came out of his infancy, of the age of eighteen years. Furthermore, Seneca was Prator, Quartor, and Confull, as in his discourse to his mother Elbia, the Chronicles, and the lawyers books do make mention. And to the contrary, his father dedicating his books above named unto Seneca, Junius, and Mela, his three fons: and speaking to Mela in the Presace of his frond book of pleadings, he exhorteth him to follow the inclination of his mind, and contenting himself with the state of a private Gentleman, and a Roman Knight as his father, the better to warrant his life in the hazards and accidents of this world. That which made Seneca to be effected warian ins inc in the macaus and attraction of this works.

I have write the control the books there, is, for that his father did bear that name: and that the face, Sences, Novasus (furnamed Junius Gallo) and Mela be brethren, and the fons of one felf father and mother, it appeared by the Hiftory of Tacisus, in the fifteenth book of his Annals, and by the writings of Seneca himfelf, especially by the discourse to Elbia, where he saith amongst other things: Confider my brethren, that being fair, you have not cause to accuse Fortune: you have in them cause to rejoyce in a divers kind. For the one, through his good wit hath attained to honour, and the other hath wifely despited it. Tacitus plainly thewed that, as we have seen here before. And whereas commonly they alledge the age of Seneca to be fix (core years and aone, to give the more authority to the pleadings and Orations of his father, that is to fay, to the faguents which he seemeth to have set forth in the savour of his children, to frame them betimes one day to practife that whereof he made profession, to wit, eloquence : there cannot be shewed tay furficient or authentick testimony of that which is alledged, that Seneca had three sons

conferred with the life and doctrine of them unto whom they were attributed. We do not

meet with any thing to much in the writings of Seneca, as the constancy and contempt of

death; how cometh it then that you shall not find one word that sheweth him to be a Chri-

fian? that Nero had not discovered or perceived any thing to charge Seneca with, when he commanded him to die? For that had been an ample discharge before the people that ex-

treamly hated the Christians, Suetonism and Tacitus, little favouring our Religion, would

not have forgotten it. But how chanceth it that in his death he remembred Jupiter, and

not Christ? Now in regard of the Catalogue which is alledged for a Buckler, I defire

that learned men do confider, if they have not wronged the person to whom it is attributed,

a Christian , know that it is a Pagan that speaketh. There are many things that may inflame

us with the love of vertue: they will prick us more nearly, if we remember from whom

they come. If we meet with any fentences that feem to be drawn out of our fountains, they

will be so much the sweeter unto us : and as for uncertain and false opinions , they will

offend us less, when we shall say, that it is a Pagan that hath set them out. Let us come to the other point, and consider those that have too much imbased him, either in respect of

things impertinent, and evil befeeming the name whereof he maketh profession. But it is

better to confute evident flanders by filence, then with long discourse. Some other speak not To plainly, but lay that Sineca lived not after his own precepts. On the contrary, the ho-

nour which he maketh often to Epicurus, feemeth to shew that he hath mingled the wicked-

ness of the Epicureans with the austerity of the Stoicks. I grant that Seneca hath not in all the parts of his life flewed this conftancy which he requireth of a wife man, and I perceive well that he hath diffembled too many things in the Government of Nero: the which the wife

Thrasca would never have allowed of the presence, nor of the word, nor of the deed. But mans infirmity is fuch, that that which the mind feeth plainly enough, It cannot or dare not effect it, because of the relistance of reason and pattions: or if it dare, it is stayed with the least object through this naturall faintness that keepeth us back, when we should resolute-

ly follow vertue. Now of this centure there followeth no more, but that the eternall wildom

doth give us knowledge of many notable things uttered by the mouth and testimony of this

stranger: and in the mean time doth admonish us in no wise to stay our selves upon him that

speaketh : which she doth well in her proper house , where she understandeth that we lend

our ears unto those which go with other feet then they should, so that they keep within

the bounds of their commission. And as a Sergeant or Herald that had but one eye, or

were lame, could notwithstanding deliver a message of importance in the name of the Prince,

and must be heard: even so, whatsoever he be that cometh to us with the notes of chast and fair Verity, he ought to have audience, to be believed and followed, to long as he contain-

the liberality of Nero, they faw a great moderation, witneffed also in his death: not being

forbidden to Noblemen to poffess gold, filver, earthly goods, and moveables of great value, to that fuch prosperity do not make them drunk, to cause them to despise God and man.

As for the last, be they ancient or modern, whose names I am not content to expres,

which very boldly do censure the writings, of Seneca; and in agreeing to him in some excellent

thing, they afterwards take license to think him rude in his stile, too rigorous a Judge of

others mens labours, foolish jeaster, affected in his discourses, troublesome by reason of his

The profit which may gathered by Seneca's book

called, Novatus; Seneca and Mela. Touching the true books of Seneca, the design seading and confideration of them will continently frew the profit that may be gathered. Set the 2, man connecration of them will continently men the profit that may be gamerat as seems, the growth to find refolved against the divers and troublesome events of this life, to report the upon the divine providence. To contemn death, and to delire the bleffed immerating, and upon the arvine providence, to content heart, and to denice the brench ammerials, and to reprete the infolency of ftrange pattions which do often carry us too high, and soc an analysis of the providence of the to enjoy a great rett amongst to many competes and warman as the profession among the Paintins, Philosopher, Orator, or Author whatforeer, that would a prefer priorian among the ramines, amorphis, considering the most part do fallow him before S neca; yea, there are few to be compared to him, and the most part do fallow him This bringeth us to the confideration of fome centures made of Seneca by divers learned men, as

This pringerium to the commerciation of touch confidence them that behold Senica, to look near-well ancient, as those of this latter age, to the end to induce them that behold Senica, to look near-well ancient, went ancient, as those of this fatter age, to the end to make them that believe feope and license, to took near-ly into him: for if there be any thing wherein humane wit doth give scope and license, let another sy muo mini : for it there oc any timing wherein minimum and them that make profession studiously to judge that. But that specially is as an ordinary thing unto them that make profession studiously to judge that. Dut that speciary is as an orthinary sums and fometime too fuddenly, that which is bethruit their notes into outes, to make presently, and comments they did imagine them to be, fore them, to bear others in hand afterwards, that things are fuch as they did imagine them to be, themselves to the reading of And although I do not acknowledge my self to be one of the number of them that read and know the reading of Annu attnough I not acknowledge my left to 0.00 often attained with this difease, which vain and fruit passibly something: yet for all that ere I beware, I am too often attained with this difease, which partiably ionicumng; yet for an inactice a beware, I am not offen attaining with insurfact, which possesses that make many books, reproving and judging others. But as I do not commend ponenent more that make many books, reproving and poseing others. Just not commend them in any wife unto whom the books of found erudition are not pleafing (like to weak fromachs, unto whom meats evil dreffed and also hurtfull, feem to be the most favoury) but feed themselves which their follies, vain fancies and abominations, wherewith this latter age is miferably defiled; to

would I with that the excellent wits which are yet in Europe, were on the one fide better adwould a will that the passage of the other more carefull to differn that which is commendable and vieu in many respects, and on the other to note them particularly unto pollerity, with blameable, certain or uncertain in good authors: to note them particularly unto pollerity, with planeable, certain of uncertain in good authors: to note them particularly unto pottertly, with two conditions: the one, that it should be done by the sufficiented men, and as it were of purpose two conditions: the one, that it should be done by the sufficiented men, and as it were of purpose two conditions that end, by consent of same and truth: the other, that all costs, spitefull and finite. pallions, thould be far from fuch centurers. To come again to Sences: I fee that fome bare too much exalted him, as I think; and others have imbated him more then needed. Which being

particularly confidered, peradvenure it will not missive: and if it profit not, I hope it will nove the Reader to fome thought higher then mine, both to fearth matters more exactly, as allo to the reader to some mought right then mine, both to scattle matters more casetry, as and of fettle his opinion upon mine with the compals of truth, of mildness, and of vertue. Because A good speech Seneca speaketh amply in some places of the providence and majesty of God, before whom he ex-

horseth us to walk, and sometimes prayeth Lucilius to live with men as if God saw him, and to speak with God, as if men heard him; also that he died in the end of the Empire of Nero, at which time Saint Paul the Apostle was priloner at ROME; some have thought that Seneca of long time had leaned unto Christian Roligion, by reason whereof his writings were read as proceed ing time natieaned unto-currinan-realigion, by reaton whereof in writings were read as proceeding from a man advanced in the knowledge of the true God. And otherwise he was contented to fpeak in general and as under a veil, of the ignorance of his time, and because he would have them no more envied whom the world did already hate. Briefly, that he was a fecree disciple of

Chrift, in the School of his Apostle. In confirmation whereof, they shew certain Letters of Str These unto Paul, with mutuall answers: and they do add also the testimony of a great Christian Doctor, who hath placed Seneca in the Catalogue of Saints, whole fouls we believe are in glory with their Saviour. Howheir certain learned men of our time have spoken their opinion touching all that, to whom I do agree: to wit, that whether Seneca faw the Apostle, and spake withhim, whether he distained to see him, or that he cared not, nor did enquire after him, as I think that

he thought then of any thing elferather then of the doctrine taught by Saint Paul: there is nothing in his Life, in his Writings, nor in his Death, that cometh near to the Christian behef and profelling.

On. But if we should call all those Christians, in whose Writingswedo read goodly and true senses of Wildow. Local all those Christians, in whose Writingswedo read goodly and true senses of Wildow. tences of Wildom, Juftice, and the Providence of God, it would make a strange mingling of Scripture with prophane books: and further, they would dispute if the one should be put in the place of the other. As we fee that in the bodies of the books, which for excellency we call the

Bible, there are two, in the which the name of God is never expressed, which notwithstanding are holy, and do contain infinite infructions and fingular confolations. Senera having written in fome place, The Godhead is I know not what great thing, yea fo great, that it passeth all mans understanding; or life is dedicated to his service; let us take order to be approved of the same in a hidden conficience is good for nothing; God seeth us; an ancient Doctor faid thereupon; Any hidden to the same of the same

man that should know God, could be set forth any more certain verity, then that which is fpoken here by the mouth of a man that knew not what true Religion meant? For he represented the Majefty of God, faying that it is fo great, that mans understanding cannot measure it; and plainly, the Fountain of verity: shewing that the Life of men is not unprofitable (as some

Epicureans think) fince it is referred to the glory of the Creator, when they follow Juftice and Picty. Other discourses of Senses might be alledged touching the Providence of God, against idolary, Superfittion, and impiety: but the consequence is not stable, that he hath therefore known any thing of the doctrine of the Gofpel; you shall not find one discourse in all his Writings, and the doctrine of the Stoicks doth in nothing agree with that, which neither flesh nor blood can reveal: and whereof it is not our purpose to speak in this place, which requireth not that we should discount to the hour purpose to speak in this place, which requireth not that we should discover the holy things, and much less that we should mingle them with the prophane.

repetitions, without Art, of small judgement, forgetfull, trufting to his own wit, curious of light Seneca's Witthings, and feeking I know not how to be particular, because he would not feem to have bor- tings defended. rowed any thing of any man: these be accusers in the most part of such Articles, and no competent Judges, faving the honour due to their erudition. For proof whereof we do exhort the Reader to take one whole book of Senesa which he liketh of best, and then to examine it all, If I

As for the letters published under the name of Seneca and of Paul, both the stile and the matter frew at the first light, that it is the work of some idle man that thought himself very Letters in the wife, if he diffembled with those which did not fift it fo narrowly. And we shall not need name of senece here to make a recapitulation of the just and Learned censures that have been made : where fured, you strall see the madness, repugnancies, and falshoods hidden in those letters, if they be

mingling amongst his works this scoffe, and others which are no better, forged upon the like Anvil, and with the felf fame Hammer, which letters were before mentioned. Now, Anadmonit-I think (these are the words of a learned man that had well read Seneca) that it is best on to the Beautiful Control of the for the Reader to take Seneca's Books, as proceeding from a man ignorant of true Religion. der of Seneca's For if you read them as a Pagan, he hath written like a Christian: but if you take him for books,

his life, or because of his writings. For his life, some (and Dion amongst others) have accused him of avarice, of ambition, of dissolution, of adultery, and other such like vices: unto the which I will not vouchfafe to make answer, fince so many learned men, ancient sented defendand modern, and the life and of death Seneca do say the contrary. And it were an easie edagainst false thing for one-that would cut Dion 2 Gown of his own Cloth, to discover in him many accusers.

eth himself near to her, and rejecteth all that is contrary, be it in words or in fact. For Epicurus, Seneca alledgeth fome notable matters of him, whereof it followeth not that he seneca cleared doth allow of his faults, nor of his feet, as is also to be acknowledged in many places. And from Epicuthere can be nothing observed in the life of Seneca, that shewed him to be an Epicurean or risme. a Libertine. For even in the midst of the abundance and of the great riches he possessed by

SENECA.

speak evil, saying, that he had wrong to be so tossed and played upon. I think that there is nothing in his Works, be it in his stile, in the method, or in matter, that could be bester performed. Also if they consider what words he useth, how he joyneth them together, what is the end of his discourles, and what the matters are that he treateth of : they will be lefs rigorous unto him. For conclusion, I defire that Seneca's Life, referred to his Writings, do teach four things to my felf, and all others. The one, that being in mean or base condition, we never care to climb up any higher. The other, that if we change a mean effate with another greater, we do remember the former, to converse modeftly with great and fmall. The third, that we never palt for any worldly prosperity, but that we be always afraid of it, until webe toofed by the means of a happy death. And the laft, that in our publick and private convertations, in our thoughts, words, writings, and actions, there there in us the Tove and reverence of true piety and justice.

The end of Seneca's Life.

Of Nine Excellent

HIEFTAINS

Translated out of Latin from Amylius Probusi

THE LIFE OF MILTIADES.

Ann. Mund. 3461.



Ilitades an Athenian the fon of Cimon, being one of the chiefelt of his City, as well because of the ancientry of his race, as for his modesty joyned to the glory of his predeceffors, after he had attained to that age in which his Citizens had occasion not onely to hope well of bien, but also to assure themselves, that he would be such a one as they judged him after they knew him : it chanced that the Athenians resolved to send a Colony into Cherronesus. And because many men prepared themselves to go thither, and that there was great suit who thould lead them, they chole fome to go to Delphos, to enquire of the Oracle who should be their Captain: forasimuch as the Thracians at that time did occupy all those parts there-

abouts, and they must be driven out by force of Arms. The Prophetes enjoyned the Commissioners Mittiades decreptly to choose Mititades for chief of this People or Colony, the which should prosper in this figured by Orameterprise under his conduct. With this answer Militades accompanied with a chosen company of cle Captain of men, failed unto Cherronesus, and when he came near to Lemnos to subdue the inhabitants of that the Colony. Island, he summoned them without compulsion. They mocking him, answered, They would then yield themselves when Miltiades should come from Athens to Lemnos with a Northern wind, which was full in the faces of them that should come from Athens to Lemnos. Militades having no leafure to tarry there, hoifed fail, and arrived in Cherronefus: and there having in a floor time broken all the Troops of the barbarous people, he made himself Lord of the whole Countrey, built up some Fortreffes, placed his people which he had brought with him in the Countrey, and made them rich, by divers attempts against the self same Countrey-men. Wherein he prevailed as much by his wisdom, as through this good fortune. For after he had through the valiantness of his souldiers overcome the Armies of his enemies, he eftablished his affairs with great equity, and refolved to re-Misside as main in Cherronefus. So he was there as King, although he had not the name, and attained to this King in Cherdegree of honour, as much through his upright administration of justice, as for his sufficiency in rone such Wars. This kept him not from doing his duty unto the Athenians, from whom he was parted: the which was the occasion indeed, that as well those which had sent him thither, as those with whom he embarked, were content he should continue there always Governour. Cherrone fus being brought to this order, he came again to Lemnos, and according to the promife of the inhabitants, he demanded that they would yield up their City unto him : for they promifed to give him their hands when he should come unto them from his Countrey by the North wind. Now (said he) that his Countrey was in Cherrones. The Carians who held Lemnos at that time, seeing things go

THE

Miltiades

Darius maketh

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otherwise then they looked for, and taken not so much by their words, as by the good fortune of their adversaries, durft not make head, but went straight from thence. So all things prospering according to his desire, he brought all the other siles called the Cyclades, to be subject to the A-

nneans. At the same time Darius King of Persia having passed all his Army out of Asia into Europe, determined to make War with the Scythians, and made a Bridge over Danuby to pais over his Troops: termined to make war with the Softener, was committed unto the Lords which he had brought with him out of Ionia and Aolia, unto every one of the which he had given perpetual power and Government over their Towns. Supposing by, this policy, easily to bring into their considerates, Greeks that dwelt in Asia, if he gave the Guard of the Towns unto their friends and confederates, Greeks that dwelt in Ajia, it no gave the Guard of the 1 owns unto their triends and controcrates, that could not escape by any means if he were oppressed. As this date, was of the number of the Guards of this Bridge. News being brough by divers heritages that Dirich had but ill becce, and that the Asylvinia's beld high hard to it, he provided the other Guards not reduce the open that the Asylvinia's beld high hard to it, he provided the other Guards not reduce the open that the Asylvinia's beld high hard to it, he provided the other Guards not reduce the open that it Darine and his forces he brought with him was offered to set Greece at liberty, confidering that if Darine and his forces he brought with him was outstated the transfer of the state of t counfell for the ly be done, fince that by cutting off the Bridge, Darius (hould in few days be cut in pieces by the Enemies, or should die for penury with all his Army. Maily agetted unto it: but Islians Miletias brake the neck of it, faying, that the Kingdom of Darius upon whom their authority depended, made difference betwist the good of the affairs of them that commanded, and the people that was under subjection and Government. That if Darius should happen to die, they should be driven our and punished by their Citizens: and therefore that he was of a contrary mind to all the reft, thinking nothing more profitable, then to fee the Kingdom of the Perfiant established. The greater part of them being of his mind, Militade, was afraid, for that there were to many witnesses, that the King should foon be advertised of that which was propounded: wherefore he left Cherrone su, and returned again to Athens. Now though his counfell took no place, yet he was highly commended, having shewed

more regard to the good and liberty of all, then to his own particular advancement. For Darius, he being returned out of Europe into Affa, his friends counfelled him to fet upon Greece. Whereupon he armed a Fleet of five hundred Galleys under the charge of Datis and Arta-

poernes, giving them two hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand horse, saying, that he would be even with the Athenians, because that the Ionians had in savour of the Athenians forced the Ciry of Sardia, and killed his Garisons. These two Lieutenants of Darius being arrived in Euboea with their Galkys, they prefently wan Eretria, took all the inhabitants of the Countrey priforms and fent them to the King in Asia. From thence they went into Astrica, and camped in the plain and ich them to the sing in 23111. Here they were and 2311111, and camped in the plant of Marathon, which is within five leagues or thereabouts from Athens. The Athensans aftonibed at fo great a number of Enemies, and so near unto them, knew not of whom to demand aid, but of the Lacedamonians, unto whom they dispatched a very swift footman, a foot Post called Philip-

pides, to advertise them that they had need to fend them aid, and that prefently. In the mean time they choic ten Captains to command and govern their Troops: Militades was one of them. So there was a great disputation among them, to wit, whether they should keep the Walls of their City, or they should go to meet with their enemies to bid them Battle. There was none but Militiades that reasoned, that there was no delaying or protracting of time, but they must make a Camp; and that that would lift up the hearts of the Athenians, when they should

fee and behold, that they had a good opinion of their Vertue and Valiantness: and that the Enemies hearts would fail them, when they should understand that so few men came resolutely to fight with them. At that time the Athenians had no aid from any City but from Plates, which fent them a thouland men: who being come, the Army of the Greek; was compounded

but of ten thousand men in all, who desired nothing but to fight. That was the cause that Miltiades counsell was preserved above all the other Captains. For the Athenians respecting his valour, caused their Troops to march into the Field, and they camped in a place of advantage. Then the next morning having disposed their footmen at the foot of the mountain, which they

had in flanck, they gave charge upon their Enemies couragiously, with a new and sure fashion The Athenians of fight. For there were Trees growing here and there, by means whereof they were under The Autorists covert of the Rocks, and the Trees kept them from being enclosed by the multitude of the Enemiss under the con-

under tue conduct of MilitiaHorsemen. Now although Datis saw that the place did not favour and affect him, yet because he des, fetupon had fo many men, all his defire was to fight, thinking he should win and obtain much, if he their Enemies. Could joyn before the aid of the Lacedamonians came to them. And therefore he made an hundred thousand sootmen, and ten thousand horse to march against them. Then he went to charge the Ather

nians, who made excellent proof of their valiantness, considering that they having to fight one a-Ten thousand gainst ten, they made the Perjians siee for life, and so assonished them, that instead of turning back Jen inousand Butter (amp, they faved themselves in their ships. See, here was one of the bravest battles that

a man can speak of: for never such a handfull of men overcame so great sorces. Peradventure it will to flight an a man can speak of: for never such a handtun of men overcame to great a man can speak of: for never such a handtun of men overcame to great of so noble a Victory, to the hundred show not be impertinent to shew what reward Militades, had for obtaining of so noble a Victory, to the hundred show not be impertinent to shew what reward Militades, had for obtaining of so noble a Victory, to the

find Perfease end that all men may know the better, that all Commonweals have one disposition. As the honours of the people of Rome were in times paft rare and fimple, and by confequent more glorious and to be defired: and now to the contrary more difordered and lefs eftermed: the very tame we find to have been practifed among the Athenians. For all the honour they did unto this Militades,

the faviour of Athens and of all Greece, was, that the battle of Marathon having been painted over the Porch called Poecile, his image was fet up the first in rank of all the Captain, with the counte- Militales renance of a man speaking to his fouldiers, and going first to fight. The same people of Athens being warded with honors for this come to be of greater power, and corrupted by the gifts of those which fued for charge and Office in victory. the Commonwealth, caused three hundred statues to be set up for Demetrius the Phalerian.

After this battle, the Athenians gave a Fleet of threefcore and ten Gallies unto Militades, to make War upon the Isles which had aided the Persians. He compelled some by simple commandments, others by force of arms to yield themselves. And not being able by any perswasions to bring the Isle men of Paros to reason (proud, because of their riches) he landed his forces, enclosed the Town with Trenches, and took from the belieged all means either to come by victuals or munition of War: then having fet up his Gabions and Mantelets, he came near the walls. He was at the point to win the Town. when one night (not known by what mischance) there was a great fire seen upon firm land in a wood, which they faw from the Isle. This flame made those that were belieged, and them that lay at the fiege think that it was a fign of the Fleet of the Perfians, to encourage the Parians, and to keep them from vielding up their Town. Hereupon Miltiades fearing that Darius Army by sea was at hand, he set fire of his Mantelets and Gabions, and hoiled fail towards Athens, where he arrived with all the Gallies he carried out: wherewith the people were marvelloully offended. They accused him of treason, that when he might have won Paros by affault, he had taken money of the King, and was returned without fighting; or doing any memorable act. At that time he was fick of the wounds he had received at The people of the fiege of Paros: wherefore not being able to defend himself in person, his brother Stefagor as plead. Athens uned his cause, the which having been debated, he was quit from death, yet condemned to pay a fine of thankfull and unkind unto thirty thousand crowns, to the which they valued the charge of the Army in that journey. And being Milliader, unable to pay fo great a sum, he was committed to the common prison, and there died. Now this matter of Paros was but a cloak; and they spake of it thus for another reason. For the tyranny of Pifistratus, who had altered the estate some years before, was the cause that the Athenians were afraid of Citizens that were in any credit. Miltiades, that had many great and honourable charges, feemed that he could no more be brought to live as a private person, considering also that he was given to this defire to command always. For all the time of his abode in Cherrone fur there was no other Lord but he, and also they called him Tyrant: but just, because he had not gotten this authority by force of Arms, but with the confent of his Citizens, and carried himfelf very modeftly. Now they take and call them Tyrants, which have a perpetual power in a Commonwealth that was free before. Furthermore, The commen-Militades was a very gentle perfon, wonderful affable, and there was not fo mean a man, but might affable, and there was not fo mean a man, but might affable, and there was not fo mean a man, but might take, affable, can be supported to the commendation of Militades. him for one of the bravelt Captains of Greece. The people of Athens confidering these things, had tather condemn this innocent man in a fine, then be longer in pain to take heed of him.

The end of Miltiades Life.

THE LIFE OF PAUSANIAS.

Anno Mundi. 3470.

Ant. Christ.

Paufanias gi-veth the Perfi-

Ausanias Lacedamonian was a great man, but unconstant in all parts of his life, furnished with vertues, but overwhelmed with vices. It was he that wan that fo famous victory of the Plances. For he being Generall of the Greek Army, this great Lord Mardonism, a Mede by Nation, and fon in law of the King of Persia, the most wife and valiant Captain among all the Persians, followed with two hundred thousand chosen footmen, and twenty thousand horse: he was overcome, the reft of all his Troops driven out of Greece, and himself slain in the field. This victory raised up Pausaniau heart to such a height, that

he began to confound the affairs, and to devite great change in his brain. The first shame he received was, that he having offered a Trivet of gold unto the temple of *Delphus*, of the boory he had gotten upon the enemies, with an Epigram containing in Subfance, that under his conduct the barbarous perple had been overthrown before Placaes, and that acknowledging this victory, he made this prefent unto Apollo: the Lacedemonians razed out these verses, and wrote no other thing but the names of the Towns, through whose aid the Persians had been overcome. After this battle they sent him again with an Army of the allies by fea into Cyprus and Hellefpont, to expulse the Garifons of the barbarous people thence. The which he having fortunately executed, he then grew to be more infolent and am-

For, having taken the City of Byzance by force, and made a great number of Gentlemen of Persia prisoners, among which were many kinfmen of Xerxes, he secretly sent them to him, and gave it out that they escaped out of prison. Gongylas Exterias did accompany them carrying letters to the King, theesseet thereof was this, as Thucydides faith: Pausanias, Captain of Sparia, knowing that the prisoners of Byzanee are thy kinsmen, he sendeth them unto thee for a present, and defeated the different control of the control fireth to be of alliance with thee, and prayeth thee to give him thy daughter in marriage. If thou do it, he promifeth that by his means Sparta and all Greece shall be brought under thy power, Therefore if it please thee to give ear unto it, send him a man expresly with whom he may confer.

The King very joyfull and glad for the delivery of so many friends of his, sent Artabazus presently to Paufanias with letters, in the which he commendeth him, and prayeth him to spare for nothing to bring his promife to país. If he do, that all shall be granted which he demandeth. Paufanian understanding Xerxes mind, refolved resolutely to put his hand to this work : which the Lacede monians miftrufting, having fent for him home, they accused him of treason: whereof he was quit, and yet condemned to pay a fine. This was the cause that they sent him nor again to the Army: but shortly after he returned of his own mind, and by a rash and evil grounded Oration, he easily discovered the thoughts of his heart. Furthermore, he did not onely change his fashion of living after the Laconian manner, but also of his diet and apparell. For he had a royal pomp, training a long Gown, after the fashion of the Medes, followed with a Troop of the Medes and Agyptians for Archers of his guard. His table did so abound in all kinds of dainties, after the manner of the Persians that no man could away withall. He gave no access unto him but very seldom: to them that would speak with him he answered very proudly: and commanded with all cruelty, refusing to return

He went to Colones, which is a place in the Countrey of Treas, and there plotted all his dangerous practifes against his Countrey and himself. When the Lacedamonians had understanding of it, they fent Ambasadors unto him with the Scytala, in the which was written, after their accustomed manner, that if he came not into the City, they would condemn him to death. This Letter aftonithed him, yet hoping to cleape this imminent danger by force of Prefents, and by reason of his credit, he went home into his Countrey, where being, the Ephperes made him to be apprehended, and cast into Prison: for it is lawfull for one of the Ephperes to take the King, and use him so. Nevertheless Paufanias losed himself, being notwithstanding suspected of every man: for they had alwaies this opinion of him, that he had intelligence with Xerxes. There are certain People there called Ilores, and they are a great number of them, and they plow the Lands of the Lacedsmonians, whom they serve as Slaves. It was supposed he did practife with them, under promise to

make them free-men. But because they had no pregnant witness to convince him, they thought they must not condema so noble a Person as he by bare conjectures, but rather to tarry till time did reveal it of it felf. In these businesses, a young man called Argitim, who in his infancy had served Pun-If on a tell. In these commences, a young monetains ergroom, who is its intercretage and erved Pan-garias for a Page, having received Letters of him to carry to Artabazas, he doubting left there Argiliae disco-were somewhat therein that might hurt him, for of all those that went into Perssa about the assay wereth Pansa-cot one of them came hark again; he broke onen the Seal and known by the Contract three th not one of them came back again : he broke open the Seal , and knew by the Contents thereof that if he had carried them, he had died for it: also the Letter mentioned matters whereof Paulania; and Xerxes were agreed. Argilius carried these Letters, and put them into the hands of the Ephores. Here is to be noted the moderation and gravity of the Lacedemonians, that would not yet take vantage of this detection, to lay hold upon Pausanias: and resolved not to proceed with rigour, till he first discovered it himself. And therefore they raught Argiliu what they would have him to do.

At Tenare, there is a Temple of Neprune, the priviledge whereof the Greeks hold for facred and inviolable. Argilius fled thither, and fate him down upon the Altar: near unto the which the Ephores made a cave under the ground, from whence one might understand all that any body would say unto Argilisu. Some of the Ephores hid themselves within it. Panfanias understanding that his man was in the priviledge of the Temple, went thither marvellously troubled, and began to ask him how this chance happened. Argilius confessed he had opened the letters, and seen the contents of them. Wherewith Paulanias more troubled then before, began to pray him to fay never a word, and not to betray him who had done him so much good: that if he would do him that favour to help him out of this trouble, he would make him a great man. The Ephores having heard all this talk, they judged that the fureft way was to take him in the City. Whither they being gone, Paulania thinking he had appealed Argilius, and thereby affured his affairs, he returned home to his house: and as they were ready to catch him by the chollar, he perceived by the countenance of one of the Ephores that called him as if he would have spoken with him, that they went about to entrap him. Wherefore doubling his pace newould have spoken with tilling that they with a very mind the fact of mind the Temple of Mindrea, called the followed him, he faved himfelf within the Temple of Mindrea, called the fanctury tollicewisa satter then more man consover man, in the Ephores caused the Church doors preferrly to in the Temple be mured up, and the roof of the Temple to be pulled down, that he might die the fooner with air. It of Minerus, is reported that Panfanias mother being a very old woman, lived at that time: and that the understand. and dieth. ing of the wickedness of her fon, her felf brought the first stone to mure him in there. Behold, how Being of the witchedists of the 10th, first the proof of the great glory he had obtained in the Wars. Being brought half dead out of the Temple, he died immediately. Some would have had his body carried to the Gibbet : others liked not the opinion, and buried him far from the place where he died : from whence he was digged up again, by commandment of an Oracle of Delphor, and put in the fame place

The end of Paufanias Life.

THE

CON,ON.

1021

THE LIFE OF

THRASYBULUS.

Ann. Mund. 3484.

Ant. Christ. · 464.

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be divided.



Or Thrafybulus, he was an Athenian, the fon of one called Lycus. If we should confider his vertue apart, and leave his fortune behind, it may be we should place him first of all others. And to confess a troth, I know no man more faithfull, more constant, more nobly minded, and more loving to his Country, then he. For whereas many have defired (and few executed) to free their Countrey from the hands of one onely Tyrant: it was his fortune to deliver his Countrey from the violence of thirty Tyrants. But it chanced, I know not how, that he which went before all others in vertue, was put down by many others in

charge and dignity. In the Wars of Pelaponnefut, Alcibiades did nothing without him, but he on the contrary did many things without Alcibiadet, and wan honour through the goodnels and excellency of his nature. This notwithstanding, all the exploits of War ought to be divided amongstine Chieftains, fouldiers, and fortune: for when Armies meet, that which hash been determined in councillations. fel, is executed by the force and valiantness of the fouldiers that fight. Wherefore the fouldier may pretend right to that which his Generall hath done: Fortune challengeth the better part, and may fay, that the hath in fuch a cafe ftood them in better ftead then all the wildom of the Generall. Even to then, this worthy act of Thrasphilus is proper to himfelf. For as the thirty Tyrants established by the Spartions, that kept the City of stibens in fubjection, had banished part of the Citizens escaped from the Thrasphulus feet War, pur some to death, and iorseited the goods of others: Thrasphulus was the first and onely man field on the that began to make War with them. He was gotten into a strong hold, called Phile, in the territory

thirty Tyrants. of Attica, having but thirty men with him in all.

spifed.

This was the beginning of the health of the Athenians, and the foundation of the liberty unto the goodlieft Commonwealth of Greece. And for as much as the Tyrants fcorned him and his company, it was the cause of their destruction, and of the preservation of Thrasphulus: and their not caring to fet upon him and his, made them stronger by the leifure they had given them. The which should teach all to remember this rule : that we must never despise our enemy. And so it is not spoken in vain, that the mother of a coward doth never weep. For all his fame that went of him, many did not joyn with him: for then those that were best affected, made War with the Tyrants more with their tongue then with their hands. From Phile Thrasphulus went to the Port of Pyras, and did fortifie the Forttes called Mynichia: the which the Tyrants did affault, but they were repulfed with fuch shame, that they fuddenly retired to the Town with loss of Arms and baggage. In this action, Thrafybulus shewed himself no less wife then valiant: for he commanded his men to touch none that made no refittance, thinking it reasonable that the Citizens should pardon one theother: and there was not a man of them hurt, but those that affaulted them. He would strip none of the dead, nor suffer any thing to be taken from them, but their arms and victuals which he needed. Critias, the chief of all the Tyrants, having fought very valiantly against Thrasphulus, was slain at the second affault. After he was dispatched. Panfanian King of Sparia came to the aid of the Athenians, and made peace betwixt Thraffbulu and those which kept the City, with these conditions, that the thirty Tyrants, and the ten new Governors, The thirty Ty-which had committed as many cruclties as the Tyrants themselves, should be banished, and their goods rant bandhed, forfeited, without touching any other Citizens: and that the foveraignty and government of theeftate as allo the ter

new governors should be restored again unto the people.

It was another fine device of Thrafybulus, that after he had pacified all matters, and obtained great credit in the City, he made a law that no man should be called in question nor troubled for things that were patt, and that was called Amneftia, or law of Oblivion. But he was more careful A law to forto keep it, then to publish it. For some of his followers in his exile, complotted to kill some that Carefull execution of good were pardoned: but he ftopped it by open proclamation, and kept his promife. To recompense thele io many good deeds of his, the people gave him a Crown of two branches of Bayes, the which got him no envy, but great glory: because he had obtained it through the good will of his Citizens, and not by force. It was wifely faid of Pittacm, one of the feven Sages: when the Mitylenians: gave him many thouland of days work of lands, I pray you, faid he, give me not that thing which is envited of many men, and defired of all the world: of all thole I will onely take but a Contentation hundred days work, which shall make proof of my moderation, and of your good affection: for with a little. finall presents do continue long, but we are no long time owners of great riches. So then Thraspe imal precents of contenting himfelf with this Crown, he fought for no more, and did think that no man was more honoured then he. Shortly after, he being arrived in Sicilia with a Fleet the which he commanded. his fouldiers were not carefull to keep good watch in his Camp: upon which occasion, the batbarous people that were besieged, having by night made a fally out of the Town upon him, they surprise Thrasphalm

The end of Thrafybulus Life

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THE LIFE OF (0 X,0 X.

Anno Mundi 3556.

Ant. Christ.



Uring the Wars of Peloponneshie, Conon Athenian began to deal in the Affairs of the Commonwealth, and did great fervice: for he was chosen Colonel of the infantry, then Admirall, in which charge he did many goodly exploits. By means whereof he grew to be of fingular reputation amongst all men, and had the Government of all the Isles: during which time he wan Phares a Colony of the Lacedamonians. Towards the end of the War of Peloponnesus, at what time Lyfander overcame the Army of the Athenians upon the Sea coast which they call the River of the Goat, he had then charge of certain Galleys, howbeit

he was not at the Battle, which was cause that all came to nought, for he was a Wise and Valiant Captain: infomuch that it was in every mans mouth, that if he had been there, the Athenians had not was befieged, he fought not to hide himself to live in fafety, but thought how he might help his Citireth the prereth the pr and Governour of Ionia and of Lydia, into whole favour he infinuated himself, but with great trou-Country, beble and much danger. Now when the Lacedamonians, after they had subdued the Athenians, instead fore his own of maintaining the alliance made with Artaxerxes, had for the Agelhaut to make War in Afia, through private fairty, the perfusation of Tifaphernes, which had for faken the King (of whom heretofore he was greatly be. loved) and joyned with the Lacedamonians: Pharnabazus was appointed Lieutenant Generall of the Army of the Persians to make head against Agestians. But in truth Conon commanded all, and nothing was done without his advice and counfell. It was he that brake the most part of all the intentions and attempts of this great Captain Agessians, being a thing certain enough, that is Conon had not opposed himself, the Lacedamonians had taken all Asia from the King, unto the Mountain Taurus, Hereupon Agessians being sent for home by the Ephores, because the Baotians and Athenians had proclaimed War against Sparta, Conon left not to be ever near to the Lieutenants of the King of Perfia, and did them great fervice.

Tissaphernes withdrew himself from the Court of Persia, the which all men perceived well enough but the King, with whom he was in great credit and estimation, though he was no more his servant. And it is not to be marvelled at, if Artaxerxes could believe nothing, remembring himself that by Tiffaphernes means he overcame his brother Cyrus. Conon being fent by Pharnabazus unto the King to accuse this Tissaphernes, he being come to the Court, came first to the Captain of the Guard, called Tiehrenstes, according to the custom of the Persians. He is chiefest of all the Officers of the Kingdom, and no man can be suffered to come near the King to speak with him, without his leave and licenfe. He being intreated by Conon to let him go unto the Prince: I am contented, faid he, but confider if thou be determined to speak with him thy self, or to deliver thy mind by writing that thou would fay unto him. For if thou come to his presence, thou must kneel to the King : and if thou think that grievous unto thee, thou mayest execute thy commission by my means, as well as by thine own mouth As for me, answered Conon, it shall be no troublesome thing to me, to do the King that honour that

shall please thee : but I am asraid to do my City dishonour, if I do a thing proper to the barbarous people, and unfit for that City which was wont to command other Nations. So then he delivered his meliage in writing: which when the King had feen, he was fo moved with the report of fo great a person, that he judged Tissaphernes his enemy, decreed War against the Lacedemonians, and suf-fered Conon to make choice of such a man as he would, to distribute the money necessary to defray the charge of this War. Conon made this answer, that this election pertained nothing to him, but to the King that knew his fervants best : yet in his opinion, this charge should be best bestowed upon Pharrang that knew his retrains och . Jesus prefems to the maritime Towns, to command the Cyprioss, Phenicians, and others dwelling upon this coast to put Galleys in readiness, and to Arm a Fleet that might keep the Seas next Summer, under the conduct of Pharnabazus and of Conon, who had so The Lacedamonians being advertised thereof, were amazed, perceiving well that they were to make

another manner of War then with the barbarous people. For they faw that they must needs come to fight against a valiant and wife Captain, having the Kings treasure in his hands, and that had as much ngnt against a valuant and whic caprain, naving the longs treature in its nands, and that had as much and better direction and forces then they. With this thought they gathered together great flore of and better direction and forces then they. With this thought they gathered together great flore of fine the spar Cnidos, gave them battle, made them flee, took flore of Galleys, and funk a great number of them.

1681. By means of this victory, Athen; and all Greece, subject to the dominion of the Lacedemonians, were fer at liberty. Conon returned again to his Country with part of these Galleys, built up again the walls of Athens, and of the haven of Piras, which had been overthrown by Lyfander, and prefentions ed his Citizens with thirty thouland crowns which Pharnabaxus had given him. But that which haped his chizens while the ty thousand crowns which Final naturals had given him. Due that when his pench oftentimes unto other men chanced also unto Coton, that is, to have less courage in prosperity, then in advertiny. For now that he had overcome the Fleet of the Peloponnessan, thinking he had taken fufficient revenge of the wrongs received by his Countrey, he began to embrace in his mind imaginations too high for his carriage: although this was good and commendable in his enterprife, that he had rather make his own Countrey great and rich, then the King of Perfia. Therefore he being now grown into wonderfull credit, not onely amongst the barbarous people, but also amongst all the Cities of Greece, after this battle of Cristor, the began underhand to practife the means to restore Ionian and Lalia to be subject again to the Commonwealth of the Athenians. His practises being discovered, Tiribazus Governor of Sardus, fent to pray him to come to him, to be fent in Ambassage to the King. Comen straight obeying his commandment, he was no sooner arrived, but he was straight claps up in prison, where he remained some time. Some write that he was carried to the King, and died in Perfia. But Dion the Hiftorian, to whom we give great credit in that he treateth of the affairs of Perfia, reporteth, that Conen faved himself, leaving it indoubt whether Tiribaxus was privy to it, or that he knew not of it.

The end of Conons Life.



THE LIFE OF IPHICRATES.

Ann. Mund. 3578.

Ant . Christ.

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Phicrates the Athenian was famous, not fo much for his divers exploits, or for the greatness of them, as for his Miniary Discipunce and the state of War, that they compared him unto the bravelt men of his time, and they tain of War, that they compared him unto the bravelt men of his time, and they did not fet him behind any of those that had gone before him. He had been in many Wars, had commanded Arthies oftentimes, he never had misfortune by his own fault, he ever overcame by Wifdom: his Understanding reaching to far, that he brought in many good things never feen before in the Art Military :
and made some of them better that were in tife. He altered the Arms of Footmen: Iphiomer skill

and where before him the Captains did tife great Targets, short Partisans, and little Swords: he to in military afthe contrary brought light Bucklers, to the end his men should be lighter to remove, and to run to fairs, metontrary brought ught Bucklers, to the end his men inound to higher to remove, and to run to give charge. He made the Parilians greater by half, and the Swords longer. He changed also the Corillers, and instead of Iron and Copper, he made them of Carvais well wrought together, which made the Souldiers much lighter; for being eited of that welght, they had means to defend themselves minbby against hows, and were ready befiels to give charge upon the Tenny. He made War with the Thrailpain, and re-tstablished Southers again in his Ringdom, an Ally of the Athenians. Being at Corimb, he observed so good Discipline in his Artny, that they never faw any Souldiers in Greece. better disposed, nor more obedient to their Colonel then they were. To be short, he did use them to rank themselves so well in Battle, without help of the Captain, to soon as ever the Generall had given them the fign to fight, that it feemed exprelly as if the most expert Chieftain of War had imbattel-

With furth an Army he affailed the Lacedamonians, which was a most famous act through all Greece; and in this War he put all their Potces to flight, which wan him great honour. And as Artaxer are Iphicaett overwasteady to fet upon the King of Sypt, be demanded of the Athenians Captain Iphicrates, to be threw the Lawasteady to tet upon the King of Expys, the demanded of the Athenians Captain Internets, to be the chief Leader of all the frangers Troops, to the muther of twelve thousand men. Whom he is well trained and difciplined, that as the Fabian Souldiers had been famous among the Romans, [6, ia. Greece they spake of none but of Iphicration Souldiers. Afterwards being gone to aid the Spartant. he flayed Epaminondas roundly : had not be come, the Thebans would never have returned back beforethey had taken and burnt the City of . sparts. He was a man of a flout heart, and of a high fla-ture, having the report and countenance of a Soversign Capitain, fo that he made all men wonder at him that law him; but he was flothfull and impatient, as Theopompus faith, but otherwife a good and faithfull Citizen, whereof he made proof among others, especially in keeping Perdiccas and Phiby the Sons of Anyne as Macedonian fafe. For Euridice their Mother coming with them for refuge unto tphicrates, after the death of Amyntas, he spared no means of his own to defend them. He lived a long time, being in good credit with his Citizens, faving that on a time during the Wars of the Allies he was criminally accused with Timothem; howbeit he cleared himself, and was quit by judgement. His Wife was Throffe, Daughter of King Cory: and of her he had a Sorrestled Me-mifilied; who being asked which he loved beft, either his Father, or his Mother? My Mother, faid he. Wherear every man muling: Marvell not, answered he, I have reason to say so. For my Father, as much as was in him, begat me a Thracian : and Mother to the contrary, the made me in Atheman.

The end of Iphicrates Life:

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THE LIFE OF CHABRIAS.

Anno Mundi 3573.

Ant. Christ. 375.

Habrias was an Athenian, and was placed in rank of excellent Captains. So hath he done many things worthy of memory. Amongst others, the stratagem he Thewed at the battle of Thebes is famous, where he was to aid the Boorians. For, that great Captain Agefilant rejoycing because of victory, and that he had made all the Troops in the Thebans pay run away, Chabrias stood fill with them that were of his battalion, teaching the fouldiers to relift the rage of the enemies, the retrest, to keep his men that they should pais no string the string that which the Albenistant Chabrias cauled a statut to be made of him in the string action of the which the Albenistant Chabrias cauled a statut to be made of him in the string action of the which the Albenistant Chabrias cauled a statut to be made of him in the string action of the which the Albenistant Chabrias cauled a statut to be made of him in the string action of the which the Albenistant Chabrias cauled a statut to be made of him in the string action of the which the Albenistant Chabrias cauled a statut to be made of him in the string action of the which the Albenistant Chabrias cauled a statut to be made of him in the string action of the which the Albenistant Chabrias cauled a statut to be made of him in the string action of the which the Albenistant Chabrias cauled a statut to be made of him in the string action of the which the Albenistant Chabrias cauled a statut to be made of him in the string action of the which the Albenistant Chabrias cauled a statut to be made of him in the string action of the which the Albenistant Chabrias cauled a statut to be made of him the string action of the string action of

ant fet up for him in the great Market-place, Afterwards the Wreftlers, and other kind of people followed this fallison of erection of statues, which they deserved for their victories. To come again to towcu mis ramon of erection or traues, which they deterved for their victories. 10 come again to Chabrias, he made many Wars in Europh, in the quality of General of the Athenians, and went also out of his voluntary will to make War in Egyp, in the fervice of Nethanebox whom he let again into his Kingdom. He did the like in Gypras, whither the Athenians for him of purpose to help Engoras, and would not depart thence before he had first subdeed all the file, for the which the Athenians and would not depart thence before he had first subdeed all the file, for the which the Athenians and would not depart thence before he had first subdeed all the file, for the which the Athenians and would not depart thence before he had first subdeed all the file, for the which the Athenians and would not depart thence before he had first subdeed all the file, for the which the Athenians and would not depart thence before he had first subdeed all the file. nians wan great honour. In thele buintiffes, War fell out beiwint the Persians and Agyptians. They of Albens were allies of Artaxerxen, and the Spartans 190k part with Agpr. King Agfilam did greatly invade the Persians, and carried great boones away. Chabrisa confidering that, and giving no place to Agessiam, went of his own head to aid the Agyptians, who made him their Admiral, and gave the charge of the Army by land unto Agessiam. Then the Lieutenants of the King of Reffig lent unto Athens, to complain that Chabrias made War with the Agyptians against their King. The Atheniam lent for Chabriss immediately to appear in person, threatning him to condemnhim to death, if he were not there by the day appointed. The mediage made him to come a-Bain to Assens, where he tarried no longer, then needs he must. For the Citizens bare him no great good will, because he carried himself to drasely, and would be so merry, that the people envied him. This vice regneth commonly in those great and free Towns, that glory is ever accompanied with envy, and they willingly speak ill of them whom they see to be great: and to be short, the poor cannot abide wealthy and rich men. Therefore Chabrias did absent himself out of the City as much as he could possible, and he was not alone in that, for almost all the chiefest of the City did the like; thinking themselves fafe from the teeth of the envious, fo long as they were far off from the fight of their Citizens. Therefore Conon lived for the most part of his time in the Isle of Cyprus, Ibbicrates, in Timaejes, Timosheus in Leibos, Cares in Sygera. As for Cares, he was not to be likened in any respect unto the others, in exploits, nor in manner of life: and yet he was honoured in the City of Athena, and

As for Chabries, he died in the War of the allies in this manner. The Athenians made War with the Islanders of Chie, at which time Chabries had no charge of the Army by fea. Norwithlanding he had more authority then all the Captains, and the fouldiers effeemed him more, then any other of the Commanders; which was the cause of his death. For striving to enter the first into the haves, and commanding the Pilot to row right thither, it was his deftruction: for being moored there within, the other thips followed him not. Whereupon the enemies compaffed him in : but as he fought valiantly, his Galley being beaten by the four of another yelfel, began to leak, and to link to the bottom. He feeing there was no way, for him to escape, because the Fleet of the Athenians was too far off to receive him in, if he should have attempted to have swom, he had rather die then leave his Arms, and forsake the Galley which carried him. The others, they took another courfe, and faved themselves by ftrength of their Arms. But he efteening an honeft death to be more excellent then a shamefull life, fighting

very near, was killed by the enemies with Darts.

The end of Chabrias Life.

THE LIFE OF

TIMOTHEUS.

Ant. Chrifts



Invalues the Son of Conen, a Captain of Albert , did by many Vertues The commen-amplifie the glory received of his Father. For he was an eloquent man, die dation of Tiligent, painfull, expert in Military Discipline, and a great Politician. He had mobbeus and executed great things, whereof the most notable are these, to wit the subdued his exploits. the Olynthians and Byzantines: he wan the City of Samos, the fiege whereof in the former Wars had stood the Athenians in the fum of twelve hundred talents. He delivered it unto the people freely without any charge to them. He made war with King Corps, and brought of the booty he had gotten there unto

the Treasury, the like sum of twelve hundred talents. He also raised the siege that was before Cyfica, and went with Agefilam to the aid of Ariobarzanes, of whom having received money, he had rather his Cirizens should buy Towns and Lands, then to carry it home to his lodging. Therefore he joyned Ericthone and Selfas to the Signiory of Athens. Afterwards having charge of the Army by Sea, he invaded Pelapannefus, fpoiled all the territory of Sparta, and had all their Ships in chafe: He brought the Corcyreans under the subjection of the Athenians , and drew into their alliance the Epirots , Athamanes , and Chaonians , and all the people upon that Sea coaft. The which made the Lacedamonians leave their fo long old quarrell, and of their own good wills let the Athenians have the principality of the Sea: treating peace with these conditions, that the Athenians should be Generals upon the Sea,

This Victory did so please the Athenians, that there was then first of all an Altar built to the common Peace, and they did ordain a Pillow should be made for that goddess. Furthermore, that fuch a glorious Act should remain for perpetuity, they raised up a Statue Timubeus hounto Timetheus in the Market-place, by ordinance of the people, which was an honour that noured with a her family from the father, to wir, that the people having granted a Statue for the father, flatue, they should also give one to the Son. By this means the Statue of the Son so for freshly fur up, renewed the memory of the Father. Now Timeshess being very old, dealing no more in affairs of the Common-wealth, they began afresh to torment the Athenians of all files. Sames and Hellespone shrunk back and revolted. Philip King of Macedon, who began to wax great , plotted wonderfull things in his head. Charcs was fent against him to make head. But they thinking him not fufficient to repulse Philip, they therefore fent Mensilhers the Son of Iphicrates, Son in law to Timothess, and made him Colonel, gave him the charge of the affairs of the wars, having for his Counsellours, his Father, and Father-in-law, brave Caprains, wife and expert men to direct him with their counfel: their authority being fo great, that every man hoped that all that was lost should be recovered again by their means. They pointing for Samos, Chares that had heard news of it, failed up and down that coaft, to the end nothing should be done in his absence. Drawing near to the Isle, a storm arose, and to defend themselves against it, the two old Captains strake fail, and hulled, going on further into the Sea. Chares to the contrary upon a head, not respecting them that had seen more then he, held on his course, thinking to have found an occasion as he wished, and some sewell to Timesthesse as to Iphicrates, that they should follow him. But having had evill fuccels, and loft many of his Ships, he fell back again to that very place from whence he timothesis came, and fent letters to the people of Athens of this effect, that he had easily taken Samos, wrongfully according to if Timothesis and Iphicrates had not forfaken him at his need. Upon this acculation they were cufed and confummoned to appear in person by this bold people, suspitious, unconstant, enemy and demned. thious of another mans greatness, and are charged to be Traitours to the Common-wealth. Timothem was condemned, and a fine fet upon his head of fixty thousand Crowns.

Inhierates constrained by the importunity of his unthankfull Citizens , went for a time to Chalspinerates Continue death , the People repenting their Sentence , abated nine parts of the cis. After Timebess death, the reoper repenting their sentence, abated nine parts of the fum above named, and commanded Comms, the Son of the deceased, to furnish six thousand Crowns for the reparation of a pane of the Wall. Here is to be noted a wonderful revolution, of the Affairs of this World: for the young Son was constrained at his own charges (to the great dishonour of his House) to repair the Walls, the which his Grand-statter (Jume had made up with the Booty gotten of the Enemies. We could allede many examples of the modelty and wildom of Timeshess: but we will add for the end a matter, whereby may be easily conjectured how much he was eftermed of the Greeks: Being young he was accused, and brought before the Judge, whereupon his friends and familiars came out of all parts into Athens to defend him, and 2monest others the Tyrant Pason, who was at that time the mightiest Lord of all Greece. This Ty. rant was never affured in his own Countrey without his Guard, and yet he came without any Train to Athens, efteeming fo much his Hoft Timothem, that he had rather hazard his life, then fail his friend in time of necessity. Notwithstanding this, shortly after Timothem made War with Jason, by Timusbear pre- the commandment of the People, thinking that to obey his Countrey, and to maintain the right of the ferreth the communament or the recopie, similaring that to obey in Southerfy, and to maintain the right of the common profit fame, is a more devout thing, then to favour a private friend. After this laft Age, which took away before private Iphicrates, Chaptins and Timushesse, Captains of Athens, they could never find in the Common-friendfulp.

wealth after their death, any Chieftain of War, that deferved any memory of them.

The end of the Life of Timotheus.

THE LIFE OF DATAMES.

Ann. Mund. 3642.

An. Christ. 362.

Datames 2 wil Captain.



Prefently enter into the Life of a most valiant and wife Captain . 2mong all the barbarous; Hamilear and Hannibal of Carthage excepted. We will speak somewhat more amply of this man, for that the most part of his Exploits are little known, and also because he had obtained his Victories not fo much by force of Arms, as by his wildom: a vertue in the which he did furpals all the men of his time. But this cannot be judged, unless we make him known in all particulars. Datames the Son of Camifares a Carian , and of a Scythian, was at the beginning a Souldier of the Guard of the Palace of

direction in the Wars, and for that he had done many good Services unto the King, was made Governour of Cilicia, near unto Cappadacia, where the Lencofyrians dwell. As for Datames, following the Wars, he made proof of his valous in the War which Artastrati had againft the Cadacians: where many men being flain on both fides, he fought to valiantly, the his Extra trains. that his Father being killed, he had his Authority and place of Governour of Cilicia. He Danner by his shewed himself no less valiant in War, then Antophrodates did by the Kings commandnortitude and valour obtain ment unto those that had rebelled. For, by the direction of Datames, the Enemies that were eth the place now entred into the Perfians Camp , were repulled , and all the Army of the Kings in falehis Father had, ty : the which was the cause of his calling and advancement unto higher Charges. There was at that time in Paphlagonia a Governour called Thyse, descended of an ancient Race of one Pylamenes , whom Homer faith , was slain by Patroclus in the War of Troja. He not regarding the Kings will and commandment , who therefore refolved to make War with him, and gave the charge of it unto Datames, Coulin-germane to Thym. By reason of Kindred, Datames would prove, by all means he could, to draw his Kiniman to fome conformity, before he took Arms: he went unto him without any Train, little thinking that his friend would have laid any Ambulh for him, but he had almost been taken tardy, for Thyse fought to surprise him, and

Datames in danger by Licaton,

her Son, she did advertise him in so good time, that he escaped with speed, and proclai- Datames overmed War against his Adversary. And although that in the pursuit of this War, he was cometh Thyus, forfaken of Ariobarzanes Governour of Lydia, of Ionia, and of all Phrygia, yethe let not and leadeth to go further: he took Thym Prisoner with his Wife and Children, and then very carefully to the Court. took order that no man but himself should carry news of it to the King. So following that purpose, without any mans privity he arrived at the Court, and the next morning apparelled Three (a tall man and of a terrible grim look, being black haired, and wearing his hair long) with a great Robe, such as great Lords use to wear. He apparelled himself like a Countrey man, in a Lion tawny Coat, with a Cloak of divers colours, and an Hunters Hat . having in his right hand a Club, and in his left hand a Leace, unto the which Thyus was tied. who went before, as if he had led fome favage Beast he had taken in the Chase a hunting. They all ran to fee this new Monster thus difguifed, and those which knew Thyus went presently and told the King of it, who at the first would believe nothing, but fent Pharnabazus to see what it was. So when he had told him what had happened, he made this pomp come in prefently, and the King took great pleasure to see it, but specially to see so mighty a Prince beyond all hope to subdued. Therefore after he had given sumptuous presents unto Datames, he sent him unto the Army that was leavied under the conduct of Pharnabazus and Tithraustes , to make War in Agypt.

to cut his throat. Datames Mother, Aunt unto Phins, being told what was practifed against

DATAMES.

and ordained that he should have as much Authority as they. Now after that the King had fent for Pharnabazus, all the charge of the War was committed to Datames. Who being greatly occupied about Leavies of men to go into Agypt, he received Letters from the King, commanding him to invade a Lord called A/pis, who held Cataonia, a Province joyning near to Cappadocia beyond Cilicia, a Mountain-Countrey, well furnished with Fortresses, that despiled the King, and made Invasions upon the Provinces thereabouts, spoiling Victuals and all things else that were carried to the King. Though Datames was far from that place, and had other Affairs of great importance in hand, yet he determined to obey the King, and suddenly imbarqued himself with a small number of resolute men, thinking (that which came to pass that with a few men he should sooner surprize a man not dreaming of any such matter, then with a great Army to go and affail him. He being arrived in Cilicia, landed, then marched day and night over Mount Taurus, and came to the place where he would be : he enquireth for Aspis, and understandeth that he was not far off a hunting. But as he stayed for his coming, Alpis knew that he was come, and immediatly disposed of his Pifidians and others of his Train to make head. Datames knowing this resolution, takes his Arms, made his men march, and Datamestaketh galloped to the place where Afpis was, who feeing him come with fuch a fury, he loft his coudeth him Prideth him Prirage to defend himself, and presently yeelded. Datames made him to be bound, and sent him soner to the by Mithridates to the King. Hereupon Artaxerses confidering better what he had done, draw-Kinging his Lieutenant far from his Army, to fend him in Commiltion about a matter of less consequence, being angry with himself, sent a Messenger to the Camp, thinking Datames was not yet gone from thence, to tell him that he should not go. But before this Messenger came to the Army, he met them by the way that brought $Af_{P}is$. This so sudden execution wan Datames the Kings good favour, but made him very much hated of the Courtiers, feeing one onely man more made of then all the rest, which was the cause that they all journed together

to deftroy him. Pandates Treasurer of the Spare, and Datames friend, did advertise him by earlies Letters, that he stood in great danger, if any finister Fortune happened whilest he should command the Army in Egypt, that it is the custom of Kings to impute all misfortunes to their

Servants that chance in their Affairs, and to attribute the good success unto themselves: and this makes them very eafily incline to the extermination of them, of whom report is made, Datamee being that they have not done that which was committed to their charge : and as for him, that envied because he should so much the more stand in fear, because those who could do most with the King, of his vertues, were his greatest Enemies. Datames having received these Letters in his Camp, and know- he forsaketh ing that they carried truth with them , he refolved to forfake the King : which doing , not- the King. withstanding he committed no breach of his fidelity. For he lest Androcles Magnesian Generall of the Army, and for himself he went with his men into Cappadocia; afterwards he wan Papklatonia which was hard by it, without shewing himself either friend or enemy of the King. He

fecretly contracted friendship with Ariobarzanes, assembled Forces, and gave the guard of the Towns of War unto those he intrusted best, but the winter did let him that his Affairs went not forward. He understandeth that the Pifidians did leavy fome Troops to set upon him, which caused him to send his Son Aridam before with an Army. The young man being slain at an Encounter, the Father marched right thither with his men, hiding his grief as much as he could possible, because he desired to meet with his Enemies, before those that followed him should hear of his loss, being afraid left the news of the death of this young Lord should kill their hearts. So being come to the place where he pretended, he camped in such fort, that the multitude of his Enemies could not inclosehim, nor keep him from coming to fight when he thought good. He brought with him Asthridates his Father-in-Law, who was Colonell of the Horsemen. He perceiving

the Affairs of his Son-in-law in fo poor an effate, for fook him to go yeeld himfelf to the Enemies.

A fine Strata-

Datames being told of it, judged that his Souldiers, if they once perceived that his Father-inlaw had for faken him, they would also follow his example wherefore to prevent all, he gave it out that Mithrobarzanes was gone by his commandment, pretending to yeeld themselves to the Enemies, to the end with more ease and advantage to cut them in pieces; and therefore that there was no reason to leave such a man so far from them, but they must needs follow him with fpeed. So that they standing to it lustily, the Enemies could not relist, considering they should be charged within and without their Camp. So having thought that the best way in the World. he marched into the Field with his Troops, and followeth Mithrobarzanes, who did but newly yeeld themselves to the Enemies, when Datames appeared, who put out the fignall of Battell The Pifidians troubled with this strange sight, did suspect that Mithrobarzanes and his would betray them, and that they were come of purpose to do them some mischief. Thereupon they vehemently gave Charge upon these Traytours, who not knowing what to think of such a Charge, were constrained to fight against them unto whom they had yeelded themselves, and to return unto them whom they had forfaken. But the one and the other not knowing them any whit, in a flort time thele wicked men were cut in pieces. So withall *Datament* elterth upon the Pifdians who made head against him, passed thorow them, and brake them at the sirst Charge, pursued them that fled, flew a great number of them, and was master of their Camp. Note here how wifely (and all done at one time) he punished the Traytors, and put his Enemies to flight, turning that to good, which was devised for the overthrow of him and his. This is the most brave and most speedy executed Stratagem of a Chieftain in Wars, that can be found in Histories.

The Son betrayeth the Father.

Notwithstanding that , this great Person was forsaken of his eldest Son Scismas, who went to the King to advertise him that his Father was revolted. This troubled Artaxerxes greatly, knowing that he had to deal with a valiant and wife Captain, who boldly did fet upon any Enterprize with discretion. Thereupon he sent Antophradates into Cappadocia, whom Datames took pains to go and meet, to prevent him that he should not win the Straight of Cilicia. But being long affembling his Forces, and that hope being frustrate, he chose with those tew men that followed him fuch a place, that his Enemies could not inclose him, nor pass, but that he should shut them up in very unwholsome places, nor hurt him when he listed to joyn in fight. Now though Antophradates understood somewhat of that, yet he made account that it was more expedient for him to joyn then to flee from the Lift, having fo great Forces, He had twenty thousand Horse, and an hundred thousand Footmen, which they call Gardates, with three thousand Slings of the same name. Furthermore, he had eight thousand Cappadocians, ten thousand Armenians, five thousand Paphlagonians, ten thousand Phrygians, five thousand Lidians, and about three thousand Aspenasans and Pisidsans, two thousand Cilicians, as many Captarians, and three thousand Greeks in pay, besides a great number of light armed men. Against this world of Forces, Datames could hope no more but in his direction, and in the commodity of the place where he camped, for he had not the twentieth part fo many men. Yet trufting to himself, to the place, and to the valour of his men, he came to fight, and put to the Sword many thousands of his Enemics, having lost of his fide but one thousand of his men. For this cause he fet up the next day in the Field a fign of triumph where the Battell was fought. So being removed from thence, as he was the weaker in number of men, he to the contrary remained Victor in all Skirmishes and Fights, and never came to hands but he put his Enemy to the worse: in the which he had oftentimes very good fuccefs, because he knew all the ways, and did wisely confider his Affairs. Antophradates feeing the King loft more in these Wars, then he got, he perswaded Datames to tall to agreement, and to make his peace with the King. Though Datames had no great truft in that, yet he accepted the condition, and faid he would fend Ambassadours unto Artaxerxes. And thus the War of the King ended against Datames; and for Antophradates , he retired into Phrygia.

Datames way But the King being vexed to the heart against Datames, considering that he could not preagainst Trea- vail against him by Arms, sought to make him away by Treason. Datames looked warily to his ways, and avoided many Ambushes. As on a time, having understanding that some pretending to be his friends, had laid a plot for him, although his Enemies had given him intelligence of it, yet he thought, that as it was not a thing lightly to be believed, fo was it not altogether to be discredited: whereupon he resolved to try whether the report was true or false. Therefore he set forward to the place where it was told him this Ambush was laid : but he chose amongst his men one that was of his height, he gave him his Furniture, and made him march in the Rank which he was wont to hold. He on the otherside apparelled like a Souldier, went with the Archers of the Guard. Those which lay in Ambush, deceived by the order and Furniture, affoon as they faw their time, began to fet upon the supposed Da tames. But the right Datames had warned them before with whom he marched . to be ready to do all as he did. He feeing then these Traytors running, he threw Darts at them, and fo did all those that were in his Company, fo that the other fell to the ground before they could come near him whom they would furprife. Now notwithstanding all this, this so gainst Datames, wary and subtill Captain was in the end betrayed by the deceit of Mithridates the Son of Ariobarzanes, who promifed the King to do the deed, so that he would afterwards suffer him to do what he thought good, without being called in question any manner of way.

The King consented unto it, and gave his hand upon it after the custome of the Persians, to make him more affured. Mithridates having the Kings word, made thew to be fworn Enemy unto Artaxerxes, he gathered Troops together, and by means treateth friendship with Da- The manner same, he entreth with a main Army into the Kings Country, befregeth and taketh Fortreef of this ideal fes, carrieth away great Booty, he giveth part of it to his Souldiers, he fendeth the reft unto Strangeme. Datames, and delivered many fortreffes and Holds into his hands. So having continued this course a reasonable time, Datames began wholly to believe that Mithridates had undertaken a War which he would never leave, and this Traytor gave him great occasion to think so. For fearing lest Datames would mistruft fome Ambush, he fought not to speak with him, nor went about to meet together. hat without enterview he entertained his Alliance fo finely, that these two men seemed both one, not so much for mutuall benefit, as for a common harred conceived against the King. When he saw his Snare well laid, he wrote to Datames, that time required they should affemble great Forces to make War against the King, and if he thought good, he would appoint a place where they might one see another, and confer together. Datames found this advice good, and fo they appointed a day to meet another, and other they might speak personally one with the other. Some days before Mithria Pine appoint these appointments on the place, seconded with another in whom he put great trust, he hid Poignards separate of enterted in divers places, and did carefully mark the place where they were laid. The day being come of view together. their talking together, both of them fent men to discover the place; and to fearth one the other, betaufe they should be without Weapons. That being done, they enter into talk, and after they had spoken some time together, they departed ! so that Datames was gone a good way off. And as for Mithridates, because he went to his men (to give no occasion of ill thought) he cometh to the same place again where they had fooken together; and fate him down in a place where there was a Poignard hidden, feigning to be weary and to refresh himself a little. Then he sent for Datames under colour that he had forgotten to tell him fomething. In the mean time he took the Poignard out of the place Distant's travwhere it was hidden, drew it, and put it naked under his Robe. And feeing Detames, told him they revoully must go a little aside, and that he had discovered a place directly over against them very fit to camp dered by Miin He began to shew him the place with his finger : and as Datames turned to see what it was, this thritage. Traytor stabbed him with his Poignard, and made an end of killing of him before any of his men could come to help hint. See here how through presence of friendship he was surprised, who had entrapped formany others by his valiant Direction, but none by Treason.

The end of the Life of Datames,

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THE

Honilear 2

THE LIFE OF H & M I L C A R.

Ann. Mund. 1700.

Ant. Christ.



Amilear the Son of Hannibal, firnamed Barcas , a Carthaginian Captain, being very young, began to command an Army that was in Sicilia, in the end of the first War of Africk. Before his coming thither the Carthagin-ans had very ill fuccels both by Sea and Land: but so soon as he led the Army, he never gave place to the Enemy, and gave him no advantage to hurt him, but to the contrary, he found many an occasion to draw them to fight, wherein he had the vantage. Which being done, although the Carthaginians had well-near loft all that they held in Sicilia, yet he kept the City of Erix fo well, as it feemed that there had never been War made in that Quarter. In the mean time the Carthaginians having loft a Battell at

Sea near unto the Illes Agaies, against Carulus Luttatius a Roman Consull, they determined to sea near unto the like a season, sand and the charge unto Hamilear to treat of Peace. For his part he defired nothing leave Arms, and gave all the charge unto Hamilear to treat of Peace. but War : yet feeing his Town in want of Money and Means, and in danger to fink under their burthen, he concluded that they must make Peace. Yet so notwithstanding he resolved with himself, that as foon as all matters were pacified, he would make War again, and fet upon the Remans, either to make them Lords of all , or elfe to compell them to be subject. With this mind he entred into Parley of Peace, where he shewed himself so stout, that as Gatalus declared he would agree to nothing, before Hamilton and his Souldiers, which had kept Erix, had laid down their Arms, and nothing, before Hamiltar and his Souldiers, which had kept Erix, had laid down their Arms, and feeth to yeeld not general of Sicilia; he made answer, that he would rather die in the ruines of his Countrey, unto dihonou-were gone out of Sicilia; he made answer, that he would rather die in the ruines of his Countrey, rable Condition then to return home with such shame; and thar Honour would not suffer him to yeeld up his Arms to ons of Peace. his Enemies, which his Countrey had put into his hands to be imployed against them. So Carrier

But when Hamilear was arrived at Carthage, he faw matters go far otherwife then he hoped for. let him go with this obstinate resolution. For during the long Wars against the Enemies abroad, there was mischief sprung up among them within: which went on fo fiercely, that Carthage was never in lo great danger but when it was together deftroyed. First of all, the mercenary Souldiers that had been in the Wars against the Romans, to the number of twenty thousand: they rebelling, made all Africk rise, and they befieged mans, to the number of twenty mountains: they receiving, make an applied in S, and they orneged Carthoge. The Carthoginians being greatly afraid of fo many evils, they demanded aid of the Romans, which they granted. But in the end, when all was thought to be in a desperate case, they chofe Hamilear their Captain-Generall, who did not onely drive the Enemies far from the Town, Hamiltar over - which were in number above an hundred thousand fighting men, but he did also shut them up in such Straights, that the most part of them died of famine, and the rest were slain. Furthermore, he brought Economics of his the Cities which had revolted, under the obedience again of Carthage, and amongst others Utica and Hipp:na, two of the strongest Cities of Africk. But not staying there, he extended the limits of the Seigniory of Carthage, and pacified all Africk in fuch fort, that it feemed there had been no

Now having done all things according to his mind, he bearing ill will to the Romans, and hoping to be revenged; to find a more easie way to draw them to War, he practifed fo well that he was cho-Mimilest the fee Generall, and they fent him with an Army into Spain, whither he carried with him his Son Haragainst the Ro. nibal nine years old, and another fair young Gentleman called Haldrubal, whom many judge to be mans, and fent loved of Hamilear otherwise then was fit for honest men. For there were many always that could not contain themfelves from speaking evil of this great Captain. Which was the cause that the Governour of Hashrubal did forbid him to come any more to Hamilton, who afterwards gave him his Daughter in Marriage, so that they began again to meet together. For by the custome of the Countrey they could not forbid a Son-in-law, to frequent with his Pather-in-law. We have made mention of Hafdrubal, because that after Hamilear was slain, he was made chief of the Army, which did great Exploits under his Conduct. Even so he was the first, that by Presents and Gifts corrupted the ancient Manners of the Carthaginians. After his death, Hannibal had the charge of the Army, with the cohlent of all the men of War. As for Hamiltan, he having paffed the Sea, entred into Spain, and did great things there with good frecefs. He subdued many warlike Nations, enriched all Africk with Horfes, with Arms, with men, and with Money. As he had thought to have transported the Hamiltar flain. War from thence into Iraly, nine years after his coming into Spain, he was flain in a Battell against the Vettons. The deadly have he bare unto the Romans, feemeth to have kindled the fecond War with Africk, For his Son Hannibal was brought to this pass, by the continual adjurations of his Father, that he had rather destroy himself, then to fail his help against the Romans.

The end of the Life of Hamilcar.

PRINTER to the READER,

CONCERNING

The End and Use of the following TABLE.

The use of this Plutarch's Work (Gentle Reader) is somanifest in its Matter, and universall in respect of the persons who have occasion to peruse it : that upon advice from the judicious and illustrious Mr. Selden, of ever famous memory, and others, I have therein (for the help and furtherance of Students in Hillory and Chronologie. caused all the Lives (by him collected, and in the last Edition added, and in this continued) to be [et, and ranked according to their Synchronism's, with the choifest of their Contemporaries, viz. the most famous in facred and profane Story, for Piety, Power , Dignity , or Learning , &c. that lived either parallel, or in the fame Age with them; and all this in that series and order of time wherein they fell, according to the best Account, which is this . From

	1656
Thence to the Promife,	363
Thence to the giving of the Law	430
Thence to the building of the Temple,	480
Thence to the end of the Captivity,	404
Thence to the beginning of Daniels feventy weeks,	78
Thence to the Passion of our Saviour,	490

All which amount unto 4001 years: from which substract 34, the current year of our Saviours age at his Passion, and the remainder will demonstrate, that the 3967th year of the World, was the first year of our Lord; upon which Basis the following Supputation is made, without rel vect to any miltake in the Dionysian Ara or others, as not considerable in this buline[s. In which Table observe, that there are four Columnes; in the first whereof there is the rear of the World, wherein those Worthies lived, mark's with A.M. for Anno Mundi, in the head thereof. In the second there is the year before or after the birth of Christ noted with C. N. for Anno ante Christum natum, theyear before Christ was born, or A. D. for Anno Domini, the year after Christ was born. In the third there is the Names of all the Grecians and Romans, or other famous men, whose Lives Plutatch or others have herein writ, distinquisht with this Title, Romans and Grecians. In the fourth there are the Names of the most remarkable then, or near then living, viz. Kings, Emperours, Priests, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Bishops, Philosophers, Oratours, Historians, Poets, Mathematicians, &c.

THE

A true and perfect TABLE, of all the LIVES written by Platarch, and thereunto added, with the year of the World, and the year before and after Christ, wherein they flourish't; with their most eminent Contemporaries, according to order of time as they lived.

to 0	rder o	tun	ne as they have.	
A.M.	C.N.	R	omans and Grecians.	Contemporaries.
2733	1234	$_{\mathcal{I}}$	Hesew.	Thir Judge of Ilrael, Orpheus, and Amphion, Poets.
3071		Ly	curgus.	Jagh King of Judah , Hazael King of Syria, Zachariah Son of Jeboiada Prophet, 2 Chr. 24. 20. Abaz and Hezekiah Kings of Judah, Misab and Habakkuk Prophets, Abaz and Hezekiah Kings of Judah, Misab and Habakkuk Prophets,
3217	750	1	mulu.	Ahaz and Hezekeah Kings of Judan, Alabona Jar. in his time began the famous Era of Nabona Jar. Mana Jeb King of Judah, Ariftomenes King of Myssenia, Isaiah Pro-
3254		1	uma Pempiline.	phet, Tyrtaus Poet, A Parious Corne King of Perlia Das
3421	540	So	lon.	miel the Prophet, Anaximanuer and Simonides, Poets, charmus a Pythagorian Philosopher, Anaxeon and Simonides, Poets,
3461	500	P	ublicola.	Philosopher, Dionis ins and Arthur of Perfix Toighim High Prieft of
3500	467	' 1 '	iilriades,Pericles,Themi- focles, Ariftides, Paufa- 1146, Cimon, Thrafibulus,	the Jews, Protagoras a Findsophia, and Charon, Poets.
357	2 39	A	Coriolanus. Ucibiades , Artaxerxes Mnemon, Lyfander, Ful- vius, Camillus, Agefilaus.	Ezra, Malachi the last Prophet, Ariftopuanes, Ifocrates, and Action phon, Ctefica Historian.
359	4 37	3 7	Niciae. Diony sim the elder, Dion Timothem, Iphicrates Chabrias, Pelopidas, Epa minondas, Philip of Macc minondas, Philip of Macc	Jonathan High Priest to the Jews, Plato a rimotopine, American Oratour, and Adversary to Denosis- nides a Poet, Eschines: an Oratour, and Adversary to Denosis- benes.
364	Ή.	3 3	don, Demosthenes. Timoleon, Alexander, Ph cion, Eumenes, Datames	7 addus High Prieft of the Jews, Darries Ochus, Arifes, and Commin- nus, Kings of Persia, Aristotle Printee of Philosophers, Diogenes, Cinicas, Euclid Mathematician.
367	2 2	95	Fabim Maximm , Agi Pyrrhm, Araim.	ria. Theophraftes Artifician
374	₄ 6 ²	21	Amilcar, Demetrisu, Ha nibal, Marcellu, T.	
380	200	21	Flaminius. Philopæmen , Cleomen Marcus Cato Paulus &	es, Antiochus Epiphanes King of Affyria, Judas Maccabaus, Paneinis E. Stoick Philosopher, Ennius, Plantus, Terence, and Pacnvius,
39	-	66 	mylius, I sbersus Gracen Caim Gracehus, Scipio fricanus.	Hircanus High Priest of the Jews, Tigranes King of Assyria, Mithrian High Priest of the Jews, Tigranes King of Bythinia, Chrysippus the Mates King of Pontus, Nicomedes King of Bythinia, Chrysippus the Philosopher, Didymus a Scholiast upon Hemer, Diedorus Siculus and Salush, Historians; Q. Catullus a Poet.
39		1	Ottavian Cafar.	Herace Latine Poets.
40	33	66 6 9	Seneca the Philosopher. Galba,Otto alias Otho.	The Apostles and Evangenits, Linus Bishop of Rome, Proculus
- 1	70	09 104	à	Roman Lawyer, Simin and Trajan Emperours of Rome, Quadr. Titus Vespasian, Domissan and Trajan Emperours and Anacteus, Bishoj tus and Ignatius, Fathers; Cletus, Ormens, and Anacteus, Bishoj
1		-•		tus and Ignatius, Fathers; Cletus, Ormens, and Andrews of Rome, R. Jebuda, Ben Thoma, Favorius: Philosopher, Cor- nelius Tacius, Cacilius Plinius, Historians, the Athesitical Pos- Lucian, Aulus Gellius: a notable Critick.

NOTES

EXPLICATIONS

UPON

Plutarchs Lives,

Taken out of Xylander, Cruserus, H. Stephanus, and others; With some more Cotemporaries added, than in the foregoing Table: To which is subjoyned a Note of the Value of the Greek and Roman Coins,

The First Figures show the Page : The second the Line.



HESEUS, Cotemporary with Hercules, and Abimelech Judge of Israel,

1 Page, 2 Line.
Senecio. This Soffice Senecio, to whom Platarch writes and makes such honourable mention of him, was four times Consul under Trains the Emperor, and in high favour with him, as Dien writes.

Both valiant were. Homers words of Hettor and Ajax, in his 7th Iliad,

Hid under a great bollow stone. In the way from Hermione to Troezen , faith Paufania 2 Book.

5. 52.

Drew out his fword. The original faies a knife, more proper then a fword, to cut his meat. Ovid faith, The fews was known by the laft.

Tetrapolis. That is four Cities, Athens to called, becaule Thefeus turn'd four Cities, viz. Brancone, Elensine, Sunium, and Piraum, into one, calling it Athens, yet Strabo saies, Tetrapolis was one
of the twelve Cities into which George gathered the Athenians; which Cities These united.

Phaleros. A Port in Attica, whereupon came the firname of Demetrius Phalerius.

Thymetides. A Castle so called, inhabited by some of Thesess kindred.

The description of the Hils in Homer. That is in the 11th Book of the Odysses.
10. Last line.

As much as the fail of their Ship should cover. That is Thefew his Ship, wherein he went to Crete, he returned in it; and which they yearly sent to Delphor.

Made facrifice to Fear the Goddess. The affinity of the words in Greek, have made some think it should be Pheabus, Apollo: bur 'its most likely it is Fear: For the Ancients (as the Indian snow, Bacrifice to the Devil that he may not hurt them) used to sacrifice to such things, as, they thought were adverse to them, or hindred them in their designes: So Thesew here to the Goddes Fear.

The Village of Eleutheres. A Town in the Province of Athens, bounding on Boetia.

Sirnamed his wife Proferpina. The original hath it Persephone.

Ethra the Danghter dear. It is in the third of Homers Iliads.

ROMU.

ROMWLUS, Cotemporary with Josham K. of Indah, Pskab K. of Ifrael, Micab the Prophet.

He fell acquainted with this Lamentia. The Greek hath it, he knew her , in the same sense as the He felt aequainted with this Lamenta. He felt aequainted with this fixth Book of the Gallique War, Hebrews have it. So Cafar, speaking of the Germans, in his fixth Book of the Gallique War, Hebrews nave it. 30 (e/ar,) Prantile to have had knowledge of a woman, before they be twenty years faies, They held it a filthy thing to have had knowledge of a woman, before they be twenty years

19. 55.

Herodotm Ponticm. It should be Herodorm, mentioned in the life of Thefem.

There was no Law nor Maristrate, that could compell the Patron to be a wisness against the Client. See more hereof in Marine his Life.

21. 35.
We have spoken sufficiently. In his Book of the Roman Questions,

Dionysim the Historiographer. That is, Dionysim Halicarnassem.

Their Territory called Septemagium. Diony from feems rather in the right, who faies, it should be Septempagium, of the feven pages, feven Villages, which Porfens afterwards required.

Most certain, that as Pindarus faith. These Verses are not in Pindarus now extant. In the Comparison.

As Plato faith. In the end of his fecond Page of his Book called Phadm.

LTCURGUS, Cotemporary with Josaphat King of Judah, Achab King of Ifrael, Elisem, and Micah the Prophets.

Were called Enrisionides. Paufanias a very accurate Author, cals them Enriponsides.

Xenophon sheweth us plainly: In his Book of the Commonwealth of the Latedamonians.

Was called Arithmaidas. Some call him Artemidas.

36. 10. As Plato faith. In his third Book of the Laws.

Jupiter Syllanian. In this Retra, or Statute-Oracle here mentioned, there are in the Original several Greek words, as Gorian and Gamodan, which all Interpreters have past by, not knowing what

they mean. As Plato faith. In his Book of the Commonwealth. Geometricall reasons which in the Mathematiques flow from true and necessary Propositions, have such a force of Demonstration, that as Cicero faith, They may be rightly faid, not to perswade onely, but to compel.

The Cup Cothen, It was a small earthen Cup and full of concavities and bunches,

As Aristotle faith. In the seventh of his Politicks, c. 17.

To give their hand to yield. The meaning is, When they were conquer'd, they held up their fore-finger in fign of yeelding; as elfewhere, to give the herb, to pluck up some grass, to give it to the Conquerour.

By means of Lyfander. In the Original it is , Alexander, or rather Lyfander. Who this Alexander should be, the Interpreters know not. Cruserius and Xylander think it should rather be Cleander, that fuffered himself to be corrupted by Pericles, and perswaded Plistonax to remove his Army out of Attica.

 $\mathcal{N}^{v\ MA}$, Cotemporary with $_{Hizekjab}$ King of Juda, and $_{Vabum}$ the Prophet.

The Senators one hundred and fifty. This is a mistake by all Stories, there being before the 25cession of the Sabines one hundred Senatours, and after one hundred more, never an hundred and fifty.

obsida 51. 42,

Interreign. The manner of this lowereign differs from the relation of it elfewere ; that the Interpreters think the words are depraved.

51. 62, Sha of Pomponius. He is eliewhere called fon of Pompilise Pomponius.

Made him to be bonourably buried. Panlanias and Pliny fay, that the god Bacchus caused the General of the Lacedomonians, when he belieged Athens, to make an honourable Funeral for the new Syren , that is Sophoeles.

Lady filence. Here should be added (being in the Original) or Mute : not young man, as some have it, out of the corruption of the Greek Copies, which stands not with fenfe. \$5.29.

Martius, Numa's Nephew. That is Amen Martin fourth King of the Romant, and Nephew to Numa by his Daughter.

The Feciales. The reason of this Name is much defired, and different opinions are thereof smonost Authors. Moft Latine Authors write it with a diphthong.

SO LO N, Cotemporary with Zedekiah K. of Judah, Nebuchadnezzar K. of Babylon, Peremish the Prophet, and Crafts.

He which built Marfilia. His Name was Marfalian, the builder of that City, Sprabo in his fourth Book fets forth the Original of Marfilia.

Sirnamed Coliade. A Promontory of Athens, twenty furlongs from Pyraum.

Written by Homer. In the fecond book of his Iliads. Herodom Lays, Homer writ thefe Verles in Honour of the Athenians, and by way of thankfulness to them.

For Aelchines the Oratour wrate mo fuch thing of him. In his Oration against Coefiphon, be faite Solon advised to make this War, but was not a Commander in it.

The Accuser was Myron Plyerion, That is Myron of the Tribe or Family of George,

The new Curates. The Curates brought up Impiter in Cretia, now Candai, and buried him there, and were very skilfull in Sacred and Divine things: Last arbins lib. 1. c. 21. fairs Eponenides was born at Phasfess in Crete, and was accounted for his knowledge a new Curates.

74. 44.

But always peaketh to the Ephster. They were a Council, confishing of eighty men of Arbana, whereof none was under fifty years of age. So called, because there say no appeal from them. 8 r. 6.

The flory of the Iftes Atlantides. Both Plate and Solon begun the flory of the Iftes Atlantides. So the late Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albane, and Lord Chancellour of England (perhaps in imitation of these wisemen) begun his new Aslamin, added to his Natural History; and (asthey) left it imperfect, unfinished.

POPLICOLA, Cotemporary with Darine Hyftaspie Monarchi of the Persians, and Isaguras Ruler of Athens.

To compare him with Poplicola. His Name before was Volefus, of the chief Tribe of the Sabines that came with Tacitus to Rome.

Made it lawfull for Bondmen mannmis' A to give their voices also in Elettions. Yea he received manumified bondmen into the Senate, So Livy at the end of his ninth Book, and Diodersu Siculation in his twentieth.

85. 28. The holy Island in Rome. Dienysim faith expressy, it was dedicated to Asculapim.

85. 44.
The wood Artia. Some have it Orfine. 85, 45,

Arms the eldeft fon. It frould be Arms 87. 61.

And Tarquin the proved , being the fon of him that made this wow. It is in the Original then, Tarquinthe Son or Mephew of him that made the vow. Kind this Planarch feems to fpeak not superfi-

51. 52.

cially, but necessarily, as doubting; for Livy confessed, that he doubts whether Tarquinius Superctally, but necessarily, as ununung; the feems to incline to the latter. Dienjam Halicarnaf-bin was the Coulen or Nephen of Prifem; he feems to incline to the latter. Dienjam Halicarnaffess shews by many reasons, that he was Nephew, lib. 4.

Called Postlike Marble. Paufanias lib. 1. Vales, there is a mountain by Abbens called Postliste. where are Marble quarries.

He began to build a City salled Sigliuria. Tis thought this is a miftake, and that it should be Signia, a Colony of Tarquinim.

Herminim and Lucretim. Livy and Halicaringem call him Lartim not Lucretim. 91. 27.

Pofihumine Balbus. Albus was the firname of the Pofihumians ; and therefore more likely the Greek, which hath Balbus, is wrong,

THE MISTOCLES, Cotemporary with Xerxes K. of Persia, Militades of Athins, and Afchilm the Tragadian.

Abretonon I am. Emilim Probm faies, Themiftocles father was a Gent, and his mother of

Acarnania. The people use their Governours. The Original bath it Demagogues; that is, such popularmen, as can lead the people which way they lift, by their Orations.

Stefilaus that was born in the City of Teos. It should be in the Island Cos.

A place of Attica called Laurion. It is a place near Athens by the Sea, where they have Silver Mines.

All along the Isle of Aphetes. That is in Magnesia, as Diodorms expresly fairs, in the Bay of Pelafgos.

As Herodotus writesh. In the beginning of Urania.

With Oracles and answers from the gods. Herodosus in Politymnia hath the whole ftory of the Wooden wall; and the Oracle of the Divine Salamina.

A place called Melita. A place in Athens inhabited by the Tribe of Geerops.

Before the Altar in his Chappell. In the Greek is is onely, he went to the harth of the fire, no mention of Chappell or Altar: and that is most likely; the Religion given to harths being very notorious, and equivalent to Altars , pro Aris & Focis, For Altars and harths , is trite. 110. 40.

And foake with his fon there. That is Artaxerxes Longimanus.

AMILLUS, Cotemporary with Eldran, Artanernes K. of Perfin, Amyntan K. of Ma-C cedon , Ifecrates the Orator , Conon D. of Athens, Lyfander D. of Sparta.

Which some call Venetians. In the Greek it is Venetans, of the City Veii, Veientes more properly.

115. 60. Poets tales and fables. Livy accounted this also a fable.

Have made certain figne with their eyes. That is, have looke down to the ground as the Greek 116. 20. fignifies.

After he had made these prayers against the Citizens, as Achilles did against the Grecians. Achilles prayers went into a Proverb, as in the first Book of Homers Iliads.

Twenty years before. The Original hath it more then two hundred years before, and that is thought 120. 58. to be a miftake for one hundred.

The boly profession of the miftery of Jacobses. See in the Life of Phoesien the manner thereof.

PLUTARCH'S Lives.

The sirname at this day of Pipes. The Greek word rather fignifieth Barrels, or little Barrels.

About fixty furlangs. About eight furlangs made one mile.

Unto the City of Sutrium. Livy constantly calls it Satricum.

130. 63. Thirteen years after their taking of Rome. It appears out of Livy, and by the account of the Magiftrates, that it should be three and twenty.

Marcus Æmilius. Livy calleth him Æmilius Mamertinus.

PERICLES, Cotemporary with Zorobabel, who brought the Captive Jews from Babylon, Daring Histarpes King of Persia, Milisades of Athens.

133. 15.
The Tenth book, This place sheweth, that Plutarch used to call every Greek, and Roman compared, a book: fo by that reason this is not the tenth but the fifth book: by which it appears that we loft much of Plutarch.

Zeno who was born in the City of Elea. Elea is in Lucunia a City in great Greece.

As Plato faid. In his book of the Commonwealth.

By Demonides Counsel or procurement. In the Greek it is Demonides of fa, some Tribe or Village about Athens.

Thucidides of the Town of Alopecia. This Alopecia is of the Tribe of Antioch, and this Thucidides is not the Historian, but another, as by comparing of times appear.

As Plato faith. In Phedro and Gorgias.

That he did not believe in the gods. The Greek hath it not fo, but onely thus, He was accused of irreligioulnels.

Cylons Rebellion. This you may read of in the Life of Solon.

148. 50.

Were fold for flaves. It feemeth rather that they were onely disfranchifed, not fold. 140. 22.

They call heaven. The place is in the fixth of Homers Odysses.

148. 8. Being a man of very ill disposition in nature. The Greek hath it, being of a prodigal nature, and this is more congruous, for that it follows he grudged at his fathers hardiness. 148. 18.

Did unfortunately kill one Epitimius. In the Greek it is, that he killed his horse, that is Evisimius his horse.

FABIUS MAXIMUS, Cotemporary with Alexander the Great. Fergus first King of Scot-

Were called at the beginning Iodians. Sextus Pompeius says they were anciently called Jovians, because the first of that family was begot by Hercules, of a woman in a pit in Jovea.

That which they took for dulness in him. The Greek seems to be mistaken, the word there which fignifies good activeness, should rather be (and so some have corrected it) unactiveness.

So foon as the Prator Pomponius had received the news, he called the people to Council. Both the Confuls being absent, the Prætors supplied the Consuls place, as anciently, so several Authors have it, and amongst the rest Cicero in his tenth Epistle to Plancus.

151. 62. Lucius Minutius General of the Horse. Livy constantly calls him Marcus Minutius.

152. 20. He vowed. That he would facrifice all the profits and fruits that should fall the next year, of sheep, &c. It is in the Original what the spring should bring forth; and this by Livy is called the holy

fpring, lib, 22.c. 34, &c. and that was called the boly fpring, which was brought forth betwirt the Calends of March, and the day before the Calends of May.

By Metellus special procurement. In the Original it is Metilius.

155. 17. A wife man can no ways be injured nor dishonoured. So in Lucius, Mercury comforts Jupiter, with that faying, Thou haft suffered no harm if theu caust dissemble is.

155. 64. He clapped his hand on his thigh. A gesture of forrow and indignation. So in the life of Pompey, when he received the news of the passing of the Manilian Law, he clapped his hand on his thigh. Giero in his first book to Atticut, seems to bring in striking of the forchead in stead thereof, or rather both, in his Oration for Q. Gallius, where he reproves M. Calidius for reproaching him; there was fays he, no trouble of mind or body, no striking of the forehead or thigh, &c.

156. 60. They had condemned him a little before to pay a great fine to the Treasury. Frontinus in his fourth book lays, that condemnation was for not dividing the spoils equally amongst the souldiers. 148. 14.

Barca a Carthaginian. Livy calls him Maherbal.

Fabius bu great Grandfather. Fabius Rullus.

A listle Iron Spit. It is more likely to be a little piece of money of Iron, such as was then used, for the same word here, obitifus, in the life of Lyfander, taken for such a piece of iron money, that he had nothing in his house but an iron spit, is improbable. 164. 28.

And yet Fabius might diffend no great revenue, for his whole recents came onely to fix Talents. This is mistranslated, for in the Greek it tuns thus, Fabius redeemed prisoners with his own money, yet it was no great fum, it amounted onely to fix Talents. These Prisoners were in number (as Plutareb above fays) 240. Livy adds seven more. It was agreed they should pay 250 pence for each priloner, fo according to Plutarchs number, there were precisely ten Talents paid for them, not onely six which perhaps is a miftake; because fixty pound, that is fix thousand pence, make one Talent.

ALCIBIADES, was Cotemporary with Haggens, and Zacharias the Prophets, Davins Nother King of Perfia.

That Thucidides meant of him. It is in his fixth book, before that his Oration wherein he perfeades to the War against Sicily.

In the battle of Delion. You may read of this battle in the Life of Lyfander.

169. 21. Thucidides makes mention. In his eighth book, where he fays he was killed in Sames.

Within the Isle Spharteria. A fmall Island opposite to Pytus, many call it Sphagia

The thousand men. Some translate it, the principal Captain of the City,

The Post Aristophanes. It is in his book of Froggs.

Kept Agatharius the Painter prisoner in his house. He was taken faulty with Alcibiades his Con-

The Galley called Salaminiana. A Galley to called, that was kept onely for publick businesses, to fetch home persons abroad, that were Delinquents, to be brought in judgement.

One Hermon openly in the Market -place. In the Greek, it is Hermon one of the Watch-guard. 180. 38.

Being such manner of garments as coury Master of such Science useth commonly to near. It is in Greek, a purple garment, and the Buskins which Tragadians uled.

ORIOLANUS, Cotemporarie with Abaquerus King of Perfia, in propliane Histories called Xerxes. Aristides of Athens.

In the fight of the Diffator. He was A. Posthumins Albus. So Livy hath it in his second book.

PLUTARCH'S Lines

186, 20,

Called eaters of Acorns. The Oracle is cited amongst many Authors, and Herodotus hath it in his first book. Dionysiss in his first book of Roman Antiquities, says, that the Aborigines or Natives. from whom the Romans descended, and were encreased, came out of Arcadia into Italy: so that the Romans feem to take that cuftom from the Arcadians.

Thinking all due to his mother. In the original the is called Volumnia, Livy calls her Veturia, and calls his wife Volumnia, and some call her Virgilia.

186. 64. Marcus Valerius chief of the Senate. Dionylius in his fixth book, calls him Manins, he is mention ed in the life of Pompey.

Titus Latius. It is Titus Lartius in the original,

Plato called Solitarines. In his Epiftle to Dion.

There were three voices odd that condemned him. In the original it is, three Tribes giving their votes. they were three that condemned him. At that time there were in Rome twenty one Tribes, as it appears out of Dionysiss and Livy, saving that in Livy, in the second book (a little before the History of Coriolanus) thirty is erroneoully fet down for twenty. Now if the greater part absolved him, which must be, if three Tribes onely condemned him: furely then he had not been condemned: Therefore 'tis to be understood, that Coriolanus was absolved onely by nine Tribes, and condemned by twelve, that is, by three more then those, by which he was absolved. So Dionysius hath it in his feventh book.

Homer faid of Ulyffes. Into Ilium, the place is in the fourth book of the Odyffes. 194. Laft Line,

Titus Latinus, Livy calls him Latinius, Macrobius calls him, Annius.

As Thucidides reports. In his fifth book.

Ariftides had done inold time to Themistocles, Valerine Maximus hath it in his fixth book and fifth Chapter.

Sitting in his Chair of Estate, with a marvellous and unspeakable Majesty. The original hath it. fitting among the chief of the Volfces with a troubled countenance, and a kind of horrid feverity.

PAULOS AMILIUS, Cotemporary with Antiochus King of Affyria, Peolomy King of & gypt. Therey King of Scotland.

Images and figns in the Air. Of their Images writes Cicero in his book of the Nature of the

The first Office of honour. The Greek hath it, the first of the greater Magistracies, there being great difference, 'twixt the greater and the leffer.

206. 64. The daughter of a Noble Conful, Papyrius Masso. That is Cains Papyrius, who was Consul in the year after the building of Rome \$23. So Livy lib. 25. 206, Last Line.

A certain Roman having for aken his wife. That of the shooe was the speech of Paulus Amilian himfelf.

As many footmen to them, who always join'd with them in battle. The Greek word fignifieth footmen mingled with horsemen, selected nimble men that fought along with the horse, and when any horseman fell, mounted his horse. So Livy hath it, lib. 44.

210, 15. Gentius King of Illyrium. This is he who found and named Gentiana, Gentian or Fall-

211. 15. The Temple called Pytheon, and the rock whereon is is built. It is a City to called of Pelagus, not far from Gernus and Abrales.

To get the top of the hill before them. The Greek hath it, the fireight passages that hed up to the

The City of Alpse. It should be Galepse, so Livy calls it, lib. 44. 215. 48.

Unto the River of Sagra. This River Sagra is in that part of Italy called great Greece; there was the battle fought twixt the Locrisms and the Crotoniats, the Crotoniats brought into the field 130000. the Lecrians but 10000, with which they got the victory. The news of this victory came the same day to Olympia, Sparsa, Corimband Alberts; and thence grew the Proverb, when they told a truth to incredulous persons, they affirmed it was more certain then the battle at Sagra. It was sought about the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about the fifth Olympiad.

219, 18. Cups and Gobless fashioned like Pischers. Like horns of beafts, the original hath it.

As Homer fai.b. It is in the laft book of the Iliads, being the words of Achilles to Prianine, defcribing the changeable condition of mans life, from prosperity to adversity.

TIMOLEON, Cotemporary with Ochus King of Persia, Philip father of Alexander King of Macedon, Ariffotle, Firgus King of Scotland.

Timoleon, Timodemus hu fon. Diodorus Siculus, calls him the fon of Timanetus.

231. 55. A River of Crimelus. It is ordinarily called Crimifus and Crimifus.

I would have rejoyced too faid he, if I had done this, but yet would I not for any thing, but I had given the Counfell. This is not well rendred, the Greek hath it thus. I would have rejoyced too, if I had done this, but I repent not of the counfel Leave; and fo it must need be to teltifie his conflancy to his opinion, though Liefthenss acting otherwise prevailed, yet that, it feems, Photon attributed rather to chance then vertue, and good conduct. Inabelife of Photon its plain there, to that question his answer is, I would I had done this, but yet I would not have given the counsel to have done thus, for his counfel was good, as at length appeared, though in the beginning, for a while it feemed other-

As Athams writes. Diedorus Siculus calls him Athacres, fays he was an Historian of Syracufe lib 2.

Timoleon led bie Army before the City of Calauria. Whether it was a City or no, appears not, the Greek calls, H. nata City, but Calarria onely, which being not mentioned elfe where, make some think it to be an Island in Peloponnesus, and other dream of Calabria in Italy, but doubilels it was a - 12 July 100 - 1 by Salam Catalogues 1 miles 1871 place in Sicily.

PELOPIDAS, Cotemporary with the former in Timoleon, and with Nehemiah Jere, Camillus and Manline Romans.

240. In the beginning. King Antigonus gave pay to a fouldier, among other a that were very hardy and adventurous. The fame word that fignifieth hardy, is brought to be the fouldiers name Itamus.

The Lacedamonians both in words and deeds did courteoully intreat the Thebans as their friends and cossiderates). This differs much from the Original both in words and sense; there it means thus. Af-terwards when the Lacedemonians in shew or in words (not in words and deeds as here) treated the Thebans as friends; that it was but in fnew appears also by that which follows.

They should fend the valiantest and lusticst young men before. In the Original, a few of the young

Avail As 242. In the bottom Maria Archias is called Bishop of Athens. Tis not proper, the Greek word fignifies an explainer of the facred mysteries. H erophanty, it is not & pifeopus, whereupon the word Bilhop comes. Wherefore that occurs in any prophane flory, especially before our Saviours death, it fignifies a supervisor of provisions of Corn, &c. and so it is in the Civil Law.

249. Towards the end. Where Ptolomy at that time made War mith Alexander. This is Ptolomy Alorstes the Son of Amjutas, and brother to that Alexander and Philip, who having killed his brother, became King.

of Macedon. Drave the Spartans beyond the River of Eurotas, and from mount Taygetum. The Original hath it, he forced them to contain themselves between the River Eurotas and mount Taygetus. So he contracted their bounds, before much larger.

. 17:1

PLUTARCH'S Lives.

252, 9...
Instead of the nine Officers. You may read of these Officers in the life of Pericles, and in the begining of the life of Ariftides.

MARCELLUS, Cotemporary with Antiochus Magnus King of Affyria, Philip fon of Demetrins King of Macedon, Ptolomy Philopater King of Agypt : Renda King of Scotland 255. 12.

As Homer faith. In the fourth book of his Iliads; they are Olysses his words of himself, and the Greeks against Agamemnon who perswaded them to fly.

246. 11. A malice that could not be practifed. Something improper, the original hath it, with an earnest indignation or anger.

They canfed the Gessates, mercenary people, &c. Some think they are called thus in regard of the Arms they used. Gasa is a kind of ball (which Propertius and Virgis speak of) that the slingers used; but Servius fays, that the Galles, called valiant men, Gafi.

257. 16. Minutius being Dictator also. Valerius faysit was Fabius, and 'tis more likely he was twice Di-258. 36.

The God to whom this manner of spoils are consecrated thus, is called Jupiter Feretrius. In some copies'tis read Opimius and Fereirius; probably best, because the opima spolia, were onely to be offered

There were five thousand of the Carthaginians left dead. Livy says, onely there were more then one thousand flain, taken sixteen hundred.

260. Towards the end. Laid fiege to the City of the Leontines, Here are some lines wanting, as by the twenty fourth book of Livy, you may read.

263, 25.

So he took, not ontly the Tomer. Livy in his 25, book tells the contrary of this Tower.

Fearing besides least a third criumph, &c. He had triumphed but once, and that over the Gauls? therefore this should be second and not third

Having flain the Vice-Conful mith eleven Colonels. Livy in the beginning of his eleventh book fays they were twelve.

ARISTIDES, Cotemporary with Xerxes, in the Scripture called Abasuerus, liusband of Esther.

Callias the Torchbearer. This was a great honor belonging to the Priefts. Paufanias reckons it for a great happiness, that it had continued in the family of Leon to the fourth generation.

He made a prayer contrary to that of Achilles in Homer, Homer Iliad. 1. for Achilles having receiv? ed injuries from Agamemnon, he prayed that always when he was not in fight, the Gregians might milcarry, that so they might the more defire his company.

278. 10. Against the strangers. Enemies, as saith Tully and Herodotus, were onely called strangers.

MARCUS CATO, the Cenfor, Cotemporary with Antiochus King of Syria, Eumenes King of Pergamus, Ptolomy Philopater King of Agypt; Rentha King of Scotland. 289. 2.

Marius Curio, who had triumphed thrice. Sigonius makes it appear he had triumphed four times. 289. 55.

Cast a little coat on his shoulders. The Greek hath it, a Coat without sleeves.

But Cato remembring with himfelf. That is when Xerxes his Army circumvented Leonidas, who had got the streights of Thermopyle, by the help of Ephialtes, that shewed him the way. Herodotus hath the history at large. This good had Cato by reading histories, no small part certainly of a good

Firmaniant. Firmians sometimes called a Colony brought in, in the beginning of the first Punick War, as Velleim hath it.

He was accused almost fifry times. Pliny in lib. 7.c. 27. and in his book of renowned persons, says orty sour times.

Tett 3 forty four times.

After these words, viz. in an Oration Cato made before the people of Rome, should follow these words at it is in Greek Original. Livy faith, he that was killed was a Gaul, that had run away, and that Lucin; did not cause the man to be killed by the Executioner, but he killed him with his own handnow Lucius being thus shamefully, &c. In the life of Flaminius this is more fully fet down. 302. 6.

This onely man, &c. It is in Homers Odyffes, tenth book, speaking of Tyrefias, the onely wile shoft amongst all the ghosts in hell.

Cato the Philosopher. That was Cato Uticenfis, or Cato Minor : whose life follows afterwards 303. 48.

Hefiod the Poet, that commendeth justice so much. This is in his work of husbandry. Homers Verfes in the fourth of his Odyffes.

PHILOPOEMEN, Cotemporary with Marcus Cato Cenfor, next prefident.

First Line,

Caffander. In many Authors Cleander.

Afterwards when King Antigonus was come. Polybius in the end of his fecond book, writeth this ftory at large.

Poss of gold and filver. The Greek hath it, rich pots and cups, of one Thericles his making, a cunning Artificer.

As Homer faith it did Achilles. In the beginning of the ninth of his Iliads.

Aristenetus. This is he whom Livy erroneously calls, Aristicanius and Aristbemus. Polybius in his feventh book, rightly calls him Ariftenetus.

Against whom he was made General immediately. This history is full in Livy, lib. 35. 331.50.

Plato faid. In his fourth book of Laws.

younger.

319. Near the end. Polybius had answered him. That is that excellent Historian, the Tutor to Scipio Africanus the

TITUS QUINTUS FLAMINIUS, Cotemporary with the next before.

Publius Julius. In Livy he is called Villius.

Inhabiting beyond the Countrey of Thermopyles. In the Greek it is, the Countrey of Pyles. 318. Last Line.

Barchyletis. Livy in his 33 book calls him Barcilla, Polybius calls him Brachulles, lib. 17.

Crons fall down. Diodorsu mentions the like at the promulgation of the Gabinian Law, lib. 36. and Valerius Maximus hath the like, lib. 4. and 8. and it hath been observed where they have kept Pigeons to carry letters out of befieged Towns into the Countrey, the fouldiers marking when the Pigeons flew over the Army, suddenly shouted loud, and so the Pigeons fell down, and they took their letters.

Itanus the Historiographer. Guarinus calls him Hyrranus, and more likely, the name of Itanus not

Terentius Culeo. It is Lee in the Greek, but Culeo is more likely, fo Livy hath it, and one Culeo is mentioned in Pompey's life, that perswaded him to put away Julia.

When he was General he did drive Nabis. It is fo in the Greek, but questionless mistaken, for so should Plato directly contradict himself, in the life of Philopamen, where he says that Philopamen being then not in authority, drave out Mabis. So the Negative doubtless is left out in the Greek corrupted by fome transcribers, it should be, he not being General, drove out Nabu; and this agrees too with the purpole and nature of this discourse.

PTRRHUS, Cotemporary with Selencus King of Syria, Demetrius King of Afia, Prolomy Philadelph King of Agopt, Menander the Post. Marius ion of Fergulus King of Sectland. Pyrrhus descended from Pyrrhus the son of Achilles.

PLUTARCH'S Lives.

331. 37. He had no teeth in his upper jam. Pliny writes that Prusias King of Bythinia had the like. 336. 21.

Let them for me divide. It is in Euripides in the beginning of the Phanifle.

337. I. His Horse Nisea. It should be his Nisean horse, and not the name of his horse. Nisea is a Country of Paribines, near the Caspian mountains, which breeds most excellent horses, which the Kings themselves used. So says Strabolib. 11. and Plin. lib. 6, c. 25.

Defired the watchw rd of him. The Greek word fignifies rather a truce or league, then a watchword: and so it seems rather by the sense.

Wickedness of their Governors. Demagogus in the Greek. See above, the notes upon Themistocles. 343. 59.

Whem he met in a very straight valley. In the Greek it is, in the streights called Seneca.

Minerva Itonida. From Iternia a City in Theffaly, where she was worshipped.

345. 50.

A matter disputable. In the Greek, rather, idle loose talk, such as loose idle people chat of.

CAIUS MARIUS, Cotemporary with Tigranes King of Syria, Ptolomy Auletes King of E-gypt, Hanna the Prophetes mentioned Luk, 2. Fynanus King of Scotland. Aristobulus King of Judea. 301. Line Penult.

Master of his work. The Greek hath it Captain of his company or companions.

The great danger that fell upon all Italy out of the West. Now the Cimbrians came out of the North. there indeed was their habitation ; but they having been overthrown in Gallia, by Mallim and Cepio went into Spain and returned into Gallia, and joyned with the Tentons or Germans, to they were truly faid to come from the west.

Ambrons, Ambrons. And a little after it follows, and the Lygurians answered them, with the like noise and cry, Ligurians, &c. The Greek hath it not so, but that the Lygurians answered them with the like noise and cry, and no more; and likely it is, they cryed also Ambrons, Ambrons, &c. for Sextus Pompeius Festus, says the Ambrons were a Gallick people; and Strabo in his fourth book, fpeaks of a victory, the Marsilians had of our Ambrons, and the Marsilians are next neighbors, and so the Ligurians. The Ligurians affirmed, the Ambrons was their ancient name.

364. 12. Durft not once fee your backs, nor you them in the faces. The Greek word fignifies the hinder part of the head; so that rather it is, they were both alike Cowards, and fled from one another, at one

Antipater of Tharfis. He was a Stoick Philosopher, whom Strabo speaks of, lib. 14.

LYSAN DER, Cotemporary with Artaxerxes Momnon King of Perfia, Malachi last of the Prophets of the old Testament, Aristophanes the Comical Poet, Camillus the Roman. First Line.

In the treasury of the Aranthians. The Greek says, the treasure of the Aranthians, &c. not the place where it was kept.

Antochitas the father of Lylander. Paufanias every where calls him Ariftocratus.

Socrates, Plato and Hercules. 'Tis conceived this should not be Hercules, but Heraclisus.

172. 15. After the overthrow of the Army. That is the Army fent with Nicial, which was overthrown, and he taken prisoner. So in his life here by Platarch.

375. Towards the end. The holy Galley called Paratas. This was a Galley exceeding fwift, for publick uses onely, carrying of Ambassadors and the like. See more of it in the life of Alcibiades.

There fell out of the air, a marvellous great stone. Pliny lib. 2. c. 58. says that this stone so fell, fixty years before this Sea fight.

That Ulyffes was not fubril alone. Because Vlyffes ; who had the fame of so wise and subtil a man, yet was over-reached and discovered by Palamedes, when he (Ulyffes) feigned himself mad to avoid going to the Trojan War. So subtil Lysander was over-reacht by the more subtil Pharnabazus.

Slew him with his Southfayer. Some Interpreters think that Mante (though in the Greek it fignific a Prophet or Soothfayer) is the name of a man.

STILA, Cotemporary with Tigranes King of Syria, and Ptolomy Auletes King of Agypt.

About Lavena. It is at Laverna, and this Laverna is more likely to be the gate Laverna, which Varro speaks of lib. 4. Laverna was the goddess of Thirves.

The Armory which Philo in old time had caused to be built. It was a very famous one, being an harbor for a thousand ships, fo says Pliny lib.7.c.37. Valerius lib.3.c.13. 404. Near the bottom.

Metrobius a finging man. The Greek, is, a Stage-player, a man acting a womans part.

355. 21.
Inhabitants of Putcola. In the Greek it is, Dicearchani, who afterwards were called Putcolani.

From the great Glabrio. It is fo in the Greek, but generally conceived to be an error, Glabrio being never mentioned without Epithete, 'tis rather thought the word Magnus, should be Manius or Mariu.

CIMON, Cotemporary with Xerxes, in Scripture, Abasherse husband of Esther, Thrasibalise C King of Sicily.

Elpinice did not secrety company with her brother Cimon, but lived with him openly as his lanful married wife. The Author of the book of Illustrious persons, which some say, is, exemilian Probus, writes that it was lawfull for the Athenians to marry their fifters, begotten of the same father, but of another mother, and the fault in Cimon was, that he lay with her, not having married her. Plutarch in the lite of Themistocles fays, that his son Archeptelis married his fifter Muesiprolema, born to The mistocles by another mother.

 $L_{lete}^{vacual}L^{us}$, Cotemporary with Alexandra Satemethe wife of Fammets the Jew, Prolomy Assume King of Agypt.

Like Turny fift. Athenam lib. 7. fays that about the Dog-days, the Turny being as it were mad, rufhes violently into the deep, and troubles the waters, the Etymology of the name, is from rufhing and moving violently. So the Roman Orators with their speeches, used to fir up the people to make them move.

423. 24.
Imbrued his hands in the blood of his Captains. That is Lucius Valerius Flaccus the Conful.

Marius a Roman Captain. In the life of Sertorius, he calls him M. Marius; and fome think 'is 421. Towards the end. not the great Marins seven times Conful, but another of that name. Appear calls him M. Varius.

Lucius Quintus one of the Prators. He was not Prator, but one of the Tribuni Plebis.

443. Towards the end. Horace writing this flory, lib. 1. Epift. to Numicius. Cruferus notes there, that Horace speaks of five thousand.

Cornelius Nepos. Pliny also lib. 25. c. 3. says he died of love poison.

448.12.

Plato faid. In his fecond book of the Commonwealth.

Not Conquerors onely, but Victors also. The Greek hath it only thus, are called Victory, as it were in the abstract, as we call our Lord Chief Justice, who is but a Justiciar: So Justice of Peace, or.

NICIAS, Cotemporary with Darius Nigthus King of Persia, Cantaber that builded Cambridge. Alcibiades.

Thucidides reports of him. In his feventh book when he speaks of the Eclipse of the Sun.

In his Comedy called Marica. Enpolides made this Comedy against Hyperbolus the Athenian.

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452. 37.

And Cleon threatning. It is mistaken, they are not the words of Cleon, but of Ageracisms or Allantopalas answering Cleon.

It bringeth forth. Homer in his fourth book of Odyffes.

550. 12."
Ephipolis. 'Tis a part of Syracufa, fome Greek copies have Epifola, for Epipola, which brought Guarinns into an error, talking of Epifels or letters about Nicias his coming. Thapfus is a little Peninfula near Syracufa reaching to the Sea.

MARCELLUS CRASSUS, Cotemporary with Hyrcanus King of the Jews, Pomper, Ptolomy Antites King of Agypt, Julius Cafar.

In the beginning 'es faid of Craffus, that one of his brethren being dead, he married his wife, by whom he had children. The Greek word fignifieth living together, nor marrying, neither did ever the Romans use to marry their brothers wives. He kept her and his children in his house in meer humanity, had it been otherwise, how could Plutarch, have so commended his temperance, continency and modelty,

One Alexander did read to him. This is supposed to be Alexander the Milesian, who is called Polyhistor and Cornelius, who, as Suidas fays, lived in Sylla's days.

Onatius Aurelius. It is Ornatius in the Greek, but in the life of Pompey, where the fame flory is told he is called Cains Aurelins.

To call him Imperator, that is, fourraign Captain. Appian fays it was unufual to be so called till they had killed ten thousand of the enemies, and never given but upon some great victory and therefore Crassis is justly taxed of pusillanimity and vain-glory.

So the goddes Hierapolis. The goddes of Hierapolis, that is Juno of the Affyrians,

475. 20. Upon the Bridge he had made over the River Euphrates. In the Greek it is only thus. As he paffed his Army over the Zengma, &c. this is a City standing upon Euphrates, much spoken of by Historians, for the bridge of chains made there over Euphrates, by Alexander the great.

475. 52. Came one Arimenes to him. Appian calls him Acbarus, and Dio, lib. 40. Auragus.

482. 15. Elop. Stobens hath this faying of Afop.

CERTORIUS, Cotemporary, as in the next precedent

The other by his lovers. Apothrines in his fourth book, \$ 75. Speaks of this.

489. 21. The Ille of Pituifa. In the Balearick Seas, are two little Islands, called Pituifa, whereof the greater is Eby flus, and the leffer Ophiufa. So Ptolomy in his description of Spain.

A custom at that time in Spain. Die in his fifty fifth book, speaketh of such a custom, says one Pacuvius had so devoted himself to Augustus, and perswaded others to do the like. Casar in the third book of his Commentaries, of the Gallicks War, writes the like of the fouldiery, as he calls them, of the Galli Sontiates.

By the City of Tuttia. 'Tis supposed to be Duria. So in Pompey's Epistle to the Senates, which is extant among the tables of shipwrack. Salnet fays the enemies Tents were taken at Sacro and the battle at Duria. Tully in the beginning of his Oration for Cornelius Balbas, mentions this battle at Duria

FUMENES, Cotemporary with the next prefident.

A troop of three thousand men at Arms. It feemeth by the Original, he put them into several Troops, making up a Regiment, as we call it.

of City of Cyndes. It is Quinda, a Castle of Cicilia above Aschiala, where the Macedonians kept their treasure. Strabo, lib. 24. So in the life of Demetrius.

AGESILAUS, Cotemporary with Eldras, Artaxerxes King of Persia, Zenophon, Sanballas, Parmenides.

510. 9.

The Greek rather fignifieth 2 lamenels got by some hurt, then otherwise.

511. 18.

Agamemnon. Homers Odyffes, lib. 8.

The ten thousand Grecians. This is the famous flory of the ten thousand Grecians, who being on \$12.42. Cypus fide, and he being killed in fight, made good their retreat through Afia into Europe in a most notable manner, being led by Zenophon.

512. Near the bottom.

Taking a good Mare of him. This was one Elepholus of Sycienia, that gave Agamemson a Mare called Atha, to free him from fervice military. Homers Iliads. Last book but one.

A Canathrum. A kind of Coach, wherein the Lacedamonian Virginsuled to be carried to Holms Temple. This Coach had such pictures upon it, as are here spoken of.

\$ 17. \$4. Eut be denied them. Xenophon fays, he conlemed, as Cruferm hath it.

As Xenophon writesh. In the beginning of his first book.

(POMPET, Cotemporary with Ariftobulus King of Judaa, Julius Cafar, &cc.

508. 5.
He flew him presently. Livy, lib. 83. and Appian described the death of Linna otherwise. 532. 14.

Metellus Pius. In the Greek it is Appine

Achilles. It is in the 22. of Homers Iliads.

Hermagoras the Rheterisian. This is he whom Tully often mentions in his Rhetoricks,

542. 53.

In Cicero's Epifiles. That the was fifter of the Metelli, appears by his Epifile to Celer and to Attiem, but nothing of the caufe of her putting away, but Sustanism in the life of Julius Cafar, experily fays, that Cafar had committed adultery with her.

He was near fourty. Velleins fays, he was then fourty five.

Amongs the gods themselves. It is meant of that division of the world, when Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, divided it amongst themlelves; the words in the verses are Neptunes, fifteenth of Homes

Numerius one of Pompey's friends. This feems to be Cn. Magina, as appears of Cefer's first book of his Civil Wars.

Among ft them came Labienus alfo. The Greek hath it Laberus: but Cafar himfelf in his Commentaries, and every where elfe, calls him Labienus.

Now Calar having Vibius. 'Tis Joabiss in the Greek, Cefar callshim Vibulius. 553. The Verfes.

But mighty Jove who fits aloft. They are Homers veries of Ajax. Iliad. lib. 11.

558. 18. Potherius. Cafar in his Commentaries calls him Photinus.

ALEXANDER the Great, Cotemporary with 1440 High-Priest of the Jews, Ochus King of A gypt, Xenocrates the Philosopher, Fergusius King of the Scots.

Of her brother Arynybas. Xylander contrives it should be her fathers brother, for Arynybas was the brother of Neoptolemus, and Tutor of Olympius the daughter of his brother.

The women in those parts. That is of Macedonia, rather then of Moloffia. 559. 34.

Posts also. They were the Rhapfdi; interpreters, as it were, and repeaters of Poets Verses.

PLUTARCH'S Liver

561. Towards the end. For to fay truly in all his Treatifes. These Epistles are extant in Gellius lib. 20, c. 4.

462. 18.

He fubdued the Medarians. It is supposed it should be the Medi, such a people there was in Thrace, near Masedonia; but we read no where else of the Medarians than here. Livy in his 26th Book. speaks of these Medi, that used to make incursions into Macedon.

Roefares. Quintus Curtins calls him Rofacere.

Afgandes. Afgantes fignifies a Bed or Couch: fo that it is conjectured he was one of the Kings

Within the foaming Sea. The verses are in Homer in the fourth of his Odysses.

571. 1. No such as from. Homer. Iliad. 5. of Venus wounded by Diomedes.

558. 44.

Staficrates. Vitruvius in his Preface to his fecond Book calls him Dinocrates.

JULIUS CASAR, Cotemporary with Herod Antipater King of the Jews, Virgil, Saluft,

At what time Sylla was made Lord of all. In the Greek, after that Sylla being Conqueror, could neither by hope nor fear force Cefar to put away Cornelia the daughter of Cinna, that plaid the Tyrant, or tyranniz'd alone (to the Greek) he took her jointure from her. So it was here, Cinna, not Silla, that was Lord of all, or rather, as before, the Tyrant. Neither was Cinna Dictator, nor is it fo in the Greek

Scratch his head with one finger only. So Clodius mockt Pompey, as an effeminate person, for so scratching his head. Lucian makes it a note of a nice, tender, and effeminate person. 592. 63.

An ancient custom. To make Funeral Orations in praise of old Ladies. Livy in his fifth Book, fays, Thanks were given to the Matrons for the Gold they gave, for the delivering Rome from the Gauls. And this honour was added to them, that they as well as men, should have Funerall Orations after their death. A little after he speaks of Casars first wife and his third, not mentioning his second, which was Cossutia a Knights daughter.

605. 52.

His men gathered roots. Cefar in the third Book of his Civil Wars, calls this root, Chara, and Pliny lib. 9.c. 8. calls it wild Cyma, or Lipsana, a kind of Colewort.

PHOCION, Cotemporary with Alexander the Great, Papprins Curfor, Fergusius the first, son of Jerguard K. of Ireland.

When storms of fore adversities. It is in Antigonia, the words of Ismenia to Creon.

624. 17. Cicero faid. In his first Epistle of his fecond Book to Atticus.

625. 9. Coft him bis life in the City of Chio. The History is in Diedorus Siculus, in his 16th Book in the

626. 50. Come to the firname of good. Some translate it, as the words may bear, frugal or thrifty. But both Æmilius Probus and others, call him Good.

628. the Verfes. How great a folly. It is Homer in the ninth Book of the Odyffes; being the words of Uliffes his companions to him, diffwading him from further provoking Cyclops, whose fury he had scarce esca-

ATO UTICAN, or Cato the Leffer, Cotemporary with Julius Cafar, &c.

The goddess Venus was against him. She gave the best Lot.

461

639. 58.

They should have no prompters. This Prompter is usually call'd Nomen-clasor, Monitor and Factor. When one fued to the people to get any Office; this was a fervant that followed after him, and pointed him out, and told him the names of the Citizens he should speak to, to beg their Votes.

Which he did not by fear and terrour. The Greek hath it, He did not take them from the fear of his power. He mixed his power with the reasons he gave them, to satisfie them in the Justice of his commands.

Silver that was molten there. Next after these words follow thus, viz. But such think that their writings should be as far from controllment, as their doings: None of this is in the Greek. But this follows next, So he thought that he might do what he lift, without punishment, not early with his ford, but his pen too. Here is something amis: tis to be supposed, as is noted in the Margin, this is to be referred to Cafar, that wrote the Anti-Cato.

They gave Cato an extraordinary Pretorship. That was in regard of his age: He was but 38 years of age, and it was not to be confer'd on any under 40.

Should refemily go to their charge. For some, after they were design d, were put our again for corruption or other crimes. So were P. Antonium, and P. Sylla, faith Dio in his 30th Book. Catiline faith Saluft. Fulim faith Suetonims.

Unlikelihoods first I disprove. It is in Europides his Hercules Furens. It is Amphytruo his answer to Lycar, who faid Hercules was fearfull; all one, as one should call Betterophon lustifull. Lucretia immodeft, or Vliffes foolish.

AGIS, Cotemporary with Arasus of Lycion, Antigonus King of Macedonia, Marcellus the Ro-

Agis was of the House of the Euritionides. There were two Royal Families of the Lacedamonians, 663. 17. one of the Euritionides or Euripon ides, and the other of the Agides.

At Mundanium. This name is not mentioned in other Histories. Diedorus Siculus in his fixteenth 663. 20. Book mentions this Hiftory, and lays, it hapned the fame day that Philip overcame the Greeks at Charonea. Paufanias mentions the fame.

For otherwise Terpander, Thales. This is Thales of Crete spoken of in the Life of Lyeurgus.

Into that place called the Decade. Most Interpreters conceive it should be Caiade, which the Greek 668 14. Lexicon fays, was a Prison of the Kings. So call it Thucidides and others.

Since the Dorians. These were of the posterity of Hercules, of whom there is much mention in Paufania in his Argolicks, and by Diodorm in his fourth Book.

CLEOMENES, Cotemporary as Agu next before.

The City of Belvina. This is in Laconia, there is an Illand also of that name near Leina.

Called Leuctra. Polybins in his fecond Book, writing this story, calls it not Leuttra, but Landicea; and every where, where it is Lydiadas, it should be Lysiadas.

670. near the bottom. Alfaa. It feems to be some City of Areadia; but it is more likely the name is Alaa, mentioned by Pliny, lib. 4. and others.

671. The Verses. That fear cannot be without shamefac duefs. Out of what Poet it is taken appears not : But it is very ancient, because Plato in his Euthyphron, disputes of it. The other first place of Homer. Of truth I do confess it is in the third of his Iliads, and the next verse in the fourth.

In the Suburbs called Cyllabaris. In the Greek Cyllarabu. It was an Academy about 300 A little lower. paces from Arges; So Livy in his 34th Book, and Paufanias in his 2d Book. So called of Cyllarabus the fon of Schenelus

Old K. Prolomy decrafing. That is Prolomy Evergates, to whom succeeded Philopater. So Po-679. 50. lybius lib. 5.

The Verles there. It irks the Nobles heart. It is in the first of the Iliads.

PLUTARCH'S Lives.

CTIBERIUS, and CAIUS GRACCHI, Cotemporaries with the fame as Agia and Cleamenes.

688. 8.

A like number of the Roman Knights. Livy lays a double rumber. 688. 33.

Bloffins the Philosopher. It is Blaftus in the Greek . .

Flavius Flacens. 'Tis most probable this is M. Fulvius Flacens, who joining himself with Cains Gracehus in making these pernicious Laws, was slain with him.

And what if he had commanded. Cicero, and Valerius Maximus fay, Lelius askt this question, The Verses there.

Such end upon him ever light. First Book of the Odysses, they are the words of Minerva at the death of Agisthus slain by Orestes for adultery, and the death of Agamemnon.

690 21. Cicero the Orator faith. In his first Book of Divination.

The space of three years. Gellius faith two years.

A Conspiracy in the City of Iregelles. See Livy in his 60th Book.

Lucius Hostilius. Aretin and Sigonius call him Opimius, he who the year after being Conful, kill'd the Gracchi.

Q. Antyllus. Appian calls him Attilius, and tells the ftory otherwise. 698. 2.

As Plato faid. In the fourth Book of his Commonwealth,

DEMOSTHENES, Cotemporary with Nehemiah, Artaxerxes K. of Persia, Manlins Torquatus, Philip K. of Macedon, Diogenes the Cynick, Plato. 700. The Verfes,

In this behalf a man. It is a Proverb, the Dolphin is strong at Sea, nothing at Land, meant of fuch as undertake things above their ftrength, out of their sphere.

Demosthenes had been Plato's Scholar. So Gicero in many places affirms.

709. 51. Calauria. In the Greek it is Calabria, but in Latin properly pronounced Calauria,

MARCUSTULLIUS CICERO, Cotemporary with Ariftobulus K. of Judea, Ptolomy Auletes K. of Agypt, Pompey, Gafar.

711. 5.
Tullus Appius. It should be Tullius Attius K. of the Volces, to whom Coriolanus, when banished, fled, so Livy in his 2d Book. Dionifius in his 8th Book in the beginning, and in the Life of Coriolanus.

711. 32. Plato thought not. In the beginning of his 6th Book of a Commonwealth, he disputes hereof.

There happened a pretty jest, He speaks of this in his Oration for Plancus, but tells it different from

Within the confines of the City of Arpes. Arpirium in Campania, this Pliny Witnelleth in his third Booke. 5. Arpes is a City in Apulia, in another part of Italy.

Licinius Macer. This is C. Macer, whom he mentions in his first Book, and third Epiftle to Acticus. Valerius Maximus lib. 9. c. 13. tells the ftory otherwise.

No more have 1, faid he, such a swoln neck as thou hast. In the Greek it is such a neck, or so great a neck, which some think was spoken of his too much confidence or impudence, as it is used to be said of fuch men, they are of a strong or stiff neck. So Marius, as Plutarch says, answered in the Senate, speaking of the Saturnian Law, that he had not so broad a neck, as he durft offer in any thing of so weighty a matter. Others fay, that here Tully eloquently twitted Vacinius with the difease of kernels in his neck, which we call Struma, the Kings Evil.

715. 36. Deposed from their Dignities and Offices in Rome. That is the sons of such as were proscribed by

Uuuu

Notes and Explications upon

716. 6.

M. Otho. None were to be accounted Knights, except they were worth 4000 Seftertia, as Juvenal, Horace, and Suctonius have it.

Allim. Cicero in his first Epistle of his first Book to Asticus, speaks of one Asticus an Usurer.

721. 23. Adrastus. Married his two daughters to Tydem and Polynisis, two banished men.

The Verses there. This man bath gotten children in despight of Phoebus. This Verse was made of Lains.

727. 7. In Lentulus house, whose second wife she was. Lentulus is here for Dolahella.

720. 47.

Cicero being fixty four years of age. Livy fays fixty three.

DEMETRIUS, Cotemporary with Pyrrbus, Prolomy Lagus King of Egypt, Quintus Fabius Maximus. 738. Near the bottom.

But was it of Thasos or Chios, that rheume. So the Germans usually, when a man excuses his long flay by reason of floods and inundations; they will say the waters have bodies, but wine none. 741. In the bottom.

Called Demetrius a Fable. In places usually Lamia, Fairies or Hobgoblins were brought in.

743. 13. But how should they know me. The Greek hath it, What other mark have they to shoot at but me? and this agrees best with the sense, being lest destitute of all his friends.

745. 51. At a place called Deion. The name is Dium a City in Macedonia, below the City Pydna, on the Sea coast in the Bay of Thermai.

746. 42. Erasistratus ihe Physician. Galen reports such another story of himself.

746. 50.

Sap; bo. Catullus in Sapphique Verse lets this forth most elegantly. 'Tis imprinted with the fragments of Anacreon.

MARCUS ANTONIUS, Cotemporary with Herod King of the Jens, Julius Cefar, Auquftus, Tully.

Anthonius General of the burfemen, and fent him to Rome. In the Greek it is Tribune of the people; and here are some lines wanting, as 'tis supposed. 760, 41,

Munarius Plancus: This is Lucius Munarius Plancus, of whom Cicero often fpeaks in his tenth Book of his familiar Epiftles.

760. 46. Sirnamed Cotylon. Tully calls him Lucius Varius Cotyla, Called Cotylo, of a measure of drink fo 761. 35.

B caufe of a dream one of his friends had. This was Artorius his Physician, as Dio in his 47th Book. Valerius lib. 1.6.7. and others.

762. 59 He did her great honour, and perswaded ber. In the Greek next after it follows (as Homer faith) which ishere left out. Plusarch alludes to the place in the 12th of the Odyffes, which speaks of Circu meeting of Ulyffes returning out of hell.

765. In the bottom. Water of the Fountain Clepfydra. A Fountain fo called in the Tower of Athens, that takes in and lets out water (like a water Diall or Clepfydra) being fill'd when the North-wind blows, and empties with the contrary as Wilns doth.

Called before Bombyci. It is Borbace in the Text; but Appian, and Strabo in his 16th Book, and Pliny in his 5th and 23d Book, calls it Bambyce a City in Spria.

783. I. Too many Cafars. Alluding to that of Homers, in the fecond of his Iliads.

786.6. As Paris floud. Alluding to that of Homer in the third of his Iliads towards the end.

ART AXERXES, Cotemporary with Camillus the Roman, Lyfander the Gracian, Malachia the Prophet, Ariftophanes.

PLUTARCH'S Lives

To fight they feemed to be no lest then swenty thousand. It appears not of which fide those were flain. Diodorus Siculus lays there were flain of Artagerus men more then fifteen thouland, of Cyrus his

793. 52.

Prayed him to help him to a comb. This is fet down by Plutarch, to shew Cresias his babling, and

The Dance of Coryatides. A kind of Dance, which Caffor and Pollux taught the Lacedamonians at Carica Town of Sparta.

He began to make War also wish the Egyptians. Diodorus Siculus in his 20th Book, describeth 796. 31, this War elegantly.

The great Oromans. He was God of the Perfame, the same which we call the Sun. This is plain out of Plutarch's Book of Ifis and Offris, and others.

DION, Cotemporary with Artaxerxes K. of Perfia, Efdras, Camillus the Roman, Isocrates, Lyfander the Spartan, Plato, Dionyfius the Tyrant of Sicily. 798. 1.

Like u Simonides. This Verle is mentioned by Ariforde, in the first Volume of his Rhetoricks.c.6. 800. 6.

Arete was married to ber brother Theurides. In the Greek it appears not whether the were married to Dionyfius his brother, or to her own. 'Tis more likely 'twas to Dionyfius his brother. For Amilius Trobus, who passeth by this marriage, calls Hypparinus and Nyseus brothers to Arte.

Beating them to death with staves. The Greek hath it, they were forely punished. 'Tis the same word in the Greek ; which we in the 11th of the Hebrews, ver. 35. translate cortured, 815. 20.

As Plato faith. In the eighth Book of his Commonwealth.

815. Near the bottom. Howbist shortly after bis fon. Emilius Probus relates this after another manner ; That this fon having lived riotoully, and his Father urging him to temperance, he would not endure it,

MARCUS BRUTUS, Cotemporary with Julius Cafar, Augustus, Cicero, &c.

Of the blood of Servilius Hala. Ala is the name, fo called axilla contracted, the arm-pit; and 'tis 817. 16. not unlikely of that carrying the fword under his arm, as follows, he got that name of Axilla, contracted to Ala. The Romans have taken names upon as small occasions. That sometimes he was called Axilla, appears by Tullies Book to Brusus, called the Orator; where he calls him Servilius

819. So.
Think ye that Brutus will not earry till this body die? The Greek rather renders it, Doth is not fiem to you that Brutus expelts this body? that is, his death. 824. 19.

But there was a Poet called Cinna. The Greek rather renders it, an Active man, converfant in matters of State: So was C. Helius Cinna Tribune of the people, as Dion. lib. 44. Appian. lib. 2. Valivius Maximus 1, 9, c, 9. Yet fome think this was that Poet Cinna that made the Poem called Smyr-

826. 12. Hereof we have spoken at large in other places. In his Book De Convivalibus, Quest. 6:5.8. 829. The Verses.

My Lords I pray you. First of the Iliads, about the appearing the differtion 'twixt Achilles and Agamemnon.

Another place called Symbolon. It is an hill at Philippi, meeting with the hill Pangaum. Dion relates this flory in his 47th Book.

Because it was his Birth-day. This seems as though it was Cassius his birth-day; but it is rather to be supposed that it was Messala's birth-day; and that Messala invited Cassius to supper, as on his, that is, Meffala's birth-day: If it were Caffins his birth-day, then he died on his birth-day, as Pompry and Attalne did; which examples Plutarch mentioning in the Life of Camillus: 'tis not likely he would have omitted it here.

Notes and Explications upon, &c.

833. 27.
The fouldiers flaves, whem Brutus called EFiga. Euftathius on the first Book of Homers Odyssis, Tays the Barbarians were to called, they feen to be flaves feet to bear Arms; unlefs rather skollions or herdsmen, for in the Greek they are called, Houshold-people.

835. The Verles. Let not the wight. It is a curic upon Amenius, for not joyning with him to affert the Liberty of his Countrey as he might have done. Bruns for that purpose sparing him when he might have killed him, at that time when he flew Julim Cafar. The Verfes are in Enripides, Medea that curled Ja-(on, by whom the was betrayed.

836. 22.

Valerius Maximus he writes. Lib. 4. c. 6.

ARATUS, Cotemporary with Antiochus Soter K. of Syria, Antigonus Gonatus K. of Macedan, Ptolomy Philadelphes K. of Agypt, Papyrius Curfor the Roman, Fergussius K. of Scotland.

To get in but that way. After these words in the Greek, follows, viz. The ladders were loofe not fastened logeiber : these they threw into bankers, wherein they measure corn. All this is left out.

Like to Ælops Hunter that bridled his horfe. That of bridling the horfe is not in the Greek: but Afo, Fable is common of him, that Hunter that bridled the Horfe, and hunted the Stag.

So K. Cleomenes joyning unto him all the people dwelling along the Sea-coaft, commonly called the River of Corinth. In the Greek 'tis, But Cleomenes, when the people that dwelt about Acte came to him, &c. Now this Atte is a Countrey of Peloponnese, on the Sea-coast toward Corinth.

GALBA, Cotemporary with Clemens Bishop of Rome, Ebion the Heretick, Dardanus King of Scotland, Posephus, Solinus.

Together with Tigellinus. Here (hould follow [as is aforefaid] to is the Greek; which thews that Platarch writ the Life of Nero, and probably of the reft of the Emperors to Trajan: Great is the

861. 40.
The wretched Officers of Nero. The Greek word fignifies Procuratores Proctors, whole Office was principally to look after the Treasury of the Provinces, to which they were sent. Angustus was the first that sent them, as Dio in his 51d Book hath it: Afterwards their power and extortion grew, very great, as Sustantias hath it; and Tastrus specially in his 16th Book. Pontius Pilate was Procurator of Judea, as Tacitus hath it.

Patrobius and Vitellius. Tacisus and Succonius never mentioning any Vitellius, but only Patrobius. 868. 10.

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The Value of the Greek and Roman Monies.

Here Monies are mentioned to be paid by the Greeks, 'tis doubtles with Greek Coin: So the Reader is to confult the value of the Greek Monies. And so of the contrary, the Romans.

A A = formand ==					Roman Monies
Greek Money.					1 s d.
	i s	d.	٠.		Silver Penny of the Old value, 0 8 ob. 4.
Silver \ Anique,	0 0	7			Silver Femy of the Co.
	0 1	ō		b.	The New most in use,
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Obolus Astique,	•	. 2		2.	Sefterce greater contains 1000 of 3
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	140 11	6			A Pound 100 Drachma's or Pennice.
Ki/viiian-	118 19				A Penny 4 Sefterces leffer.
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Ægina,	112 10	, .			Where there is mention of Myrian (1900) and no more; it is incart commonly, if not al-
Alexandria,	575 °	۰	,	,	together of Drachma's.
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Menhalitat.	the fai	ae.		1	The common computations, yet there is

FIN.IS.

Of Rhegium.

ob. q. difference of opinions therein.

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THE

STATIONER

TO THE

COURTEOUS READER.

N, the year of our Lord 1657. being defired, and encouraged, by feveral Perfons of Honour, to venture upon a new and fifth Impression of Plutarch's Noble Grecians and Romans Lives, and then

considering with my self which way I might render this Work more acceptable to the present Age, and famous to Posterity. I pitched upon an Additional Select Collection of some choice Portraitures and Lives, both of Grecian, Latine, and Pagan, Illustrious Personages; Memorable for their Actions, Sentences, and Writings, which I thereunto annexed. The work it self was Originally written in French by Andr. Thevet Cosmographer to Henry the third the French King, at his said Masters request. And being it was the very marrow of his observations during his twenty three years travails and Peregrinations, throughout the chiefest and remotest parts in the world, whereby he procured unto himself an Intrinsick experience, both of Men and Places. I deemed that that Additional extract (never till then extant nor seen in English) would not in the least detract from Plutarch's Famous Worthies, but to the contrary add more lustre to their Memories; by evidencing to the world, that after Ages were not barren in producing as rare and Heroick Spirits as the former, and as able Pen Men (in imitation of Plutarch) to remit unto Posterity their immortal renowns. I did also cause their Effigies, or Sculptures to be inserted, exquisitely cut in Copper Plates, conformable unto those which our French Author had prefixed to his (which by repute are at prefent esteemed by all the Artists of our Nation to equal all others of that kind) and they

100,7:29

Work and satisfaction of the Readers curiosity.

My onely drift by that my Additional Collection, was, thereby to stir up our English Worthies to follow the footsteps of several of their Country-men (whose Lives were thereunto annexed, aswell as divers others who have excelled amidst other Nations, in their several professions and eminent conditions) that so they might acquire unto themselves an equal glory to theirs. And finding it fully answered my expectations, & gratefully excepted by thee, I have not onely in this Sixth Edition presented the same once more to thy view: but also (by the assistance of a Learned and Eminent Person) given you an additional Collection (out of the same Authour) of five other most choise Portraitures and Lives of most eminent & illustrious Personages, with their Essigies or Sculptures, in all things agreeable with our French Authour as the former were. Since the kind acceptance which the others received, declare the benefit and advantage which they brought to the Publick, I will not doubt the welcomness of these, being the best part of so precious a Record, for so it is accounted of by all or the best Wits and Learned Men in France, both by Reason of its impartial relations, ample and copious deductions, spaciousness antiquity and scarcity; as also in regard of its excellent Plates (as aforesaid) all which hath rendred it so considerable in France it self, that it is hardly to be compassed there under the sum of five or six pounds. In regard whereof, I conceived it could not chuse, but be a Work very acceptable to present you with the better part of it; (which you now have) the whole being of too great a bulk to be here inserted, and these choice Lives and Pourtraitures which you will hereunto find annexed, having been adjudged to be the very quintessence of Andrew Thever's labours: in confidence they will please, I shall commit you to the Almighties Protection, &c.

W. Lee.

THE



E LIFE

CONSTANTINE the Great

THE FIRST

Christian Emperour of ROME.



Anno Mundi

Post. Christ.



Hat Morial can fufficiently respect and honour the memory of this most Valian Emperour Confiantine? Who for his Rare and Eminent Vertues, Why Confian-Valiant Emperour Conflamine? Who for his Rare and Eminent Vertues, Why Conflamine was firmamed the Great, as the fole person, who being the first supportance of Christianity, and the most happy and wise enlarger of the Empire, and the hath deserved solely, and primarily, amongst all the Roman Emperours, to Great. be accounted of and received as a God, even by the Insides and Barbarians who were not subject unto his power, nor as then acquainted with the knowledge of a true God. So likewise on the other side the Christians, themselves, the Greetans, and the other Ensern Nations, by an excels of admiration of his Praise-worthy and Heroicall Acts, have worthily placed he Riessel. He was the Son of Constanting, and of a certain Marton called Constanting

him in the Rank of the Bleffed. He was the Son of Configurius, and of a certain Marron called Configurius, not unlawfully begotten, as some have pretended; for she was his first legitimate wife, a Mother.

Tyrant.

Baptized.

vercome by Conftantine.

Churches.

Licinius rebels against Con-

born of two

fear tradition where the frace of almost four hundred years, before the Imperial Eagle bore two heads, that is to fear of feat tradit in fay, before the Roman Empire was divided into two, which happened in the year after the birth out of Italy into Grecce.

The Romes Empire how and when divided.

Liberality and Magnificence, whereby he got his first footing into the Empire, and acquired unto himfelf the Lave and affection of the most pobled Princes, were northeleast opicyable. For faceeding his Father in the Government of the Gauli or French, and of England, then called Great Briting its rather in the Government of the Control of France, and to ingage in their revery liberal. lief against the cruckies of the haughty Tyrant Maximina; he undertook that expedition in the year three hundred and nine, in the which year he was chosen and created the four and fortieth Emyear three numerous amounts, in the winter year the was chosen and exerge them from the injuries which perer, by the general content of all the People, for to deliver and avenge them from the injuries which more and remove the Ro- they did receive by the faid Tyrant; and having finally gained the Victory, Maxinim being also flain, he was received Victorious and Triumphant into Rome, where he was no fooner arrived, but he caused an Edict to be publish; that from thence forwards no search or inquiry should be made after Christians, nor any punishment should be inflicted on them. But as he was deliberating how to resist the oppositions and stratagems of Maximinim, he became on a sudden insected with a Maxentius the Liprofie; and whereas no cure could be found. fome Physicians perswading him to wash himself in trucken with

Leprofit; and whereas no cure could be found. Totale Physicians periwating must to warn numer in

Leprofit; is cu- a Bath made of young Childrens blood, he being moved unto compaffion by the Parentskers and

mouns, would not fulter them to be killed; but in the enfuing night a holy/leyfrom mouns, would not fulter them to be killed; but in the enfuing night a holy/leyfrom appeared unto him, and wished him to adress himself unto Silvester Bishep of Rame, who would discover unto him a Salutary Bath, by the washing whereof he should recover his health, which he accordingly did, and by the receiving of Baptifm was cured of his Leprofie. After which time being fervent and zealous in the Love of God and his Caufe, he inftituted and ordained feverall good Laws to the advantage and repose of the Civificans: he caused the Idols to be demolished and cast down, and rooted out their Temples and Groves, forbad them to be any longer worthipped or called Gods: caufed a Church to be boilt in his Palace, invited all men to receive Baptifm, and conferred on godly and falutary Ordiacount in the scale, months an inerto receive sapisson, and contested on goary and faturary Officers of the other Bishops, which being understood by Maximinist, on his Co-partner in the Empire, he was fore displeased, and raised an Army to expell him, but Constant the Constant of the the having gotten the flart of him, bearing the fign of the Cross in his Enligns, encountred him, and overcame him in two Battels. By this means the Christians being settled in Peace again, the Church began to fprout out and flourith anew, Constanting endowing it with several Immunities, Priviledges, Rents, Donations, Magnificences, Liberalities and Possessions. And whereas there beralities and produced to the Chiffier and happened forme difcords and divifions betwitt the churches concerning the Ceremonies, he ordains the Chiffier and proclaimed two Synods or Affemblies of Bifhops and Priefts, in which the controverfies and churches concerning the Ceremonies, he ordains and priefts and controverfies and contro points of Religion should be determined. Much about this time Licinius, unto whom Constanting had given his Silter in Marriage, and had made him his Confort or Companies in the Empire, rebelled against him, and endeauvored to thrust him out; but Constantine being advertised of his enterprise, drew forth his Army, defeated him in Hungary, purfued him into Macedonia, where he was a recruiting his Forces, drave him out of Asia, and purfued him to close at the heels, that at length he was forced to furrender himfelf, finding that he was overcome both by Sea and Land : he was fent into The flateny, in a kind of exile, there to lead a private life, however at length he could not avoid the due vengeange of his audacious attempt, cruelty, and difloyalty, for he was flain by Configurines Guards about the three hundred and four and twentieth year of our Lord. Moreover Confiaming Byzantium ta- took Bizantium a City in Greece, which had been formerly deftroyed by Galienus and Pertinax, and cauling it to be built up a new, he called it by his own name Conference recking many Trophics of the Cross in it, and confecrating severall Churches in it, to the honour of God, of the Apostles, and of the glorious Martyrs. And it is a wonderful and most observable thing, that this most flour-Two Emperors ishing City, thus enriched, re-edified, and imbellished, even from the very foundation by the aforclaid Confiantine, Son of that Saint-like Hellen, was (by a fatal deftiny, during the Reign of another Coeffiantine, whose Mothers name was also Hillen) taken and conquered by Mahimet (the first of that Name) Emperour of the Turk, in the year one thousand four hundred fifty and two under whole power and subjection (as also of his successours) it hath remained ever fince that time to this very day. This faid Emperour Constantine did transport the Imperial Scar out of Isaly in the The Imperially year three hundred and thirty, unto Confiantinople the aforefaid City of Greece, where it transfered and thirty is the Confiantinople the aforefaid City of Greece, where it transfered and thirty is the Confiantinople the aforefaid City of Greece, where it transfered and thirty is the confiantinople the aforefaid City of Greece, where it transfered and thirty is the confiantinople the aforefaid City of Greece, where it transfered and thirty is the confiantinople the aforefaid City of Greece, where it transfered and thirty is the confiantinople that the confiantinople that the confiantinople that the confiantinople the confiantinople that the confi

of the Saviour and Redeemer of all the 18504, feven hundred threefcore and fixteen; at which line

Charles firnamed also the Great , did likewife obtain the Imperial dignity in the Western Charles ,

leaving the Eaftern Empire unto the Greeks (by the partition which was made between himself and

Heraclim. And although besore this said division, the aforesaid Emperours did reside at Caushanii

mple , yet however they had the administration of the Eaftern Empire , which they did Covern et-

ther by themselves, or by some other Deputy who was of kin or alliance unto them by some other

way of affinity, whom they also created Cefars. And this kind of Government did laft, untill the

And again, its very observable in this place, that the Romane Empire, having been transported into ted the Empire Greece by an Emperor furnamed the Great, hath also been brought back again into the Wift by another

Emperor allo firmamed the Great. But to return to our Confiantine, as the whole Empire did onely

CONSTAN, TINE the Great.

most Devout and Christian-like Lady, who did carefully and diligently instruct him, ber Son, in the

more Devour and Christian-live Lay, who are assumed an angle of the fingular good Nature, true Belief; infomuch that by the great hopes which his Father conceived of the fingular good Nature,

and the sweet and Docile behaviour of his Son Confermine, he preferred him to his Wife Therefore.

children. And amongst the rest of Conference Vertues and Graces (for be possessed many) bis

CONSTANTINE the Great. during Constantine the Greats Reign, enjoy, and reap an entire Peace, and incomparable Glory, and that the Christian Church was mainly increased in number, perfection, and honour. So the enemy of mankind not being able to brook fuch a tranquillity, did fuscitate and stir up the Heretick Arius, who for fo many Ages together hath poyloned all the parts of the earth with his blafphemies and falle erroneous opinions, fowing a division betwirt the Bishops and the Churches; some adhering unto resie begun, his doctrine, others detefting the fame, whereby there grew a great combustion and confusion in the Church, which coming to Constantines ears, he was much grieved thereat; and thought it was his duty to rectifie the fame; and therefore caused some Synods and Assemblies to meet, for to dive into the questions and diffentions of Arisa; the Emperor himself writing to the Prelates, befeeching and admonifhing them to maintain the truth, however the gap grew wider and wider, parties becoming daily more bitter and envenomed against each other, which to prevent in a more ample manner. the Emperor fent his Letters Pattents throughout the whole Empire, and commanded all the Bithops and Learned Persons to Assemble at Quea, a City in Bithinia in Asia; at which Synod there The first Niappeared three hundred and eighteen Bilhops, with as many, if not more, Deacons and Doctors, concan Countwhich was the first Council held in the Greek and Latine Church. It would be a matter of too cil. much prolixity, to run over all the memorable fayings and speeches uttered by Constantine hunself in this univerfall Councill touching Peace, Concord, Amity, the comportments of Christians, and the duties to be performed by them. I will onely mention that worthy fentence which he preferred when fome Bishops did present unto him certain injurious, slanderous, and libellous writings, concerning the vices and dealings of others their fellow Bishops, when as taking the Papers, and slinging them Constanting into the fire (being unwilling to read them) he made answer, That God alone being the fale fudge, resolution as feer and learther of all mens thoughts, and thirfly of the Priefts, he would not in any wife undertake to to Ecclefialliintermeddle in their affairs or questions, nor prie into their manner of Lives. The Heretick Arius cal differences, and his complices were condemned in this Council of Nicea (and not in the Council of Nice, a City in Europe, as some Authors have very impertinently written) But afterwards the Empirour being The condemfeduced and abused by the subtilities of a Priest, and by the falls and seigned consession or Arius, re-ration, restauceived him into favour again, whence some did take an occasion to say, that Constantine had suffered death of Ariss. himself to be tainted and misled with Arianism: but at length this Monster Arins, condemned by the just judgement both of God and Men, ended his dayes most miserably, his guts bursting forth. and his bowels iffuing out at his fundament. And returning to our Constantine, we shall let you see how great a lover of Justice, and punisher Constantine of crimes he was; for at the infligation and acculation of Fansta his wife, it is believed he caused his fauseth both his Son Crifput Son Criffus to be put to death, accused by her that he would have ravished her; but afterwards, be- and his wife ing affured of the falfenels of his faid wives acculation, he caused her also to be flain, a severity Fausta to be which by some was imputed to a cruelty in him, though not degenerating from Piety, wherewithall he put to death;

was endowed, for at that time he was not regenerated by Baptism. To recount and set down the other Graces and Vertues which this Emperour did possess, would be superfluous: As touching his Piety, Humanity, Liberality, Learning, and rare Perfections: nor was he to feek, or ignorant in the leaft in any Arts or Sciences, for himself did compound several Books both in Greek and Latin, as shall be hereaster mentioned. He so highly esteemed Learned men, as that his Court abounded with them, noured learned with whom he gladly and affiduously conferred, especially about the understanding of the Scriptures, men. with Enseiss and Lastantius who were two of those with whom he was most familiar. The Books which as aforefaid he compoted, both in Latin and in Greek, were concerning the Nicenean Synod, touching the Divine Providence to the Senate of Rome, to the Judges of the Eaftern Pro- Books written vinces, of Christian Laws, against the superstitions of the Gentiles, to Eufebium Bishop of Cafarea, by Constantine. to the Provinces of Palestine, against Alexander and Arise; and such others as were plunged in his Heresie: unto the inhabitants of Nicomedia a City in Asia, unto Sapor King of Persia, to all the Enstern Chairenes, to the Bishops and Doctors who affished at the Countil, to the Judges and Citizens of Athens and Antioch, to the Bishop Macharine, to the Bishops of Palestine, to the good Fathers who affifted at the Synod of Tyrus, to Athanasim the Patriarch of Alexandria; besides divers others, which I shall omit, to avoid prolixity. He bore such an ardent affection to his new Rome. that the better to beautifie and adorn her with precious rarities and Antiquities; he scrupled not to bereave (according unto Saint Jeroms report) all his Cities and leave them naked, for to imbellish and compleat his City of Constantinople. To which purpose he carried out of the Cattle that was at transports fe-Ilion, the chief City of Troy, the Palladium of Troas, and the Statue of Apollo which was made of veral rarities Brass of an almost incredible bigness. From Rome he carried away a Column of Porphyre called Co- to Constanticlie, which he caused to be environed with several Meddals, and placed in the Market-place which is nople. Paved with Frise-stone, upon the top of which he caused his own Statue of Brass to be placed, holding in his right hand a golden Globe, upon which the fign of the Crofs was fixed; which is yet standing upon the top of the fecond Mountain, or Eminence in the City, but the faid Statue is somewhat impaired, not so much by length of time (although 'tis avery Antick one) as by reason of the great Constantine Fires and Earthquakes wherewithall the City hath been overwhelmed; before which time (accor-warred against the Inhabiding to what some Historians have written) he maintained harsh Wars against the inhabitants of Bi-tents of Birth. zanting, because they would not be obliged to pay him any Tribute, or be subjected to obey him; and tium and concoming to fight them in a pitcht Field, at first they killed him abundance of his men, but at length quered them. not without a great deal of difficulty he conquered them, and did there build the City which is ho-

noured by his name, and the which he did the better love by how much the ruder and adverse its habi-

Constantinople peopled with Christians by Constantine.

Constantine di-

Constantines

flament. Constantines body carried to Constanti-

stanzinople.

Greats being Baptized.

tants had shewn themselves to the ancient seat of his Dominions. And finally he became so enamoured with this new City, as that he conceived it was impossible for him to be glutted in the adorning oured with this new City, as that he conceived it was important for man to be function the admining of it. Afterwards he peopled it with fuch Christians as he could affemble out of Armenia, Georgia,

Palestine, and Egypt, and who were fled into those parts, to avoid the sad perfecutions by Diselesan, and the which were renewed by Lieinius, Constantines brother in Law. Moreover, as he had an, and the Empire divided; fo did he again divideit, as a Paternal inheritance, and bestowed it upon his three Sons, whom he created all three of them Cafars, during his life time, the one after the othe first cons, whom he reaches an interest the constant of his Reign, Constanting his fecond Son ther, viz. Constanting his eldest Son in the tenth year of his Reign, Constanting his fecond Son ther, vie. Confrantine in character on in the count year of this Sons in the thirtieth year. The Reigns of in the twentieth year, and Confrant the youngest of his Sons in the thirtieth year. Constantes three-Sons crethele his faid Sons proved very turbulent and troublesome, and lasted not above four and twenty years five moneths and twelve days. As for this our Confrantine, he dyed at Nicomedia on the one and twentieth day of the moneth of May, during the Confulfing of Felicians, and Tatianss, which was confirming the in the fecond year of the two hundred fourfcore and feventh Olympiad; and in the year of the Salvation of all mankind, three hundred thirty and nine, after he had lived threefcore and fix years, and had reigned thirty and one. Some will needs have us believe, that he was poiloned in his Countrey or Garden-house hard by Nicomedia; however it was, his death was foretold two years before by the appearance of a Comet of an unufual bigness. Lying on his death bed, he ordained and com-Athansfus remanded that Athanasius should be recalled from his banishment, whom himself (being deceived and induced that Attornay in mound of recentled from the boanding and grudge) had banifhed; fo that he returned induced thereunto by the Arians who bore Athanafiss a grudge) had banifhed; fo that he returned again to his Bishoprick of Alexandria; Eusebiss and all his other advertaries being present. He again to the composition of Zervanders, and the hands of that fame Prieff, who had so much stickled for unpoieu of this tast, we in and a citation, more than by his Sifter Conftance (who had been Licinius Arius, and who was so much recommended unto him by his Sifter Conftance (who had been Licinius his Wife) as file lay a dying affuring that he was a very honest man, whom Constantine caused to swear, the the would not deliver the faid Will to any other, fave unto Conffanting when he should be returned from the East, for none of his children were prefent at his death. After his decease, his body was laid on Will and Ica Golden Bier, or Bed of Honour, and was conducted by his Captains, Lieutenants, and by the Officers of his houshold, into the City of Constantinople; and was there placed in an eminent and high place to be viewed of all Men. And those of his Court did continue to perform unto his dead body the fame fervices and honours, as they had done whilft he was alive, untill fuch time as his children, or at leaft one of them was returned for to cause him to be interred. The whole City lamenturen, or at reast one of them was returned to the constraint to be anterior. The whole cary faileding and bewailing in a high degree, the loss of their Great Emperor, and mourning and weeping bitconjuntines ing and newaning in a niguregree, the tops of their dear and tender Father, all of them had by the labels ving often tafted and had the experience of his Graces and Benignity. And as I have afore mentioned he left the Empire unto three of his Sons, who in flead of maintaining themselves therein by Union, Peace, Concord, and Amity, fell foul together, and tore each other afunder. By the division which Constantine the Great did make of the Empire, Constantine who was the elder brother enjoyed Ganl, or France, Spain, and England. Confians the younger brother, had all Italy, Slavenis and Greece. And Confiantiss the fecond brother possessed Constantinople, and all the East. But this repartition not pleafing Confantine, he commenced a quarrel with his brother Confant, waging a cruel and deadly war with the Gault or French, with whom fighting furiously, but more greedly

warring againth his brogainth his broday of then providently, he was way-laid, befet and overwhelmed with Ambushes, near unto Aquilea,
then providently, he was way-laid, befet and overwhelmed with Ambushes, near unto Aquilea,
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the providently he was way-laid, befet and overwhelmed with the providently he was way-laid, befet and overwhelmed with the providently he was way-laid, befet and the providently he gainst his bro- men provincing, he was way lane, before died, and was caffinto the River called Alfe. Finally I cannot here omit to fet down the incredulity of some persons, who suspect that which we have here related concerning this Emperors Baptisme, and do not stick to deny that he was Baptised by Pope Silvester. Grounding this their allegation, on what Enseithe of Casarea doth Write, that cu by rope obsorpter. Grounting the their anegation, on what conferent of Conference and Vicensed in his latter days, having continued a long while in his devotions in a Church which had been there built by his Mother Hellen; not by the Bishop of Micemedia, who was a Heretick, but by some other Catholick Prelate, &c.

The end of the Life of Constantine the Great.

THE

THE LIFE OF

ARCHIMEDES, a Philosopher of Greece.



Ann. Mund.

Ant . Christ.



His great Geometrician, and most admirable Contriver Archimedes, whose Picture I prefent you here with, to the Life, which I brought from Sicile made in Brafs, like unto a rare Medal which is usually found in the Foundations of such Cities as are built by the Roman Emperours, he was fo incomparable in his time, that all the Greek and Latine Hiftorians thought it no incumbrance to manifest his fubrill Inventions, Sciences, and those admirable Parts wherewith he was endowed : so that of old when a man would expression exquisitely a thing was done, he needed but to fay, that Archimedes could not have better deferibed or fet it forth. Cicero also recites this Proverb or Problem of Archimedes,

to fignifie a question unknown, abstrufe, and difficult to be resolved, and which ought to be examined with exquisite industry. The Inhabitants of Sicile did formerly so highly reverence him, as that they caused a costly Statue of Marble to be erected in honour of him; which was of that immensity, as being beheld afar off, it feemed to be a fecond Coloff of Rhodes. True it is, that this personage born at Spracusa, a City in the life of Cyprus, living in the time of a mighty and rich King Hiero, effected such things as were never heard of before, and almost incredible; which he hammered out by his own invention. Now if any one defireth to be fatisfied as concerning those marvellous things, which he by his rare Genius brought to perfection, let him read Plutareb on the Life of Marem Marcellm, and Tiem Living in the fourth and fifth of his third Decade; where he shall find, that the onely Engines The Engines and Instruments which Archimedes did make, were sufficient to defend the place for a long time a- and Instrugainst all the affaults of the Romens. For he caused a slinging Engine to be made of a wonderful ments made by height and greatness, the which from the top of the Tower of the said City did cast out a hundred great Stones, Bullets, or Darts, upon the Enemies Camp. For which reason Eustarhius calls him a Giant with an hundred arms, cafting forth a hundred heavy maffy frones at one shock; which though doubtlefs were admirable works in themfelves, yet he made no account nor effects of them; reckoning them not as his Mafter-piece, but onely as Geometricall toys and paftimes, made at the request of Hiero King of Sicile. Amongst other things it is related, that when all humane force was not able to draw a great Ship out of the water, with an infinite fort of Cables and other Engines. Archimedes alone drew it on Land, as if it had failed on the Sea. During the Siege of Syracufa by the Roman Army, he made fuch Instruments, as that casting over the Walls great Iron Grapples fastned to it on Chains, giving their their Counterpoize within the City, he lifted up a Galley into the air, and drowned all the men that were in her in the Sea, for he caused the faid Galley to fall perpendicularly or down right, so that it brake in pieces. And with other Instruments and Grapples, he did so wonderfully shackle the Galleys and Ships, as that he forcibly drave them against a Rock, and bruised them to shivers. Also

The Sphere invented by Archimedes.

he built fuch like Engines on Land, with which he usually destroyed many of the Enemies. By which refiftance which Archimedes made in Spracufa, the General, Conful, Marcu Marcellu, that excellent Captain, was forced to alter the dipolition of his Camp, and to feek out another way and manner to befirge and affault the City; in which Siege he found himfelf in a great deal of peril and confusion. For Arch weder had put the Roman Souldiers into fo great an amatement, that when they faw the leaft Chain, or but a bare Pole let down from the Walls of the City, they retired and fled away, beingerrified at the Inventions and Engines of this great Artift, The Mathematicians and Aftrologers attribute the Invention of the Materiall Sphere to this fubtill Philosopher, by which the Motions of all the Planets, with their Conjunctions, Passions, and Aspects, may be plainly perceived; although Diogenes Lacrius feens on the contrary to believe, that Anaximander the Philosopher, who was a Milefian, was Author and first Inventor of so rare and excellent a piece. Which we were willing to note by the way, to leave every man to his own liberty to judge thereof. For my part, I have Citero that great Orators Warrant for what I fay , who in the first Book of his Tusculan Questions, is pleased to give Archimedes onely the commendations to have been the first Inventor of the Sphere. With whom Clandian the Poet agrees; who faith that he made one of Christall. And Ovid also confirmeth it, alledging that it could not be very difficult for him to frame one of (hriftall, fince he had fufficient means to perform it, and industry enough to invent one; yet I would have you to know, that I relie not so much upon these Poets verbal expressions; fince I must acknowledge, that by the Chrystaline Sphere which they attribute to Archimedes, their meaning was onely to afcribe unto him the invention of the Sphere, because that by the Circles and other properties of it, he did represent unto us, as in a fair Christall Glass, the severall Motions, Aspects, and Conjunctions of the Orbs: And certainly be must needs have been as studious as contemplative, and as wife as judicious. Now when as Syracufa was taken by affault, after it had been folely by his industry for a long time defended: the Confull Mircellin gave ftrict charge that no man on pain of death should dare to kill Archimedes, although he had destroyed so many Roman. Yet a Souldier meeting him by chance (happily not knowing him) as he was buffed in drawing a Scheme in the fand, and asking him who he was; or (as others fay) commanding him to go and speak with Marcellan, Archimedes gave him no answer, or was so attentive and set upon the placing of this Figure, as that he minded him not. Whereupon the Souldier being angry, killed him, which highly displeased Marcellus, who caused him to be honourably interred. Others fay , that he made no other reply unto the Souldier , fave that he was fo deeply engaged in the description of his Figure, as that he could not well tell how to difintangle himself. And it is very remarkable on the death of Archimedes, that the apprehension of death which was fet before Archimetes to him, could not divert him from his Mathematicall ploddings. Hereon I fay, that the diligence which buffe in deferibuffe in deferit man a commended, because he was so much bent upon this worthy Imployment; bing a Figure, he used is very much to be commended, because he was so much bent upon this worthy Imployment; as that he was whereby he ought to be admired above all other Philosophers, forasmuch as all of them did reject and not fentille of despife the Goods of Fortune (as men call them) but at the time of the Souls separation from the student when a men many larger than the student when a men many larger this World history and the student when a men many larger this World history and the student when a men many larger this work is the student when a men many larger this work is the student when a men many larger than the student when a men call them) and the student when a men call them is the student when a men call the stu Body (when as we must leave this World) there were very few of them that did not retrounce the bargain. We read that Carneade, an ingenious and laborious Philosopher was fo addicted to his Studies, that he would not admit of the leifure to eat : yet however he had one Melifia his Concubine, whom he accounted of as his Wife, and who to hinder him from ftarving when he fafted too long, would bring him such things as were fit to nourish him. Anaxagor as also, and Democrism, did so much defpife Wealth, as that the one gave the greatest part of his Estate to his Countrey; the other was not displeased in the least, when he saw all his Goods and Possessions lost and ruined; because they accounted it but a tye, whereby being as it where chained, they could not freely refign themselves to confer with the Mules. To speak the truth, all these Philosophers did things worthy of great commendation; but there is not one of them like unto our Archimedes. For they could not choose but apprehend the enfuing dangers and incumbrances. But had they been like unto Archimede, in the facking of a City, having the Sword fet upon their throats, we should have found very few Archimedes's, who would have continued their Descriptions and Demonstrations. Some write of him, that oft times he was taken from his Study, and conducted to the Baths, and was there washed and anointed, without any outward fensibility delineating always his Figures upon his body with his singers; so attentive was he on his Speculations. I had forgotten to mention the ingenious Discovery which he made, to know how much Gold might have been taken away from a Crown, and Silver mingled inflead of it. But because the History hath been largely handled by some Modern Writers, I remit the curious Reader to a Discourse made thereon by Peter Meffes in his Forest of divers instructions. Cierre gloried that he first found his Sepulchre, which by age and neglect was unknown; and he made great account of it. So likewife the Spirit and Industry of a learned man can effect more than the force of thoulands of ignorant men. He lived in the time of Sulpirim Gallon, of great Onion the High Prieft of the Jews, of Ariftobulus the few, and of Peslom Epiphases the first King of Egypt, in the year 5000, and he was slain at the facking and taking of Spracufa, as aforefaid, the year after Rome was built, 543. He compoled an excellent Book of the Cylinders, which Book hath fince been recovered, and translated into Latin by the command of Pope Nicolas the fifth.

Moreover it is reported of this admirable Philotopher Archimedes, that his fublime knowledge in the Mathematicks was arrived to fo high a pitch, as that he should fay, that could be have found any point out of the Terrestrial Globe to have fixed his foot upon, he would have removed the Fabrick of

the whole World, &c.

THE LIFE OF

DIOGENES the Grecian Philosopher.



Ann. Mund. 3598.

Ant. Christ. 350.



Hough doubtless many have heard some Coridons, or Mechanick fellows, either in jeft or earnest vending their judgements on him whose Effigies or Protraiture is here represented, in the same manner as it was given unto me at the City of Andremopolis in Greece (being as I was affertained) found in Calcedonia, in the times of the Emperors Bafilius and Constantius, who were brothers, in the year of our Lord nine hundred feventy and eight: yet however he ought not therefore to be accounted of, as an abject or contemptible person. And if we rather chuse to reflect upon his internal then external parts, we shall find that The diversities he is worthy of a great deal of Honour. For as we read of two Ancient Philo- of Philolo-

fophers Democrism and Heraclitus, who inceffantly (the one by his Laughter, and the other by his ons have one Tears) did tax the Follies of the vulgar; both of their expressions tending to one and the self same and the self purpose. So likewise, amongst the Philosophers, the Stoick was severe; the Academick dubious, same end. the Peripaterick Politick, the Cynick free and willfull; yet however all these had but one and the

felf fame fcope, viz. To Philofophize. Now amongst all those who have followed this Cynicall manner of living, Diogenes may be placed in the first rank, as being the sole Philosopher, who did lead a free and careless life, without Diogenes birth any goods, or estate; he was born at Synope, a Maritime Town situated upon the Borders of the and Parentage. Ensiman Sea, his Father was named Icesius an Usurer, who put him for a while to School, bur at length Diogenes being driven our of his Countrey, retired himself unto Athens, where he learnt Philosophy of Antifibenes: wherein he made so good a progress, as that he became one of the most excellentest Philosophers of all Greece. His Life was most strange, which he lead in the greatest Powerty that possibly could be; for despiting the pleasures of the world, he contented himself a great thrange manwhile with a Tub for his habitation, the entrance of which in the Winter he did turn towards the ner of life. South, and in the Summer towards the North. He did ask Alms, carrying a flick in his hand, and a waster on his shoulders in the same manner as you see him described. He was so great a lover of the Diogones a Philosophical fasulty, that his Master threatning to beat him out of doors with a stick, because that great lover of bedid not take any Scholars to teach; Diogenes profering his head unto him, faid, Srike on I Philosophy, pray, for you hall not find any flick hard enough to drive me out of your School. Many memorable gent his fayings and speeches are recorded concerning this most excellent Philosopher; some of which (all-speeches and the school of the though facetious, yet full of Learning) I have thought fit to infert in this prefent discourse. When actions. he faw Phylicians and Philosophers in company together with other men , he would usually fay , That

THE

Concerning Philosophers and Philicians

Concerning Fortune-tel-

himfelf.

Concerning

amonest all the Creatures, Man ought to be most circumspect. And on the contrary when he met among! all the Creatures, Man ongo, we work may be sumpless. All on the contrary when he met with Soethfayers, Foreme-tellers, and others pufft up with the splendor of their wealth, he with 300en agers, Forme-teners, and ones pain up white specimen of their weath, he would fay, That he eftermed nathing more vain then Man. Being at a certain time in the publick would say, I not he ejecemea naming more and grave matters, and perceiving that no man drew near to place of the City, discouring or weighty and grave makers, and perceiving that no man arew near to him, he fell a whillthing and finging; whereby a great multitude of people being flocked about him, min, ne jeu a wonjtung and pinging; "That they were so easer and ready to litten unto sollies, but tar-he represented and reproached them, That they were so easer and ready to litten unto sollies, but tarin represented and reproduced a unio matters of moment. He faid, that he wondred at the Gram-die, and backwards in giving ear unto matters of moment. are, and pacegoards in groung car amore marriers, and pacegoards in groung car and marriers, who were fo criticall in diving into and fearching out the vices of Olyfles, and were igno-Concerning mens aprices to heed follies.

The mens aprices to heed follies. Several forts of their brains to utter good things, and never trouble their heads in the least to do them. He would piegers did usually say, That he did much admire, men should guarrel and kell themselve. Sun and Moon, and not fee those things, which are under their very Noses. At Orators, who do break unually 129, to nat me and much manners, more promet yours amount of the fireding for to attain unto the highest or precedency, or some such like toy, but never so much as mind the strong for to attain unto the highest or precidency, or joint just the constant never jointed in minimum pister of Verine. And an Afrologer one day discouring with a great deal of confidence concerning pisch of Veriue. And an Africager one day uncouring with a great deal of connuence concerning the Meteors, and other Celeficial influences, he demanded of him, How long is was fince be came from heaven? Now the same freedom which he used in his manner of living, the like did he also in from neaven 1 14000 the name receasing which having placed this infeription upon the porch of his abmanner of specific to a certain consent paffing by , and reading it , asked those which chanced door, viz. Let no evil enter here; Diogenes paffing by , and reading it , asked those which chanced to be present, which way shall the master of the House get in ! Beholding another Bill upon the House to be present, swince way man tree maps, and produced man, specifying that the house was to be fold, he cried our of a great spent-tilent, and provided man, spent, in a mould quickly meet with your Master, and faid,0 house! I knew very well by your visions fire f, that you would quickly meet with your Master. and rain, to now feet A Russ were y were up four temporal plans you would quite they meet with four heafter.

And feeing certain men one day shooting at Buts with Cross Bowes (one of which usually shoot And recing certain men one way mooning at a great difference from the mark) Diogeness against that Mans turn came to shoot, placed himself at at a great difference from the mark) the Buts, just against the mark; at which the company wondring, he said, I perceive that you Man shoots so wide from the mark which you do aim at, as that I conceive my self to be no where fafe, but just in this place. A player on the Cithern being generally blamed because he was a Corputate, but just in this place. A risyst on the Charlest company mainted octains in was a corpo-lent Man, and Diogenes onely praising him, being demanded the reason why, he said, Because his wast uns crean, and ingene; oney pearing unisone and amount of the f. Another vulcian, bulk had made him fitter to be a Player upon Musical Instruments, then a Thief. Another vulcian, ouix naa maae nim jitter 10 oo n Fiager ngois aeanpiana 11011 moenis 300en a 1 mej. Anioant 8 ulitais, by reason that he had an unpleasing voice being abandoned by all men, and Diogenee meeting of him, of Landin that he had an unipreading voice oring a commonwer of air men, and Dogener incling or min, faid, good fave you Mafter Cock, the other demanding why he miscalled him to; he answered, Becanse your sing makes all the company rife. Being moreover demanded, What was the greatest misery in this World? He answered, To be old and poor. Being asked, Whether he had any servants? migor in the protect ric answerce, a voc one and pour magine will carry you to your grave when you the answered, No : and the other replying, who do you imagine will carry you to your grave when you dye? He answered, He that Shall have need of the House. Being asked, what he would have to receive a Box on the tar, or a blow on the face, he laid; A good feel casket unto my head. Plato, feeing him one day buse in washing of herbs, whispered unto him, and told him, Could you but court Dionysius Jou fould not need to wall herbs; to whom Diogenes replied, And if you could wash herbs, you hould not need to court Dennis the Tyrant. Being arrived at the Town of Minda, and finding it ill peopled and but a little feurvy hole , yet with great Gates , he faid to the inhabitants , Pray flux your Gates, leaft your Town do run away out of them. Perceiving an untoward wraftler took upon himself the curing of mens diseases; he asked him, Whether by that means he intended to cast those to the ground, who had formerly worked him? Some one asking him, Whence he was? he faid, He was a Citizen of the wiele world. Hearing a proper handsome young man utter unfeeming and distincts language, he asked him, Whether be was not assamed to unstrate a Leaden sword, out of an Ivory scabbard? To a Logician, who by his Arguments went about to prove there was no motion at all, He onely walked along, and asked him what he thought of that? Alexander the Great having conquered Greece, and being at Alberts, he was desirous to see Diogenes, by reason of his great Fame, and he great panels was sitting in the Sun, he asked him whether he needed any thing and thought the model and the great panels was sitting in the Sun, he asked him whether he needed any thing, and though it were never to much he would give it him. To which he answered, Pray Sir fland a little backward out of the Sun Shine , and take not that from me which you cannet give me. stand a little vactivara out of the sun spine, and take not that from me which you cannot give me.

Whom think you of us two us in most need? My self who desire nothing but my wooden dish, and

Morfel of bread, or thou, who being not consented with thy Ringdom of Macedon, exposely thy life to fo many dangers, for to extend thy Dominions, in so much as that the world is not capable to satusfe that Avarice? At which answer, Alexander was so aftonished and rejoyced, that turning back to some who floured thereat, be faid, I would affaredly chuse to be Diogenes, were I nor Alexander. Moreover the fentences and rare answers pronounced by this Philosopher were numberlefs, so that we shall pass by divers of them to avoid prolixity. He was very well verfed in all Arts and Sciences. He faid, That knowledge is correllion to the young, comfort to the old, viches to the poor, and ornament to the rich. He delpifed those Arts which were unprofitable, and such persons as study, rather to acquire knowledge, then to practife Vertue. He compared a rich ignorant man, unto a Golden sheep. In Summer he laid on the fand in the Sun. And in the Winter he would grafp the Statues and Trees which were covered with Snow, the better to accustom himself to support both the heat and the

And as aforetaid he carried a Wallet, in which he put his Victuals ; and he had a wooden difli, out of which he drank, but he brake his diff, feeing a child drinking out of its hand; and admiring the childs with faid, it was not requifite for a man to trouble himself with a vessel to drink out of, fince Naure

furnished him with one. He also flang away his wooden Trencher, seeing another cut his meat upon his bread. Being demanded way fome did out him a Dog ? He answered, Because I make much Diogenes his of those who give unto me; I bark as those who deny me, and I bise the harsh and fromard. He would reason why he not be buried after his dearly, whereas his friends wondring, represented unto him, that being left upon was called a the ground, without Sepulchre or Grave, the Beafts would devour him. To which he affivered, Dog That they may not do so, pray lay my stick by my side: At which they laughed, telling him, That the His reason dead did neither see non feel; whereure he sephyed, If therefore the dead do neither see nor feel; what why he would us it to me, whether the Beast's do eat me, the Birds do pick me, or the Worms of the earth devourme? not be busied And as he was thus fantastick in his manner of living, in his speeches, and Actions ; yet far more singular was he in the rule and conduct of those whom he had under his charge. And namely in the bringing up of Xeniades and Corinthians children; unto whom he was fold at Crete or Candie by Scirpalus, Diogenes taken the great Pyrat, who took him at Sea as he was going to Aquinas. And these were the Rules which at Sea and sold he prescribed unto his Scholars. First, he would have them to addict themselves unto those good and found disciplines on which he did read most admirable Lectures unto them: afterwards he caused Diogenes methem to ride the great horse, to shoot with the Bow, and to be good slingers; chiefly forbidding thod towards them to strain themselves in wrastling; enjoyning them moreover, not onely to Learn and Con all his favings by heart; but also all the Poets rare Composures; would suffer them to eat but a very little meat and drink nought fave water. He caused them to be shaven to the very chin, and made them go abroad unready without shooes, willing them to dress themselves as they went through the streets. because they should lose no time. And for all this harsh demeanor and austerity of Life; his Scholars did love and cherish him extreamly, and mediate to have been treated and used more humanely and Diogenesischocourteously in the house of Xeniades then his quality of a fervant and a slave deserved, which is a lars affection most remarkable acknowledgement of Scholars towards their Masters, and whereunto common sence to him. and reason might easily induce them.

Which Alexander the Great testified, by bearing as great a reverence unto Aristotle his Master as unto Philip of Macedon the King his Father; because that by the one he had received his Life, and Alexanders reas the or map of seasons to live Well. But to return unto Diogenes, he was highly efteemed by Xe., verence to his the best of the press care and diligence. Maller, niades his Master, not onely for his rare Wit and knowledge, but for the great care and diligence wherewithall he employed himself in his Domestick affairs, who otherwise had not long harboured him in his house; and Xeniades at length being constrained to acknowledge, that Diogenes had brought good luck to his house, he took such an affection unto him, as it is believed he never parted with him till his dying day; and divers are of opinion that he dyed at his Mafter Xeniades house, at a place called the Crane at Corinth; grounding this their belief on Diogenes his answer to his Mafter, that he would be buried with his face downwards; and they do add that his Scholars Xeniades children did Diogenes his bury him. However some will not let them reap the honour thereof by reason of the contest which were amongst his friends concerning his burial; and therefore they are of opinion, that all his friends jointly did makehima Tomb, and placed a Column upon it, on the top whereof there was the figure of a Dog engraven, (Itmay be because Plato had called him so) As also that to outvie each other, they adorned his Grave with leveral brass Statues, placing this like inscription upon his Tomb, translated

out of Greek

Though time doth Brass destroy, Diogenes thy praise Eternally shall last , no Age shall taint thy Bases, To us thou hast prescribed those Rules, whereby we may Eternal blifs atchieve ; what mortal could more fay?

My felf being in the 1fle of Crete, or Candie, about half a league from the place where the Labirinth or Maze was, which is fo much written of by the Ancient Authors; fome Grecians of the faid Island did shew unto me certain rulens and very great stories which savoured much of Antiquity, In Diogenes his which place they told me Diogenes had for feveral years read his publick Lectures according as it was reading place contained in the vulgar Greek Authors) and called that place Stabilities, by realon (as I do confection according to the most proper fignification of the word) of the many roots that are there. And as there were diverfiry of opinions concerning his Sepulchte; fo likewise were they worse divided concerning his death. Some say, that as he was very careless of his Diet, he did one Diversity of day eat an whole cold Ox foot, whereby he drew down so pernicious a Rheum into his mouth, as that opinions conbe dyed thereof: others have been pleafed to fay, that being overburdened with old Age, and regreting his long life, he did wrap limfelf up in his Cloak, and so smoothered himself. However it me his death. happened, all do agree in this, that he died of a violent death, being of the Age of fourfcore and His Age. ten years. Having left behind him a fignal renown of his most admirable examples and worthy inftruction; aswell for his strange and fingular manner of Living; and the excellency of his knowledge Diogenes his and wir, which was so much admirable, as that several famous professions have oftentimes come from admirable parts. foraign and remote parts purposely unto Athens to hear and fee him, &c.

The end of Diogenes Life.

CONSTANTINE PALEOLOGUS.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE PALEOLOGUS, the last Christian Emperor of Greece.



Ome men have very inconfiderately dived into this nice inquiry and ferutiny,

why Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities and States, have fometimes been subverted, destroyed, and brought to nought; and at other times raised up,

reftored and exalted: Finally, why Empires have so often changed their se-

verall Mafters, who were differeing both in Customs, Laws, and Religions.

I have met with some of these who would even winde & screw up their Spe-

culations to the very Skies, and rashly do fancy to themselves, that they are

the Almighties Privy-Counfellours; carrying on their faid conceits with fo

Ann. Mund.

Post Christ. 1451.

A curiofity ve ry prejudicial to the condem

Triumpho of Campin's Phrenzy.

Translation

folely to be

ample of the

Empires



much efficacy and felf-belief of the truth, as Trinmpho of Camarin did (a retainer unto the Lord Peter Ubaldim , a Knight and Nobleman of the City of Urbin) who most fantaftically did imagine and perfurade himfelf, that really and truly, at a certain hour in the day, he was affembled together in company with the Pope, the Emperor, and the feveral Kings and Princes of Christendows (although all that while he was alone in his own Chamber by himself) where he entred upon , debated , and refolved all the States Affairs of Christendam , and verily believed that he was the wifest man of them all; and so he well might be, of the company. Others again, relying upon the viciflitude of things, do forge a like necessity, That Empires and Kingdoms having once artained their appointed periods, are necessitated to cast up the Cards, to shur the Tables, and to refign the Game to the better management of those who successively are enthroned and invested therein. As for my part, I had rather refign my felf to the Almighties will, unto which the cause of the translation of Scepters ought to be folely attributed, fince he maketh them to fall into fuch hands as he pleafeth. For a most evident testimony hereof, we cannot make choice of a fitter Pourtraiture, than this of our first Confiantine, which I recovered at Confiantinople, ingraven in a Mo-Conflamine Pa- faick stone. This was he who bearing the same Name as he did who transported the Roman Empire lessegur an ex into Greece, did lose it, eleven hundred twenty and one years after Constantinople was built by Confinnine the Great, as I shall proceed to relate unto you. He was the Son of Emannel the Son of John Paleologius, who was most renowned for the several Heroical Actions which he did; as well by or Fortune. Confinning Pa- fortifying of Greece, walling about the Istmus or Hescaride of Corinth, and the maintaining of his teologus defent Empire in Tranquillity, Repole, and Peace, which he had made with Emanuel the first of that Name, but the third King of the Turks. I thought good also to note, that this Emanuel caused a Synod to fembled a Sy be affembled at Cnstantinoph, unto which the Patriarchs of Constantinophe, of Antioch the great, of nod. Perusalism, of Agypt, together with divers other Prelates, were called to refolve on the interpretation of this Passage in the holy Gospel , My Father is greater then I. Whence some malicious ill advised men did deduce a most pernicious and damnable consequence, by inferring some The pernicidegree and difference between them, or to their Natures. But to return to our purpose. Though ous effect of it. Emanuel did maintain his Empire in reft and quietness, yet his Children indeavoured what in them lay, to rend it afunder. For against John the fourth of that name, Dametrius his Brother role up Differences in competition; and for his better support, he entred into a League with the Turks, who attem-betwitt Emapted to rulh into Morea, but were forced to defer that defign till another time. And Constantine nutls Sons. himself brake down that Wall which Emanuel had caused to be built at the Streights of Corinth : evidencing that he aspired to the Empire, and to the Dominion of Morea. And so it was, that when John Paleologus, Confrancines Brother died, he was in Morea : where for those valiant Exploits he performed against the Turks, whom he sharply intested, he was surnamed Draco, or Dragon. And it was ten to one, but he had been frustrated in his succession of the Empire; for Dene- Confinnine firtrim his younger Brother being at Confiantinople when this Emperour died, would have usurped the or Dragon. Empire, although Constantine was his elder Brother. And it is very probable, that unless the Stampoldanians had withstood his endeavours and Forces, he had very easily instroned himself, taking the advantage of his Brother Constantine's being so deeply ingaged at that time against the Turks; and that no confideration whatfoever was able to reclaim him from purfuing of them. However, as I was a telling of you, the Inhabitants of Constantinople would not permit him to assume the Imperial Dignity, fearing that their City might come to be ruined, in case they had admitted and savoured the vounger Brother against him , unto whom of right the Empire did belong. Wherefore it was agreed Confiantine wounder brouter against thin, and the Emperour, and that Demetring and Thomas should equally inherit Greece. the Dominions of Morea betwirt them. But it had been far better, that either the one of them had possessed it alone, or that both of them had gone without it, by reason that their differences and Dimetrius and ars gave an admittance and footing, into so gallant and strong a Countrey, unto the common Ene- Thomas's Sons my of Christendom, the Turks, who became at length absolute Masters thereof. And as for our make entrance Conffantine, he enjoyed no long repose nor tranquility in his Dominions; for after the death of old for the Turks Amurath (who died in the year of the World,4511, and in the year of our Lord and Saviour, 1450.) Mahomet, the second of that Name, succeeded him (and not Mahomet the first , though the first Emperour, as by a mistake it was set down in the Life of Constantine the Great) who puzled the Emperour extreamly, and all those who were Subjects unto his Dominions. And that I may not too Mahomet the much inlarge, Mhall content my felf to recount unto you, how he befieged Confiantinople in the fecond befie-Moneth of February, in the year of our Lord, 1453, and continued the faid Siege untill the 28 day geth and taof the Moneth of May, and gained the place on the fifty fourth day after he had befreged it; and cauling all the Greeian Nobility (who were in the place) to be put to death; and likewise among the rest, the Emperor Constantine himself: who for a long while before had both required, summoned, and conjured the Christian Princes to lend him relief, but they could not attend the same: For the farality of those times had imbroyled all Christendom in Wars amongst themselves: the Em-All Christen-For the manny or more than a more energies per our reasons and Moravians; the French King against the King of fame engaged per our against the Swifler, the Hungarians, and Moravians; the French King against the King of fame engaged per our reasons and partializes against each other is Wars at the England; Italy was full of Leagues, Confederacies, Factions, and Partializes against each other is me of the England. However, the Pope, the Venetians, and Alphonso king of Naples, did promise to fend thirty Gal- fiege of Conleys to his relief ; and indeed the Venetians did fend thither James Laure, with a gallant equipage, fintinople. but he came too late; for the Turk had already maftered the place, not without a great deal of The Vinctian refistance, which was made by the belieged, as aforefaid, for the space of fifty and four days. And relief came really the Turk did lose many thousands of men before it: and the same day when he gained the City, the Emperour Compantine did not onely content himself to incourage his men to withftand fo furious a monfter : but himfelf being armed , de cap-a-pe , from head to toe , and being feconded but Configurines by a handfull of men onely, did for the space of five hours most gloriously withstand all the Turkish valiant defence Forces. But finally feeing himfelf abandoned by the greatest part of his men, and having but two of Confiantiperfons onely who ftood by him , and ftuck unto him, (viz. Theophilus Paleclogus , of the Stock and nople. Imperial Race, and a Slavonian Slave, though most illustrious and noble in his gallant Actions) was constrained to retreat; and indeavoring to fave himself amidst the multitude, he was either pressed to death, or (as others will have it) trodden under foot, and stifled. And thus the last Christian Constantines Emperour of Constantinople most miserably ended his days, after he had reigned three years and three death. moneths. The Town being taken, you may imagine the cruelties which Mahomet did there exercise . however he could not choose but reverence the dead body of our Constantine, which (as three very ancient Mameldus's of Agypt did tell me) he caused to be fought for throughout the City, and having found it, he took him by the hands and head, and bedewed them with io many tears which flowed Mahomets prefound it, he took him by the hands and nead, and between them with to handy teas which never the from his eyes, as that the standers by could not refrain themselves from weeping: and afterwards rence to Eorcaused him to be enterred in his Sepulchre; but I could never learn where it was; and this reason flantines dead thereof was given me by certain Mahometans: that Mahomet would have but four persons know body. where he was buried, apprehending, left those Souldiers, who being numberless, and had been wounded and maimed by that valiant Emperours own hand, through rage should pull him out of his grave again. And this was the cause, why after his death his head was carried on the top of a Lance. by way of derifion, through the whole City; as also the Image of our Saviour and Redeemer was Indignities of dragged through the dirt in the Streets, with the greatest indignity that possibly could be; having franting head,

this Inscription affixed upon it , This is the Chresti ne God.

Finally, I cannot choose but wonder why some have accustomed themselves to assure the World, ours Image.

11

that this Constantine was the fiventh of that Name , when as by the Lift of the Grecian Emperature we shall find that he was the tenth; which for your better fatisfaction I shall here infert, oit.

The end of the Life of Constantine Paleologus.

A Catalogue of the Grecian Emperours.

He first was Constantine sirnamed the Great ; of whom we have formerly spoken,

The second was Constantine the great's Son, of the same Name.

The third Constantine, was Constantine the Son of Herachies The fourth was Conftantine firnamed Pogenains, that is to fay, wish the great beard , who reigned

The fifth was the Son of Leo Haurius, a wicked and depraved person, and who was no better feventeen years.

then his Father. The fixth is that Constantine, for whom Irenea his Mother indeavoured to procure in marriage a Daughter of Francis, being the Son of Leo the fourth, who was chosen Emperour in the year of the Worlds Creation, 4744, and after our Savioursbirth , 782, who was married unto Mary the King of Armenia's Daughter; and not to Charles the Great's Daughter, as some do suppose.

The seventh was Son unto the Emperor Lea, firnamed the Philosopher; who at the beginning of his Reign was molefted and oppoled by Constantine Spartanus, the Son of Andronicus, that valiant Captain, who approaching to kill the young Conflantine, knocked his brains out against a Wall, and falling off from his Horse, his head was immediately stricken off in the same place. Which had been foretold him by Leo the Philosopher. And though this Conflantine was molefted and disquieted in his Reign, yet I fee no reason therefore (as some would have it) to leave him out of the Catalogue of the faid Emperors.

The eighth succeeded Bafilium Porphyrogenism. a man abounding in all luxury, and unlawfull pleafures , whose Son-in-law was Romanus Argiropolus , the third of that Name.

The ninth was that Monomachus Conflantine, who was so beforted with Scelerena his Concubine, as that he became her Slave; however he efteemed and cherished learned men; and be was called the

Gladiator, or Great Sword-man. The tenth was that devout and religious Duke, who was more given to his Prayers, than to weild a Sword; so likewise did he heartily detest War. He was taxed of being over-covetous; he died being threescore years of age, having reigned seven years and fix moneths; leaving the Empire to his Wife E. doxid, upon her Oath never to marry, left his three Sons, Michael, Andronicus, and Constantint, should have been frustrated of the Empire.

The eleventh, is this Constantine (though but the tenth of that Name) whose History we have even now epitomized, &c.

THE

THE LIFE OF

CESAR FLAVIUS FUSTINIANUS. the Emperor.



Ann. Mund. 4496.

1

Post. Christ. \$20.



Riffotle in his Politicks, and many other Philosophers, who imployed themfelves to prescribe means for Civil Government, have very carefully debated the matter concerning Monarchy, and how it may be maintained. Some have Hieroglyphically reprefented Kingly Government by the Portraiture of a flaming Sword, thereby giving to understand, that the principal end for which it must be used, is to drive forth the wicked. Others would have Kings contemplative, and thought none fit for to bear rule, but such as were Philosophers. Others on it for the most part, that they feem rather to have fet forth their writings to sharpen the Readers appetite, then to satisfie it. The reason may be (as I think) because they had not the Crown on their own

heads, and therefore they reasoned so slightly of it. But now I represent unto you one who hath not only fer forth in writing, wherein the confervation of principality confifts; but he did effectually perform that by Governing, which he wifely prescribed. This we shall demonstrate, after that we have in passing along, cleared that which concerns his defeent, his life and manners, as also the degrees by which he was unexpectedly raifed up to the head of the Empire. He was in a very mean condition in fo much The fift effate that Historians report that Justin the first, his Uncle took him from the field, others that he was a poor of Justiniana. Shepherd, and made him his Foot-boy. After that by little and little he made him aftend to honours, and raifed him fo high, that he adopted him for his Son, and then took him to be his companion in the #ulinian the Empire; whereof, four moneths after, he was made the fole Commander, by the confent of the Se-adopted Son of nate and the People. Here it were very fit to confute the opinion of fome, who thought that Justini- his ballard. anus was the Baffard Son of Justin, because in some passages of his inflitutions, he is called his Father. But fince we have before noted that he was his adopted Son, we need fay no more. As for the names which were appropriated to him, the Title of Cafar was, as the name of Ptolomy to the Kings of Expt, to shew that he was the successor of the great and invincible Cefar, who was the first Emperor. So in Justinianas

like mainer he was called by the name of Flavius, because he proceeded from that family. The other Cafar Flavius. Titles which men commonly gave him, were only marks and remembrances of the people he conquered.

Laws and Let us now fee what exercises this no less wife then valiant, Emperor thought good and convenient to be Armsnee possessed by a person that was to command, which he hath at the beginning of his institutions, expressed Frinces.

The tales of Aymo: the Monk.

French Nati-

nurw's called

very pertinently. It is not fit (laith he) that the Imperial Majefty should only be adorned with Arms, but it must be armed also with Laws, to the end that the times of peace and war may be well ruled and gourned; And that the Prince of the Rondans, may not be onely wittorious in battle against his ana governmen, and also by lawful means, may drive away offences of calumniators and evil deers, and that chemis, out also by law me means, may arrow mean of pulsice, as he is a magnificent conquerous after he make himself as careful, and as great a Lover of Julice, as he is a magnificent conquerous after he hath submediate his entire. This is a brave speech, and we need her doubt but that Reap and Aribe hath submediate his entire. facte would have faid fomething very like it , but had it been to have been undertaken by them (perhaps) they would have faid, is it politible? and could not have confirmed by their example what they had very well approved in their writings. Justinianus hath shewed himselt to be none of those great Justiniants his boatters, that can fay much, but cannot do what they undertake to teach others. When he was manufact acitic acit gurated and fee in the Imperial Throne, he mustred a very potent Army, of which he made Capiain Morad, the chief Commander, who with his Son, behaved himself with such courage, that he lost his life there, and brought under the power of his Mafter, Dalmatia and Salanam. After that he the me mere, and to define a most valiant Captain into Africk, to free it from the incursions of the Moors, and to bring it under the obedience of the Roman Emperor, which he accomplished. Lastly he dispatch Belizarius against the Perfians, which he overcome in a very shore space, and triumphed to the Emperours content, who acknowledging the prowefs and good fuccefs that this valiant Commander was perouns content, was a saint other Nations which rebelled againft the Roman Empire, accomplished with, fent him back againft other Nations which rebelled againft the Roman Empire, which he fo forcibly quelled, that according to fome Writers, he was therefore firnamed, Almanicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Alamus, Wandalicus, Africanus, for that he subdued the Almans, Goths, French, and other Nations, Titles which Juftinianus himself especially affected; which was the cause according to the opinion of some discreet men, that made Belisarius fall into diffrace with Tuffinianus, who suspected him of ambition, and that he aspired to the Empire. Others hold that the fulrimanus, who imperced man or amoraton, and that he approximated visiges; and although Got's would have cholen Belifarius for their Kings, after that he had captivated Visiges; and although Augustians a that Belifarius had refuled it, as Proceptus witneffeth, yet Juftinianus began to fall at odds with the Prowels and fideity of fo warlike a Captain, and in place of requiral caused his eyes to be put Fig. 1. Such is I camor believe, fince that Hymonius the Monk writes, that Juffinians; was driven Full initials and did out of the Empire by Florian, and that he was not reftored but by the help of Belifarius, who benot cause Bers- one called back by Justinianus, laid hold fuddenly on this occasion to return into favour, and with a great Army of his followers he marched toward Florian, compassed in with villains, all enemies to Beisfarius, which he cut in pieces, and chopt off the head of the new Tyrant. But methins that Aymon the Monk hath fallisted the truth very much, when he faith, that Beissarius a private man, and being cast out of his command, did ordinarily maintain twelve thousand men to follow him; as also where h. feeks occasion to speak of the credit and authority Belisarius had with the Emperor I stimanus; he faith, that those two persons during the life of Justin, made a mutual promise, that he that fhould be most advanced should be his companion, with his means, power and dignity; and from thencehe would infer, that Belifarius was made General of the Army, as the fecond person in the Empire; and as one who pretended right unto it. If that were fo, how comes it, that when he was made Emperor, he fent not Belifarius at first into Dalmatia and Africa, but committed the exwas man Empeditions to Mondus and John? And farther, it is not credible, that Juftimanus, who faw the Empeditions to Mondus and John? And farther, it is not credible, that Juftimanus, who faw the Empeditions to Mondus and John? pire could not fail to descend to him, would make a bargain with Belifarins, whom he could outstrip There is even as much shew of truth in that which the same Author alledgeth, that Justinianus when he pleased.

and Belifarius going both to one Stew, they faw two beautiful harlots, Amazonians, Sifters, which they brought into their Palace, and that Juftinianus took for his wife her that was called Amoint, and Betifarius took the other, whose name was Antonine: forasmuch as he is the only writer of this matter, and befides that, he hath intermingled to many fooleries with his Hiftory, that at first fight a man may perceive the cheating he hath used. And that which further makes h m to be mistrusted, Jufinimuchad is, that he makes no mention of any other but this Amonine, and did quit Theodora his lawfull wife, Julian murhad 13 that in many no mention of oft in his Reports. But let us leave this digreffion. Justinianus continued legitimate, the with great eagerness to immortalize his name by many Heroick and warlike exploits: therefore (as other suppost- Pompoulus Letus and others write Belifarius was sent back into Greece (without being devested of his Patrician dign 17, or having any act of inhumanity done unto him, wherewith Justinuarus is charged) to prepare himself to wage War with the Parthians. In his flead he fent into Italy, Germanius his retreatinto the Senator (who died of a difease by the way) and Narsers the Eunuch, who by the relief of the Lombard defeated Totilus and Thoises, the Kings of the Goths. Here, before I pais to the other point propounded by Justinianus, concerning the duty of Princes and Lords, I am constrained to make a ftop to fearth out the occasion why this Emperor took upon him to be simamed Francicus, because most men are of opinion that the Romans never conquered the French. As for the Gauls, no man can deny but that they were made subject to the Roman power, as also some part of the the Gault, but French, but to grant that the Franks (who passed over Rhein, and seised on one part of the Gault, which therefore was called France) were ever subjects to the Romans, were voluntarily to contradict the truth of Histories; Yet we may not understand the name Francicus, which Justinianus attributed to himself, to have been any otherwise then by reason of these things, and to insert here all that men have devied to this purpole, is not my intention, holding it but for a mockery to the French, that Julia mianus usurped this tule, not that he ever vanquished or overcame them, but in respect of their great rallmess. Forasmuch as if Theodeberr had followed his fortune well, after he had chased out of Iraly, (ESAR FLAVIUS FUSTINIAN, US.

both the Goths and the Captains of Justinianus, he had notably shaken this Emperor, who hearing of the retreat that Threadebere made into France, faid, that for fear of his Forces (being able no longer to make it good in Italy) he was forced to fly into France, and from thence he took the firname Francicus, as if he had conquered the French; whereupon Theodobers was fo angry, that if death had nor prevented the effect of his deligns, he was refolved to march into Thracia with a ftrong and powerfull Army. And it may be, for this occasion, Aymon the Monk amongst the dignities of justipowerrous rating. Grant may be not as the state of the st this Emperor by infinite acts of valour enlarged the bounds of the Roman Empire, the wings whereof were before that time so near clipt and paired, that had it not faln upon Justinianus, who by his direction knew so well how to raise the flight of the Eagle, as he prevented Throadbers from making a greater desolation by his incursion then he did. But if men are obliged to effect and to honour Justinianus, because he enlarged the bounds, the lands and Seigniories of the Roman world, how much more ought he to be valued for the incomparable care that he took to establish Justice, which Precepts of is the true and principal foundation to keep Commonwealths in their integrity. And for this end, Justice he composed and compiled of infinite particulars, that Divine and admirable Body of the Law, wherein are contained all the rules to live well and honeftly, without the wronging of others, rendring to every man that which of right belongs unto him. Men make great account of that Collection which Aristotle made out of almost an inestimable number of Books, which Alexander the Great had heaped together, and indeed such a diligence cannot be sufficiently esteemed. But if we compare the labour of Ariffole, with that which Justinian undertook, and which he well discharged : we shall find that there is very much more to fay for the one then the other, if we do but confider the prudence which he ought to have, to know how to diffinguish the Times, the Perfons, places, and other circumsfances, (worthy to be observed in him) who being in a great Ocean of affairs, yet knew so well and with so much circumspection to guide things to their proper end, as that a man shall not onely find matter to content himself in the excellent resolutions which he gave upon divers and opposite cases, but also to admire his incredible acuteness of understanding, that he should be able to know with so great dexterity, how to dispose, ordain and accommodate the secrets of the knowledge of the Law, that shorte who excellent or the body or were lefs able might have a raft of that fweet and delicate liquor; and fuch as were most able or the body or indefranding might find enough continually to better themselves thereby. But that which makes the body of the Law wonderful, is, that though it is composed of many pieces, by divers Authors, and at leveral times; yet it is impossible to find out in it any Antinomies or contradictions of one Law No contradicagainst another; though some, very unadvisedly, have endeavoured by reason of some diversities, to ction in the have introduced contrarieties. But these have been so well reconciled by the Doctors of the Law, that Law. if any man should attempt to forge any such now, he would sooner shew his own irrationality and inhumanity, then any contradiction or difagreement in the Law. And for to represent more evidently to all men, the great care and pains this good Prince took to re-establish the luster that is due to the divine knowledge of the Laws; I will here make an abridgement of the method which he obscreed to make up a body of the Law, such a one as that is which he hath left to posterity. Before he entred too far upon the brables and controversies, as the fashion was in former times , which have been plentifully handled, he published the old and ancient book of the Law, wherein were The ancient many ordinances and conflitutions, taken from the Law books of Threodoftus, Gregorius and Her-Law-book. mogenes; so that the said book served in a manner for Imperial constitutions. And because they could not be rule to the parties upon the differences, particulars, controversies and debates than happened every day: this good Emperor, who had a defire to prevent all fraud, appointed Pribanianus, Parothem and Theophilm, three persons of rare knowledge, to take all the books of the ancient Lawyers, and to collect from them, whatfoever they thought to be neceffary and expedient, as well for the ornament of fuch a Science, as for the abreviating of fo many fuits, and of the loathfome prolixities which were caused by the multimde of replies by fo many Lawyers. In this work, these three Persons carried themselves with so much dexterity of understanding, who as that although they left some points of the Law more obscurely then they needed; yet they have deserved an everlafting commendation, having left no one contradiction in the Law, which they have not pulled out by the roots. This collection of confulrations and answers of Lawyers, was called by the name of Pandelts, or Digests. The order of these books is disposed with so much understand. The Digests of ng, as that of fifty books wherein they are divided, there is not one but hath its particular order, Pandeds. diffinguished according to the particulars which are most methodically set down at the beginning of the work. The third book is attributed to Justinian himself, who found such a relish in it, as that he ordered the faid book should be placed at the entrance and beginning of the study of the Law. He that would discourse at large of the admirable singularity which is in the said books, he would make the life of this Emperor swell too great, who divided this abrigdement of Law into five books, wherein he hath so familiarly represented that which ought to be held, as concerning the effential and fundamental parts of the Law, as that there is no man fo foolifh and fortifh, who having read, feen, or taken notice of these institutes, as can be ignorant, what one ought to judge both of persons, things, and Actions, which are the three objects of the Law. But foral much as the diffurbances of the Wars flitutions. had fmucht the clearness of the first book, which was garnished in all parts, as Justinian had intended it, he therefore took that away, and in the place of it made a new Volume to be compiled and compleated, contained in twelve Books; he abrogated the conflitutions of former Emperors, and the opinions of other Lawyers, which, as it were, he framed anew, and quite altered the Method of it from

(ESAR FLAVIUS FUSTINIAN,US. the former Digefts were ⁹nftinians penning, giving us thereby a quite new Pourtraicture of the Law: wherein he doth to particularly speak of the D.vine Law, that I wonder at the impudence of those who durft charge this Emperor with infidelity. Certainly such persons either never perused his works, or durit charge this emperor with influence. See the distribution of him, as that they would not reap any fweetness from elfe they were fo prepotlest with an ill opinion of him, as that they would not reap any fweetness from ene they were to preponent with an in opinion of many as installed and rounded upon reason, fo flagrant a work, but would needs centure his judgement which was felled and founded upon reason, to magrain a worth, our would inconstruct an appropriate the Method which he observed in all his books, had not the wri-Something I would have added as to the Method which he observed in all his books, had not the wri-Someting a would have added as to the inclined wind the contented in all this books, that not the writings, observations, commentaries, and infertions of Azan, Alciat, Cuiaa, and other excellent Dotings, outervations, communities, and antication of the Law, fufficiently enlarged on the calinels, composition, and elegancy of them. And should ctors of the Law, sumcernity changes on the canners, componition, and regardly or them. And mould let Juffinians book of New matter pass unmentioned, I should not onely wrong this Emperor, 1 iet Justinians 2008 of Aces maiter pais unmantioned, a mount into one; who is une citied Authentick, for the but also disgrace and dismember his book of the Law. They are by some called Authentick, for the but ano differed and different in book of the Law, and such are therein propounded; and force and Vertue which they attributed into those constitutions which are therein propounded; and torce and vertue which they authoriced unto those continuous which are therein propouncing; and as it was the last, so must it needs have born more weight and authority then the former; some repianing at the honour of Institution, did alledge, that whatsoever men attributed unto him, either in relationship. ning at the honour of Infirman, and ancust, the wind government, apperiated to Mondanus Narfetes, tion to his warlick Archievements, or to his civil government, apperiated to Mondanus Narfetes, tion to ms warner Artineveniens, of to instrum government, appearance to artinums in agrees, and Belifarius, as allo to Tribonianus, Paratheus and Theophilus, in so much that should we acand Belifarius, as allo to Tribonianus, Paratheus and Theophilus, in so much that should we acand and Bessfarius, 25 and to 1 recommends, a manage and 1 recommends, and 1 recommends and 1 r quiete to their anegations we might even make *Institution* to the labours of other men. This answer might feem to filence them; that we do account those things the iaoours of other men. All samwer might remove mence men; that we do account those things done by our felves, which other men do by our warrant: and though a General be not always in the

A desire sor Kings and their Counfel.

none by our reives, which other fixed to by our warrant, and thought a General Denocativatys in the midft of the fight, yet the good or bad fuccets of the battle depends upon him; and I will make it midit of the fight, yet the good of pad increase in the patter depends upon that; and I will make it appear by unquestionable restimonies, that sufficients was neither a negligent nor ignorant person, as appear by unquestionable restimonies, that sufficients was neither a negligent nor ignorant person, as appear by unquestionable restimonies, that sufficients was neither a negligent nor ignorant person. Surdas unadviredly and impounding writes or main; so prove whitesof A main onely product marrare and excellent book, which this Emperor made concerning the Incarnation of our Saviour, however I and execution 2004, within the praifes which Tribonianus and the rest of his assistants deserve, for their endeawourd not ununtil the prairie prairie and the Law: fo likewife must I needs confels, that Justinian was at one time ill yours in the munitraling of the Law: to income much a needs content, that Jujisman was at one time ill informed concerning the truth of the Goffel: and that by two different relaptes, he most miterably did informed concerning the truth of the Goffel: mornised concerning the train of the errors of Enrichus; and finally that he was not a little diffracted and discomprostitute himself to the errors of Enrichus; protitute unment to the cities of his days. But that we should therefore bereave him of the honour poted in his minu towards the characteristic but makes. But that we alround increase then of the nonour and glory which he gained in his well exerciting his Imperial Government, would be but a meer abufing of our felves. And had he done nothing but enriched the Codex and the Nym matter, with confing of our felves. fing of our telves. And had ne done nothing but threaten the coaex and the 24 w matter, with conflictions and ordinances touching godlines, and facred things, he might at leaft have deferved fome excite for his not being fufficiently fetled, and affured of those things which men ought to hold for the cute for his not being humanitary reticut, and admited by more things which then ought to hold for the truth of the Christian Faith. He speaks of the Trimity, the Catholick Faith, B. prifm, Churches, and trum of the Christian rain. See speaks of the arrows, see the and the speaketh very Christianly of the Catholick Faith. And if there be a farther necessity to affemble the divers fayings and writings or the Camonick Faith. And it there be a farther necessity to anemiote the givers tayings and writings of this Emperor, we shall find, that he doth attribute as great an authority unto the four Councils, which were held at \(\tilde{V}_{ie}, \) Constantinople, \(\tilde{E}_{phe}(ns) \) and \(\tilde{Chalcedon}_{halcedon}, \) as any Christian Prince could. There is none can say, but that he was much against Hereticks. The ordinances which he caused to be published on this occasion will confirm it. And particularly his decree whereby he ordained that Se-Porriss and his adherents (hould be degraded and excommunicated; nor doth my discourse tend to justifie fulfining in all things, by reason of the defection which he made from Christianity to Entichia по тиритар in an unings, by reason of the accessor which in mage from Complement to Emissions in fine. But to let men understand, that those generous exploits which Justinian did, aswell in subdunijme. Due to its men minestrame, that there generally appears where I minimum and a metal in money ing the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in causing the body of the Law to be compiled in fo meloding the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in causing the body of the Law to be compiled in fo meloding the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in causing the body of the Law to be compiled in fo meloding the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in causing the body of the Law to be compiled in formation and the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in causing the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in causing the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in causing the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in causing the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in causing the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in Causing the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in Causing the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in Causing the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in Causing the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in Causing the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in Causing the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in Causing the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in Causing the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in Causing the Enemies of the People of Rome, as in Causing the Enemies of mg me encurred of the recognition from the bearing of the bear counted of as mean things; or ous an harmony as he did, ought not to be wrefted from him, nor to be accounted of as mean things; or ous an narmony as accumpand in the contract of the Christian Faith, and will give a more affired testimony of at least the Piety wherewith he embraced the Christian Faith, and will give a more affired testimony of at trait the Piery white countries character in Corporate with great more annex extinuous of it, and might well excuse and leffen the failings and flips, which he afterwards through frailty committed.

The end of Cafar Flavius Justinianus Life.

THE LIFE OF

ARISTOTLE the Stagiritian Philosopher.



Ann. Mund 3600.

Ant. Christ.



Any famous and excellent persons have mainly bussed themselves to find out, whether the Estimation and Repute which men had of Aristotle, was because of his Magnanimous and Heroick Proweffes, or rather for the ineftimable Excellence and Rarity of the Knowledge wherewith he was endued. I will not lofe any time to relate in particular, what he may have done as to Feats of Arms, though I account that the higheft, and most admirable Victories obtained by Alexander, did chiefly proceed from the Counfel and grave advice which he received from Aristotle; fince the account I am now upon, requires not that one

should make the hideous flashes of Alarms and warlike furies to found here: and also seeing the Writings which he left to Posterity (though they be as it were but dumb Heralds) do cause the Praise and The praise of Renown of this incomparable Philosopher, sufficiently to thine through the whole World. Such as Arifforte regaze at the vain glory and vanities of this world, and efteem nothing but that which makes a great noife, hearfed by will admire that I proffer our Stagirites Books and Writings to fpeak his praife, being they are dumb Heralds, Orators, which cannot make any noise at all, nor have they any Original or articulate found. But if they will please to have so much patience as to consider with me, that a Lute or Timbrel, or any other Instrument of Musick, should it remain five hundred thousand years in its case, of it self would not make us enjoy its melodious harmony, nor delight our ears, unless the skilfull hand of fome well experienced and able Musician touch it, and causeth it to sound by striking its strings, whereby it will (as it were) speak and be pleasing to our hearing, and add to our content beyond expression. So they must needs grant (unless they be of very shallow capacities) that I do not wander from the bounds of reason, when I go about to make the worth and efteem of this our Aristotle to resound, not upon a Lute, but by those Books which he published. The inequality of which comparison lieth only in this, that though an Inftrument of Mulick in it felf be excellent in all respects, yet if it chance to light into the hands of a mean Fidler, it would not content us so well as being plaid on by an Orpheus, or some other rare Musician. So that the melody we enjoy, is not so much tied to the Instrument, as to him that playeth on it. In like manner, the excellence and commendation of Aristotle, is chiefly annexed to the Worth and Learning which is contained in his Writings, and not in regard of the little, which I am able to specific concerning them. If any man defire more accutely to proceed upon this Comparison, he thall farther find, that one might in a manner maintain some equality therein. Let him onely suppose the Books to be instead of Instruments, and that Aristorle is the Musician that plays upon them. Since therefore we must evidence this Persons Excellence by his Books which he left to Posterity:

THE

Ariftotles

Rhetorick to Theo.foret.

Poetry.

Ariftotte furpatied all the other Philoso-

fo likewife will I here give you a Catalogue of the Books which he wrote, that every one may understand there was no Science, whereof he hath not onely given us a taste, but hath proved him-Arifolieambe felf to have excelled in them all. Whereunto possibly he was moved by an ambitious defire of vain glory, feeing he was supported by so powerfull and dreadfull a Monarch as Alexander the Great was. Nor can he be innocent of this imputation, though many Peripateticks make a noise purposely to palliate and smother such a kind of deformity, which for the most part is a blemish incident to all fuch noble Spirits. Otherwise we must deny Aristotle and other Peripateticke, those Books which are called Acromaticks, Epopricks, or Speculations, which a man must have heard from Aristotle's own mouth to have understood them; fince it is well known that they were penned in fuch a manner, and for fuch an end, as that the common People should understand nothing by them. Which is very plain and evident by the Letter which Alexander wrote unto him, being passed into Asia, and hearing that Aristotle had published some Books, he did chide him. But, if to preferve Arifforle's Honour any one shall reply, that it is not reasonable all things should be communicated so as to be easily understood, because of the contempt they would quickly fall under, nor is it possible they should be so published. Moreover I shall recite the trick he put upon his Scholar Theodoret, whom he had defired to put forthhis Books of Rhetorick, which Theodores accordingly did; and they were so well approved of by Alexander, as that Aristosle grew envious that Theodores should have the Name to have been the Author of such a Work; wherefore he could not contain, but fought a revenge, complaining that his Scholar had done him wrong, by publishing the faid Books, and not fetting his Mafters Name to them. Upon this account it may be, feveral Books attribu- Books were ascribed to him which he never wrote; and which he had willingly acknowledged, had he ted to Ariffold perceived that there had been formething in them, which might have quenched the thirft of his ambition. The Catalogue of them I would have here registred, did I not tear to make this Philosophers Life fwell with fuch Works which he himfelf would not own; befides that we want not other Birds feathers to fer forth his Praifes. Nor need we to borrow the renown of Socrates or Plato, who doubt-Arifforte: Ma- lefs did excell in admirable Knowledge; but chiefly Plato, whose Scholar Arifforte was for about liter. Though in many things he forlook their opinions, and furpassed them in all know-Ariffolies book ledge. As to Poetry, he left fuch clear and copious infructions, that there is no man, but upon just occasion, will grant that he was excellently skilled in it. Some I know do think that this piece was no part of his workmanship, by reason of its familiar stile, and for some other particulars, all which cannot hinder us from believing that Ariffotle was the true Author of it, because it is inferred in the number of those books which our Philosopher made: to be published to the generality, and to be understood without a Teacher, for which cause, he called them vulgar and popu-Ariffults Phi lar. The reft of Ariffote's Books must be referr du his Philosophy, which he divided into wars, locophy.

namely, speculative and practical, which is the most beneficial and reasonablest division that can poslibly be made. Because it is grounded, as well upon the end of Philosophy, which is to make us conformable unto Godby contemplation and aftion, as also concerning the double faculty of our fouls, which is not onely intention for knowledge, but also to defire and long after. And according to this divition, that which remains of Arifforle's books, are fo fitted to the feveral parts of Philo-Jophy, that at this day, without travelling to Athens, though it be a vast time since this Peripaterick Princes death, we may communicate with him at Lyxum, as to all those things which are requisite in Philosophy; and to that part of contemplative Philosophy, he hath left us those beautiful and divine books of his Metaphylicks; in which he hath fo dexteroully plaid the Philosopher by a kind of a Traditional Method (although so hard occult or abstructe) as that the ablest Scholastick Divines of our age, have been sufficiently troubled, to comprehend the method of them. Nor am I Ariflattes Or- of their opinion, who alledge, that the Tracts which he hath framed in his Logical Organ, ought to be gan of Logick referred to the faid contemplative part. For though I would not reject their opinion, who held that the true subject of Logick, was that which many call, ens rationis, yet I believe that Ariffolle never intended that work, fave as a guide to a greater knowledge of the parts of Philosophy, whereunto the most excellent men of our days had respect, when they called it the hand and instrument of Philosophy, and under the banner of this contemplative Philosophy, we must also ranke natural Philo-Jophy, wherein Arifforle was so superlative, as that, whether we compare and march him with other nien, or whether we consider by what Art and Industry ; he hath proportioned that which he hath left to us thereon, we cannot possibly content our selves with the admiration of the rare knowledge of this personage. And, first of all, doubtless he surpassed all the excellent Mauralists that ever were before him, insomuch, that from the time of Thaler, Milefias (who men say were the first Physicians) of Anaximander, and Anaximenes, who a little after the Flood, awakened the Greeian spirits to feek out the caufe of natural things: from that very time, I fay, men could but very obscurely discover any of the causes, except the material cause; so that the former, the efficient, and final caufer were alrogether unknown. As for the Pythagorians, they indeed augmented Philosophy, not a kitle, but yet that which they wrote, was so fluffed with riddles and ambiguities, figured under their Numbers, as that it was impossible to extract any knowledge at all from thence. Plato also and Anaxagorus, who lived afterwards in the fourth age of the Philosophers, did very much clear the Pythagorians mifts, and observed something concerning the four causes of natural things, but that was so imperfectly done, that had not Arifforle last of all set his hand to the work, that part of Philosophy would at present have been loft, as to the knowledge of the causes, the beginnings, and accidents of things in Nature. And herein he surpassed Plato; for speaking of the principles and be-

Author of that part of Philosophy, for it was Thales, Milesim, as Lacreius, and Justin Martyr, first naturalist, have rightly observed; but because he purged it from many errors and riddles, whereby it was wholly disfigured. And because he more clearly discovered the admirable secrets of nature, with so much order and diffinction, as that he feems to have been backward in nothing which the wit of man could order and diffinction, as that he feems to have been backward in nothing which the wint of man could diffover, either for the general declarations of the beginning, caufes, and proprieties of natural the books of the beginning of the declaration of the beginning of the beginnin the books of things, or also for the particular search which he made, as well of the nature, quality and affections Arisbotic Phyof the Elements, and their fecondary causes, in relation to that which concerns and appertains unto the ficks. composure of mans body, so that whether a man would speak universally of the beginnings and common proprieties of natural things, as well inwardly as outwardly; or whether he would particularly discourse the natural and accidental composure, quality, and disposition of every simple, compound or mixt body, he shall find enough wherewithall to content himself in those books which were pun-Aually penned by this Philosopher, and by him dedicated to natural Philosophy. In which, though we meet with fome difficulty, by reason of the prosound sublimity which he useth; yet there is sufficient to fatisfie our curiofity and meditations. Seeing he had so well examined the Wature, Properties, and Differences of the Elements, as also of the Bodies which live in them, that it doth feem impossible a man should covet to know more then what he hath written. He was so fixed upon Nature, that he could Aristotles ernot penetrate any farther, but stopped there. Whence proceeded that gross and absurd opinion which he rors concernheld of the worlds eternity, and of the Souls mortality; which error cannot be attributed to any thing in ing the creatiheld of the mortal eternity, and of the Johns mortality; which this cannot be authorized to any thing it is him, fave a too great defire to bound all his imaginations by the frailty of natural fense, or rather world and imto an over great presumption in him, to prefer Nature before mans Reason: and that which makes mentality of me believe so, is, because that Clearchus, Aristotle's Scholar writes, he knew a Jew, who was not the soul. only very eloquent, but had also a very good judgement, with whom because he oftentimes kept company, it was very probable Aristotle might have learned fomething of him concerning the immortality of the Soul, and the creation of the world. But that by reason of his great wilfullness and obstinacy, he would not forgo his own natural conceptions, though Plato, Pythagoras, and other Philofophers, would rather chuse to renownce their old opinions, to furnish themselves with such new ones as they found in the books of Mofes and the other Prophets, then to proceed in their obstinacy. and always remain at a lofs in the dark rolls of nature; at which flumbling, fome have taken occalion to question Aristotle on the other points of his Philosophy, endeavouring to eternize their own Rashness of names, just as he did who to make the world speak of his actions, set fire on the Temple of Diana at of Arifforte. Ephefus. But such writers thinking to immortalize their names, by censuring so rare and excellent a person, have indeed given men subject to speak of them, in the Assemblies of the learned and wife Philosophers, but it is in the same sence as Pilate was spoken of concerning our Lord Jesus Christ sufferings. This may fuffice as to the first part of his Philosophy, wherein he hath shewed himself to have been of a profound and excelling understanding, he hash not at all degenerated from it in his practicall Philosophy, in which as it feems, he was better verst then in his contemplative part, in regard of his relations to Alexander, whom he was not onely to entertain with contemplative Philosophy, but also to instruct in those qualities and knowledges which were requisite to govern and to administer a Kingdom by. Nor can there be any better rules prescribed then those which he provided on that subject. Into which should a man penetrate, and dive into those secrets, which he discovered whereby to frame our lives to a defired happiness; or would a man but fix upon those means which he ordained whereby to fettle a well governed Commonwealth, he would reap a great deal of content. For as he acknowledged, that a family confifted in many persons, and a City in many families, so he disputed at Aristotles Mofirst. not less learnedly, then acutely in his books of Morals concerning that which we ought to do, the rals Occonobetter to conform our selves unto vertue. After which, in his Oeconomicks he hath prescribed the duty micks and Pobetween a man and his wife, children to their Parents, and fervants their Mafters. Finally, he treated liticks. at large of the concernments of a Commonwealth in his books of Politicks, whence both Princes, Lords, and subjects may learn those things which are entirely necessary and requisite for the continuance and prefervation of a Commonwealth, all which hath not been well pondered by fuch, who nicely Reformers of

go about to tax Aristotle, asthough he had not maturely discussed those things which were expedient

as they have forged against this great Philosopher, deeming that in case they were the first reprovers

of Aristotle, they might thereby gain the greatest reputation, could they but make men believe that

they had dashed their empty pates against Aristotles Rock. I pretend not to inveigh against any man,

but I am ashamed of such, who attributing to themselves great matters, cannot contain themselves

within the bounds of their capacity, whereby they would gain far more, then by making themselves

ridiculous to all the world. But to leave this digreffion, Arifforle hath crowned our expectations as

to Philosophy, and hath thereby gained fo great a repute, as deservedly by the consent of all the Phi-

losophers, he hath acquired the name, title, and quality, of the Prime and chief of the Philosophers ;

which Philip of Macidon knew full well, otherwise it is to be prefumed he would never have given him

companied with wildom. Aristotle behaved himself so well with Alexander his Scholar, as that in

ginnings of natural things, he distinguished Privation from the matter, which Plato was never able to discover. And upon this occasion he was called the first and principal naturalist. Not that he was the Aristotle the

in political administration, and have endeavoured to enrich their great Volumes with such invectives liticks.

the charge of his Son Alexander the Great; had he not accounted him to be like unto an Ocean of Sei-Malter to A. ences, where his Son might extract what loever was fit to adorn and illustrate his Majesty, who was lexanter the to command others. Such a one Plato onely thought worthy of fuch a degree, when he should be ac- Great.

favour of his Mafter, he caused Stagira to be rebuilded (a City of Macedonia near mount Athos,

ARISTOTLE.

which some call Libanera) where he was born, which before had been ruined, and depopulated by Stegiria a Ci- the Macedonians, in it he replaced such of the inhabitants as were found fied thence, or such as ty where dri- were reduced to flavery, unto which he appointed their habitations to fojourn in, and a place for their repunded and repeopled for is called also Strymonium) where at this present you may see very fair seaso of stones, which Aristote caused to be made, and covered Allies with Trees to walk in the state. thitewas born, fludies. Moreover he let them have a pleasant place near to Mieza (a City of Macedonia, which barely recommend the acknowledgement which Alexander teftified to his Mafter, but also the reftiution which he made for his Countrey by his great learning. Which faid reflauration in favour of Ariflotte I intended to have only touched upon, had not fome perfons impeded our proceeding with two Allegations which may well be reduced to one head. The first is, they celebrate the praise of Arifinite, who being forum a barbarous place in Thracia, became admirable in numberless eminent qualities. To the manner of which Allegation I shall not refuse to assent; For 1 shall ever grant that there were greater perfections in this Philosopher, then they can prove. But as to the fecond Allegation, I shall never yield, being better instructed of that matter then they can be, for they speak only upon the report of others, but I can alledge it for a truth, having feen it with mine own eyes; however I will forbear to charge them with unadvited rashness, for they are not the first who mistake a white for black. There are excellent Geographers, who discoursing of the platform of the world, could not avoid committing of an Error as well as by their confounding of Thracia, not only with Macedonia, Macedonia and but with Greece also ; and if either of them had diffinelly confidered the bounds, limits, and places not in Thruit. belonging unto Countries, doubtless they had not run into the present inconvenience. There are diverfity of Mountains between Macedonia and Thracia, which do place Libanera, fo clearly on the Macedonian fide, as that doubtless the Author of the Mu-fters new moulded Cosmography, would not take the pains to look into the Map; for with the very first glance of his eye, he would have found, that new Stagira must needs be seated upon the same height with Macedonia, which Philip in dildain of the Olymbians had wholly ruined, afterwards he cauled it to be rebuilded, for the honour of Aristotle whom Alexander cherished, and to highly esteemed even equally with his Father Philip, as - himself said, Because from the one he had received his being, from the other his well being. But as the

Aristotles

affections of great men are of very short durance, so he began to fall in disgrace with his Master, after he had lived with him twenty years in great repute. The cause whereof is somewhat uncertain, yet I find that he withdrew himfelf from Athens after he had flourished there a very long time, because Aiffulls vo fome went about to accuse him of having disesteemed the Gods. And searing to be put to death, Anjustis vo-luntary banifia- as Socrates did, so he rather chose to absent himself, and would not purge himself of the faults which were laid to his charge; he took his way to Chalus, the principal City of the Illand of Euboen scituated by the River Euripm (the cause why some men have called it Euripm, at present called Negrepant) where he ceafed not to read Philosophy, but it feems his voluntary banishment augmented his enemies malice. And fome report for certain that he did cash himself headlong into the River Euripus running between the Island of Beatis and the Artick Island, which the Italians now a days, call Streeho di Negroponte; and the reason wheresore its conceived he did cast himself into this River, was a grief which he took, because he could not discover the reasons of the said Rivers flowing and ebbing feven times a day. However in my Cosmography I have noted two other opinions concerning his death, which are very different from this. Be it as it will, all are agreed, that he died at the Age of threefcore and thirteen years, in the Illand of Eubenm, where the Country people shewed Arithater bu- me the place of his burial between two Rocks. Near which place the Turks have a Church yard, which they call Mapperelyt-hyer, that is, where the dead are buried, where I faw many Turks upon their knees, praying upon the Graves of their Fathers and Mothers, holding their hands to heaven, faying with a loud voice, Alla, Alla, rameth toula, that is to fay, O God Almighty, have pity of their fouls. I recovered the Pourtraicture of Arifforle by the means of my good Lord Captain Paulin, in the year one thousand five hundred fourty four. He was afterwards called Barron de la Gaurde, and was alterwards fent Ambassador to Constantinople for his Majefty, unto whom Borborossa Basha of the Grand Stignior, gave a prefent of certain Medals of Gold, Silver, and Brass, representing the Figures of Philip King of Macedon, of Alexander his Son, of Plate and of Ariffeile, which were brought unto him by Turkish and Greek Merchants, who faid they had recovered and bought them of certain Countrey people which lived not far from a Stone Bridge which was very ancient, and was faln down by the overflowing and undermining of Hebrus, a River between Philipopolis and Adrianopolis, which takes its source from the Mountain Rhadopus, and becomes an arm of the Sea, called the bosome of Melas, right over against the Island of Samothracia, in one of the Arches of which Bridge, when it was first met withall, there was found (between two wonderfull great stones, being at least five foot in Diameter) about a load of the faid Medals, the greatest utwhereof were by Merchants carried to Sultan Solyman, and to his four Basha's, who presen them to several great Lords and Ambaffadors which were Christians. I was the willinger to make this small digression to give content unto feveral ignorant people, who wonder how those Medals should be recovered, which may feem to have been extinguished by Antiquity. And because the excellency of this Philosopher hath been elegantly deferibed by a famous Poet of this Age, I thought good to fet down the Verses in this place, which he made on this subject, as followeth:

Stay Traveller, yet stay not bere, For to go father, doft not fear?

'T is the worlds end, half thou not beard Aristotlelies bere inter'de Not whole, nor balf, nor the least part, Of so great wonderment of Art. Call him interpreter o'th' Pole, Natures corrival, and large scrole, What more I might, or cannot fay, Conceive, which I think no man may, But he, compares him to Gods mind, Whole all to each in every kind. Mongst Gods, he was a man mortal, 'Mongst men, like God that can do all.

And were there but thele few verses to express the praise of Aristotle, yet it would be elegantly enough fer forth; for almuch as by them he hath covertly represented unto us the excellency of spirit which he perceived in Aristotle's Works, who will not have him to have treated onely of natural and earthly, but also of heavenly causes. And to speak truth, there is no part in any Region of the Air but he hath examined it accurately in his books of Meteorology. And as to the description of the Heavens, one would suppose he had been transported thither, he speaks so resolutely of them. Nor must I here linger to note, that besides our Aristotle, there were seven other learned men, that bore the same name : Seven learned ger to note, mat being our Aripotic, there were leven other learned their, that out the lattle name is men bearing the first whereof had charge of the Administration of the Commonwealth of the Athenians, who made the Name of the Name very brave and elegant Orations. The fecond was he that wrote on Homers Iliads. The third was an Arifforde. Orator of Sicilie, a very able man, much reputed in his time. The fourth was a great friend of Ischines the Socratick, called Minthius. The fifth was a Cyrenian, a great and famous Poet. The fixth is he, of whom Ariftoxenes makes mention in the Life of Plato. The feventh was a poor and filly Grammarian. These wrote in divers Ages, and the greatest part of their books came not to the hands of the Latins, but as yet remain in the Grecian Libraries.

The end of Aristotles Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF HOMER the Grecian Poet.



Ann. Mund.

Ant . Chrift.



Liny, in the fecond Book of his Natural Hiftory, in the ninth Chapter, doth complain, that we do not fufficiently commemorate the vertues of those excellent Personages, who by their Learning and rare Inventions have enriched and beautified the life of man, expressing himself in this manner, Assuredly we bear but a stender affection and good will unto those who by their labour and industry have laid open and manifested unto us that admirable resplendency which was manifested by Homer. And I might justly be thought to be of the number of those who are here taxed, Should I not have endeavoured to render unto Homer the honour which is due unto him, as being the Prince of Poets. Let us therefore not onely observe the fea-

tures and lineaments of his vifage, but also consider most exactly the disposition of his Divine Spirit, And that which may augment our curiofity herein, may be the reflecting on this eminent perforages height of courage and as Dion [hrifo]ton very well observes, his harred of vain glory; by his concealing not onely his parentage and despiting the place of his Nativity, but also his own name, whereas other Authors, aswell in the Frontispiece, as throughout their whole works, affect to praise and fer forth Homers praise their own persons and qualities. And however Homer concealed the same, yet I will touch upon his parentage, onely percuriorily, for that I intended chiefly to infift upon his excellent parts. Ephanus the Cumaan Historian doth assure us, that he was the son of a young maiden called Crisheids or Critheis, begotten by a young man called Maonus, who being her Guardian, had got her with child, and pur her off in marriage to Phemio a Gramarian of Smyrna, and a little after his Mother going unto the Bathes near unto the River Meletus, the was there brought to bed, and therefore called her childs name Melefigenes; who being in his youth brought up in learning, became fo great and excellent a Poet, that all the world admired him, by reason whereof he was fent for unto feveral famous Cities, where he was allowed a handlom subfiftence to have the overlight of their Schools, having no great means of his own to live by. Now whereas he was overmuch given to his studies and reading, and that he spent whole days and nights therein, thereby it chanced that he was taken with a rhume, which falling upon his eyes did blind him; and for this cause his name was changed, for instead of Melefigenes, he was called Homer, which in the Cumenean language, doth fignifie, a deprivation of fight, or a blindneft. Which accident however did not depar him from the composing that most excellent and exquifite piece of Poetry, which at prefent is extant among us, divided into two parts, viz. his Iliads and his Odysfor; by the one he related the Trojan Wars: and by the other (under the name of Ulystes) he describes unto us a prudent, sage, and well advised Captain, as the verses of a

and parentage.

Homer becomes blind. and thence hi

Greek Epigram, speaking of his Poems, do express.' But least some might doubt, or call in question how there could be fo great a perfection in Homer, and how he should be able to compose such rare books being blind? I shall answer, that though the fight be mans guide, yet several blind men have been very learned, Nature having supplied the defect of their sight, with a superahundance of Several blind knowledge and wit. And to remove this feruple which those feem to harbor who do oppose them-Telves to the effects of Nature; I shall here insert several examples of blind men, who were very famous. As the great Orator Appius Claudius, who was fo highly effected by Cicero and by Titus Appius Clau-Livius; that although he was blind, yet he was chosen Censor at Rome, in which dignity he comported and maintained himself in such an esteem, as his sole Authority hindred the ratification of the Cenfor. Peace which the Roman Senate had concluded with King Pyrrhus, and Diodorus the Stoick Philofopher, who although he was blind, yet he studied in the night time, and played in the day upon the Viol (after the Pythagorian manner) and which is more, he publickly did teach Geometry which is almost a thing incredible, being a Science which can only be practised by the eye. Cajus Auphidius a great friend and a companion of Cicero's having in his youth been made Pretor at Rome, being blind, ceased not to assist and give his advice in the Senate; moreover he made a notable Chronicle in writing, which was much efteemed. Antipater the Cyrenean, and Asclepiedus the Critick, were both Antipater and blind : however they continued their ftudies in Philosophy, and became very learned. Didimu Afclepiedus the Alexandrian, who being deprived of his fight in his very youth, became an excellent Dialecti- Philotophers cian. had fludied all the humane disciplines, and made a rare Commentary upon the Pfalms. Demo-Diditions the critus his Act putting out his own eyes to the end that he might be the freer in his contempla- Alexandrian sions, which aftonished all men and made him be derided; was (as Tertullian a credible blind. Author faith) to refrain the disordinate appetites of the Hesh, caused by his lascivious and wanton looks. Moreover Cifcas the Bohemian is worthy to be noted, who being blind was chosen the Cifcas the Bo-Chieftain of his party, and fo well performed his duty as that he obtained several victories over his hemian Geneenemies. Also Belas the second King of Hungary, whose eyes were put out by his Uncle Coloman Belas King of (who usurped the Crown) being retired into Greece, he did so well behave himself there, as that atter Colomans death King Stephen, Colomans Son, fent for him home, and gave him the Earl of Socines daughter to wife, and after the faid Stephens death, he was chosen King of Hungary, notwithstand-ing his being blind, and reigned nine years, during which time he waged several Wars, and chiefly against Brocus, Colomans Bastard, whom he defeated, and left the Kingdom of Hungary peaceably to his children. Finally John King of Bohemia (who reigned much about the year 1350, was to coura- John King gious, although he was blind, as to come in person to the aid of Philip the King of France his Bahenis blind. Kinsman, against whom Edward King of England waged wars, and did engage in the battle, where he was flain, together with the Earl of Flanders, and several other French Princes. But to return to Homer, whose Poetry was so much esteemed, as that not onely the Greeks did greatly admire it, Homers Poetry but also the Barbarians, as also the Indians, who did cause them to be translated into their languages, samous. and recited them as familiarly and frequently as their own. Alexander the Great most highly accounted of them, faying, that there was no Poet deserved to be read by a King but Homer; he carried his Alexanders Poems with him into the Wars, and was never at reft untill they lay under his illow, defiring not high efteem of to be deprived of Homers Mule neither by day nor by night. Moreover a little rich Coffer having poems. been found amongst Darius his houshold-stuff, and presented to Alexander admiring the beauty and excellency of the workmanship of it, he asked, What might be worthy to be inclosed in it? And seweral answers being returned, he answered, That for his part he thought nothing worthy to be con-tained therein but Homers Iliads. And the faid Alexander, beholding the place where Achilles was buried, cryed out, O most happy youth! that had so famous a Herald to blaze thy praises, for doubtles had it not been for him, the same Tomb which covers thy body, had also interred thy Memory. Moreover I have been told by some very wise Grecians who lived at Constantinople, that in their vulgar Greek Histories they find that Mahomet the second of that name, after the taking the City Constantinople, being requested by Scolarius, a Greek Monk of that Partriarchy, who was the Monarchs familiar friend, to preferve several ancient famous books which were in the Library of his faid Patriarchy, from the fury and pillage of his fouldiers, who were enraged against the Christians by reason of the great flaughter which they had made of the faid Infidels. The Grand Seignior demanded whether Milhometic care Homers works were amongst those books, which he would have preserved, and being answered that of Homers feveral of Homers works which were never come to the knowledge of the Latins, had been there kept works. fince Constantine the greats time : Mahomet out of a curiofity to fo great an antiquity, commanded his officers to take a strict charge of them, and to have as great a care of them as of his own person, a commendable action in fuch a Prince. And truly the most sublime knowledge of this our Poet Homer The best learnwas fuch, as that I may well fay (as Strabonius the famous Historiographer did before me) That all the ing extracted best learning whatsoever hath for the most part been extracted out of his works. For there was not out of Homers any wife man whatfoever, whether he were a Phyfician, Politician, Mathematician, a Divine, or a Law-works. yer, who hath not grazed and fed upon Homers Cates. Some of them having all their life times received their nourishment and entertainment with him and from him, and others by making use of his writings, having enriched themselves by his works and labors. The Orators by sucking eloquence from him in their declamations. The Grammarians who cannot subsist without him. The Poets who never give over studying and imitating of him. The Geographers do admire the perfect knowledge which he had in Kingdoms and Provinces. And finally from the least Artist to the most sublimest strain of

wit, each of them might be to feek, and to learn by his Poems. But that I may not too long dwell

The feveral Ciries of Grecce contest about Honers

cerning Homers Homers Age

Homer being him we treat The third Ho-

The fourth Homer.

ter his death.

The fifth Homer. The fixth Ho-

The feventh Homer. Seven feveral

upon the rare qualities and ornaments wherewith this exquisite Poet was endowed, and the profoundnels of his doctrine and writings: I shall add that he was not only praised, esteemed, and valued in all Greece, but that although the place of his birth be almost unknown, every City in Greece doth appropriate it unto themselves, covering to make him their Citizen, as it appears by some Greek Verses which mention the fame, viz.

That seven famous Cities, as Smyrna, Rhodes, Colophon, Ithacus, Pylos, Argos and Athens, did contest for his birth. Nor must we believe that which some have written concerning his death, viz. That having demanded of certain Fishermen what they had taken, they should have answered thus, The falle sup- Those which we have taken, we have let go; and those which we have not taken, we carry about us. Which, by reason he could not understand, and being troubled that he should be over-reached by such illiterated people; It is faid he died for grief, but I account it a Fable. The truth is, that having attained to the Age of one hundred and eight years, being overwhelmed with maladies, having lain in a and death, as languishing condition for feveral days together, He died and was buried in the Isle of Chios, as the inhabitants of the same Island have affured me, who shewed me his Tomb hard by the Castle of Valizo, in the ruines of the Castle of Saint Elia, upon which Tomb a long while after some Greek Verses, bearing this inscription, were engraven, viz. In this place the earth doth cover the body of that Divine Homer, who wrote the Lives of the Hero's, or Demy-gods. And being in the Isle of Samos. I was there shown a Sepulchre towards the North, which was a very ancient one, two poles in length and in breadth, being funk very low into the earth and newly discovered, the foundation whereof was Marble, whereupon was written and engraven in old vulgar Greek characters, which were fo wore out that those which were upon the place could hardly know what to make of it, the interpretation of which words, was, Under this Sepulchre of Marble doth lie the body of the great Homer. And as there were Several opini- feveral opinions concerning the place of Homers birth; fo there were as many concerning the times ons concerning wherein he lived, and the reason is because there were several Homers, who lived in several years, which hath caused these doubts. For the first Homer was born at Smyrna, being a powerfull man, a great mer where and Lord, and his Kings Lieutenant or Deputy, who lived about the time of Troys being taken. The fecond Homer was fourfeore years afterwards, born at Chios, being a great Philosopher, verst in the secrets of Nature, and lived much about King Davids time, who I do conceive to have been the Homer which we have at this present spoken of, and whose Pourtraicture I have hereunto prefixed, and the which I did cause to be drawn after an Antick Meddal, which I did bring with me out of the said Island. There was a third Homer, who was born at Salamina, but he was never famous fave for his wealth : as on the contrary our Poet Homer was remarkable for his Poverty, and was not at all known or taken notice of, during the time of his fludies, or whilft he penned those rare things (which usually befalls Philosophers) but rather after his death. Moreover I was conducted by some Greeks to the village of Cardamillum a very folitary place, five leagues from the City, on the left hand towards the Sea coaft, where the inhabitants do believe by tradition from Father to Son (which is also consonant to the ancient Histories) that it was the felf same place where Homers Library was built, and where the said Greeks did affure, that Visions and Ghosts, with such like apparitions were usually seen both in the day time and in the night. And as concerning that other Homer, who is faid to have been born at Colophon, he was an excellent Painter, and Sculpter of Images; wherefore those of that City must also yield their claim, as to our Homers birth, there. But he that was the Citizen of Athens, and who lived in the time of Rooboham King Solomons Son; he was an excellent Orator, and was in such a repute in his own City, as the Athenians permitted him to make Laws, and to Govern them. And the fixth Homer which I find, was a Grecian born at Argos, being both a great Geometrician and a good Poet, but there is no appearance at all that he should have compounded the Iliads. For Herodotm himself doth confess, that betwixt Homers time and his, there was four hundred years difference, which could not be fince that Homers time whom we now immediately have named. The seventh and last Homer was a Maonian, who lived during the reign of Numa Pompilisu, who was so wise and so well verst in the Greek Language, that he was permitted to Correct and amend fuch imperfections as he conceived to be Homersiamous crept into that Speech, which was refined by the judgement of fo excellent a man. And thus you have the several opinions reconciled concerning the several Homers, which were extant: and the famous Homer hereafore affixed, G.c.

The end of Homers Life.

THE LIFE OF

S APP HO, the Lesbian Poetels.



Ann. Mund.

Octry was in such a height of esteem amongst the Ancients, as that divers accounted the Poets to have been the first who have written concerning Divine, Natural, Moral, Political, and Military Affairs. Such a one was David the Royal Prophet, who ordained those which were under his obedience to celebrate the praises of God, in Verses and Hymns, and to sing fuch Plaims as had compoled; fuch were Livim, Musem, and orphem among the Greeks. And if Poetry hath been to highly honoured
and valued, as that Virgit himself accounted Musem to have been a Pro-

phet, and terms him a most fignal Poet in a sublime degree. I would willingly demand of those who endeavour to obscure that resplendency which themselves cannot behold why the Poets were formerly called Diviners? Was it not by reason that it is manifest such an Art doth add unto mans intellects a more then ordinary wit ? The interpretation which was formerly made of this word Pott (which in the Greek doth lignifie an Artift, or expert Workman) what can it be but skilful, or advised? And truly, a good Poet doth in all places deserve to be acknowledged for a very wife man. No one Science almost being a franger unto him, wherefore Divine Plato calleth the Poets, Gods Interpreters. Strabo him. Strabolib. 1. of Belf admiring this Science, laith, that all the Philosophers, Law-Makers, and Hiftoriographers, have taken Geography. their fundamentals from Homer the Poet. However the effects of Poetry have not onely by the Mufet of knowledge been infuled into men (whereof France more then any other Country feems to abound, as Dorat, Ronfort, Baif, Desportes, and several others) but also unto women, several of that Sex having most ingeniously No man surimployed themselves in that art, and to avoid prolixity, I shall only give you the names of some of them, passingly exwho may ferve as a precious ornament to that Sex. Amongst fuch as have therefore excelled in that Art cellent in the we may well give Proba the first rank, wife to the Roman Conful, who being as Beautiful as Learned, Poetical Art. did in the year of our Lord 424 couch in Heroick Verses, the contents both of the Old and New Testament, as far as the coming down of the Holy Ghoft. Secondly Corinna, who was Ovid's belowed. Elpia the wife of Boetiss. Polla wife to Lucian the Poet, who often helped her husband in his composure of his Pharsalia. Lesbia, Mistris to Catullus. Cornificia the Roman Poetels. Thesbia, who was named the compositress of Epigrams; and the other famous Poetess Corinna, who five times had the advantage of Pindarus the Poet, who in the City of Thebes had publikely challenged her to contend in the Poetical Art, upon which and the other liberal Arts and Sciences, once a year there was a folenminy of representations and prizes. But why should we stand to extend this discourse by a Cata-

logue of fo many worthy women? Since Sappio the Lesbanite fo firmamed from the place of her birth, one. the Island of Lesbos called Methelin, seated in the Archipelague or Mediterranean Sea, and u-Supplies the far-mous Poetelles best place amongst those who have been verst in this Science; and whereby in her days she attained to high. fo great a renown, as that the Romans exected a Statue of Porphyre, most richly ordained to eternize Roman be formed by the her memory; and Strabo himself had to good an opinion of her as there deement, no one woman may be compared unto her as to the Art of Poetry; which Euglathus doth also confirm in his Commentaries on Dionyfim. And indeed there are very few forts of veries in which sheexcelled not, which cauled me to infert her Picture in this place, which I ordered to be drawn after an old Meddal of hers which I did purchase and bring from the said Island. The like whereof was given (together with several others junto the Barron de la Guarde, at that time Ambassador for the King of France at Constantinople by Sult an Salymans chief Physician. She was very expert in the compounding of Lyrick vertes, which the evidenced in leveral Epigrams, Elegies and other pieces, which were translated out of Greek winto Intervient intervient program, were loft by the neglect of our Ancetors, or by the definition tion of the Cities and Towns of Italy; and specially of the Isle of Luber; she also did invent a certain kind of verses, which are called Supphieks by her name. As to her Father, Authors do vary, who he was; fome fay Scammon Dranymus, others Simon, others Eunenymus, or Eumenis, others Erjgim, or Encryim others S. man, others Camonus, and other Etarcus. But for all these supposed Fathers, we must not therefore be induced to believe that she was a Ba-

flard, nor that Cless (who without doubt washer Mother) had miterably profittuted her Chaffity to fo many feveral men, it being onely the uncertainty of Writers which hath caufed these various suppositions concerning her Father: she had three brothers, viz. Laryem, Enryem, and Cheranm; who although they were her brothers; yet our Poetes had several sentiments of them, for by how much the loved and cherified Laryem , by so much did she hate Cheranu , against whom she wrote several Invectives , because he had affociated himself with Rhodopa the Thracian Whore , and with her had fpent the greatest part of his Patrimony, which is the ruine of all those who do suffer themselves to be invested by fuch infernal Hags, who like Horfe-leeches fuck them dry, and are the caufe that they are conftrained to abandon all Amity, Concord, and brothership with their friends and Allies, to cleaveunto fuch a kind of vermin, Sappho then was constrained to estrange her self from her brother by reason of a Whore. And those who read in Horace and Ansonine that Sappho was stranged Mascen-Sappo, fir-named Mafaula. Ia, were miftaken in their most injuriously and calumniously laying to her charge that the abandoned her felf too much unto men and women. Nor can I likewife belpeak her over Chart, or untainted, fince the was too much furprised with the love of Phaon (though fome believe it was the other Sapho called Erenca.) However I think it very unrealonable to Suppose, that she should have perpetrated that crime which will be better concealed then mentioned in this place; and those Authors affuredly were to blame, when they gave her the firname of Majeula, and did not specific the reason why, seeming thereby onely to imply, that ber Actions were more becoming a man, then a woman : Or whether it was by reason of the rare vertes which the composed; or for that the adventured to enter into those fair walkes of Lencades, tuno which none but men durft ever approach. But that which gave the greatest cause of this suspicion, was , that we read the had certain women who were her constant friends and companions, viz. Anagera, Milefransa, Gingyla of Colophon; Eunica of Salamis, Erymna, and feveral others; but, and if upon that account we should suppose her guilty of that borrid crime which is lad to her charge, we might aswell conclude that the other Sapphs, who was a company keeper, a swell as this our Lubian, should be as guilty as her self; and likewise all women in general who frequent

Supphos the

And to return to our Sappho again, we find that the was joyned in Marriage unto an bionest confiderable man, abounding in wealth, named Cercola, or as others Cercylla, by whom the had one onely daughter named Cleis, by her Grand-mothers name. And during her husbands life there was not the least speech of any mildemeanor at all in her , but when she became a Widow, some say (as we have already hinted thereon) that the fell in love with a certain man called Photon, who being gone into Sicily, and the mittrufting that he bore her fior a reciprocall love equal to hers, fell into such a rage and impatiency, that for to free her felf from to difordinate a paffion, the cash her felf headlong from the
The death of top of a Rock mee the Sec. And thus our families Poeters did end her dayes, who lived in the year of the Supportine Lee- world 4684, and before our Saviour 515, years. At which time there flourified Xenophane the Philofopher; Theogonus, and Pindarus the Gretian Poets , and the choice Roman Matron Lucretia. This faid Ific of Lerbos did breed a fecond Sappho called Erexera, famous in the Art, of Poetry, who invented the Cittern or Rebeck, and compoled many Lyrick verfes, though the was very unchaft, as Several Writers have noted, &c.

company. Wherefore it is a great injury done to our Sappho to afperfe her in this manner without any

lawful reason or occasion : Whereas the Divine Philosopher Plato , did highly admire the descrity

and vivacity of her wit, aswell as the profound knowledge wherewithall she was endowed, and whereby

fhe excelled all men and women, how eminently learned foever they were,

The end of the Life of the Lesbian Foctes.

. jugi lanti.

THE

THE LIFE OF SALADIN, the Sultan of Egypt.



Ann. Mund. 5137.

C. N.



Ome men descanting on the approved Axiome, That athing which is ill? got, cannot be of long durance, do think that they have hit the nail on the head, when they urge Saladins History. And then they suppose this Allegation doth halt , because the Historians do recount , that Syracon the Mede Saladins Father, was invested in the Kingdom of Egypt by very unlawful means, viz. By his treacheroully killing of Caliplia the Sultan of Caire (under whom he was a Captain and received his pay) when as he pretended to falute him. And by this means he seiled both the Treasury and soverainty of Egypt. Some writers say, that this Sy. The means

raton, or Sarraton, or Syracuin, was not Saladin: Father, but his Uncleand whereby Salathat his Father was Megemedinus. However it was, the Dominion of Egypt fell into Saladins hand by dinactained the means of this perfidious personage Syracon, who afterwards was so highly exalted by the the Kingdom faid Saladine, that he was effeemed to have attained unto the greatest glory that ever any warrior of Egypt. did atchieve. And to avoid prolixity, I shall omit to specific those courses which he ran to compass his did activeve. And to avoid profitsty, train often to precine inforcedures which he rail to compais his ends. This prefent liftory being fufficient to give you his Character, wherefore I shall onely say, That he was the fole Sultan, who was endowed with a surpassing profound prudence and judgement; for he spared neither Gold nor Silver, to gain such men as he conceived might be usefull sultains profits as substitute of the same of those of whom he stood in nead to the same of those of whom he stood in nead to the same of those of whom he stood in nead to the same of those of whom he stood in nead to the same of those of whom he stood in nead to the same of those of whom he stood in nead to the same of those of whom he stood in nead to the same of those of whom he stood in nead to the same of those of whom he stood in nead to the same of those of the same of those of the same of those of those of the same of the same of those of the same of those of the same of t unto him. He conformed himfelf unto the fancies and humors of those, of whom he stood in need, dence and suband had to do withall, not so as to render himself subject unto their said dispositions, but that ha-tily, ving once founded them, he might be the better able thereby, to make his advantage according as it should belt fit for his turn. And the better to compass these his faid defigns (as Bocation the Historiographer writes) he travelled in the difguise of a Merchant throughout all France and Italy, to inform himself of the Christians Forces and defigns; by which means he did fo well discover their intentions, that afterwards taking his opportunity, he quite outed them of all the Territories and Do-minions which they possessed in the Levant: And being sent for by the Damaseens, he went unto minions with they postered in the arrown, their relief, and in a little space of time he made himself Master of the whole Province, usurping the their relief, and in a little space of time he made himself Master of the whole Province, usurping the saladin King fame against his Master Melech Sali. His picture (as you see in in the Frontispiece of this History) of Danas. I brought from the City of Damas . it being given me there by an Armenian Bilhop, together with fome others. Moreover he made himself Lord of Bostra of Malbee, which formerly was called Heliopolis , and of Camelus. And to the end that the Christians should not rush in upon him whilst he was a gaining the Territories belonging to the heir of Noradissus. He made a league with them, which lasted onely untill such time as he had fortified himself.

rufalem, had a Garrison, and was present there in person to defend the place; and here Sa-

ladin was handlomely beat to dire, and loft the best part of his Mathalutes, and had he

which Baldovinus had caused to be built on the River of Jordan, killing and making all those

Saladin having discovered that the Count of Tripoli, did bandy against the Christians, resolved (notwithstanding the promise which he had made) to side with him. Whereupon Baldovi-

nus was constrained to take the Field, and the Turk, did so likewise, and the battel was

fought near unto the Caftle called Trobolet, where although the victory was dubious, yet

Siladin had the worst. And therefore in rage and despight he caused his Army to

finding the King at his heels, and not daring to fland him, he raifed the fiege, and march-

and endeavoured to repute their enemy; who strove to root them out of Palefine. To which end that Saladin might be the better opposed, an inspection was taken of all the Goods, Estates, and wealth which the Christians had in those parts; And an Imposition or Tax was laid upon all those who were worth one hundred Befants; and the

Churches were likewise affessed, whence some persons who were ill verst in History, or

The first fiege

SALADIN.

Finally, Saladia being fentible of his humane and frail condition; and perceiving that he Saladinewill. Funeral pomp used at his burial to but that onely a black mourning vestment should be carried upon the top of a Lance before his Corps, and that one of his Priefts should rehearse unto the people the tenor of certain verses as they are contained in Bocatins; and for the Readers better understanding have been Englished thus,

> By feveral Trophies, and a Kingdom gain'd. My felf , till this time , have I thus maintain'd And being call'd to submit to the Grave. This only Vestment , I referred have.

Saladina Elegy.

The end of Saladins Life.

himself not ran away, he might have happily been worse served. But he suffered not the Christians long to boast of their glorious conquest, for he suddenly charged them again so furiously, that Baldovinus the King had like to have been slain, as well as the great Commander of the Knights Templars was. And Saladin remaining victorious, took the Caftle salalin breaks flaves which he found in the place; and demolithing the Fort, quite to the ground. After the truce which a truce for five years was agreed on between both parties, which lafted not long, for

which was Fights with

Besieges Barut, march out of Egypt by Sea; and besieged the City of Barut on three several sides, but Baldovinus. Invades Mejo- ed into Mejopotamia; and on the other fide the Christians invaded the Territories of Damas.

A tax laid upon the Christians of

in the management of the Exchequers did fay, That this tax or impost was the Saladint Decimation; conceiving that all monies which the Clergy doth pay either (Gerally or jointly A mittake concerning the
statin Decionely confider the diffinction of Taxes, subventions or substitute and such people statin to the statin such people stating the statin nature of such monies as are raised upon the Church by the Prince, and they will find them to be Subfidies, Loans, Voluntary Gifts, and other extraordinary disburfments, which in no wife do favour of Decimated Taxes; although the leavying of monies in fuch a manner be granted by the Pope unto such Kings, Princes and States as are under his obedience; and therefore although the Christians of the Levant and of Palestine did impose a Tax upon themselves to Arm themselves, and to withstand Saladine : yet it cannot be said that these monies which they disburfed, can properly be termed a Saladine Decimation. To which may be added that it was both leavied and payed at far different times. As it may appear by what Rigordan flux ordinance (who had written the life of King Philip Augustus) faith concerning the difference betwist concerning the both the one and the other contribution. The first Tax, faith he, was raised upon those of statalin Decithe Eastern parts ; the second upon the western Inhabitants , who had not taken upon themfelves the Croifade for the holy journey; and it's well diffinguished by the ordinance concerning this said Decimation which expressed all those who had taken the Croifade apon them to be exempted (and cleared from the paying of their debts) as also the Abbots and Monks of the White-friars; and the Hofpitals. Almshousen and Infirmeries, with their Revenues and the Religious Nuns of Font-Eurauld. But to the contrary, those who had great revenues and enjoyed the high jurisdiction, and did not prepare to go beyond Seas, they were subject unto the said Decimation, and every Gentleman that had not taken the Crossade upon him, was to pay unto the Lord under whom he reforted the tenth part of his proper Goods and Chattels, or of the Mannor or inheritance which he held of him; and if he had not any inheritance which depended of the faid Lord, yet he was obliged to pay him the tenth part of his goods, although his person had any dependency upon the faid Lord. This said Saladin Decimation contained several other particulars which I shall here omit, having onely inferted thefe foregoing ones, to shew the difference between thefe two manner of wayes of leavying of monies; and to evidence the great streight wherein all Christendom then was and whereunto Saladin had reduced them; which (as a man may fay) did confirm all Christendome in a manner to abandon their own dwellings and Countries to oppose and make head against this perfidious and disloyal Saladin, to whom we shall return; and de-Salading max- monstrate what slight account he made of his promises, and the word which he had once palled. Thinking himself no longer obliged to keep the same then his Avarice, Ambition, and his cwn conveniences would give him leave. Wherefore, although the Truce which he had made

Salatine plot

with the Christians had bound his hands from attempting any thing against them, yet being ftirred up by the Count of Tripali, who was displeased and inraged against Guy of Lungwars samme the Christians, nan, King of feruf-lem, he also caused the Arabians to rise in Arms, and to ransack the Territories belonging unto Renould of Chassillon Lord of Montreal beyond Jordan; who setting upon them , beat them foundly , and took from them all their spoil ; entred with a ffrong Army into the neighbouring Arabia, and made a terrible rout amongst them. Mean while Saladin (who took not King Lewis, though Saphendin his Son did) having reigned fixteen years, Saladin death departed this world in the year of the incarnation of our Lord and Saviour, eleven hundred

THE LIFE OF EDWARD Prince of Wales; Sirnamed the Black Prince.



Ann. Mund. 5293.

Christ. Nat. 1326.



Am forry that I cannot so particularly trace this History, without inserting a just reprehension, which I am necessitated to urge against John the first of that Name, King of France; who although he was a Prince endowed with feveral commendable Graces, yet he could not fo well feafon them, as to make that good use of them which he might have done, by his prudent taking the advantage of a fit and commodious opportunity, to vanquish his enemies: Nor can it be faid that he was backward in giving sufficient orders to his Warlike preparations, he having framed so Puissant and strong an Army against a very inconfiderate handfull of English; for Edward at his landing had not above three thousand English, and at the utmost his Army, after he had united all his Forces, exceeded not

twelve thouland fighting men. The fault which King John committed (and which was none of the least) was, that both Armies being quartered fo nigh unto each other , he suffered his Enemy (who was sensible of his condition) to take so much rest, and gave him leave to fortific himself. For this young English man, finding that meer necessity enforced him to fight, that he was unequall in Forces; during the time which was spent in Parleys, ceased not to surround his Camp and to encourage his Souldiers with the Victory, which he already promifed himself, and held for affured, by The Prince of the relief and fuccour which he had received from the Lords Captanx de Buch, Raufon, Muridan. Waterhis great L' Elpaire, Albret, Montferrand, Tartes, and others of the Nobility of Aquitaine : And I find that the faid Prince was to affiduous in the reviewing and animating of his faid Forces, as that he would fearce allow himself time to eat; and so far was he from sleeping, as that he hardly was known to close his eyes till he had gained the Victory: Fencing himself so well between the Villages of Bauvoir, Maupertim, and the Abbey of Novailles, in the Vineyards and Inclosures, as that he quite difinabled the French Horse from approaching him, and facilitated a means for his own men, whereby to defend themselves; The Honour therefore of the Victory sell to the lot of this brave English Warrier , by the indiscretion a d inprovidence of King John of France , who feeing he had permitted his Enemy fo strongly to recruit himself, ought to have forecast with whom he was to deal, viz. with desperate men, who finding that those tenders of submillion which they had proffered to the King (by the intercession of the Cardinals of Perigord and Urgel, delegated by the Pope, to make up the breach between these two Princes) did not

Fault commit-

ted by King Fobn the first

of France, in

the Battel a-

gainst the

Prince of

Wales.

at all move the Kings heart, but that he would willfully drive them upon the precipice (as it were) of despair, they were constrained (as a man may fay) to hazard the whole, and play quit, for double : and they taught the King, as things fell out, that there wanted little or no-

g of their having caught Fortune by the Fore-lock. And to speak the truth, he had done far better, if he had granted Prince Edwards Forces a The Prince of leace, who defired but to have gotten off with their lives, and promifed to put into his Ma- Wates his fair ieffies hands, all those Places which he had formerly taken from him; as also to return him all knot profess to the Prisoners, Booty and Plunder, which he had gained fince his return from Bourdeaux: Finally, That he would not take up Arms, nor fuffer his Subjects to Arm themselves, for the space of seven years against the Crown or Kingdom of France. By this means he might have gained the Victory, and needed not to have hazarded the chief of his Nobility, his own Per-ion, and his state, in the very heart of his Kingdom. But I doubt not after the fault was committed, that he repented himself of his bargain; and acknowledged his errour, but it was the fomewhat too late, and when no means were left of raifing up again, those Princes, Lords and Squires, who were most miserably slain in the Battel of Postiers, which was fought on a Mun- The Battel of day, being the ninth day of the moneth of September, in the Year of our Lord, one thouland Politics, three hundred fifty and fix, when there was no time to retreat. Dennis of Morbegne (an Artesian Knight, of the City of St Omers, who had been banisht out of France) seized on the Kings Person, and delivered him up into the Prince of Wales's hands; Philip Duke of Touraine, and King John of the Kings last fon, was taken Prisoner, and the Flower of the French Nobility, who accom- France, and the panied the King, were either mowed down with the Sword, or taken Prisoners. In so much Duke of Tonthat Prince Edward (according to all appearance) had occasion enough to be pussed up with rain taken. glory; yet however (although he was an English man) he knew so well how to temper the fruits of fo fignall a Victory, that in lieu of being exalted thereat, he humbled himself very The Prince of much unto the king his Captive: And the very evening when the Battell was won, the Kings Water his mofinpper was prepared in the English Camp, and the Frince of Water served him bare-headed, deliy and cithe Captive King severall times prayed him to sit down by him, but Edward desired to be exvisity to King cufed, faying, That it behooved not a subject to sit down with his King: The King told him, I John of France. had resolved to have given you a supper this night, but the sortine of the War hath made you give me one. So likewise do all Writers consess that the Kings imprisonment, although it continued a long while (even from the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred fifty and fix. untill the moneth of July in the Year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and threescore yet it was not at all in any way of restraint , for the King enjoyed all the possible liberty that might be in England, and was delivered out of that Captivity, by the means of the agreement which was made and ratified at Bretigny; Nor will I add all the Articles of the faid Treaty, but onely one; viz.

That the King of France for his Ranfom did leave unto the King of England, who was to The Article of retain his Title of Lord of Guyenne, all the Countrey of Aquitaine to the very River of Lopys the Treaty of and particularly the City of Engoulesme, with the Province of Angoumois. And here I shall bettign upon make a kind of a digression, onely to tell you how and in what manner this Prince Edward French King did Govern and Rule our Province of Engoumoysin for the space of ten years. He caused that was released. great and stately Tower to be built which is yet extant in the City, and several other Fortresses, and sumptious Buildings. And as he was much devoted unto the Priory of Nonseville (which is finated five leagues from the City of Engauleine, founded by a vertuous Marron named Hild-degarda, as I have read in the old Annals of that Province) he did benefice the faid place extreamly, and caused a great Hall to be built there, and new glazed the Church with stately painted glass windows, in one of which his own Picture (just as I have here prefixed it) was Prince Eddrawn after the life, and being very like two other of his Pictures engraven in Rome, one of wards Pictures which was placed over one of the Gates of the Tower of Cogniac, and the other over the Gate of the Castle of Montignac; which two Statues the Regent Madam Lewis of Savoy, Mother to the late King Francis the first, caused to be thrown down. But to return to our History. The French King, the better to accomplish the aforesaid Treaty, did cause those Cities to be delivered unto the English, which he had promised them: And although he sent them his Letters Pattents thereon , yet the Inhabitants of Engoulesme would not consent thereunto, untill such time as Chandownes, the King of Englands Lieutenant or Deputy in Guienne, entred into Angoulesme, and took possession thereof on the fix and twentieth day of the moneth of October, in the Year of our Lord one thousand three hundred threescore and one; whither alfo, a little while after the Prince of Wales, together with his Princes, came to dwell, mathematical in the strength of the place and its ftrength. Edward the Towards the end of the Year one thousand three hundred fixty two, the Princess of Wales was Prince of brought to bed of a Son, in the City of Angoulefine, who was also named Edward; at whose Wales his son. Christning several of the chief Nobility of the adjacent parts did affift to honour the same; As al. The difference So Peter of Lazignian King of Cypres, who at that time was come into France to follicit the Richard the Christian Princes to relieve the Holy Land.

Moreover the difference betwin feverall Hiftoriographers concerning Richard the Son of Wales his fon Edward, feems to me not at all difficult to be reconciled: For although Richard was the younger being called to brother , having been born at Bourdeaux a great while after the Wars between the Prince the Crowa of

EDWARD Prince of Wales. of Walte and Henry of Castile; yet however he might easily attain unto the Crown of England, either because his brother Edward died before him , or that finally Edward the third King of England of that Name, was pleafed it should be so : whose Testament and last Will I shall here infert, because it may the more conduce to extoll the Praise, Renown, and Excellency this faid Prince of Wales, whom, as it may be conceived, he would have called to the Crower as being the Eldeft of his Sons, in case his death had not prevented the same : Wherefore the faid King Edward the third, because he would not frustrate his Sons succession (who died a year before) would have the faid Riebard, his last Son, to succeed him in the Royalty, in the Year one thouland three hundred feventy feven, and he was Crowned King of England, being but eleven years of age; although King Edward had five feveral Sons, who ought to have King Edward preceded the faid Richard in the Regal dignity, viz. Lyonel Duke of Claurence, John of Gant the thirds fons, preceded the faid Richard in the Regal dignity, viz. Lyonel Duke of Claurence, John of Gant Earl of Dreby, Agmond of Langley Earl of Cambridge, and Duke of Tore, Thomas of Briffell Earl of Buckingham, and the Duke of Gloucester; However their faid Father, rather choic to Earl of Buckingpann, and the Dunc of Giometifer; rowever their laid rather, rather chole to prefer their Nephew Richard before them all, by reason of the great considence head of the Magnanimity and Valour which was innate in him, by inheritance from his eldest Son the Prince of Walts. True it is that Henry the fifth of that Name, Son of John of Gano the Prince of Walts. True it is that Henry the fifth of that Name, Son of John of Gano the Prince of Walts. True it is that Henry the fifth of that Name, Son of John of Gano the Prince of Walts. depoted by on and Illegall proceeding, doth not at all prejudice the right which King Richard had to the Heart the 5th Crown; Nor in the leaft that acknowledgement which was made thereon by King Edward the third of that Name, because that his Grandsathers Will and Testament had entranchised him above any degree or preheminence, which the other Brothers could lay claim unto; or rather this King Richard was promoted to the Crown, by the Law of being prefented thereunto, and nominated and confirmed therein by King Edwards last Will. But seeing we were intensibly engaged in this discourse, onely out of savour to, and in admiration of the Prince of Wales, and that doubtlefs, contrary to all right and justice Richard was Deposed, leaftene should too deeply engage our felves in an endless discourse, we will rather return to our former track, and follow the proceedings of Edward the Prince of Wales , whom we left buffed in folemnizing his Sons Christing at Angeulesme, where we must by no means leave him; for as he was a man of Bufiness, very active and of high Enterprises, we may not conceive that he would fuffer himself to be transported with the over-glibby pleasures of the Angosmoysin:

Edward Prince And that he might not remain idle, in the Year one thousand three hundred fixty fix, he unof Water enga-dertook to defend Peter King of Castile , against his bastard brother Harry , who had made an infurrection against him , wherefore the Prince of Wales affembles all the Forceshe possibly could, and with them did those innumerable memorable Exploits, attefted by all our Historians: And it cannot be denied but that he had feverall weighty Affairs at that time in hand; for although he had made fure of the King of Navarre, who (breaking the Alliance which he had fworn authough he had made ture of the ring of Paparte, who occasing the children much the new King of Caftille) had promited paffage unto fuch English as were to have been fent to the Prince of Wales his aid; yet he had enough to do with the King of France, unto whom the faid bastard Henry was sted for relief; and who by all his subtilities

A difference Historians Tax imposed Edward.

The discontents of the and diversions which he caused to be made against the English in the Kingdoms of Arragon, and near unto the City of Thoulange, could not hinder Prince Edward from joyning his Forces, and exploiting Valiant Feats on that occasion. And here the Historiographers do again mightily differ, concerning some Taxes which were raised by the said Prince of Wales: For, say fome, the faid Prince, being folicited, or requefted, by his Father, to take King Peter of Capitale into his tuition and Protection, he made ule of all the possible means he could invent, to raise and pay that Army which he then Conducted, and that having exhausted his Exchequer in that War, he assembled the Heads of all his Provinces at Angonissme, and imposed a Tax upon the people, of ten fold Tournois, for every Fire (the rich paying for the poor one year) which faid Tax was to last five years (others say the Tax was far greater) whereby there arose a general discontent, as we shall hereafter declare: However others, who have run through Froi ard, Hiftory, do fay, that this fame Prince of Wales, because he would not oppress the people with extortions, (having not wherewithall to make his Army substit) did borrow vaft fums of Money of his Father the King of England, and even did cause all his Cupboards of Plate, both of Gold and of Silver, to be melted down, and to be Coyned: But and if we narrowly pry into both these reports , it will not be hard to reconcile them ; for it is not probable that King Edward having engaged his Son in a War, and finding that he was in want of Moneys, should have railed a sum of Money by way of subsidy, to surnish him. For the repayment of which, the said Prince Edward should have afterwards been constrained to have laid the faid Tax upon his fubjects; and to speak the truth, there cannot be any other construction made of the foregoing passages. Besides, it is evident the discontents and distates of the inhabitants of Angoumofin , and the rest of the Aquitans , did not arise thence, but from the ill will they bore unto the Engliss, and by the regret which they had to fee a stranger sleece them, thereby to enrich their general Enemy: so likewise do I know that there were other occasions of discontent; and especially, because Prince Edward could have made up that fum of Money which he had borrowed of his Father, by the ranfoms of these Preunfals, and French Nobility which he had taken, amongst which the Earl of Nerbonne was one, who together with the reft, he released upon their bare words and promites. However,

this new Imposition, together with the ill-will which the said Angosmois bore unto the English, who became too much pussed up and single slice of the much pussed up and single slice of the mile less all the Dignises, preheminences, and Offices of e Countrey, without the admitting of any French man amongst them, which did beget such a hearte Country, without the summing of any Frence in an amongs, army mine a coggi tion a neart-ining in diversible a delength the Lords of Lawrich, the Earls of Remarks and Perspect 3 and feve-lothers were on the point of sobelling against Prince Lawrick. However they rather choice to apply themselves unto the remedies of Judice, and restreed themselves unto Charles the title of that Name, King Prince Edward of France, and there became Plaintiffs against Edward their Prince; who was summoned to make his summoned to make his fundamental to the charles of the Char Personall appearance in the Chamber of Peets (or in the Lords House) at Paris, to give satisfaction on fiver, the complaints of the people of Aquitane. Who answered, that indeed he would appear there, but it should be with a Casket on his head, and threescore thousand men at his heels, (to which others adding one Cypher increased it to fix hundred thousand men.) And thence began that furious War which was fo violently purfued on both fides ; though it fell out ill for Prince Edward, who befides the great loffes which he suffained, got a fit of a Dropsie, or a swelling, occasioned (as it is surmised by some) through Prince Edward poylon which was given him. And being reduced to fo great an extremity of weakness, as that he was fals into a forced to be carried in a Litter, he retired himself into England, in the Year one thousand three hundred Dropsie, threescore and eight: And during his abode there, you may imagine how things were carried on in France for in the Year one thousand three hundred seventy two, Henry Hayes the Governour of Angoulefme was no fooner taken at the fiege of Soubize by the French , but the inhabitants of Angonlefme, being cloyed with the English taking the opportunity of freeing themselves, furrendred the City of The City of Angontefme (the place of my birth) into the hands of Charles the sith of that Name King of France; Angontefme who to acknowledge their fincere affection towards him, did grant unto them feverall Priviledges and jurrendred to large Immunities: And by their example the reft of the Aquitans did fuccessively proceed to shake off the King of the English yoak; nor could King Edward the third ever after reclaim them, although he did promise France. them to abolish all those new burdens and Impositions. Nor do I here pretend to justifie the said Prince Edward, therebase leffen or suppress the right which our Kingshave unto Aquitane; However I must needs aver, that it would be a difficult matter to meet with a more Generous and Magnanimous Prince than this Edward was, unto whom all diffressed and oppressed Princes took their refuge, by his means to The King of recover their Liberties. We have already touched upon his endeavours to affish Peter of Castile; and Majorca comes I shall also hint upon the King of Majerca's repairing to Bourdeaux unto Prince Edward to demand to Bordeaux relief of him against the King of Arragon, who caused this poor Infular Kings Father to be put to lief of Prince death in prifon, and detained his Lands and Dominions. After Prince Edward had heard his com-Edward, aplaints, he promifed him all possible relief, and took him to be his Son Richards Godfather, who was gainst the K: plaints, ne promise and a possible to the first plaints, ne promise and possible having of Arragos, born at Bourdeaux: Notwithstanding he could not re-establish him, for Henry King of Castille having of Arragos, born at Banforn of one hundred thousand Dancase is Goddather furprifed this King of Majorea being fick, he fet him at a Ranfom of one hundred thouland Duccates because he was in company with the Prince of Wales, when he restored that disloyal false Peter unto the P. E. for. Kingdom of Caffile: After which, the faid fickness killed the Majorcan King. And as to our Prince Edward after he had thus valiantly finished the course of a most Renowned life, he deceased in the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord, one thousand three hundred threescore and fixteen, at a Palace near unto London: much about the time when (at the Affembly of Bridges in Flanders) the Marriage of Richard and his fon his Son with Mary daughter of Charles the King of France, was by him fet on foot; which faid Match Richards marwas fo long and diverfly debated before it could be concluded, as that Pope Gregory being much offen- riage. ded, for meer fpight left Avignon, and returned to Rome.

However because that particular doth not much contern Prince Edwards life, I shall not fay any more thereon, but rather proceed to recount unto you the diffeyalty and perfidiounnels of Peter of Caffile, The diffeyalty who finding himself restored to those Dominions and Territories for the which he contested with Hen- and perfidioulry of Caffile, and that also those of Toledo, Lisbon, Galicia, Seville, and severall other places in Castille, nets of Peter were come to do him homage, he did pay them in the like Coyn, as usually such unworthy Personages do of Castille to recompence those who have contributed to their re-effiblishment; For when this base, false, and trea- Prince Ed. cherous person found that Prince Eaward did press him to pay those Forces which he had levied for to ward. recover his Countrey again, this fneaking hound, retind himself to Seville, on a pretence to leavy the Moneys for the faid Forces payment, promiting to return within tome certain weeks, by himfelf prefixed : The Prince of Wales expects his performance, the time expires , and no payment, but in words : whereupon the Prince fent fome Gentlemen to know the occasion of this so long delay, who were fent back by Don Pedro with this answer, alledging that he had already fent the faid Moneys by his own men. unto the faid Prince, but that they had been excountred by the way and robbed: And by fuch like shifts and pur-offs he fo long detained the Prince of Wales in a bootlels suspence, as that his Forces by a long and redious expectation, being weakeneded disbanded, he found himself in a fad exigency; for he was constrained to retire into his own Country, without the receiving of one farthing token, and was forced to oppose Henry of Caffile, who the buer to reward him for the relief he had afforded the perfidious Don Peter endeavoured to invade fore of his Territories in Guyenne

However, the Prince of Wales fould out a means in time to frustrate all the faid Henry's defignes. although it was not in his power to inder the Aquitanians Rebellion, who finding themselves mightily oppreff by the excessive Impossion which was laid upon them, for to supply those sums of Money which Don Peter should have pared; revolted against Prince Edmard, and dispossessed him of all Gugenne; which was all he got y aiding and reftoring the faid perfidious, ungratefull Don Peter of Caftille , &c.

Thend of the Life of Edward Prince of Wales.

THE LIFE OF CHARLE MAIN, E or CHARLES the Great, King of France, and Emperor of Rome.



Anno Mundi

Nat. Christ. 769.



everall men have over-much bufied themselves to find out, upon what account this Emperour was honoured with the Title of Charles the Great : Nor will I fatisfie my felf with the reason which is thereon given by the Author of the Triumph of the Nine Worthies; being unwilling to believe that because this faid Charles did kill that Bear, whereof he maketh mention. he was therefore firmamed the Great, although I do not deny, but that the Counties of Poiltos, and my native Country of Angoumos fin, were shrewdly insested by this surrous beast; but to believe that for this sole action he should have been qualified with the Title of the Great, I must defire to be

The reston why Charles was firmamed the Great.

Chales the ander the Great The place of thates his Charles and Carolo Main his brother share the Kingdom of France be. wixt them. Carplo Main

excused. And will rather choose to derive the cause of that said Denomination, from the Heroicall and Magnanimous Exploits which were by him performed, and which made him to excell beyond the reft of the Kings, Princes, and Famous pen of his time, in the fame manner as the Victories the reit of the Kings, Princes, and ramous men or his time, in the tame manner as the Victories and Conquefts of Alexander (the Son of Philip the Maccador King) did acquire unto him the Property and Poffession of the Title of Greet. Nor shall I dare to adventure upon a Comparison betwirt them, this Discourse being not capable to contain their incredible number of Actions, red to Alex However, I dare be bold to affert, That this our Charles, was not at all inferiour to Alexander, as the description of his Life, Victories, and Valians Archievements, will sufficiently manifest. He was born at Ingelbeim (according to the opinion of the most part of the Historians) which is a was norm at inguissism (according to the opinion of most part of the surforans) which is a place two German leagues distant from the City of Agreece, or (as others will have it) from Lings: He, together with his Brother Carolo Main, Succeed King Pepins, (the first of that Name, and the first that was called The Most Christian King.) This two Brothers thread the Kingdom of France, in such a manner, as that Charles, who was the elds Brother, had for his part France, and Aquitains: which before were fallen unto Pepis their Father by the divition which he made with Carolo Main his Brother, who in the Year feven bundred forty and feven, went to Rome, and there became a Monk, and retired himself unto the Mount called Sorages, where he caused a Monastery to be built, and had defigned to have remained there with fomewher Religious men, but because that place was too publick, and that he was refolved to fequefter hincelf from the world, and from the frequent ng of fuch of the French Nation , who came thinher o falute bim, he removed to Mount Coffin, which is in the Land of Samos, and there shut up hiness in the Binedillins Monafiery, where he ended his days: Others, however, do believe that he died at Vienne, upon the River of Rbyne, in the Year feven hundred fifty four, whence he was carried and buried in his

Moreover the Kingdom of Soiffons, with the Territories beyond the River of Rhone, fell to Carolo Mans share, the Brother of our Charles , who having reigned joyntly together with his faid The death of Frother for the space of two years, deceased on the fourth of December, in the Year after our Sa-Carolo Man, viours Nativity feven hundred feventy one, which was the third year of Charles his Reign; and after ther, whereby Carolo Mans death, Charles was made King of all France, by the generall confent of all the States Charles beof the Kingdom; which particulars I thought good to specifie in this place, northat I do intend comes Soveto track the succession of the times in which he lived, and to specific all those generous Actions which raign of all he so happily effected: But because I have resolved to follow quite another strain in this Discourse. France. and to take a far higher rife, that fo I may the better descend to describe this great Monarchs Magnanimous Actions. But first I shall give you a kind of a Catalogue of his Stature, Manners. and usuall Exercises. Turpin the Archbishop of Reims tels us that he was of an extraordinary Sta- The Statute of ture, a Body very well proportioned, being eight foothigh; his Face was a span and a half long, Charles and his and his Forehead was one foot in breadth, his Head was thick, and the diffance between his Eye-other Features. brows was a span long, his Nose was little and flat, his Countenance was fierce, and his Eyes were Lion-like, big, green; and sparkling like unto a Carbuncle; infomuch as when he was transported with rage his very countenance did frighten and terrifie his Enemy. At his Meals he did eat but very His manner of little bread, and did often eat Venison, which he much loved, being, as some say, very much reposts. addicted to hunting. At his dinner he usually had a quarter of Mutton, a Peacock, a Hern or Crane. or a couple of Hens, or a Goole, or a Hare, besides the other services at the beginning and ending of his Meals; his ordinary custom was always to have four Messes, besides the roast meat, which feems to be an excessive Ordinary for such as had not so good an appetite as himself; for had he not eaten thus superabundantly, he was troubled with terrible gripings and crudities of the Stomack: He was fatisfiedwith a very little Wine, and drank but thrice at most, whence sprang the Proverb. Ter bibere in menfa Carolinum , You must dring but thrice at Charles his Table ; which is the more A Proverb to be admired, fince there are but few Germans who do not exceed that way. In fummer he did concerning his usually strip himself and sleep two or three hours at Noon-tide, after which he did eat some Plums: moderate usually strip himself and sleep two or three hours at Noon-tide, after which he did eat some Plums: He was clad after the French fashion, and always wore a short sword hanging at his girdle, in the pommel whereof, his Seal, being the Coat of his Arms, was engraven; and at the Sealing of any Charles his Laws, Ordinances and Statutes, he was used to say, Behold the Sword that shall maintain my Or. Sword and dinances, and which shall wage War against those who do infringe them. He was perpetually in Seal. affairs of his Kingdom: At night he had fourfore Gentlemen Penfioners, or Yeomen of his of Charles his Guard, who being compleatly Armed watched by him, viz. forty before, and forty after mid- Guards. night; ten of which were placed at his Beds head, ten at his feet, and ten on each fide. having all of them their Swords ready drawn in their right hand, and a burning Taper in their

And that which is told of his extraordinary strength is almost incredible, as that with easehe could lift up a Knight in full Arms, from the ground as high as his head : and with his hands he Charles his would open and extend four Horfe-shoes being joyned together . He had such an extraordinary force strength, in his Arm, as that with one blow he would cleave afunder a horse-man in full Arms, and his horse to boot fo that doubtless he laid on with a good heart. And as his Stature and Corporall firength was great , far greater was his Magnanimity and Courage, as his actions have evidenced, which I fhall onely fuperficially touch upon, in this relation, remitting the curious Reader, who fhall be defirous to know those particulars which I may have omitted, to the writings of several other Authors. The fifth Before he had put his foot into the Royal ftirrup , and during King Pepine life , he commanded that Comman Army which his Pather had raifed against Warferns Duke of Aquitaine; he subdued Poitton, Berry, which Chales Army which has ranged having a superior of the variety of the control of the province of Austrian Early, the one Earl of Austrian 2, and the other of Position: And Anising were killed; the one Earl of Austrian 2, and the other of Position: A finitive celles ter this Victory he passed from Application, into Biscay, to help the Biscains, who were almost quite distracted by reason of the frequent Invokas and Plunders of the Saraceni, who as soon as Charles the Great was come amongst them (foreseeing that he was to be their Deliverer) they Charles defeats took to much heart of grace, as to re-assume their lost hopes, and defeated the Saracene. And the Saracene in having this successfully performed their Exploits, he was no sooner called to the Royal Dignity "rifety."
(which was in the Year of our Lord feven hundred threescore and nine) but the self fame year he was confirmined to raile a powerfull Army to march against Hunault Earl of Provence, who having War. fallied the remainder of Warfers, the Duke of Aquitaines, Forces (whom Pepin had caused to be taken and ffrangled) had without any refiftance almost at all usurped the Dutchy of Aquitane : In this War he was to fuccefstull and happy, as that the inhabitants of Xaintongo, Poiltenins, and of Angamoyfin having rejuted to rife in Arms for Hunants , against their King , he forced Humante to flye for his latety , and to take Sanctuary with Duke Long in Gafcony ; who although hedid not fide with Charles the King, yet apprehending his too near approach with his Army towards his Limits, delivered the faid Hunault, together with his Wife and Children unto the King, who were lest priloners into France; and by this means the King was reconciled to Duke Long, and the Aguitaine War was also ended. At the fame time wie, in the year feven hundred and seventy,

Fronfac built by K. Charles.

The retreat of Berthe Carolo Mans widow.

the Longobar-

Pavic.

barãs, and the that Kingdom.

The Saxons transported into France.

ry present a strong place, situated upon the River of Dordonne, hard by Libearne in the Bourdelois) tomake head against the Saracess, who at that time did dwell beyond the Rivers of Gironde and Dordonne; In the enfuing year the whole Monarchy of the Kingdom of France fell unto him by the death of his Brother Carolo Man; whose Widow being accompanied by a brave and gallant French man of great power named Anthor, or Anthony, did retire her feld, together with her Chiles, dren, unto Taffilon the Duke of Bavaria; and from thence fhe transported her felf towards Differ the King of the Longbards. For the which, Charles the King was very wroth, and by reason hereof he repudiated Hermingards, the said Differs Daughter: (Others write that her Name was Theodora, and that the was Differs fifter,) whom he had married the year before by the command of Bertha his Mother: Although Paulin Amilia doth attribute the cause of these two Princes enmities by reason of the said Hermingarda's Divorce, which caused several and many cruel Wars betwixt those Kingdoms, and finally the subversion of the Longobardians. The original of which War was founded on Differs pretending to have a hand in the dividing of the Kingdom of France. and because he fomented a partiality between King Charles, and the Children of the late Carolo Man his Nephews; and that which exasperated King Charles the more was, because Difter had harboured Hunault his ancient Enemy, who having obtained leave of the King to go in Pilgrimage to Rome , fided with Difter, who made him General of his Army , and had given him the keeping of the straight Passages of the Alpes. However King Charles being sent for to relieve the Pope, pasfed over the Alpes, and waged fierce and cruel Wars against the Lombards, as well in the Province of Piedmon, as in the place called Moureri, where he fo valiantly charged Difter, as that he constrained him to shut up himself in the City of Pavie, and where the said Differ did so valiantly defend himself, together with the Longobards, as that the French lay fix moneths before the place, by which long fiege Differ being tyred out, befides the contagiousnels of the Plague, having much diminished his Forces, he was constrained to surrender himself unto King Charles his mercy, who afterwards banisht him and his Wife, and Children, unto Liege. And thus in the year feven hundred seventy three, the Kingdom of Lombardy in Italy was ended, which had lasted 224 years, (or 213, or 205, for the Writers and Historiographers do so much differ) after Differ had Pepia, Charles Reigned eighteen years. And in the year feven hundred eighty one, Charles caufed his younger fon Crown'd Son Pepin (whom he had by Hildegard , Daughter of Hillegrand Duke of Suevia) to be Crowned King of Lambardy; the Confines of which Kingdom (by the Emperors confent) he caufed to be feeled by that which is contained between the Appenin , the Alpes , the Lake of Garde , and the River Mincio, or otherwise, according to the ancient Lombardian Chronologers, by those Territories which are separated from the reft of Italy , by the Rivers of Pau , and of the Rhin Boulonois. After Pepins death, which happened in the year eight hundred and eleven, on the eight day of July,

Birtard made Charles gave, (in the year eight hundred and eleven) the Kingdom of Lombardy unto Bernard his Grandchild, Pepins Son, to whom he gave a certain person named walie to be his Governour, who was a wife and experienced man , Son of Bernard, his Uncle, who he left at the fiege of Pavie, when he went first to Rome. He commanded the young King and his Governour to repulse the Barbarians, who with a Fleet ranfackt and burnt all the Coaft of Italy : which was a little after performed by Hermangorus the Count of Empas, who lying in an Ambush, by Majorea, surprized the Saracens , who were on their return from Sardinia into Spain , their Ships being laden with Booty, the greatest part whereof he took, and recovered, besides the great Booty which he found, above five hundred Sardinian prisoners, which the Barbarians were carrying away. During the remainder of King arles his Reign , France had feveral Wars , which the King fo

ordered and disposed, according to an excellent vertue and faculty, as that they but little endammage the people of France: Whereby this Prince's Magnanimity is highly to be extolled effecially in his having quelled his enemies, without the burdening of his own Subjects. And amongst others, the Saxons, with whom he warred fo long, as that he overcame them, and quelled them eleven feveral times; times by King and yet he could never reduce them to that perfect fidelity nor loyalty which Subjects do owe unto their Prince, although he endeavoured by fair means to gain them, by punishments to suppress the treachery of those which were feditious, and by force of Arms to countermine their perfidiousness and revoltings; till at length, being weary of their impieties, and of the effulion of their bloud, which he had been forced to continue for the space of thirty and three years ; he rather chose to transport them, together with their Wives and Children into France, that so they having changed their dwellings, and having fucked in the sweet and mild air of France, they might become better fettled in their obedience towards their Prince, than they were before : And gave them all the Coast along the Ocean to inhabit, commanding Liderick the Lord of Herlebeck (who was great Forrester or Governour, and Admiral of that Countrey (the same which we now call Flanders and Brabant, which is the reason those inhabitants do yet retain the Saxon Language) viz. to have a watchfull eye over them, and to keep them there secure. And that their former habitations might not remain unpeopled , he sent the Abrodifes thither in the year after our Saviours Birth eight hundred and five. Infomuch that all men who heard of Charles his happy Victories , and admirable Successes could not choose but admire them; and some others again were so surprized with astonishment, as that they Submitted themselves unto him, befeeching him to admit and preferve them under his Protection, and to fave them from the incursions of their Enemies , And amongst the rest, that part of Spain , which was infefted by the Saracens, not knowing which way to turn themselves, nor whole affiftance to

crave, to avoid the fform of the Sarracens inhumanity, had recourse unto King Charles, whose Puiffance was dreaded throughout the whole world, and who once before had given a proof of his Prowefs againft these Insidels, by the relief which he afforded the Bifeaians in the year of our Lord feven hundred fifty eight, before he was King. And after feveral folicitations from the Spaniards, King Charles King Charles caused his Army to march and to fight the Sarracens, in which occasion the French men thewed themselves so valiant, as that they mastered the Town of Pampeluna, which they sacked, and Pampeluna found abundance of wealth in it, which the Sarracens had plundered almost throughout the whole from the Sarworld: And to ftrike a terror in the reft, the King caused the Walls of Pampeluna to be demolished . racens by which means Sarragoce flood out but a fhort fiege, and furrendred it self to King Charles, who sarragoffa tacaused Ibnabal to be acknowledged there for their King, he having been formerly driven out by Abutaurm, and Denisturm, who being startled at these successes, came in unto King Charles with Prefents, and furrendred themselves his Tributaries. And the War which he waged in those parts, was fo fierce, as that all Spain trembled at the very Name of Charles; and abated very much of the Sarracens power, who could never be subdued by any body before, save by himself. Wherefore Adelphonfus the fecond of that Name King of Esturia and Galicia (firnamed the Chaste) having obtained a fignal Victory over the Sarracens, wherein he deteated threescore and ten thousand men. The Sarracens fent Ambaffadors unto King Charles, laden with the Enemies spoil, acknowledging that he accound defeated by Ated the Victory which he had gotten, to have been effected by his means. And with the reft of the King of Effufaid spoils he caused two Monasteries to be built, viz. Oventenosa and Esturiossa. But whereas those ria and Galicia Infidels did continually break forth again upon the Spaniards, King Charles fent thither Adamarus Count of Ganes, Hermongarus Earl of Empus; and the Lord High-Constable Bouchard, under whose Conduct, he acquired ten fignal Victories over the Enemies; having fultained but one memorable loss, during his Reign, and that was at the battle of Ronceuaux; where, by the Treason of Ganes The battle of (who being corrupted by the great Presents and Gifts of the Kings Marsillon and Baligam) delivered Romenaux lost into their hands, Rowland and Ollivir, with the flower of the Nobility, and the choilest Troops of by Treason, France, which were all put to the fword; for which Charles fought a revenge and obtained it in this Charles his rewife: Near the River Ebra, hard by Samagousa, he defeated thirty thousand Sarracens, and with his venge of the own hand kil'd the King Baisgant, and afterwards caufed Pinabet, Ganes his Coufin, to be hanged, Saturation, because he was accessory to the Treason; and as for Ganes himself, he was sentenced by Neymes of Bavaria, and the other Nobles of France, to be quartered and pulled afunder by four Horses at Laons. True it is, that in King Charles his return from Spane, in the year feven hundred feventy nine. his baggage was almost all plundred, but it was not by the Sarracens, but certain Gascoons, who were displeased at the Souldiers making a longer stay in their Country then they defired they should, which Robbers were to well verift in the advenues and coafts of the Country, as it was unpossible to track them. and did so cunningly carry on their Pillagings, as that the best of the Army mistrusted no body save Ibnabal; and had not this faid company of Thieves been discovered by chance, the blame had remained upon that poor Prince: But they at that fame time brake forth in a publick way under the Conduct of one Burgandus, (of whom mention is made in a Council which was affembled at Thionville, and in an Epiftle written by Pope Nicholas unto the Archbishop of Bourdeaux) and who ruined and plundered the very Churches; and therefore in horrour and deteftation of fuch facrilegious villains, all Robbers Whence the have been fince called by the name of Brigands. Nor had Charles left them unexterminated, had not Name of Brithe Saxon Wars hindred him, they revolting against him, in the year feven hundred and fourscore : gand or Robber And because we have already discoursed of that Rebellion, Disloyalty, and how they were punished, we will not trouble our felves further with them, but will turn towards the Brettons, who also in the year feven hundred fourfcore and fix, did begin to rife in Arms, and would not obey his Commands, revolt and are disavowing that they owed any obedience to the Crown of France, but they were quelled, Charles quelled.

fo well abate their pride and prefumption, that they were glad to cry him mercy, and to fubmit.

In like manner Tassilon the Duke of Bavaria was fubdued by King Charles, who (by the Council of his Wife, the Daughter of King Differ, to be revenged of that which Charles had done to A War against ther Father and Mother) had leagued himfelf with the Huns, and railed an Army to his own confusion, for hearing that Charles was arrived as far as the River of Lech, which divides the Territories who submits of Germany and Bavaria, he was conftrained to submit, to humble himself, to resign his Interest, and is deposed and to deliver his fon Theodon for an Hostage, wherewithall Charles not contenting himself, he would also have the Father to boot, and caused both of them to become Friars, in the year seven hundred eighty eight: And deeming it not yet sufficient to have purged that age of such Rebels, he took from him his Durchy of Bavaria; in which he placed no more Dukes, but disposed of it unto Earls: Nor will it be needfull to infift any longer upon the feveral Nations, People and Provinces which were fubdued by this Puissant Monarch, fince our Histories publish nought save the Victories by him acquired. And so great was his renown throughout the whole world, as that his greatest enemies (against their wills) were enforced to curry favour with him, to league themselves with him, and to acknowledge Several Prinhim to be their Superiour, witness the presents which the King of Persia (who entitles himself to be ces feek to the King of King:) did fend him , which was rather by maxime of State, than for any good will he Charles for his bore him : And to fpeak the truth, the Greeks did not only dread the Puissance of fo great a King, friendship and but the Romans likewife; whence the Greek Proverb feems to have had its rife, Englished thus,

fending a Puissant Army against them, under the Conduct of Adulphus one of his Generals, who did

The French man for thy Friend mai'ft take, Rut do not him thy Neighbour make.

The Emperor Daughters in Marriage with

The first League between France and Scotland.

Chales declared Patricius of Rome, and afterwards

The Emperors liberality to the Church.

ed in the Em-

The Lord of Huelel named Aze, did in like manner fend the Keys of his Town unto Charles. Abdelle fon of Ibimangus the King, came from Mauricania unto Aix Lachapille, to Charles, With feveral Presents, and in such an humble manner, as it sufficiently demonstrated how great a blishe effected it to enjoy the good graces of a person whom Hirenus the Emperor of Constantinople so much reof Configuration
of Con ror of Constantinople, which was doubtless a great deal of honour offered unto Chartes: who notwithstanding denied him; at which he was so much displeased, as that he would needs vent his wrath upon the Territories of Spoletto and Benevente; where he lost abundance of men; so likewise did the Ambaffadors of Abraham King of Barbary come unto Charles, bringing him other rare and magnificent Prefents; to that it feemed all the feveral Monarchs of the world did ftrive to embrace this French Monarchs friendship. And to conclude, we will onely here add the alliance which Acacinius the threefcorth King of the Scors made with him in the year eight hundred and four ; which was ever fince that time kept and observed by the Scots, so likewise did their Kings add unto their Coat of Arms, adouble ftreak of Gules with Flower de Luces round their Scutcheon, to flew that the French alliance hath conduced much to the support of their Kingdom: Which is the chiefest consideration that made me speak of this League, before I did enter upon the discourse of Charles his Actions after he became Emperor, that fo the world may take notice, that this League with Scotland was made whilst Charles was yet but King of France. Wherefore after an infinite number of Victories obtained, Charles was declared Patricius or Senator of Rome, by Pope Adrian, in the year of our Lord, seven hundred seventy three; which was a degree to succeed in the Empire, just as the High Constableship, or Prince of the blood of France, was a step to the Crown. And finally Charles attained to the Empire of the Romans, on the 25th day of the moneth of December, in the year of our Lord eight hundred and one, and the three and thirtieth of his Reign; which was the day of the celebration of the Birth of the Saviour of all the world; During the solemnity of which day, Pope Lee proclaimed Charles Emperour of the Romans, by the general consent of all the Princes, who from all parts of Christendom were assembled at Rome to see so Great and Magnanimous a King. After which the Pope put the Imperial Crown upon his head : Whence it came to pass that ever since till this very day the Emperors are Sacred, and Crowned by the Pope of Rome; At which time all the people did cry out together, Happiness, long life, and Viltory to Charles Augustus, Divinely Crowned, most Great and Peaceable Emperor. Some there be that would need descant upon the like New Creation, allegorizing upon the comparison which they make between the Saviour of the World and Charles the Great, because that on the same day whereon the Saviour of the World was born, Charles was installed in the Imperial feat; as presaging the restauration of the Koman Empire, which fucceeded in his Person; because that having been transported into Greece, it was faln into the hands of those who were not of the Imperial race; Others do Philosophize upon the day whereon Charles was declared Emperor. But for my part I fee no great reason they have so to do, in case we do but reflect upon the new Reformation of our Kalendar, which doth abolish such kind of formalities; which I shall leave to return to our new Emperor, who continued in the performing of his former Glorious and Heroick Fears of Arms, the recital of which I shall omit to avoid prolixity, besides that I suppole I have heretofore fufficiently discoursed of his Warlick Incounters, Victories and Prowels, to make him admired of all men. At present therefore it will not be amps to let you see that the Diety and love clattering of Weapons did not banish this Magnanimous Prince from the professing of Piety, and the love of Learning. And as for his Piety, he could not chuse but bear a great affection to Christianism, being descended from a Father, who had the honour to be the first King of France that bore the Title of Most Christian King. For the proof whereof I shall urge the Voyage which he made into Isaly, to repulse Differ King of the Lombards, who was leagued against the Pope; And (in the year seven hundred seventy four) in a full Council of one hundred and thirty Prelates, caused the Priviledges to be given of choosing the Pope, to the Archbishops and Bishops of the

And in reference hereunto I might also alledge the Liberalities towards the Church of Rome, by confirming the Donations which Pepin his Father had granted the Chusch, besides those which he himself did give unto the See of Rome, and the making over of the Deputiship of Ravenna, which from thence forward he would have depend of the Popes obeyfance; As also the Donation (as some say) which was by him made to the Church of the Island of Corfica, and all the Continent of Liguria, from the old ruines of the Town of Luna, to the very Alpes. And however all these are very excellent and remarkable Actions; yet they seem not unto me to have been the chiefest testimonies of his Piety; wherefore I shall only set down three others, which the good different may justifie his Integrity and Holy life; The first is the good order and discipline which was obcipline observ- ferved in his House, for you could not perceive in the Court of so great a Prince, the usuall excesses and Courtly dissolutions, and loosnesses which were wont to be present in other Courts, For in lieu of Fools, Naturals, and fuch like Gulls, whereof the most part of great men do make use (as Jesters) to recreate their ears, during their repasts, with some pleasant tales and stories;

this Emperour had always a person who did read unto him, either the holy Scriptures, Histories, What difand chiefly the Books of St. Augustine of the City of God; all which were so pleasing unto him, course the Entas that he was never fatisfied with feeing, reading, and hearing of them. A fit pattern for all peror was en-Princes, who desire to attain unto the highest pitch of Honour and Felicity, whereunto they should tertained withconform themselves, and drive away from their presence those bablers and pratters, who for the all at his remost part poylonthe Courts of Princes and Monarchs with Cruelties, Lubricities, Vice, Corruptions, and all kind of other villanies. The fecond example concerneth the Charity which he performed towards the poor, which was fo great, as that he fent great films of Money as far as Charity to the

Egypt, Frusalem, Africk and Syria, to be distributed amongst the poor Christians, who lived in poor. Captivity under the Sarracens. In France and Germany he founded several Hospitals, and left Legacies in Money, which he devoted to the nourishing and maintenance of the poor; He had always twelve poor men in his Train, who lived at his cost and charges; but after that King Aygoland did reproach him that they were not fo well entertained as his fervants, they were more honourably treated. Thirdly, We shall represent his Magnificence towards the Churches, which would take The Emperors up too much time to repeat particularly : To the Churches of Mayence, Strafbourg, Cullen, Trier, Liberality toand others, as well in Germany as in France, he granted large Priviledges, and endowed them with wards the vast Revenues: In Germany he built several Cathedral Churches, as well as in France, their num-Churches.

bers being infinite; all which might be fufficient to Eternize this Princes memory, who the better to Four Univer-Immortalize his Name, erected four famous Universities, the one at Padua in the year seven hun-fities erected dred ninety one; after he had chased Differ out of Lombardy: I know some would attribute the institution there o Frederick the 2d, but they are grofly miftaken. He fent unto Pavie in the year 10r. feven hundred ninety two, John Maitres the Scot, who was the Companion of John Duns, and of Alcuin (the Emperors Tutor) who was one of those two Friers who cryed through the streets of Paris. That they had knowledge to fell, and demanded but meat and cloth for it. He gave unto him the Abby of St. Anfin hard by Pavie, that there he might begin to plant the first Stock of Learning : and there he ended his days. As to the University of Boulognie, some doalso endeavour to

bereave him of the honour of the Institution of it, to confer it on the Emperour Theodosius, but they are far to feek on that particular : And it is void of all doubt that he was the first Founder of the University at Paris, at the folicitation of his Tutor Alcuin: I deny not but Sciences were taught in this great City, but they were expounded by fome fo grofly and ignorantly. as that it was rather a dishonour than a commendation to good Learning; and by this means he prepared the way for his Successors to perfect so happy an undertaking. Nor shall I stop here to enlarge on the praises of this most famous University, I intend to be as brief as possibly I can in this Discourse. Our Emperor was none of those great undertakers, who talk much, but when The Education it comes to the point (as it is truly faid) withdraw their hand and do nothing. He thought it no of the Empedishonour to cause his daughter to learn to sow, and to be exercised in the art of good House- rorschildren.

wifry; And his fons were instructed in all the profitable Sciences and Liberal Arts: But now adays forfooth, we meet with fome Buffoons, who are willing to dispence with Princes in the troubling of themselves with knowledg and the Contemplative Sciences; because, say they, it would crack their brains, but I pray, Where are these mens brains? and was there ever a more active man The Emperor than our Emperor? who notwithftanding was very fludious, well spoken and Eloquent. So like- very much wife was Peter Pifa his Tutor for the Grammar, and Alcuin the Englishman for the other Sciences, addicted to by whom he was instructed in the Rhetorical, Dialectical, and Aftrological Arts: He began a His Master: Vulgar Teutonick Grammar, and he corrected many vitious Barbarisms and corruptions which The Books he

were crept into it; inferting in it the most memorable and praise-worthy Acts of the Ancient Kings, made. and Valiant Captains, and caused his Subjects to learn it. And for the better Governing of the Commonwealth he stablished excellent Laws and Ordinances, which were reduced into four Books, by Anfegism Abbot of Lobe, and afterwards Archbishop of Sens. So likewise was he minded to have altered the ancient Laws and Customs of the French, but fearing least such a change might breed The Emperor have aftered the ancient Laws and Curtonis of the French, but taking was the data actually bleed minded to al-a Sedition and Mutiny, he quitted that defign, and did nothing therein. But it was he, (as Paulis ter the Laws of

Amilius and Guaguinus do write) who first instituted the Twelve Peers in France, in the year of our France, Lord, eight hundred and twelve, viz. three Dukes, the Archbishop of Rheins, the Bishop of Laon, The Emperor Lora, eight humarea and twelve, which the Counts, or Earls, the Bishop of Chaalons, of Noyon, and of inflitutes and the Bishop of Langras; three Counts, or Earls, the Bishop of Chaalons, of Noyon, and of twelve Peers Beauvais. The other fix were fecular ones, viz. the Dukes of Burgundy, of Normandy, and of France. Guyenne, and the Counts or Earls of Flanders, Thouloufe, and Champaigne. However there have been great alterations as to these Peers, and it is a question whether or no they were instituted by the

faid Emperor, as I have observed in my Geographicall description. And the more I enter upon this faid Discourse, the more matter I do ftill find therein with so much superabundancy, as that should I fet down all the particulars, I could fill up whole Tomes, without the reciting of feveral things which were done and undertaken by this our faid Emperor, who (as we are made to believe by the Author of the feven Worthies) had been at Ferusalem , which is contrary unto the Truth for A militake a-Author of the leven Wortmes) had been at jerminem, which is contary and the retail, to bout the Emthere is no mention at all made of him, in the Catalogue of the Christian Princes, who were in the peror Charle

Holy Land, and several other Historiographers speak not of it; which they would not doubtless have Main's being omitted, if he had gained such famous Victories against the Infidels, as are there specified; and by rea- at firmsalem. fon of which some Writers have been to impudent as to frame a number of Fables, and such like uncredible forgeries, against this Emperor; others have presumed to controll his Actions and Deeds,

taxing him for having led an ill life, and being cruel and disloyall. Grounding this their faid calumny

The unlikeli-

Arms of the Empire.

Empress of Conftantinople demands Char *le Main* in Marriage.

Concerning the wonders which were feen at Charle Mains Inauguration and death.

A fummary account of Charle Mains Charle Mains Grandfathers and Fathers

Charle Mains Possessions. Charle Mains Death and B

upon two particulars: First, That he was very Ambitions: and secondly, That the year wherein he obtained the Empire, (as also the year wherein he died,) many horrible and prodigious figns moon of the control o upon the Em- stained this our Valiant and Puissant Emperors deserved praise. And for to prove his said Ambittion, the faid Writers do usually forestall two of his Actions; the first was, his Enterprise (not to make a wooden bridge, which he cauled to be built at the City of Mayence over the Rhyne) but to have a new River cut to pass and fail from the Rhyne, into the Danube : True it is, that this design was a very confiderable one; but there is very little reason that thence any one should frame an Argument to the disparagement of our said Emperor; to the contrary he ought to be praised, for having purchafed the greatest commodity that ever could have happened to Navigation, and for the benefit of his The Eagle with Subjects. And of as little value is that other afperfion laid on him, That in the year eight hundred two heads ti- and two, he did begin to take the Eagle with two heads for the Crest-Coat of the Imperial Arms whence these controllers would needs infer that hedid it through the Presumption, Arrogancy and the Ambition he had to bring the two Empires under the Eagles talonts : But in one word I can infifie him against these Calumnies, viz. by the imitation of his other succeeding Emperors, who all of them to this very day, have governed and commanded under the felf fame banners, thereby to flew that the Eagle ought to Govern and Rule both the Eastern and Western Churches. And the better to filence these Impostures, I shall only alledge the Agreement which Charle Main made in the year aspired to both eight hundred and two, with the Ambassadors which were sent from Nicephorus Emperor of Greece, by which they promifed, not to attempt any thing upon each other; and confented that both of them should be called Augustus. For which cause Charle Main would never attempt any thing against the States of Greece: And if his Ambition had been fo great as the envious persons have published it, besides the means which the Prince of Zara had discovered unto him) had he not a very fair pretence to have undertaken the fame, by reason of the War which Hirene the Emperor Constantines Mother had somented against her Allies? And moreover had he been willing to have taken this said Empress to Wife, (who had fent him an affurance thereof in the year eight hundred and two) could be not have made himself Master of both Empires, without the tying himself to the agreement which he had made with Nicephorus? Thus much to the first aspersion: And as to the Prodigies and wonderfull signs which happened at his attaining unto the Imperial dignity; I do not believe that any folid and perfect judgement can be given thereon, unless a man had a particular Revelation from above, declaring the fecrets and meanings of those figns, and to what purpose God permitted them to be seen. Con-cerning those which happened at his death, I shall let the discrett and judicious Reader judge of them, fince they are no Articles of our Faith: For as it is pretended, Turpin the Archbilhop of Rheims, being at Vienne, many Devils appeared unto him as he was reading his Pfalter, which faid Devils he conjured and commanded to tell him whither they were a going, whereunto they answered, that they were unto Aquifgrane in Germany, there to affilf at the Emperor Chair Main's death; which Turjin having heard, withed them in their return to call upon him again; and before he had ended the reading of his faid Pfalter the Devils returned back very fad, whom he asking what fucces they had had, the Devils replied, that the Emperor according unto his deferts was theirs, but that there was a Frenchman without a head (meaning St. Dennis) who had flung fo much timber and flone in the scales, that the vices and enormities which they had proposed were too light: This story is told by Nicolus Giles, and written by Tur; in and others, which hath given occasion to those who are not much inclined to believe in the Merits of the Saints, to mil-doubt those things which are written concerning them and their Miracles. But and if these stories were true, shall any one therefore blame Charle Main? I think truly they may, in the fame manner as a man might blame William L'Allemand the 2d Count of Mascon, who if we believe Peter the Abbot of Cluny (in the 2d book of his Epistles) was said to have been carried away by the Devil, because he usurped the Church Lands, and Clergies goods; although as I have read in credible Authors, he was murdered as he came from his Countrey house at St. Sorlins, amongst the rocks of Solutre, by some of those who were in dispute with him for the Tythes of Priffe, the domains of Davaye, Chivignes, and St. Sorlin, which were worth 2000 Crowns yearly revenue; and this forged ftory of theirs they endeavour to make good by an apparition which a little after was feen in the Town of Mafcon, and which was faid to have been the Count of Mafion. Therefore as you fee all the aforefaid cavils, wherewithall malitious persons have endeavoured to traduce this Magnanimous Emperor Charle Main, being subject to caution are also sounded on bare surmisals and forged stories. I may lawfully maintain, That he was not without reason termed Charle Main, or Charles the Great, having by his Valour, Justice, Prudence, and Dexterity, caused the Crown of France to ascend to such a high pitch of Honour: having attained to that grandure that no French King could ever before compals: unto which he was conducted by the affiftance of his Father Pepin, and by the acuteness of his Grandfather Martel. And having found the ground-plot laid by his Ancestors; it was easie for him by the agility of his Wit and Industry, to scrue himself up to such a degree of power, as he became dreadfull to all Europe. Moreover having reftored and fettled the Pope in his Chair, he brought back the Empire from the East to the west; which for so long a space of time had been transported thence; and preserved himself in a peaceable and quiet possession of the Kingdom of France, Gascony, Brittaine, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Sclavonia, Bavaria, Saxony, Dacta, Prifa, Liburnia, Istria, Dalmatia, and the greatest, and best part of Spain. Finally, after several Victories and Conquests which were by him obtained, he was seised by a pleuristical Feaver, which carried

him into the other world, on the eighth day of January, in the year of our Lord eight hundred and fourteen, the seventy and one year of his Age, the fourty fixth of his Kingdom, and the thirteenth of his Imperial Reign : He was buried at Aquigrane in Germany , and upon the lower plate of his Tomb. together with his Pourtraiture, this Epitaph is written, viz.

SUB HOC CONDITORIO SITUM EST CORPUS CAROLI MAGNI, ATQUE ORTHO: DOXI IMPERATORII. QUI REGNUM FRANCORUM NOBILITER AMPLIAVIT His Epitaph ET PER ANNOS XLVI. FOELICITER TENUIT. DECESSIT SEPTUAGENARIUS ANNO DOMINI DCCCXIV. INDICTIONE VII. QUINTO CALEND. FEBR.

Englished thus,

Under this Tomb lieth the Body of Charles the Great and Catholick Emperour, who most Valiantly augmented the Kingdom of France, and most happily ruled it for the space of fourty and seven years. He died in the feventy and one year of his Age, in the year of our Lord eight hundred and fourteen, the leventh Indiction, on the fifth Calends of February.

He had five Wives, the first named Galcena Daughter of the King of Galistria, by whom he had Chate Mains no Children: the second Herming and a Daughter of Disser King of Lombardy (or that Kings Sifter Wives and named Theodora, as some Authors will have it) whom in disdain of Carolo Mans his Brothers Widow. Children. and of King Differ, he repudiated; or for other reasons best known to himself. The third was Hiltebranda Daughter of the Duke of Suevia, her he loved very well, and had by her three Sons and three Daughters, viz. Charles, Pepin King of Italy and Duke of Bavaria, and Lewis, firnamed, Debonnaire, or the Courteous, King of Aquitane, whom he made his Affociate in the Empire. His three Daughters were named, Rothrada whom Constantin would have married; the second Bertha, and the third Gifelia, who would never be married. His fourth Wife he took in Germany, and she was called Fastrada; and his last was also a German Lady called Luithgranda, of the Suevian race. by whom he had not any Children at all ; After whose death, he was acquainted with other Ladies, by whom he had several Bastards, and amongst the rest one named Pepin, whom he shut up into a Abastard son by whom he had feveral Battards, and amongst the retr one manned repm, whom he had feveral Battards, and amongst the retr one manned repm, whom he had confpired against him. And amongst many others, one vertue was highly confoires according to the conformation of the retrieval commended in this Emperor, he was very good Natured, Temperate, Gentle, and flow in taking regainst him. venge against any who had done him an injury; as he witnessed, when through his window he saw at midnight Eginardus carried upon the back of his eldest Daughter, whom he only chid in the presence An example of of his other Lords: And truly I suppose but few men would have acquitted him at so cheap a rate; but Chaile Mains it feems it was the Emperors meeknels and benignity, wherein, as in all other vertues, he surpassed all meeknels and those of his Age, &c.

The end of the Life of Charle Main, or Charles the Great.

THE

102

09

THE LIFE OF

TAMBERLAIN, Emperor of the Tartars.



Anno Mund 5365.

Ann. Dom. 1398.



Hether we confider the commencements, which gave life to the Soveraign Enpire of this same surious raging Tamberlain; or whether we delight our selves by observing the means whereby he scrued himself up unto the summit of Clory. We must needs confess (although we were never so void of reason and judgement) that it is scarce possible, less credible, that so despicable a vessel should contain fo great a stock of admirable Actions, and that thence a branch should have fprung, which did subvert the Turkish Menarchy, and several other Potentates, as the sequel of this present discourse will manifest. As to his off-spring, Historiographers do much vary about the truth of it. Some fay he came from the midst of the Par-

origine where. thiant, a people very much redoubted in the Romans times, though but slenderly samous. Others

Tamberlains off-fpring.

fay he was a Turk, a Scythian, a Zagatean, a Tartarian, because it is apparent he was born at Samercand which is adjacent unto the River Taxartes hard by the Country of Zagatas. And as there is some difference concerning the place of his off-spring; so we shall meet with a far greater concerning his qualities and extraction. Some deriving his descent from Cinges Cham, and make him to be the Son of Zain Cham, the third Emperor, who usually is called Bachti. Others suppose him to have been but an inconsiderate person, of a base extraction, but who afterwards caused himself to be reputed to be the greatest and most powerful Prince of all the East, in so high a degree, as that appellation of him to Hannibal taking is for avanced that he call, in lo high a degree, as that him to Hannibal taking is for avanced that he can him to Hannibal taking is for avanced that the can him to Hannibal taking is for avanced that the can him to Hannibal taking is for avanced that the can him to Hannibal taking is for avanced that the can him to Hannibal taking is for avanced that the can him to Hannibal taking is for avanced that the can him to Hannibal taking is for avanced that the can him to Hannibal taking is for avanced that the can him to Hannibal taking is for avanced that the call What Tambers and felf-willed man, then this fame Tamberlain; and that none ever punished thefts and plunders Lain was, as to in such a manner as he did, although himself was the greatest thief and robber, and the most detestablest villain (as to his Altions) which ever any History did set forth or could produce. And on the contrary, he was again to excellent a personage (as to his Intellects) that by his audacity and asfurance, he facilitated those things which all others judged to be impossible. Moreover he was so highly befriended by Fortune, that he never attempted any thing, but he came off with credit: Nor did he ever wage War, but he remained Conqueror. However some do scruple the meannels of his birth, not judging it possible that so inconsiderable a man, as he is said to have been, should attain to fuch a pitch of greatness, as to shake the Turkish Empire which was so long a fettling. But fince I find, that the generality is of that opinion, It will not be unbefeeming my joyning with them therein; and to fay that he was the Son of one called Sangali, a man who was none of the wealthieft

in the world, infomuch as that Tamberlain was conftrained (in relation to his Fathers profession) to keep Cattle and Herdsin the Fields, but he had not long followed that vocation, whenas entring in- Tanberlain to a certain Treaty and League with the reft of the shepherds of that Country, they chose him to be from a Sheptheir King, and did inroll and lift themselves under his command. Finally, some others do conceive herd becomes him to have been a poor fouldier, but a subtile and circumspect man; who wanted no wit, being of a King. a lively and quick spirit. To which they add, that being got up on the top of a Stable wall, whence he had a mind to have froln some horses, and perceiving that the owner had discovered him, he flung himself down the wall, and in the fall hurt his thigh, by reason whereof he ever since remained lame. However he performed gallant Actions; and he was mightily praifed for the equity, policy, and good discipline wherewith he maintained his Army. So that had he not a little too much flackned the reigns of his Cruelty and Ambition, he doubtlefs had excelled all the Warriers that ever Tamberlain were in the world; for no Chieft ain had ever attained to the practical part of ranging and disciplin-ranged and ing an Army, fo exquisitely as he did. And should I relate the several good orders which he caused disciplined his his fouldiery to observe, it would be an endless work . I shall only tell you in what manner he preven- Army very ted the coming of any spies in his Camp, and how they were presently discovered; for which cause No Spies could he built a house without his Camp for all strangers that arrived, who were there lodged and treated, get into Tamhaving any business to communicate unto him: whereby he prevented their sneaking into his Camp, bertains Camp and their prying into and discovering what was there done. Every evening the watch word was di- undiscovered. fiributed, and each man was to repair to his Quarters. And if any one was found out of his rank, or gadding abroad out of his Quarters, he died without mercy; fo that there was no shelter or falety for spies. I shall omit the several manners of repartitions of his Quarters, and under what penalties he caused his Military orders to be observed, fince the Reader may be better satisfied therein by feveral other Pens who have most amply written concerning this famous Captains deeds and shall proceed more particularly to describe his life. Now by his robbings and thieveries he had so well thrived on all fides, that at laft, he was not a little troubled, how to preferve that which he had thus unjustly acquired. And therefore he took two Puissant men among the Massagethians to be his Assortain's ciates, viz., Chaidaren and Mirxem, who being gained by the prefents which he gave them, came un- Affociates. to his relief with their Forces, and with this support, he fell upon the Tartars, overcame them and Tamberlain defeated their Cavalry, which gained him fuch a repute, as that the inhabitants of Samercand furnished defeats the him with Gold and Silver, and Forces to go through with his undertakings. So likewife the King of Tanters. the Massagethians made Tamberlain Generall of all his Forces to his own ruine, for at the taking of General of the Pogdatma City in Tartary, Tamberlain (on purpose to usurp his Kingdom) did cause a Fig to be Massagerans. given him, and after his death married his widow. And immediately after made himself King of Samercand, and of the Massagets. Harbouring a defign at that very time to conquer the Empire of As whereunto he was much sollicited and edged on by Chaidarss, who brought Myrxess in difference with Tamberlain, to whom he had reported some words which Myrxess had too freely and unexaced and his advisedly fooken of Tamberlain, whilst he was only General of the Massages, which cost Myrxem death. his life. Afterwards he began a War against the Hircanians and Caducians whom he conquered. And The Hircanibecaule the Arabians did ravage the neighbouring parts, and gave relief unto the Caducians; he thereupon took an occasion to invade all the Nations which were subject to the Sultan of Persia, of Baldistance Damatic and of Egypte However though the could not conquer them after he had well noise

However though the could not conquer them after he had well noise

ed by Tamberdacia, Damatia and of Egypt. However though he could not conquer them, after he had well nigh tan, as also tyred them out; he agreed on a Peace with them, conditionally, that they should furnish him the Arabians. with Forces to ferve him in his Wars, and to pay him an Annual Tribute as a fign of their Submission.

Nor did he therefore spare the Assyrians, Persians and Medes, who had given the Arabians relief, but plundred all their Countrey, took some Cities, and quite ruined all the lower parts of the Countrey. After which he returned to Sameroand again, to suppress the Soythians who had invaded his Domini- Tamberlain's ons; so that with a puissant Army he passed the River Araxa, and did set upon the Soythians, who Wars against at first did repulse him most valiantly, and for the most part did give him scurvy foils, but at length the significant. he reduced them to that pass, that being not able to recoile any further, or to give battle, they were forced to come to daggers drawing, and to trust to the keenness of their Scimeters or Sabels, who giving the Southes a terrible overthrow, all the Hordes of the Southians were forced to come to a peace with Tamberlain. And as foon as he had feetled all things there and was fure of them, he faced about towards the lower parts of Syria to conquer it; and affailed the City of Damas, where he made a Tanberlain pitiful dehuge of blood, and a terrible havock of the wealth which was in that City, being the chief of Wars in Syria, all the East for the Levant in traffick with our Europians. And being not faished with that booty, takes Doma he marched towards Alep which Town furrendted it self, being unwilling to incur this cruel Champions dipleafure, of whom it is reported, that in his affaulting of places the first day he fet up a white Banner or Ensign, signifying that if the besieged did surrender themselves that day, they should have their lives and goods preserved. The second day, he caused a red one to be displayed, his pleasure then being, that in case they yielded that day, the Masters and chiefest of the families Ensigns at the should onely be put to death to fave the rest. And the third day he caused a Black Banner to belieging of be fet up, denoting that he was refolved not to hearken to any capitulations at all, nor to give Cities, and any Quarter, to that those who were taken in that or the following days, should be put to their tions. death, both Men Women and Children , small and great, the Town pillaged , and afterwards fit d. Wherefore those of Alep having seen the miserable punishment which he inflicted on those

of Damas, chose rather to submit unto the mercy of this roaring Lion, then to exasperate and make

Tamberlain

Tamberlain wars against the Turks, takes Sebasta.

Tomberlains pretence to

and Bajagets

afperated againit Bajazets

great number of the Turks.

But whilst he was busied in this manner, tormenting some, and undermining others, flattering himself with the vain hopes of the great Conquest he should make, he was called home again by the troubles which were arisen in his own Country. For the great King of Catay, who is one of the nine Indian Hordes , and the Soveraign of all the Tartars, had made a pretty The King of Casty warsup- fpoil through all Tamberlains, Countrey, who in the beginning thought to have thundred him on Tamberlain. Out again, but finding with whom he had to deal, apprehending leaft if he should exasperate the great Cham of Cattai too much, it might endanger his possessions, was con-

frained to come to a Treaty, and to demand a Peace, which was granted him, conditionally that Tamberlain (hould do him homage, and should pay a yearly Tribute for the Maffagetes Countrey which he held. Nor need we to doubt but that Tamberlain, might have withstood the great Tartar, but that he was loath to diminish his Forces, with which he was resolved to with the King wage War against the Ottoman Family; being spurred on thereunto by the great Ambition he had always to undertake some considerable expedition or other against his Neighbours. Wherefore being entred Cappadocia, he besieged the City of Sebasta, and fought against it with so much dexterity, as that the Turks being discouraged, and having lost all hopes of being re-lieved, had not the heart to defend themselves against the Scythians, Persians, and Baltrians, who having taken the Town put all to the sword whom they found in the place, so that it is faid there died that day , above fixfcore thousand souls , besides some persons of quality, which were taken, and amongst the rest the Son of Bajazes the first of that Name, who by Bajagets Son his Father had been put in the City of Sebasta, the better to provide for the defence of it; taken in Seba- but he had not long kept it, before Tamberlain made him pals under the merciles cruelty fla, and put to of his most impious rage. After which he sent Ambassadors unto Bajazet, commanding him to render unto all those whom he had dispossessed, whatsoever he most unjustly detained from

them (which was but a meer pretence in Tamberlain to pick a quarrel with Bajazet) as alfo to pay unto him vast and excessive Tributes. Nor will I here venter to contest whether war upon Ba- Tamberlain had just cause to War against Bajazet, as being a Tyrant; for all the world knows this Tartar, made use onely of this cloak or pretence the better to colour and disguise his defign to out this poor Turk, who on his part was nothing inferior to Tamberlain; who Arrogantitiles although he was called Tamis Cuthla, which in the Tartarian Language fignifies a Fortunate appropriated Iron; because he was not onely happy in his enterprises, but as valiant as his Sword; insoto Tamberlain much as that he made a great part of the world tremble. So on the other part Bajazer was firnamed Lelapa, which fignifies a Furious Wave, and Hildin, which fignifies Boisterous and Impetuous. Notwithstanding Tamberlain did make him know, that his Fortunate fword, did not apprehend the being shaken or broken by the Turkish Waves and Thunderbolts; but that to the

contrary his name Lelapa was rather to be stiled a whirle Wind, not by reason of Bajazets Agreat defect vertues and valour, but because of his passion and hastiness, whereby those fortunate enterprises were diffipated and confounded, which he might have carried on gloriously, had he suffered reafon to have been his guide. And it even fell out fo, for Bajazet returned a very smart anfwer unto Tamberlain, and unadvifedly tainted the Tartars Wives honour; which words cost Tamberlainex- him dear. For as Tamberlain did not bear any good will to Bajazet at all; fo his Wife being enraged at the indignities which were put upon her by the Turk, did so highly incense her Husband, as that he was not to expect any peace with his Wife, unless he pursued the Turk

Wherefore Tamberlain affembled a formidable Army of Tartarians, Scythians, Persians, Armenians, and Battrians, amounting unto the number of eight hundred thousand fighting men, and passed through the Provinces of Lydia and Phrigia, which caused Bajazet to raise the siege of Constantinople, and to march unto Afia; to hinder the Messageran from coming into his Countrey, refolving before Tamberlain should have time to proceed he would encounter him, and fight him in Armenia, or upon the banks of Euphrates, and although they fought each other, yet they could not meet a long while. Bejazets Council in the interim were of opinion that he should do well to treat with Tamberlain, seeing he was not strong enough to resist him, and would not dispend his Treasury to raise new Forces. After which the Turk having intelligence that Tamberlain marched in Bithinia , to besiege Pruse (heretofore Bruse) the chief City of the Countrey and the Royal Seat, he resolved to fight him in that place. And both Armies joyned battle on the Mount Seella (where Pompey fought with Mithridates in the year one fights Bajager, thousand three hundred ninty and seven) and the Turk chancing to be worsted, there were above two hundred thousand of them slain in the place, and an infinite number taken. Now Bajazer perceiving that the day was loft, began to acknowledge his error, when it was too late, wherefore he resolved to repair the faults the best he could, and save himself by slight, being mounted on a Mare; which was as swift as the wind. But the misfortune of his difafter following him; he was pursued by the Tamberlanists, who overtook him, by the fault which Bajazer committed in letting his Mare drink, who thereby became so heavy and replenished, as that she could not make so much way as she did before; besides all which this poor King was troubled with the Gout, which had disabled his hands and his feet. The Tamberlanists ha-

ving feifed on for ch a booty, as also on all the Basha's, Beglerbyes, Agaz, and Sangaes of the King of Turky; he was brought unto Tamberlain, who taking him by the shoulders said these words, Thou dilloyal Coward thou art now my Slave, and had receive the reward of thy deferts. Bajazet being full of amazement, answered him, I pray you Sir, kill me, but the Conqueror replied, Lets go, lets go, there is no man can fave thee. When as this milerable captive forgetting the milerable effate Bajagets indifwherein he was, returned harfh language unto his conquerer, and with injurious terms began to inveigh cretion in rewherein he was, remaining upon thing him with his bale extraction, and with his former profession of thievery. So that it was a wonder this Zagathean did not cause him immediately to be slain; for on a less occaffon he caused his great friend Mirxe to be put to death, because he only had adventured to say, that the principality of Samercand was too well fettled, to fall into the hands of fo inferiour a fellow, and fo inconsiderate a robber as Tamberlain was; although these words were not spoken in his presence, nor after he had attained to that dignity. But it feems he referved the venting of his choller upon Bajazet, because he would not put him to death before he had observed all the formalities of justice. And truly the Captive King had little reason to rail at him, for immediately he caused him to be set upon a Mule, and in a way of derifion to be led through all the enemies Camp, and afterwards caused him to be tyed The dignities in Golden Chains, and to be put in a Cage, carrying him up and down with him wherefoever he went, and mileries of and when he got upon horfeback, he caufed him to kneel down, fetting his feet upon his neck and Bajart. shoulders, making him his footstool (as formerly Sophorus the King of the Persians did unto Valerinus the Emperor of Rome) and fed him only with crums of bread and broken morfels which he flung unto him just as if he had been a dog. However Bajazets courage could not hereby be abashed, as it appear- The Sultaness ed when Tamberlain caused that Sultaness which the Turk loved best (and who was taken with the Bajagets wife Kings children and all Bajazees Concubines in the Seraglio of Pruje or Bruje) and made her ferve him ferveth Tomat table. At which fight, the miferable captive flew out into howlings and roarings, reproaching the bettain at table Conquerors baseness and pride, in making so little esteem of the Kingly race, for this Lady was the daughter of Eleazor King of Servia. Moreover these conquests so pussed up this Tartars heart, as being not able to contain himself within any compass, he had designed to pass into Europe to conquer it, Temberlains but his death put a period to all his ambitious enterprifes, in the year of our Lord fourteen hundred and defigns to three. He was the most Ambitious man that ever was heard of, and who would by no means be ren- Conquer Eudred civil nor familiar. Whereof a certain Genna Gentleman, who was one of his great favourites can rope prevented give a testimony, and who essaying to break him of his rudeness and inhumanity wherewithall he treated those which he had overcome, he answered him, How now thou Dog? dost thou think I am a Man? Tamberlains I am the arath of God, and the ruine of mankind; nor have scarce any exceeded him in cruelty. Two scarce of himexamples whereof I shall set before you: The first was when he caused that most barbarous inhumanity self. to be exercised at Damas on the maidens and young children, who came out of the faid City to meet the inhumane cruelty of Imhim, clad in white, and bearing Olive branches in their hands for a token of peace and submission; this bertain unworthy and cruel Tyrant fet his Cavalry to Maffacre and trample underfoot all that flower of youth, and taking the City, he put all the inhabitants thereof to the fword. The fecond was the impiety which he committed against the Spittle of Lepers which was joyning unto the City of Sebasta; where by reato prejudice the Tartar; and whereby they might have promised themselves a privilege of security, implets against to prejudice the Tartar; and whereby they might have promised themselves a privilege of security, implets against the privilege of the privilege of security. yet he caused them to be inhumanely Massacred, alledging, That they infested the Air. But for all this Lepers. I must not tob him of that honour which he acquired for his strict observance of Justice, even against Tamberlain a his own fouldiers, who as foon as they were taken in any offence, were most severely punished, which great observer we may observe by the sentence which he caused to be inflicted upon one of his Captains, who walking of justice.

on the Couft of the Caspian Sea, three leagues from Tamberlains Camp, and espying a very fair maiden who went to draw water, he ravished her, whereupon the faid maiden, together with her Father,

and perfidious Tartar, and desiring him to do her justice; he returned hera most Kingly and gracious answer, that he would most severely punish him, and so he did, for as the Tartarian Histories relate, he caused him to be impaled or spitted on a stake alive. Finally least the Reader might be mistaken, and might conceive, that in my description of this Tartarian Emperors life, I was ignorant that he was called by another name befides Tamberlain. I would therefore defire him to take notice, that I have called him to; To follow the general denomination of him in this manner, that to all men might Tumberlains know, who it was of whom we do write these praises. For according to the Tartarian appellation he right name. was called the great Tamirrham, although others baptize him Timir Langue, and these latter as far as

The end of Tamberlains Life.

I can conjecture (by the feveral comparisons which I have observed) do come the nearest to the Truth;

at least do approach very nigh to the definition of the condition and qualities of the faid Tartar, whole

true name. was doubtless Tamir; and by reason he was lame, they added the quality of Langue there-

unto, which in the Tartarian language fignifies no other thing fave a lameneis; and so called him Ta-

mir Langue. However though he were never so lame, yet he caused several men to go upright, who

accounted themselves to be in a better plight, and abler men then himself was, &c.

complaining to Tamberlain that the had been violated as the was going to fetch water by a difloyal

THE LIFE OF

PRISCIAN the Cafarean Grammarian.



Ann. Mund.

Nat. Christ.

The meaning of breaking Priscians head

A fimilitude

Mongst all the Ancient and Modern Writers, both Greeians, Latins, French, and others, there is scarce any one who hath with so much industry, facility, and certainty, prescribed the precepts of well and congruous speaking, as this Prisian, who hath gained such a Prerogative above all the reft of the Grammarians, that all the faults committed against the constructions of the Syntax, or which do favour of a Barbarism or blemish in the Art of well speaking, and accurate writing, are imputed to so many injuries done unto Priscian, as if the property of well speaking, and excellent writing, did of right belong solely unso him; and that he was guilty of high Treason against Priscian, who had failed in those prescriptions which were

by him dictated for the Grammatical confiructions, and for which he was to make him an amends. Moreover to the end that all men may the better comprehend what a kind of preheminence I intend to allow himabove the reft of the Grammarians, I will make a comparison (although I desire not that between falle any confequences should be deducted thence) between fuch as break Prifcians head, and those who counterfeit their Princes coin; for these by falle doins (which are not warranted, and against the Laws) do make such money as is neither allowable, nor valuable, and so commit a double crime, aswell by their attempting to usurp the Royal priviledge of their Prince, as by the exposing to the publike such mony as will not pals. And therefore such men may be said to break their Princes head, that is, to usurp his authority, and (by a difdain and misprission of their Princes) to deceive and cheat their subjects. In the like manner those do break Prifeians head, who having not the capacity, and being not verift in the Art of well speaking, will however venture to tattle, and instead of uttering near and quaint speeches, do produce nought but despicable, ridiculous, and forged patcht up stuff, under falle coin; and being not fo well verft or flored as to pick out the quaintest allay or expressions, do publish the most impertinent, unplea ngest ill couched pieces, as ever came to light, having no regard at allumto Prissians authority. And truly be might very well have filenced such kind of presenders to learning until they had attained to a higher degree of perfection in the Art of well speaking and excellent penning. But they on the Contrary by their overmuch presumption have even enforced their way, and emancipated themselves so far, as to obtrude most abortive discourses, which are so obvious to the shallowest brains, as that without the bringing of them to the touchstone of wir, It may be easily discovered that they were not forged in Priscians Study, but coined in some fordid Kutchin-stuff-tub. But I shall quit this unfavoury discourse, relying upon the general consent of all Judicious and Learned perfons : That this our Prifcian is deservedly reputed to have been the Prime Chieftain of all the Gran- Prifcian the marians. And therefore the King of Persia, did most highly efteen him, by reason of his singular Prince of the and furpaffing knowledge, which he fufficiently evidenced by feveral books which he composed upon Grammarians, the Grammar, having not left the least parcel of it unrefined. Befides which, he was an excellent | hi- The King of holopher, which we may differ n by his books of his Natural questions, and those he wrote on the Art Perfus effect of Cosmography. He flourished (as Trishemine saish) in the year of our Lord, six hundred and twen-Priscisis books And I do find that there were two personages of this same name, the one was Priscian the Here- Two persons tick, who lived about the year, three hundred four core and three; the other was this Lydian Philo- called Priferan fopher, who wrote upon the books of Theophraftus, concerning the Sence, the Phancy, and the Intel- The place of left. As to the place of Priscians birth, divers have strangely mistaken themselves, in saving that he Priscians birth. was born at Cafarea, although feveral grave and credible Authors do teftifie that he was born at Rome: and amongst the rest, Babtispa Guarinus of Verona hath most elegantly proved it. That which caused the militake was, because Priscian intitles himself of Cafarea, and whereby some believed that Cafarea The reston was the place of his birth; but it was for another reason he was called a Cafarean, viz. because he had why Priscion perfected most of his Studies at Cafarea, and had gained a marvellous reputation in that place; info- was called a much that he rather chose to be called by the name of the place where he had studied, then by the name Cafarean although be was of his Native Countrey. Whence some have inferred that he was transported with an unjust ambiti- a Roman, on, by reason he disdained the place of his Nativity, to give himself to a strange place, that he might thereby only make the repute of his fame spread the more abroad; nor do I doubt but that he was a little too much guilty of this crime, when he made that ambitious and lofty Etimology of his own The Etimology name. for he should rather have derived it from Prifem, then from the Verb Prafeio; but was will- of Prifeians ing by the faid Derivation the world should take notice that the faid name had been given him, because name. of his profound knowledge in the feven liberal Arts and Sciences. But that we should thence infer that he was more covetous and ambitious of honour then he deferved, truly I cannot well aver; for that I am of a contrary opinion, and that he cannot be fufficiently praifed for his not having been ungratefull unto the City, which had given him a diffinction from the ignorant animals, although the faid City was far inferiour indeed unto Rome (which at that time was the chief City of the whole world) and this Cafarea was but a mean Town of Palestin built by Herodes, whereof Enselow was Bishop. And at this Casarea, what day the faid Town is called Balbee and Belme, as I have declared in my Cosmography. Moreover the and where, Supputation of the time wherein this Prifesan lived, is much different; for Trithemise the Abbot faith, A different that he did flourish in the year of our Lord fix hundred and twenty; and by the denumberment of the fupputation of Roman Consuls, we find that he lived long before, because that he dedicated his chief book to Jalian the time wherein Prifthe Conful and Roman Patrician (who afterwards is faid to have been Emperor) in the year of our cital lived: Lord three hundred threescore and fix. But Raphall Volateran, in his Anthropology, differs yet more, for he faith, that Prifeian was in repute and did flourish in the City of Athens in Greece during the Emperor Justinians reign, and that he there composed several Books, and amongst the rest his Latin and Greek Grammar; which is it were true, Priscian must have lived long after, seeing that Justinian the elder (who fucceeded Justin the first his Uncle) reigned in the year, five hundred twenty and eight: and Justinian the second son of Constantine, reigned in the year fix hundred fourscore and seven. Mean while that which is most certainly apparent, is, that Priferan lived much about Saint Jeroms time who Priferan lived (as the Abbot Trithemius fays) deceased in the year of our Lord four hundred twenty and two, on the much about last day of the moneth of September being of the Age of ninety and nine years old. So that we must Saint Ferons conclude Volaterans calculation to have been erroneous, as also Jaques Bergamos, who transports Saint Jeroms life, unto the year four hundred twenty and nine; in which time he will needs have him to have flourished, which according to the former calculation would have been seven years after his death. And that which troubles me most of all, is, that Volateran doth confess that Priscian did very Priscian once a much affect Christianity, but afterwards he also faith, that he had gathered out of certain Authors, that Christian, but afterwardshe recanted. But by reason it is not specified wherein he failed, and in which points of Do- afterwardssupafterwardshe recanted. But by realon it is not specified wherein he raised, and in which points of 100boted to have
the rine he was not refolved; moreover unless there be more proofs then those which are extant in his less than the writings, for my part I cannot thence infer any suspicion of Herefies in him. Unto this our Priscian Faith. the Translating of Dionylius Africansu his book (concerning the fituation of the world) is attributed, although the Grammarian Phemius Philamore did it, which faid work was after put into Latin Verses The translatiby Simon Lemnius. This work is very much praised by all good Authors, because (as Pliny tells us) on of Dionysius by Samen Lemnus. In swork is very much prainted by an good relation, became (as Plany etc. is shook con-pliany file was ordered by the Emperor Augustus, to make a discovery of all the Dominions of the Le-cerining the want, and to fet down his observations in writing concerning them, the better to inform his elders from worlds situation. who had undertaken the expedition of Turcomania against the Parthians and Arabians; so that it on attributed is no wonder Priscian was reputed to be the Translator of that work, which is the more commendable to Priscian, and credible by reason it was framed and composed by a Geographer, who believed not the report of

The end of Priscians Life.

musty Scotch Islands, &c.

others, as our Modern stripling Geographers do, who doubtless were hatcht in some of your frozen

THE LIFE OF

ARTEMISIA, the Wife of Maufolus, King of Caria, or Halicarnesses in Greece.



Ann. Mund.

Ant. Christ

Funerals.

a burial,

The ceremo-

ing of their Funerals.



Mo Owever some may have despited the burying of the dead, yet it hath always been had in an extraordinary recommendation amongst the ancient; which the Holy Writ it felf doth manifest unto us, in the time of Joachim Son of Josias the King of Ifrael, whom God threatned by his Prophet Jeremy, Chap. 22. that he should be buried in the Sepulchre of an Ass, That is to say, that his body should be cast upon the earth without any Sepulchre at all. Cicero likewise in his Oration which he made for Milo doth very much blame Clodim, because

he was not honoured with the Funeral rights which were in use at that true, wiz, with the reprefentation of Images, mournful ditties, publick thews, lamentations, hymns, veries and orations appropriated unto the praifes of the deceafed party. And truly the Romans fo much Ancient Cerehonoured Interments, as they accounted it a great infamy and different to be deprived of it, and even appointed it as a punishment to some notorious criminals, as unto murderers; such as had deferted their parents in necessity; and other offenders, contained at large in their Funeral infitutions. And A difgrace abecause several Nations have used sundry sorts of ceremonies at the burying of their dead, we will mong the Robriefly fet down some of them. The Romans did sometimes use to bury their dead bodies, and put them in the Graves before they burned them , onely erecting earthen Sepulchres made of great clods the Roman at over them, infleed of Marble monuments, which cultom lafted for a long while amongst them. But the folemair finding at length that they could not easily draw forth of the earth the bodies, or bones of fuch as had been long buried, they then began to burn the faid bodies, and to reduce them to Afhes; which having affembled, they preferved them in certain veffels called Urne; which they caused sometimes to be made very richly and coffly; like unto those wherein the Emperor Severus his Afhes were preferred, which were of Gold enchafed with coffly Pearls. I my felf have feen fuch like vessels which were made of earth, and fome of Glass, as in Greece, in Egypt, in Italy, and in France, about the Provinces of Bourdeaux; but especially in the Ille of Zant belonging to the Signiory of Venice (and not unto the Turk as Munster tays) where the Athesof the great Orator Cicero were preserved, (as I have ons in the bu- already described in my Cosnography) and thus much may suffice concerning the Romans Funerals. Other Nations who were lefs civilized, had likewife their particular wayes and manner of burying their dead. The Lothophagians did caft them into the Sea, inflead of burying them. The Hircanians

Sole mnities

exposed them unto Dogs and Birds to be devoured, which creatures they purposely kept. The Tiberians hanged fuch upon Gibbets as became very old. The Messages and Troglodies (a people of Ethiopia who have but one eye as Pliny writes, though I believe it not) did eat their dead themselves, giving this reason. That it was better they should eat them, then the Worms. The Scythians did Interrethole with their dead, who were best beloved of them in their life time. And the Egyptians and Syrians (observing a greater humanity to the dead) did as much as in them lay strive to hinder their dead bodies from rottennels and putrefaction, shutting them up in certain small Chefts, after they had well Enbalmed them with Myrrh and Aloes, the juice of Cedar, strewing Salt within, and several other Aromatical Drugs and Scents. But leaving this discourse, let us proceed to our intended purpose; and dilate on the particular of this most excellent Queen Artunifia, whose Pourtraichure I do berewish present you, in the faid manner as it is express in an Antick Meddal which I do keep in my Cabinet, not much dif-

fering from a Marble Statue which I did fee in the City of Rhodes. ring it on a marone Statue winter I and Artemifia
Artemifia therefore was the Wife of Manfolus King of Cacania called Caria, and of old Halicar-whole wife. nelles, a rude barbarous Country, of little or no efteem, before it was inhabited by the Grecians, and whence the Proverb Iprang, In care periculum: There's danger in Caria: which faid Artemifia, Artemifia buby reason of the extream Love which she bore unto her husband; after his death caused his body to rieth her husbeburnt; and conceiving with her felf, that the could not find a more commodious place to bury him band in her in, then her own body; she caused his Ashes to be preserved in a rich Orne of Gold, and daily amongst her Wine, drank a certain quantity of them; mourning all therest of her life time for her Maulolus his deceased husband, and thus you see what an admirable Funeral obsequie she prepared for him. But sepulcher built not contenting her felf therewith neither, the cauled fuch a Tomb to be built for him, as never was by Artemifia. heard of before, and the which she called by her Husbands name Manfoleum, which faid Tomb was accounted one of the feven wonders of the world; being built in a square form, containing seventy foot in length, four hundred and eleven foot in circumference, and eight cubits in height. And to foot in length, four hundred and eleven root in circumstetic, and eight cubis in degit. This cause it to be the more exquisitely finished, the sent for the four rarest Architects of all Greece and the rare Architects of all Greece and tills imploved Alia, viz. Sapas from the Isle of Mileta, who built the East fide of it : Bryaz the Silaegon Eunuch in the buildwho built the Northfide of it, Timetheut the Phrygian who built the Southfide of it, and Leocares ing of the the Lavian who built the Westernside; and although Areams a chanced to due before it was quite si. Mansieum. nished, to the full perfection of it; yet however the faid Artificers did not give over the work untill they had quite finished it; and it is worthy to be observed, that four thousand men labored in it daily. The number they had quite finished it; and it is wormy to be observed, that not insulated then hadded a rice of workness.

Moreover the faid Queen, to render her Husbands Funerals more famous, caused, and ordained a prife of which labored which labored plate and of other precious Germans to be given to him who should in a most elegant manner set forth in the Mayle, her Husbands praises in a Funeral Oration; which is a rare demonstration of a Womans love and liberality towards her deceased Husband, manifesting that it ended not in her death, but that she desired to have it live to all posterities that should succeed her. And so it did, for this unparalleld ftructure of Queen Artemifias Funerall Monument, for her deceased Husband, gave a name to all the Tombes which were ever after erected for Emperors, Kings, Princes, and Potentates; and the which have ever fince (as Profortius Writes) been called Manfolas: and moreover thus much we may read in Martial concerning Artemifias praise on that account, viz.

> The Maufolean Tomb , which feems To raife it felf unto the Skie. Thy praises (Artemilia) deems , To eccho forth eternally.

Which serving as a president to Posterity, was imitated by some others, whose same will never dye, and that we may not be taxed to have passed them under silence. Behold, Porcia the daughter of Tallies whom and that we may not be taxed to have paned them under ment. belong you and take the could not be could not be follow him , swallowed down hot burning Coals. In likemanner Agria the daughter of King Adra- feparated from fin, and thewife of Polianim, the fon of Edipin King of Thebes , hearing that her Husband was their husbands flain in a Salley which he made against the enemies who belieged the City, got her self out of the place, by death it self and without the least apprehension of the adversaries cruelty, or the fierceness of savage beasts, she went unto the place where the battel was fought, and fought for her husbands body in the dark of the night, which having found amongst the dead, she brought it back with her into the City and caufing it to be burnt, after she had bedewed it with a torrent of tears, she put the Ashes into a Golden Vafe, and at every new Moon drank a certain quantity of them; vowing at the fame time a perpetual Chastity, which she observed all the days of her life, and thereby did imitate Artemis as glorious resolution. But if by these superstitious actions Artemisia rendred her self commendable : How much more ought we to admire her for her gallant conduct in the managing of a war? For having been confirmed to defift a little from those moans which she daily poured forth (in imitation of Antenigas of the languishing Turnel Dove, after her mates death) and for a while to quit her dismall lamenting against the life, to resist an Army of the Robations, which invaded her Territories, the therefore assembled her Robations, Forces , and marched towards them to prevent their further proceedings , defeated them two feveral times, and gained their Island. In testimony whereof a Statue was erected to her honour in the City of Rhodes, hard by the place where formerly the Colofus ftood : And had she been the first of her Sex who had given this proof of her Prowels, her Heroical magnanimity might have been doubted of. But fince there have been several famous Ladies who have far exceeded the strength and vallour of wo-

Semiramic. Queen of Af-

men, I may promife my felf that a greater belief will be given to this foregoing recitall which I have made. And for example fake, I shall onely alledge one, viz. Semiramie the Queen of the Assyrians, and exploits of who being entred upon the possession of so great a Monarchy as that which was afterwards held to be the first of the whole world under the Banner of a poor dismall and rejected Dove , did subdue all Ethiopia, with flood Stanrobales King of the Indies, who (although its feldom known that the Dovedares conset with the Hawk) she overcame not onely in words but in deeds, as Dion the Historian relates , who tells us, that the faid Queen Semiramie (having understood that the Indian King flighting her Feminine frailty thought to have out-dared her with high language) not being able to brook his ifolence, fent him this meffage, The effetts of a combat, are deeds , not words Staurobales ; and in effect the fought and vanquished him. So likewise that which Justin relates of her, is very considerable, and worthy to be had in remembrance, viz. That news being brought her that the inhabitants of Ba-blos (a City, by her felf reflored and built up again) were in a high Mutiny, and tending towards a fedition; although she was a dressing of her head when she received the news; yet however she got up and on horse-back with her hair hanging about her ears, and being accompanied onely with those which were about her, she took the field and rulning into the midst of the mutinous rable, she behaved her felf to discreetly and prudently, as that the appealed the sedition, and settled the inhabitants of Babylon in their accustomed obedience and loyalty. For testimony of which noble and heroick attempt of hers, and high resolution (not to lose so much time as to stay and put up her hair) there was a Statue erected in Babylon representing her just in the same posture as she was when she accomplished so memorable an exploit. But to return again to our Artemisia the Dowager Queen, she having laid by her Widows habit upon force (the days of her mourning also being expired) was constrained for the good and suture defence of her Countrey, to re-assume the Robes and Regal Ornaments belonging unto her; which the was perswaded to do, not without a great deal of reluctancy. But finding that States affairs were too burdenfome for her dejected spirit, she disposed of the Government of her Kingdom, unto those of her Council, whom she best trusted; and because her very Palace grew diffastiul unto her, by reason of the non consociety of her dead Lord and King, she chose to abandon it and her very Country to boot. Wherefore having given sufficient orders for the compleating of her Husbands Monument, she resolved to engage in some Foraign adventures. And ir fo fell out, that at the fametime Xerxes the great Persian Monarch (ambitiously aiming to reduce

famous Queen Artemisia.

all Greece under his subjection) raised an innumerable Army by Land, and an invincible Navy by Sea, with whom Artemifia fiding against the Grecians (her Husbands ancient Foes) rigged and manned as emperour Xerrar against out three Ships of her own, of which she was Archi Talasa, or high Admiral; and so putting her the Greefant. felf under the Persian Emperours protection, she joyned his Fleet, and behaved her felf so valiantly in a bloody Sea-fight which happened between the Perfians and Grecians, as that her Ships (particularly known by their Flags and Enligns) were observed more to endamage the Greeians Fleet, both in an offensive and defensive way, then all the Perfam Fleet besides; and although the Perfams had the missoriume to be vanquisht in that Sea expedition (though far excelling in number) yet Queen Artemisia, with hers, narrowly escaped and got in safely to Pholerum; although she was closely pursued by Aminim Palenam an Athenian Commander, who not being able to come up, or cope with her, relinquish the pursuit of her, and onely contented himself to fend better failed vessels after her, and to send ten thousand Draghnes upon her life, deeming it an high indignity, that a woman should affront the whole Athenian Navy, and afterwards make her way through them all. And Xerxes himself, as Herodotsus in his Urania reports, beholding how bravely above all his Fleet Artemifia and her Ships behaved themselves, and how couragiously they forced their way when all his Navy was in a manner quite deseated, ferching a deep ligh, he faid, Viri quidem extiterant mihi femina, femina autem viri. My men this day have flood me in no bester flead then women, and the women onely have behaved themfelves like men. And thus much we thought good to note concerning this most eternally glorious and

The end of Aryemifias Life

THE

THE LIFE OF MARGUS TERENTIUS VARRO.



Ann. Mund.

Mixt learning hath feemed fo ftrange to fome that they have dared to fay it was not onely mis becoming a man to addict himself to feveral kinds of difficult of them, and do little regard the complaint of that no lefs grave Philospher them excellent Physician, who complained of nature, That to life of man was Mans life but then excellent Physician, who complained of nature, That to life of man was Mans life but the man was the same of how which the first Arman. in flow she did not a state of the state of

Science, the life of two or three men, though four times prolonged) would fcarce fuffice. But to exclude some lively wits, and to conclude that an active spirit cannot persorm that which many others could not do without a great difficulty, would be altogether void of reason, and would confine the One Man may capacity of all humane industry, within the levell of some few mens weaknesses; and although this beverst in fe-Axiom may be verified both by reason and arguments, yet because it would require a longer time, veral Sciences, Axiom may be vermed country teams and arguments, yet could be subject to uncertainties. I have rather chosen to propound one Person who will give us a affored proof of the Paradox which I maintain (that is to say) That a man may be very well worst

And this our Varre was born in the Province of Martonois in France, a man fo generally verit in the knowledge of most Sciences, as that it is a hard matter to believe what I propose, viz. That there are very sew Arts upon which he hath not lest some observations in Writing of his excellent Learning: Moreover the Catalogue of the Books he composed (which was learnedly collected by Gefnerss) will give a fufficient Testimony to what I say, and will clearly manifeft, that there are few points, either in Divinity or the Liberal Sciences, which he hath nor plainly illustrated, according to the time wherein he lived; And was for this reason much honoured by S. Angustin in his fixt Book of the City of God, where he thus faith concerning Varro, parto praised Who is there that with more curiofity hath dived into those things which have been surmized con- by St Austra. cerning the Godhead? Who hath found them out more Learnedly? or who hath more feriously considered them? who hath diffinguished them more subtilly? who hath written more diligently and largely thereon then he? Abounding in learned fentences, and though his language be not very pleasant, yet those who delight to learn according to the Rules of Discipline may the better

profit by him: which manner of writing is by us called a Scholasticall and difficult way of Penning, but the other a free and liberal manner of writing, like unto the flyle of Cicero, which was pleafing to thole who read it. In which fewline for the mo-whom I would remit all those who are fo curtous as to furnish their fibraries: As for humane and lideller of a Liber al Sciences, that man cannot be found, who according to the times hath written more to the purpose on them than houself. There is, that at periods who have notall his Books, so that houself is that it found is that a period who have notall his Books, so that houself is framing a Library onely of his Books, would be a neer Chimtera: And yet I would not counted any one to perule any other Books fave those written by this excellent Philosopher Varro; and might I be credited, I should advise all those that design to ered Libraries, to found them on the pattern and model which we have from the Magazin of Varro; who fets up the Mathematicks in an eminent and honourable place; the Mineralists, and fearchers of hidden fecrets in the bowels of the earth, may from his abounding Treasure draw forth the myftical vertue of their Divine undertaking. As for the Historians, and Ansiquaries, it cannot be denied but Varro hath laid them a foundation, having traced the fuccession of Times, Ages, and Families: He hath likewise made an Essay upon Husbandry, which is fo well digested, as that it may easily be seen (by those sew Books which are yet extant, and have been preserved from the malice of the times,) that he was a perfect experienced man. Last of all, the Grammar, Phile (ophy, Peerry, and the other liberal Arts, have received a marvellous luftre from his Labours, which by the calamity and envy of the times had bin abused, discoloured, and for the most part detormed, had not the diligence of Joseph de L' Escala (a person endued with eminent parts , and perfect in the knowledge of fublime matters) of Peter Viltor a Florentine (whose memory ought to be cherisht and reverenced by all those who affect either knowledge or vertue) and of Anthony Augustin a Spani.rd, who by his most elegant amendments hath so much reformed our Varro (as also many other Authors) and who hath written very exquititely upon the Civil and Common Law, and other excel-lent perions by whom the rich, and diverly flouritht Lineaments of Varro are replaced in that pericction we now by their endeavours found them. I could at prefent make an extract of his Sentences, but because it would be too long, I shall content my self to remember two onely: The first is touching the duties belonging to friendship, which are expressed to the life, not as they ought to be prescribed and ordered by the just precepts of Friendship, but as they are now practifed, Rich mens friends (faith he) fland by the Barn to gather up the Gorn: Evidencing that friendship is fo corrupted, as that men meafure it now onely by the Ell of profit and accountage, which hath been very much observed by Cicere, Aristotle, and others, as well Philosophers as Poets. The other is concerning the command and power great Persons have over their servants, and slaves, under which Notion many have oftentimes taken a liberry to exercise most execrable cruelties and inhumanities. It is well known that the sentence of these poor Creatures was drawn in that fair Parchment, which notably imported, That all persons who are reduced to a fervile condition are dead. As it is evident by many passages, as well in the Ticle of the Rules of the Law, as in other parts of the Body Civil, and easie to boobleved by the Reader , but they did not well confider, that by the Law of Natio s, which gave them their original , this ought to be underftood of the civil d. ath, and not of the naturall. Foralmuch as Arifforle hath very well observed in fome part of his Books, concerning the Civil Government; That there are flaves which have their understandings more free and generous than those that are qualified with the Title of Liberty ? so that this effentiall form which endued them with reason, could not be taken from them. As for the life which is common to bruit Beafts, it could not be denied that they I kewife did not enjoy the finge benefits for to whatfoever pain, labour, or fervile subjection they were pur, yet are they fometimes more lively merry , and better disposed then those which do eriumph under the Clock of Liberty.

The diffincti-

Although then the diffinction of Free men from flaves, be not by reason of Nature, yet nevertheless the foolish Mafters mistook the civil death for the natural, and handled their slaves as they do Clay, freeman and a Stones, and other manimate things, and made no confrience at all to put these poor creatures to death. 14 : O I know that the Emperours by their Edicts have moderated , (as much as in them lay) fo great a rigour, and Varroalfo hath endeavoured to remedy the fame. And upon that occasion held wisely this opinion , That flaves ought not to be forced and compelled to their duties by stripes , menaces; and Wounds, but to be drawn to do their duty by mild and plea ant words, kind and humane Actions; i h.

In the Christian world, that cruel and wicked Tyranny of flavery hath for the most part been rejected and cut off; neither were the exsortions, cruelties and barbarismes of other people, altogether, and in all places alike horrible, who though exalted to a higher degree of power and command, would not, or else could not by their superiority, destroy at an instant, all those who were inseriour unto them. I shall always remit them to this grave Confull, who by reason of his rare and excellent vertues was called to the Diffator flip by the Romans, but would not except of it; though he were very much courted thercunto. I know full well that fome attribute this refufall to fome prefage which he had drawn upon the Romans at the lamentable and almost utter defeat of all the Romans in the Battell of Cannes. But be it how it will, certainly he was a man that did not begin any thing at the wrong end; neither was it possible that a man , having past through all the Degrees of Honour and preferment in the Roman State; and who at laft being offered the highest Dignity of all; should be stupid or shallow brained. The long age he lived, having attained to fourfcore and ten years, makes me beleeve it was malice onely that afterwards imputed to him the dilaster which happened at Conners: However I was willing to let you fee his Pontraiture, to as I caufed it to be drawn after an Ancient Medall, which I brought out of Italy, together with those of Ovid and Salas 1100000

The end of Marcus Terentius-Varro's Life,

THE LIFE OF HISMAEL SOPHI King of Perlia.



Ann. Mund. 5345.

An. Dom. 1478.



any Kingdom, State or Empire in the world hath been turned to and fro like a weather Cock, with divers changes of Governments, it is that of Persia, which was first of all usurped by Alexander the Great, who Divers chanspoiled Darius of a Monarchy he had held by the space of fix years, ges in the Porand turned topfie turvy the state thereof in the year of the world three thousand thirty five, in the hundred and twelfth Olympiade, and fince Cyrus usurped it from the Medes, two hundred twenty and eight years: And after it had been under the flavery of the Macedonians, for the space of two hundred ninety three years, as well as of the Arlandes or cut-throats, and murtherers, the space of five hundred and fourty years,

and under the Disciples of Mahomet and the Tartars a very long time : The Sophi seized this fair and spacious Kingdom in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred seventy and eight, as Chronologerstell us, who have described to us the extraordinary Courage and Valour of Affamb, y, or Uluncalan Grandfather of Hismael, in memory of whom we write this present History. He had usumcassan and by Despinacaton Daughter of Carlo-jan Emperour of Trepizond, one Son and three Daughters; his children, The eldest was married to Secaidar Father of this Sopby, who waged a grievous War against Rustan and Alument his Son, but was forced to yeeld to his missfortune, and was slain in a totall Rost of his Army at Derbent, his head cut off and given to be devoured by Dogs; So great and secalitars miimplacable was the hatred of the Persians towards the Sophies, that where-ever any of them was ferable end. found, it was impossible to fave his life. The occasion of the hatred was this, Secardar had depo- Secaidars and fed those from the Government, who seemed to have descended in a right line from frent; to Himsels right that indeed there are some by whom this Sophy hath been evil spoken of, accounting him a Seducer, and to the Kingto have got the Scepter by fecret and undue practifes: but they confidered not that those who com- dom of Persia. manded in person after Julaver, were illegitimate, and enjoyed the Kingdom without any just Title. And that it is fo, Bayfingir was the Adulteress that conspired with Patirsa the Wife of Facub, Daughtter of the Lord of Sammura, to poylon her Husband and Son, with whom the died likewife. As for Ruft an there was no right to prefer him to the Kingdom before Secaidar, but onely in cafe the Race of the Ulumcassans thould fail; for he was not called to the Persian Crown, as Son in I aw to that great Affembeg or Osumcaffan, who after the death of Tamberlain, (which happened in the year one thousand four hundred and three) delivered the Persians from the Tyranny of the Tariars. And if Secaidar were much opposed and entangled in his affairs, his Son Hismaelhad no better fortune, for as foon as the first news of his Fathers being murthered founded in his ears, he

and his two Brothers, whose lives were envied, and likewise sought, fled away hastily to save themfelves, the one into Natolia, another to Aleppo, and the third, which was our Hismael, to the Island of Arminig, scituate in the lake of Vasthan, or Gelucalat, and having taken resuge there, he found an unexpected good reception, by the means of a certain Priest of Armenia, who pretended to Judicial Aftrology, beholding earneftly his face and Phisiognomy, found so great hopes of his excellent graces and perfections clearly appearing by the lineaments of his face and body, that he took all the pains and care he could to bring bim up. And befides the Prefage of the Conftellations, there was hopes that the Kingdom of Perfia would defeend to him, if he could be kept fafe from the purfuits of Amelut; and that being advanced to the Crown, he hoped he would not be ungratefull, but would advance, cherish and honour him; and hereupon he kept him privately, for fear it should be discovered where he was, and endeavoured to instruct him in the Christian Religion; but this young discovered where he was, and encaroured to intruct min time contributions outlins young Prince being put up with Ambition, little regarded any Religion at all, accounting no otherwise of it, than according to the advantage he received thereby, to compat his defired ends; which was the cause he could not long endure to live with his Master, although he gave him great respect, and for his sake showed much favour, kindness, and friendship to the Christians, when he came to his Crown, which he obtained not without a great deal of difficulty. After he had taken his leave of this Priest, he retires to Chilan, and lives with a Goldsmith, much devoted to his fathers family, and by his dexterity, underhand made his friends, understand secretly living at Ardovil, how earnest his desires were to recover his Liberty, whom he so well allured, that with a common consent they refolved to revenge the Defeat which they received at Derbent, and the Massacre likewise of Secaidar, unto whom they bore a great affection, because they held him to be their Prophet, having withdrawn himself in a manner from the Mahumetanism; nor would he suffer the Alcoran otherwise to be allowed of, fave according to the interpretation of Haly, fon in law, and Coufin to Mahomet, who had fet up a new Faction amongst the Sectaries of that damnable Doctrine of Mahometanifm. And for this reason Secaidar was by Belle Forrest erroneously compared unto the chief of the Reformed Religion, because they receive not the Word of God, save according to their own interpretations, rejecting those of the Catholick Apostolick Roman Church, in like manner as the Sopins did concerning the Aleoran; which Conclusion, were it a proper one, we must either confeis the Aleoran to be good, or beleeve that there is some correspondence or sympathy in it which may make it sympathize with the purity of the Gospel. But peradventure the good man did not prie so narrowly into the matter, as he ought to have done, but onely as to the quality, and not regarding the consequence thereof, he would needs spend his verdict on these Reformations. But the truth is Secaidar, by his having changed some particular points in the Mahometan Religion, did thereby in such a manner gain the hearts and affections of the Sophies, that he became Lord and Master of the Kingdom of Persia; and his son Hismael remained King, notwithstanding Alumnt used his utmost endeavours to keep the possession of the Kingdom, which he pretended descended to him by just right from his Father Kustan.

Religion a pretence to Lettle Princi-

Secailar the

the Sophian

first Author o

Hismacls first exploit which was his ma-

by Hi∫muel.

The first gallant exploit which Hi/mael did, was upon the Castle of Maumutaga, which he possesfed himself of, by surprisall. Now the place being impregnable, by reason of the scituation of it, and the great Treasures found in the Village under the Castle, eclypsed greatly the designs of his Enemy, who durst not send an Army to besiege it, being sure to lose his labour, and therefore would have the world to believe it was a Policy in him, to have this bone fall on purpose into Hismaels hands, thinking that being a young man, he would continue gnawing upon that, and not have attempted any further upon his Estate: But reckoning without his Host, he found that he was mistaken, for Hifmael, with the Treasure he found, drew unto him people from all parts, levied men, and made up an Army, and managed his affairs fo well, that in a thort space he was followed with five or fix thousand Sophians; whereas at the taking of Manmutaga, he could hardly muster two hun-Sumachia taken dred. With these Forces he advanced to Sumachia, a great and Capitall City of the Kingdom, and the fiege having not lasted long, Sermangoli the King thereof, finding himself too weak to refist the Forces of the Sephians, refolved to retire to the Castle of Culiffan, and abandon the City to the mercy of Hismael, who took it, and with the spoils thereof made large Presents to all those of his Army, whereby he did not onely captivate and affure their hearts to him, but the fame thereof spreading abroad, caused new and fresh Troops to resort to him daily, which highly displeased Alumnt, who was well affured, that so soon as the Sophy should gather strength enough, he would fall upon him; And therefore he affembled his Forces together, and Hismael did the like, sending to Alexanderby, Gargurambey, and Mirzambey, Kings of Iberia, to defire aid from them, who upon his promites fent each of them three thouland Horse, and about fix thousand Iberian Foot, all Valiant and ftout Souldiers, with the which, and those Forces he had with him, he marched and became Master of the Field; whereat Alamut who was but a young man, (not above fixteen years old,) was much perplext, hearing of the great preparation which his enemy made. Whereupon he came to Tauru, and from thence marched towards Sumachia, between which two Towns the two Armies met in a posture to engage in battell , but the great River standing as a Barricado between Alumus defeat them, hindred their defign for some days; till at last the Sophy had found out a Foord, and by edby Hismacl night, whilst the enemy lay secure, charged Alumns so furiously, that the Sophy had out off the most part of his men before they were well rouzed out of their sleep, and Alumnt himself had likewife fallen by the Sword, had he not in all haste faved himself in Tauris, which was also taken by the Sophy about four days after: who knew not, as he ought, how to gather the fruits of his Vi-

ctory, but abandoned himself to all kinds of cruelties, manifesting his nature was bent to all kind of inhumanities, not at all favouring of the mild and fweet disposition of a Persian. I will not mention the fearch he made for the bodies of Jacub and other Nobles who fell in that memorable Battel of Derbest , in regard (that I may speak like a Courtier) a natural instinct drove him on to revenge the injuries done to his Father, which may in some measure excuse the errors which he committed by furpassing the bounds of discretion. But his causing of women great with child to be The great cruript up and opened, and the fruit of their wombs to be plucked out, was not onely an inhumane; but math. a most unnatural action. So likewise after the taking of Tauris, he caused three hundred common Strumpets to be beheaded, a good sport indeed for Nobles, though it's onely pleasing to those who use it. Nor know I how to alledge as a proof of his inhumanity, his causing four hundred of King Alamuts followers to be kil'd, because it may be objected. That the evil affection he bore to the Master. might juftly provoke revenge upon the fervants: neither ought I to place in the first rank the cruelty he shewed in commanding all the Dogs in Tauris to be killed, though it were a manifest token of his brutish severity, some in Egypt having drawn the hatred of the people upon them, for exercising fuch like cruelties upon bruit beafts. But this man spared not his own Mother, commanding her to Hismael case be beheaded in the City of Tauris, because he had a suspicion that Sacaidar was treacherously sold, seth his own and more miferably murthered by her procurement, at that fatall and unhappy encounter at Derbent, mother to be in regard the had married a great Noble man who was prefent at the overthrow : Whence this put to death. wretched unnaturall Son took an impression against a good Mother, that because she had married a man who affifted at the afaffination of his Father, the must needs have had a delign to defraud her own children of the fuccession in the Persian Monarchy, which descended to her, as being the daughter of Uslumcasan (as you have already heard) and settle the Kingdom on her Husband. This kind of excessive cruelty which he used, seemed to have listed him up to the highest degree of his glory, and caused those to pluck in their horns, that had lifted up their Heads against him, of whom the most part were constrained to come and do him homage, to stoop (though with great regret) to his commands, and to receive the Casebas or red Turbans the Ensign of the Sophies. But there was one that declared himself an open Enemy to him, which was Muratcan the Sultan of Bega- Hismatlgains a deth, who contended with him for the Kingdom, pretending to be right heir to Usumcassan, and victory against Musican Sul-

capable of fuccession. When it came to a fight, there was a great Defeat, and the Victory fell to Hismael, who being detha not yet twenty years old, gave so great and solemn an overthrow near Tanris (about fourscore and four years since) that of thirty thousand fighting men which were in the Sultan of Babylons Army, there hardly escaped one.

And yet he was not so fast seated in his Dominions but that some nails were always wrong driven. which I do not alledge in regard of the Province of Durbeth, having always been under the Kings of Perlia, was now disjoynted from it, for the Sultan Calib, Lord of Afanchif came to present his humble service to the Sophy, received the Turbant, and offered to be his loyall and faithfull subject Sultant Calib and fervant, which pleased Hismael so well; that he confirmed him in his Government, and gave Sophies fifter. him his fafter to wife; But that familiarity and friendship was of no long durance, the faid Sulsan thewing himself disobedient in some things to the Sophy, he took an occasion thereupon to displace him (though he were his Brother in Law) and advanced Ustagialn Maumuthey to the superintendency of the Cities of Afanchif and Amida, who was lately come from Natolia to prefent his service Ustagialu Mana to the Sophy, and receive the Turbant, and became so acceptable to Hismail, that he married his mutbey marris other fifter, whereby he was no great gainer; fuch marriages ferving onely to divide great persons, second fifter, which was his delign, Sophy knowing very well that those that were newly raised to honours. and were strangers, could not suddenly to strengthen their wings, as to be in a condition to fly above his reach. After he had thus dispersed the strength of those which were in a capacity to oppose him, he raifed a powerfull Army against the Alidulians, whom Ustagiala could not overcome; defiring the Turk, and the Egyptians, not to intermeddle in this business, in regard his design was no other than to recover his own Countries, which had been usurped, with promises to both not to encroach upon their Dominions any where. As foon as he had an affurance from these two Princes (in the year one thousand five hundred and ten) he fell so furiously upon the Alidulians, that had not the ex-Hismael wars ceffive cold countermined his Forces, without all doubt he had gained all their Countrey, however against the he won many Towns and fortified places, in which, with his own hands, being much inclined to cruel- Atidalians, ty, he committed incredible inhumanities. He beheaded with his own hands Becaibey the Son of Aliduli and Alimulus his Predeceffour, who was treacherously delivered up unto him by the Traitor Amirbey. He could not in honour abstain from renewing his quarrell with Muratean Sultan Hismael fals of Babylon, who had feized upon the great City of Siras, being the Metropolis of Persia, but this upon Muratean pursuit was without effect, for the Babilonian retreated with three thousand chosen men unto Alex, Sermandeli and coming to the River Euphrates, caused all the Bridges to be broken down, which was happy for King of Servan him, for that the Sophy had fent fix thouland refolute fighting men to cut him off in his retreat. Nor did it trouble Hismael much that Sermandoli King of Servan had broken the peace to which he reselbas and had fworn, fuch a petty Rebellion, giving him opportunity to overrun all his Countreys, and to usbee Cham of take all the Government from him: And he tamed him so well, that all the rest of the Lords and Tatary and perty Kings of that Countrey, strove which should come first to offer his service, and receive the deseated by Turbant. There remained nonebut the Tartars who pretended to give a stand to Hismaels growing Hismael. state. And hereupon Jefelbas Cham of Tartaria, and Ufbec began to invade the Territories of Co-

Tauris taken

by the Turk.

Solymanthe

Hilmacl Sophi

God by his

fubjects.

rafim, where they got nothing; fave being taken in a Battell which they lost (in the year one thou-fand five hundred and twenty) were both by his command beheaded, yet would he not defraud their Children of their Dominions; But they not at all acknowledging the great favour and humanity shewed to them, when they were a little setled in their great Estates, fomented a Rebellion against Hismael; and moreover killed as many Sophies as came under their clutches, which gave him occafion to arm himself a new against the Jeselbas (so called, by reason of the green Tarbants they wear on their heads, but the Perstans wear them red, and the Turks white, (and charged them so furioully, that there remained not one man alive.

While he was busic in curbing these cowardly Tartarians, the Curdes who inhabit mount Bichi perswaded Sultan Selim to invade his Countrey, flattering themselves that it was impossible for the Sophy to escape out of the Tartars claws : But it fo fell out that the Turk got nothing but shame in that expedition; and had it not been for the valour of Sinamber Beflea, the Turks had undoubted-

tained against ly loft all their Baggage and Artillery. I may here also make a recitall of the Victory this Sophy obtained against Solyman, who came with

force enough to swallow up the Countrey, (in the year one thousand five hundred thirty and four) which he might easily have done, had he not met with one, who being not able to put on the Lions skin, covered himself as well as he could with that of the F_{ox} : To speak the truth, finding himself too weak, he retreated in fuch a manner, as he seemed always to provoke the Enemy to fight; but he would not engage in earnest, till he saw his opportunity to fight them, and rout him with small force: Finally he fo amused the Turk, that at last he drew him into a very narrow passage, then Historicaling divided his Army, and fent away threefcore thouland men, who about the middle of the night regained by affault the City of Tauris, (taken a little before by the Turk) who had left great Treasures and provisions in it. The other party charged the Turkish Army in the Rear with such resolution and fuccefs, as that they were forced to fly hastily away out of the Sophies Territories, in the year one thousand five hundred thirty four, with the loss of half the Army. And in the year one thoufand five hundred fourty and nine, he affifted the eldeft Son of Solyman, who perceiving his Father Historical affilts did shew more favour and affection to his younger son, shed into Persia, and fell upon his Fathers Territories upon the confines thereof: And although the Turk came with an Army of five hundred thousand men, yet could be gain nothing at all upon the Sophy, a great part of the Turks Army for & invades periffing by the Famine and the Sword, so that the Turk was at last forced to a retreat. The year his Territories, before he folded the Courtest of Courtest and before he subdued the Countrey of Corassan, which had withdrawn its obedience from him, and made configure-gained by Hif- a cruell flaughter of those that occasioned the revolt, enforcing those that survived to wear the Turbant:, and exercise the Religion of the Sophier. But why should I dwell upon the particulars of the Conquests and Victories of this great Sophy, fince there is hardly a Prince that hath been so succefsfull and happy in fo many Victories as he was, and for that reason his subjects accounted him among the gods, going to the War voluntarily, meerly out of pure affection to him, fighting with their breafts and Romachs quite naked, crying in these words Schiach, Schiach, which fignifies in the Persian Tongue, a god, a god. Whence some have attributed this name peculiarly to the Sophy, and in his Titles he is called Scheich Ismael: But others to qualifie the prefumption which might be attributed to the Sophy, fay that the word Scheech is never taken but for a Prother, and that the name of Sophy was indeed principally, but not exclusively derived to him, Soph) in the Arabian tongue fignifying well: But let the excuse be as it will, there was an excess of arrogance however, for he was no Propher neither, unles a Title appropriated to the Father can be derived to the Son by rea-

fon of the first rife he gave to the fect of the Sophians. Some Authors have attributed his death to I know not what definy, which they appropriate to a certain wood called Servane, for my part I think his excellive eagerness and passion in the prosecution Hismael Sophi's of his enterprises brought that disease upon him, which cast him into his grave; to the great regret

both of his friends and enemies.

The great Turk himself having notice of his death, expressed much forrow for it.

The end of the Life of Hismael Sophi.

THE LIFE OF EORGE (ASTRIOTT, called Scanderbeg Prince of Epire.



Anno Mundi 5433.

Ann. Dom. 1443.



LI those, that have written of this Captain, seem to me to have chosen this subject to lay open the treasure of their eloquence; so many praises do they publish of this Epirote, amongst which Marin Barlet, a Native of Scutary in Epire is one. And this hath not been done after the manner of some idle fantaftical writer or pratter, who stuffes a History or Discourse with eloquent and high expressions of desert and merit, whereas the object it self most commonly deserves not a single commendation. But Barlet and other historians knew not sufficiently to celebrate the renown of George Caffriot, in regard his Heroick and generous Actions had gained him fuch

reputation, that he was not onely reverenced by his friends, but his very enemies had fuffi- Caffriot greatly cient cause to admire his valour and noble acts. The Turks themselves, whom he had often esteemed by conquered and vanquisht, notwithstanding the great evils and extraordinary losses, they sustain- the Turks. ed by him, could not forbear to extoll his ever undaunted valour and courage, wherewith they were fo much taken, that after his death (if we may believe Paulun Jovisu) having made themselves masters of almost all Epire, at last seifed upon his Sepulchre, at Alessio, which having found, they worshiped, and adored it very devoutly; at length these superstitious people pulling out his dead Bones, pillaged his Sepulchre with a flew of Religion, thinking themselves to be invincible, and safe in Battel, if at their going to fight they had but the least piece of a Relique of this invincible Captain, bung at their neck in Gold or Silver. But I suppose Paulus forim the Author of this story hath failed in this particular, because it was contrary to the Law, usage, and custom of the Alcoran, to suppose the Turks did worship the body of Scanderbeg, who no more then the Jews, Moors, Tartars, Ard-reprehended, bians, and other Mahumerans, will not receive their dead bodies into their Temples, and much less into their Cities : far greater reason should they therefore have to refuse to worship and reverence the Bones of Scanderles, (how great, valiant, and renowed a Captain foever) in fuch a fort, as Paulus Jouins Supposeth. Moreover they use no such Ceremonies to their Prophets Mahomet, Haly, Oclan and others whom it is most likely they would rather invoke to their aid in opposition to the Force of their enemies then the Reliques of Scandertegs body. But as Paulus Jovius (finding that our Caffreit deserved to be magnified and praised,) hath exceeded the bounds of reason and credit, and to extoll him, hath found out things too rediculous to be believed, and too light for the gravity required

THE

in a History of folighta nature. Befides it is directly contrary to the rule of the Alciran: however I will proceed to fet forth the Noble Acts and high deferts of this great Ep. ror according to the truth I find of them. He was fonto the Lord John Cellifor; Lord of Epine, formerly called Emathia : his mothers name was Voijavea, daughter of the Lord of the Pritullians or (as others will have it) of mothers name was rossavea, quagner of the Losu of the recumants of a somets will have it of Poland, which is part of Macidonia and Bulgaria; he had three brothers, Repairing, Stanissum, Confiantinum, live listers, Mari, Jula; Jula; Jing, Jing, Valica, and Mamsa, This laid Julin Castrino was valiant, couragious, and of an illustrious tamily, who possesses a great efface in the Country of Epire. His habitation was in a City called Croy; being the chief of his territories, allied to the ancient Kings of Macedonia and Grecian Emperors of Conflantinople. And as he far exceeded all his Predicefours in prudence gravity and magnanimity and an invincible courage; so his youngest son followed his steps, and foared somewhat higher in reputation : whose lively Pourtrainure I here represent, the fame, as it was procured by me at Bourble a City of Epire, and had fince lent it to Monsteur James de la Bardin , to enrich his History withall , which was printed at Paris in the year 1576, who confeffed that he had it coppied from my original; whose example I could have wished, they had followed, who disfigured, and counterfeited the Picture of Plutarch, which I lent them to be put into the Lives of that Author which they printed in the City of Paris, this prefent year 1583, they might Lives of that Author which they printed in the City of Fall's, the pretent year 1503, they might have confeded to have had that Plutarch from me, which they could not fo much difguife, but that it plainly appears, they drew the defign from that Effigies which they importuned me to lend them. This George C-first therefore did not at all degenerate from the excellent and rare vertues of fo noble a father, but rather, from his valiant and heroick exploits, he feems to have elevated the race of the Cafriors to its highest degree of honour and renown. And though 1 do not much value the Prodigits and observations, which many men as it were adore at some Nativisies, yet will I not conceal, what was prognofticated of the glory , that should accompany this famous person ; his mother dreaming , afwhich nappen and the was conceived, that the had brought forth a Serpent of that bigness, that it covered almost all Epire, and stretching out its head upon the Dominions of the Turk, it swallowed them up with its bloody throat, dipping his tail in the Sea, that looks towards the Christians, and especially towards bloody inroat, apping its tan in the sea, that now is some of the confines of Venice. I know many will be apt, to be encouraged upon this relation to flatter them the confines of Venice. I know many will be apt, to be encouraged upon this relation to flatter them the confines of Venice. I know many will be apt, to be encouraged upon this relation to flatter them the confines of Venice. I know many will be apt, to be encouraged upon this relation to flatter them the confines of Venice. I know many will be apt, to be encouraged upon this relation to flatter them. fecrets, that lye hidden under the shadow of such a Dream : for my part I shall acknowledge, that by the effects, the advertisement which nature here gave, was not altogether frivolous, whereby every one might know that this George Caffries should be eminent in Arms and warlike exploits; a scourge to the Turks, a successful Captain, and a true Defender of the Christian Faith; ever retaining an

Scanderbeg by the Turks.

honorable effects of the Venetian State. In a word, the experience and progress of his whole life do manifeftly verifie this supernatural Prophesis. From his Youth he applied himself so much to the Bow, with other military exercises, and acts of valour, that no Historian makes mention of his equal; neither could any famous Captain ever compare with him in Warlike exploier. It is supposed that upon this occasion the Turk; gave him the name of Scanderbeg, which fignifies in the Turkis language, Great Alexander; and to speak the truth, he was a true Alexander indeed, having conquered many Provinces, for the Tark, among others Mifia, forcing George Uncheriech the Despote into his City called New Mount, Metropolitane of that Country, where it is reported there are Mines of Gold and Silver. But the name of Scander big doth more juftly, belong to him from another title more eminent and honourable, which is, that being converted to Christianity, he behaved himself so resolutely in all his undertakings, that he became very formidable and a terror to the Tarke, remaining victorious in two and twenty Battels, which he fought against Amerath King of the Turks, and Mahomer the second his fon. In revenge whereof, their malice could reach no further, then to reproach him with ingratitude for his good usage they gave him whilft he was of their party, and called him an ungratefull fon, for not acknowledging the great benefits, and honour, whereunto he was advanced by them, yet were they nevertheless much engaged to Sent derbig, aswell for the great defeat which he gave the enemies of the Turk; in a pitch Battel, as for particular Duels , which he had fought in Andrinopolis against the Scithians, who had defied all the Court of Amerath; also in the City of Burfe (which is now the principal of all Afia) against two Virfians called fasa and Zampea. These tokens and tryals of his courage to captivated the hearts of the Turks, that to oblige him the more, and affure him to their party, there was no honour, which in reason could be bestowed upon a subject, but was liberally cast upon him. However after the death of that brave personage, John Caffriet, it was necessary for Ostoman to be more Prodigal in his bounty and munificence towards George Castriot, the more deeply to engage him to himfelf, and either to keep him from afpiring to the Kingdom of Efire, whereof he had made himfelf Mafter, and Poffesor, by fending thither a great Garrison under the conduct of Sebalic, fuddainly after the death of John his Father, or at leaft to keep him from feeking revenge for the death of his Brothers, who were treacheroully and fecretly made away by poilon foon after the death of their Father. But as this kind entertainment of the Turks, ferved onely to cloak and cover the double heart of those Insidels towards Scanderbeg, from whom they could not detain that Kingdom without incenfing him too highly. In like manner Seanderbeg was no less wary, and subtle to diffemble the defire he had to reposses that Kingdom, which this Tyrant had nurped; and to shake off the yoak of Alcoranifme, wherewith he was more entangled, then he defired, he made shew to be so well fatisfied with the \mathcal{T}_{wrk} , that above all others, he confided in the wildome and loyalty of this \mathcal{E}_{pirot} , who knew so well to temporise on this Account, as that being invited secretly by his subjects to recover with the Turk; his liberry, he fent them away without any certain hope, or appearance of any magnanimous or generous

thoughts which might encourage them to recover that, which being juftly detained by Amurath, might be reftored to him again by the affiftance of his faid subjects. But having been too long under the servile yoak of Turcifme, waiting daily for a fit opportunity, he did march off much about the time of the battell which was fought between Hunniades General for the Hungarians, and the Turk (in the year Scanlerbeg re-1440.) whereby so great an advantage was given to the Christians, as that the Turkish Army was for the Turk the most part defeated. I shall omit to discourse here with how much care (by the Tarks order) this Cafrior was instructed in the most impious Religion of the Aleran by one Hogia (to wit)an old Philo-Sopher , which the Arabians call a Siaic ; but I will rather observe what a loss it was to the Turk to be forfaken by one on whom he had conferred the greatest honors and fairest estate , that any favorite of that Grand Scienier ever attained to; and had likewife been imployed as his Lieutenant as well against the Christians, as Pagan Kings and Princes, so that indeed besides the discomfiture of the Turks by Hunniades, by the retreat of Scanderbeg (which gave him the faid opportunity) the Turk found himfelf bereft of Epire, and had acquired an enemy, who being a man of great undertakings, and a high spirit, would not suffer him to be idle or without imployment : and as Amurath understood it very well, fo was he not deceived in his opinion, for Scanderbeg having taken the City of Croye by The City of means of his Nephew Amelius and some other friends, and having made a Law that all the Turks Croye obtained who still persisted in their savage and obstinate opinions of the Alcoran , should be put to the sword : by Scanderbeg. Being three and thirty years old he went to the City of Alleffia, where he made a League and Alliance with the Albanian Princes; which City was then under the Dominion of the Venetians, and in it was held a Diet of all the principall persons of the Countrey being assembled there at his request, and among others there was Panl, and Nicolas Ducaginus, Peter Spainus, Lech Dusmanius, Lech Zacharius, A Diet or Al-Aranith Conyno , afterwards father in law to Scanderbeg, Andr. w Thopia, and the magnificent Rectors fembly held at of the Venetian State. At which affembly, Scanderbeg made an eloquent speech above an hour in Alleffia, and length, which was very pleafing to all those which were present, who having highly praised the wife assistance given advise of this Prince, every one put himself in a posture to reach out a helping hand to restore him to Scanderbeg. to the possession and enjoyments of those Countries, Territories and Dominions which were unjustly detained from him by the Turk, And he on his part ceased not to be active every where, to befrege, force, and conftrain those, which endeavoured to continue their obedience to the Turk. One thing scanderbees very observable is confidently related of him, that from the very day he entered into Epire, until greatvigilancy; the perfect recovery of his Estate; he scarce ever took two hours sleep together at any time, so earneft was he to re-establish himself in that right which belonged to him : besides he was so well hardned to heat and cold, and all other inconveniences, that he regarded not the conftant travail, and continual watchings which of necessity he must daily endurg. It is reported by some Authors, that he was a great eater and a lufty drinker; and that he fought always with his Arms stripped, not fearing either cold or heat: But as he with all eagerness pursued his design of making himself Lord and Mafter of all Albania. Intelligence was fent him by a spie, he left at Andripolis with the Turk; that Alibeg Basha (accompanied with 60000 Janisaries, Archers, and Musquetiers, and 40000 horse advanced to marches a wards him) whereat he was not at all discouraged although at that time he was but newly declared King gainst Scanterof Albania, and his forces far inferior in number. But with great cheerfulness of heart, as if he already beg. held the victory affured, being followed onely by fifteen thousand Albanians, and twelve thousand other foot he bent his march towards that place, where he prefumed he might encounter the Turki, and made all possible diligence to advance his Army so near to that of Alibeg the Turkish General, that they might be necessitated to fight, and charged them with so great a fury and violence, as he soon put them to a milerable rout; every one wondered how in fo fhort a time fo great an execution could be made in regard the battle lasted but from Sun-rising untill the third hour. In this battle were Alibie Balba raken four and twenty colours, two thousand Turks were made prisoners, and two and twenty thoufand flain upon the place: of the Christians side a great number were wounded, and about a hun- Scialitibeg. dred found dead, Aliber General of the Turkift forces faved himself, and returned into the City of Andrinopolis, called by these barbarous people Hedrea Valdom, where Amerath was, who had well high caused him to be put to death, reproaching him that this Army was betrayed, as well as that wherein Castriot dealt falsly with him. To whom this poor old man with cries and sighs replied in these words, Vallahe et billahe benea, Verraim herniquisterce : which fignifies , O Sir! by the grace of Almighty God, I confess all that thou sayest for the present. As if he meant I have nourisht and brought up a man, who now takes up Arms against me, and torments my foul. But that which troubled this poor Turk most of all, was, that a peace being concluded between him and the King of Hungary for ten years (by the mediation and practife of George Despote of Servia and Rascia, which is the upper Missia, by the Turks called Segoria) and though respectively sworn to by them, upon the holy Evangeliffs, and the Alcoran, yet he much doubted it would not be of any long continuance, as in effect it was foon broken. And moreover he having newly received this rude overthrow; there came fuddain news that the King of Caramania or Cilicia, was preparing a strong and powerfull Army, therewith intending to invade the Turks of Natolia, called Great Turky, which perplexed him very much, being thereby necessitated to go into Afia with the Reliques of his routed forces to secure that Country. And on the other fide the Hungarian threatning the fame danger with the Caromanian and Albanian, it behoved him to look about him. And hereupon he thinks fit to fend an Ambassadour to Scanderbeg re-Scanderbeg presenting him rich gifts, endeavouring thereby to hinder the Albanians, who were as fules a true ver, but newly flesht at it were (with the Turkish blood) from advancing further, and from irrita- with Amurant ting the Octoman fury, desiring his friendship, and that he would abstain from all enterprises that

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tended to his prejudice. Amuraths letter being read , dated from Andrinople the fifteenth of June, in the year of our Lord 1444. five days after Awadin the Turks Ambassadour was returned with an answer bearing date the twelfth of July of the same year, wherein Scanderbeg utterly refused the truce. which letter Airadin brought to the Turk as he was a hunting, and by word of mouth delivered to him all the rest of Castriors deliberations , wherewith this poor Infidel was so ill saissied , that he could not contain himself from crying out before his Bashaes, in this fort, Senica guna seythan konnar, as if he would say , I think Scanderbeg is possess by the divide, that his foliate regards my power and greatness. But Amurath being a man experienced in affairs, knew well enough in case he should feem to be discouraged, there needed nothing else to make the rest Cowards, and therefore to express his cheerfulnels, he smiled playing with his Beard, and spake again these words, Thou coverest, O unhappy, man! thou covereft sime memorable death, believe me thou halt have it ! we will affift, and without thy command will be prefint at the objequies of him who was nourifut by us, but now become our atter enemy, and will accompany thy funeral pomp to the grave for fear thou boaldest complain in hell, that thou camest northisber honourably enough. And however his countenance was compos'd, he had fad apprehenfions to himself aside, and thought

on other matters, which occasioned him a long time to remain in a musing doubtful posture, and at

laft understanding that Scanderbeg had disbanded many of his forces, keeping the field onely with some

few light horfe, without any body of an Army, he fends for his Bafha Ferife, appointed nine thousand chosen horse encouraging them with large promises, in case they could conquer the Albanians : Ferife

discharged his duty with all diligence, approaching secretly to the Frontiers of Macedonia. And though he marched towards the Albanians, more like a thief then a warrier; yet he came not before the news of his approach; Caffrior being advertised thereof by a spie who came to him from the Sultans Court, and so possessing himself of a Streight and narrow Valley called Micrea, the onely passage for the Turks . It ferved for a burying place for the most part of Frijes Army, who were fo inrivally charged by the Albanians, that he Bafba himself was forced to flye, leaving the best part of his forces either dead in the field, or Prisoners. Octoman finding himself so rudely dealt withall by the Multapha Balha Albanians, fends Muftapha his Bajha with five and twenty thousand men into Epire, exprelly charging him to be wary and not entangle himself in the Ambushes of the Albanians, but onely pillage and Caffrier into lay waste the Countrey, Scanderbeg advertised (by some horse be had sent forth to that purpose) of Epire, is defeate the spoile Mustapha made throughout all Epire, takes horse immediately, and being followed with three thousand horse onely, and tour thousand other good souldiers, led them as privately as he could between two vallies where the enemy was to pals, who affoon as they came near the place, separated and dispersed themselves into several companies, the Christians falling upon them in their disorder, soon made their way to the Turkes Trenches, infrantly gained them, and made fo great a slaughter that none escaped save onely a sew that followed the flying Mussapha, preserving their lives by the sharpnels of their Spurs. So Seabderbeg recovered not onely the Pillage they had taken from him in Epire, but also all the spoils of the Turks, who had no leiture to save their baggage, being so closely purfued by Scandarbig. But this overthrow did not discourage Amarath, who commanded Mushapha to raise new forces, forbidding him to spoil the enemies Country, or engage in a Battle with Castriot, but onely to hinder his advancing towards them, which fell out happily for this Christian Prince; for foon after he had a war with the State of Venice, by reason of the succession of Lech Zachary which shall be declared hereafter, because 1 intend not here to make a diversion and to omit the happy succels which Scanderbeg had against Mustapha the Basha, who seeing the Christians warring among themselves, very furiously; thought during their disorders, to fish in their troubled waters, and obrain the fruit of a victory, which he earnestly defired, and was very much hoped for by him, where-

cond time by Scanderbeg.

Garrisons throughout all Epire. In the mean time the Great Turk transports all his Army into Europe by long marches, computed by some to be an hundred and fifty thousand fighting men (to wit) fourscore and ten thousand horse, and threefcore thousand foot, others reckon them but an hundred and twenty thousand in all, deducting twenty thousand horse, and ten thousand foot.

upon he so much importunes Amuraib, that he obtains order to begin a new war with the Chri-

fians, in which he was no great gainer, for Scanderbeg quitting Dadine charged that Pagan Army fo

furiously, as that ten thousand of them fell upon the place, fourscore and two were made prisoners,

and fifteen Standards taken , on the Albanian fide scarce three hundred men were loft. If this fignal victorymuch puft up the hearts of the Albanians; Amnraths (that plodding blade) was the more

dejected, who could not so well disguise his intended enterprise of setting on foot a mighty and pow-

erfull Army against Castrior, but that it took vent, and was discovered (by his neerest and greatest

favourites) to Scanderbeg, who hereupon slept not in fecurity; but gave a general order to raise instantly the forces of his whole Country, and to fortifie and strengthen the Fortresses, Cities and

In this Equipage he comes to beffege Alba and other Cities, upon which he gained nothing but the diminishing of his forces, which though daily recruited by the new supplies which came to him, yet so mouldred away, that the poor old Ottoman assamed of the loss of so many of his men, Amusts for- was conftrained to retreat, quit Epire, and in all hafte marched away : whilft Scanderbeg with ced to retreat, all might and main pursued them, and gleaned up and destroyed such a multitude, as the shame Cafries belie thereof made the Great Turk at last so impatient, that he commanded the Balha of Romania, ges Fetigrade to flay behind with thirty thousand horse to secure the safe retreat of the residue of the Ar-

But Amurath had scarce taken up his Quarters in his own Countrey, when news was brought him that Scanderbeg had laid fiege to Sferigrade, whereupon he determines to return by the Anuraibs same way he came, and sends Sebalias to besiege Croye, and he and his son Mahomet invaded Epire, second fame way he came, and fends Sebalias to beliege Croye, and ne and nis ton Mahomes invaded Epire, about the end of April, and came himlelf in perion before Croye, and held it belieged above voyage unto Epire, and liege to the control of the contro four moneths; in which time a very great number of his Forces were loft. He endeavoured of Groycin to batter it with thirty peeces of Cannon, and other warlike instruments, and Engines, but vain, could do little execution, the place being very ftrong on all parts, and replenished with a lively fountain of water within, and another in the fide of the hill behind a Rock. Nor must I forget to tell you that at the end of four moneths, a general affault was given by the enemies, and maintained fo furiously on each part, that lasting but five hours, four thousand men remained dead upon the place, although the Turks power, strength, and cunning, could not gain the place (as I have faid) but after all this, the faid City rather lifted up her head against the Ottoman fury as Villrix.

Nor will I derogate from Vranocontes, but allow him all the honour due to his great deferts: and as this Governour appointed by Scanderbeg to command Croje, was vigilant and dexterous to oppole Amurath; so his Prince was not alleep in creating other imployment for his Forces elsowhere for as Octoman had given him a very hot Allarum, Scanderbeg with a party of his choice horse falls so desperately upon the Enemies Tents, at the said siege, as that Amurath could not at that time compais his defigns, nor take the place, although he difpatcht away Seremet with four thousand horse to repulse Scanderbeg, and Mahomet likewise though in vain pursued him with all possible speed, conceiving so great a hatred against him, as that after the death of his father, he abated nothing of his pernicious and evil affection to-

And though death prevented the malicious defigns of Amurath, yet it could not make any alteration in the heart of his Son Mahomet the second (and not the first, as by a mistake it flipped in this work) who took Constantinople, and was thereby the more enraged against the Christians, then he was before. However the state of affairs at this time so distracted him, Mahomet the that he was constrained to send Ambassadours to desire a Truce, which was resused him, and second desires an answer was returned to Sangeas the Deputy, who was fent to conclude the peace, that a truce with he should be gone presently; as for Castriot he would not make any peace or agreement with Castriot, is dethe Infidel, unless he restored him those Cities which Amurath had unjustly usurped. In the mean nyed, time Mahomet retires, and was a long while before he could fettle himself in his Fathers Dominions, and therefore could not for that time do Castriot any great harm. And Scanderbeg being willing to have an heir to succeed him (and being thereunto requested by his subjects took to his lawfull wife the most vertuous and fair daughter of Prince Aranith Conyno, called George Cafri-Doneca; with whom he could not live long in quiet. For fo foon as this new Turk was fet- ots marriage, led in his Fathers Throne , he began to threaten Castriot our Christian Prince , being not able to endure he should have such Dominion over Croye and the rest of Epire. Nor did I hereintend to have fet down the undertaking of Scanderbeg to affilf Ferdinand the Son of Alphanic Castriotrelieves King of Naples, had not the severall Historians who have written thereon, omitted how he Alphanic form did redeem this poor King, who was reduced to that milery and non-plus, as that he wasimprisoned in the Town of Bary, by the siege which the Count Picevin had laid to it, who made as sure of him, as if he had been already intangled in his net. But as soon as the arrival of Scanderbeg was known , Duke John of Sore , and the Count Picevin packed up their baggage. railed their fiege, and in great hafte, marched thirty miles from thence, to avoid the fury of that Fleet, and those which accompanied Scanderbig, who had so good success in repulsing Ferdinands enemies, that to him alone doth belong the honour of recovering of that Kings Crown. But the affairs of his own Kingdom wanting his direction, he was conftrained to quit all , and to return to Croye , near unto which place the Christians had erected an inex-pugnable Fortrefs (fufficient to hinder the passages of the Infidels) upon an exceeding high Mountain called Modrica, and having furnished it with Victuals, Artillery, and Munition, made fuch opposition against the attempts of the enemie, that it secured the pass, wherefore Ma- sinam Samiat homes fainting under so many attempts made upon him, dispatches away a famous Captain sent by Mahocalled Sinam, with five and twenty thousand Turkis horse against Scanderbeg, to surprise him mer against on a suddain, thinking the war of Naples from whence he was but lately returned, had made Castriotis dehim secure and careless. But Scanderbeg who always slept with his eyes open, had opportunely, fince his arrival, fent his Spies abroad, and renewed his intelligence with those neer the Sultan . whereby he had timely notice to prepare and to get the first into the field. But kept himself private and close, expecting the advance of the San-jac Sinam, and then marched the whole night towards him, during the obscurity whereof, and contrary to the knowledge of his advertary, with eight thousand fighting men horse and foot, he possessed himself of the Mountain Mocrea, and there resolutely expected Sinam, that being the Avenue through which he was of necessity to pass, and falling upon him unawares, defeated him with all his Army, where the flaughter was fo great that two parts of three fell upon the place, and all the En- Affunbeg invafignes and Baggage became a Prey to the Christians; and all the Generall could do was to ding Epire, is fave himself in this desperate fight, by avoiding it with extraordinary speed. And also discomfir-Assambeg, or according to others, Amesabeg, was advanced already on this side of Octide, ac-

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companied with thirty thousand fighting men, but Scanderbeg being accompanied onely with four thousand, encountered him in so opportune a place, that he soon vanquisht them : the Guards on each fide of this Turkif General were fmitten down to the ground, his horse hurt, and himself wounded in the right Arm with an Arrow, knew no better way at last to fave himself, then to make trual of a Christian Climency aswell as of the Martial fury of an enemy. Before whom being brought, together with divers other Captains, the tears flanding in his eyes, and his hands lifted up to heaven, he fpake in this manner to Scanderbeg. That being in the fervice of the great Turkish Emperor, his honour obliged him to ferve him faithfully, and therefore implored his mercy, favour and clemency, whole speech took so well with Scanderbeg, that he pardoned them all, and gave them their lives, paying ten thousand Ducats for his own, and four thousand Ducats for the ransom of the rest, which was performed accordingly. I knowmany have accused Scanderbeg for being so easily perswaded by the Turk, and blame him that he knew not how to use his advantage against the Sfeigradians, who indeed furprifed him at that time. But here we are not upon the same terms, the victory was already in Scanderbegs hands, whose

humanity becomes so much the more to be admired, as being exercised against a Capital enemy, whom we can feldom spare when he is once intrapped. But he shewed a far greater mildness towards the Venetians , with whom (to his great regret) he had a sharp and hard war. But in regard it would have been accounted a folly, and have proved a great disparagement to lose a mans right for want of looking after it , he would not therefore feem eafily to quit the fuccession of that , which he pretended was faln unto him by the death of Lech Zachary, and wherein the Venetians opposed him, by reason of an agreement made between them and the Lady Boffe, the mother of the deceased party. Notwithstanding which, Scandarbeg claimed that there being no Will, he ought to succeed Zachar) (who was murthered by Leg Dulagin, the son of the Lord of Saint Pant) and seemed to have the best title as lawful heir to the estate. But after a great contestation, they resolved the sword should decide the quarted on both sides, wherewith he pressed them so hard (although he abated very much to the rigor he exercised towards the Insidels and Turks) that the Ventions had no other expedient, but to defire a Peace with him, which yet they would not conclude it but upon their own conditions, though they were reduced to fuch extremity, as that if Scanderbeg had not condefcended, they had in all likelihood been destroyed; but he confidering, That the vertue, valour, and magnanimity of a valiant warrier, appears not in being ernel to an enemy, chofe rather to mitigate the appenie of revenge, by mildness and kind ulage; and therefore yeelded freely to forgo that which of right belonged unto him, although it was never his Custom to quit any thing to Infidels, as appeared clearly in the encounter with the Tyrant Sebalie, who belieged Belle Grade, where he defeated four and twenty thousand Turks, took fix thousand prisoners, and set at liberty four thousand Christians, who were detained by the Balbaes, Moyles, Affambeg, Isaac, and Sinambeg, and put to death more then fifty thousand of his enemies; and almost as many more two years after, under the command of the Basha Ballabam.

These and the like valorous exploits, pleased so well the most part of the Christian Princes, that they were thereby provoked to take up Arms against Mahemet, and Pope Pin pioully moved, seeing the affection of this noble Captain, to the utter extirpation of the Infidels, stirred up all Christian Kings, Princes and Potentates to Arm themselves against the Turk, and knowing that there could not be George Castrior an abler Captain chosen to that purpose, then Scanderbeg, to curb and tame the Barbarians, elected created chief and named him the Captain of the League, with promise to make him King, not onely of all Albania of the Christi- or Epire, but also of Macedonia, which holy undertaking was interrupted by the death of Pissa and Pope Paul the fecond; although our Albanian King travelled fince to Rome, to summon the Pope to joyn in a defign to profitable for the fafety, and enlargement of Christendom. Finally, finding himfelf frustrated of the succors he expected from the Kings and Princes on this side, he went to Liffa upon the River of Cliro, to consult of the Occurrences of the war with the Deputy Provedor of Venice, where he was seised on by a deadly Feaver, and feeling himself strucken by death, he made his Will, and George Castriot recommended his little son John, his wealth and Countrey to the care of the State of Venice, who in remembrance and gratitude for the advantagious peace he had freely granted them, created him and his posterity (after they had cast lots) with an universal consent to be Citizens of Venice. A few days after he departed hence to the other world , in the threescore and third year of his Age , and four and twentieth of his Reign (for he began his Reign, the eight and twentieth day of November, in the year 1443 and dyed in the year 1467) his body was interred in the Church of Saint Nicolas in Castriots death List, with great Pomp and magnificence, whose bones rested enclosed in this place in peace, untill Mahomet came into Epire some four years after , to affault Scutari. I have formerly observed the great care the Barbarians took to find out the bones, of him whom they so much feared, whilst his soul and body acted so vigoroully together, as that they would flye away in a maze at the very sound of his name. However I can hardly be induced to believe that the Turks honoured him fo much as Paulus Jovius affirms they did , nevertheless I will not say , but that they might have a greater esteem of his Noble Acts; then of another mans, fith those many famous exploits which are recorded to have been done by him by natural strength and dexterity of body, might induce the Turks to have a reverent effeem of him. As that wilde Savage Bull of an extraordinary fury and greatness, committing a thoulard spoils and murthers in the Countrey of his Sifter Mamiza, whose neck he quite cut through with one blow of his Cimiter on horseback. That monstrous Boar of Apoville, which had wounded so many of King Ferdinands Courtiers, which beaft he affaulted in the same man-

A difference between Caffreet and the Venetians, ap-

peafed.

Several other Prowelles against the Turks.

gainst the Turk.

zen of Venice.

table exploits done by Ca-

ner and with like dexterity he cut off his head in the open field before the King, as they were a hunting And it is also reported of him, that after, the encamping of Bullaban before (170)e, there being brought to him chained and fast bound together, fortima and Heder, the brother and Nephew of Bullaban, their fight (putting him in remembrance of the cruelties acted through Ballabans occasion, upon the perfon of Moffs and his companions.) but him into fuch a whement Patton of anger against them, that he had no patience to fuffer others to fall on them, but in great fury fell on them himself, and at one blow hewed them both through the body with his Cimiter; Which was a Damasked one, of an ex-cellent goodness, two of which he always wore in one Scabberd; both which were often broken or fooiled in one Battel. And Mahomes (having heard of the excellency of fuch a fword which would cut afunder Gantlets, Helmets, and other ftrong Armour) as they were once in a Treaty, fent to defire it for a prefent, and the Sultan cauling tryal to be made thereof by the best Arms of the Court and the ftrongeft, and no fuch miracles proceeding from it as was boafted of, he thereupon caused it to be returned to Scanderbee, faying, That he gave him no thanks for such a present, when he could buy as good and a better one for his money; and that he would no longer believe that which was reported of it. But Scanderbeg having made more extraordinary proofs thereof in the presence of the Messenger, sent him word, That the versus was not altogether in the sword, but in the Arm which he reserved to himself , to be imployed against his enemies. And Mahomet might believe him, having feen the victories he gained in Duels, and particular Combats, when he fought at Andrinopolis, against a Sevenian: and at Burfe, against fair and Zampza, &c.

The end of George Castriots Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF TAMOMBEUS the last Soldan of Egypt.



Caire (by the Turks now called Miszar, or Nitzrulatick) is not fo populous,

nor of such a length and breadth, as to contain fisteen German Leagues in com-

pals, as Munster in his Cosmography hath fallly described; feeing himself doth

therein affure the Reader, that it cannot be above half a league more in extent

than the City Paris in France. It was of old held, and Governed, by the Soldans

of Egypt, who reckoned their originall from the time of Hanibaffi Captain of

Ann. Mund. 5484. Here is no man of judgement, but is fufficiently perfuaded that the City of Grand

Christ. Nat.

Grand Cair.

The original of Egypte

gypt by the Mammelucks.

His fuccesfor Campfon van-quithed by Sultan Selim the Turk.

Homar the seconds Army , who succeeded Mahomes in the Priefthood of the Alcoran , about the year of our Lord fix hundred fifty fix, and reigned fifteen years, bearing the title of Admirall, which the Athenians called Charadinkis a' Emir Quibir, which fignifies in the Morabian tongue Great Lord, or Captain of the Sea. After which the Governours of Egypt took upon them the name or title of Soldan , which fignifies as much as King or Lord ; which title continued under the Name of Chaliphe, untill the time of Saladin, who conquered Jerusalem , taking it from the Christians, and who strengthened himself (chiesly) with the power and valour of the Mammelucks , a name which fignifies no other thing in the Syriak and Tartarian Language, then Slaves. About the year eleven hundred eighty seven. Saladin being dead, and the Royall race failing, the Mammelak; put it to Piperickchosen an Election, and (accordingly) among themselves made choice of one Piperick Soldan, who was a valiant and expert Captain. This man caused many lofty Buildings and Edifices to be erected, most part of which are at prefent ruined, as I my felf have feen. But the Arabians have often told me, according to what is written in their Histories, that those buildings were finished by a Governour of the Countrey, called Gelan. This custom of Election continued untill the year fifteen hundred and feventeen, at which time Sultan Selym the Tarkift Emperour, and Solymans Father, put to flight and vanquished Campson Soldan of Eyps and Spria, by reason that this man (who being but a child, was brought from the cold Countrey of Tartary, and was bred a Slave in the Seraglio of Cair, and growing up to years, did learn amongst them the Discipline of the Mammelaks, and attained to all the degrees of knowledge in the Military Art) Selym his enemy being, advertised that he savoured the King of Persia, warred against him, in which War Campson was stain in a Bantell, being seventy years old: Presently after which the Mammeluke, and the Arabians (at that time their Confederates) made choice of Tamombey Circaffe for their Soldan; Hemir being at that time a valiant man of Alexandria, and who altogether addicted himself to Warlike affairs ; he having (often times) fought against divers parts of Afa, and afterwards put the Turks to flight, to their great confusion; Being certainly advertised that Selym was coming against him with

full resolution to fight him, he did make preparation to receive him, and pitched his Camp without the City of Caire, in a place called the Matairee, being the most beautifullest and pleasant place which was about the City, on that fide on which Selym made his approaches who marched towards him with great courage. Tamomben, having fortified himfelf with Artillery, Trenches, and Pallizadoes, fallied out, and Solym Sultan when both Armies were come up to each other with great courage and equall hope of victory, which devades Tanas pended on the fole hazard of one Battel, (neither part being ignorant that the contest was both for life ber. and Empire) The Turks according to the Turkish manner, sounded the Trumpets, and beat the Drums. and their enemies being over-matched by their strength, the Mammelucks were enforced to retreat into the City. At the first entry the Turks made, four and twenty thousand of the Citizens were flain, and as many more, (if not a greater number) at the taking of the City. In the mean time there were a very great multitude of women children and flaves, and all forts of Tradefmen, in the windows, cafting out great square pieces of stone, beams, and timber, bars of Iron, wild-fire, and scalding water, and other things of defence, and engines of War upon their enemies: The fight was fo fierce for eight hours together, that you might behold flaughtered men lying by heaps, tumbled one upon another, and their blood running down the ftreets like a river, which I heard from above four hundred old Manmelucks and Fews, who were in this War, in the life of the Soldan. Which fury of the Citizens caused Selvm (to the intent he might thereby terrifie the common people) to command certain houses, in the City, to be set on fire, by which means, and the noise of the Cannon, and volleys of shot, poured forth by the Fanizaries. he did so affright the inhabitants, and the stoutest Mammelucks, that seeing all things in a deplorable and a lost condition, they began to cry out from all quarters (thinking thereby to mitigate the Turks cruelty) Long live great King Selym, the favourite of the great God, whom we humbly befeech to ce, fe his fury, and to have pity upon his poor flaves, who do submit to his greatness and nervey. Yet all this Grand Court did not fuddenly appeale his rage, by reason of his great Governour an friend, named Ganus Baffa, who taken by scitia. was killed very near unto him, with an iron Mortar, cast down upon his head. Tamomtey having now left the defence of his Trenches, Rampars and paffages in the City, could not longer withftand the fury of the Enemy, but beholding the lofs of his valiant Captains, and the flower of his Cavalry, betook himfelf to flight, and happy were those Lords, who were able to gain the River Nile, and fly for succour to the strong Pyramides; some of which being three leagues distant from the City, were (the next day following) belieged by their Enemies, and were enforced, for want of victuals, (which Pyramides were erected in a barren and folitary place, as I can testific, having feen them) rendred themselves to the mercy of the Conqueror, who gave them their pardons; but ceased not (with five thousand horse) to pursue Tamombey, who had gained the ground of them, but being wholly routed, he rid with all fpeed (directly) to a fenny place or morish ground, full of Canes and Reeds, and his horse falling under him, and he feeing his enemies at his very heels, hid himself amongst the Reeds, but being discovered by two young Tamombey boys he crept along a little forwarder, (according to the opinion of the Arabians, and old Mamme-in a Caye. lucke) into a large vaulted Cave, at which I have been, and teen it, and not above fix years fince, there were found in it many fair Sepulchres, made after the Antique fashion, containing several mommyed bydies; and hard by it, in my time, there were also found more then three hundred bodies, amongst which were certain Idols, some of Copper, others of hard stone, which (I conceive) they worshipped in their life time, in the like manner as (heretofore) the Greeks and Romans did.

I know that Doctor Claudin Guichard, who hath collected the Funerals of the Ancients, makes a mock hereat, and feenis not to believe that which I have faid and written in my Cofmography; whereunto I arfiwer, that I speak not this by hearfay, but have travelled into, and seen those Coasts and Places. and the think it not creditable 1 will thew him fix of those said Idols, which were found in the like momb bed badies, and also two feet of a Child, brought hither by the Confull of Alexandria in Egypt, and prefented unto the Quein-Mother of the King, who afterwards tent them unto me, knowing that I delighted very much in such rarities; and although this Doctor cannot find these secrets in his Bartole, Gafon, and other famous Doctors, yet ought it not therefore to be concluded, that these things are not to be received by lovers of truth. But the Geographer Nicholas Nicholas opposeth him directly, and writes that fuch bodies were found from time to time, in the deferts of Arabia, by Merchants who travell from Egypt, to the Red fea; and that they make great efteem of them. But leaving the errors of Nicholay, I will return to our poor and wretched Tamombey, who thinking to fave himself in the faid Cave could not be fo well concealed there, but was taken to the great regret of all the people of Egypt Tamombey difand Arabia; with three hundred of the bravest and eldest Captains of his Army, most of which stan- covered in the ding upon their guards, (as forefeeing what would become of them) chole rather to lofe their lives Cave and tavaliantly, then to be put to ignominious deaths; the rest were taken alive with Tamombey, and led to the City of Caire, where the next day, and for several days after, Selym (forgetting all Regall clemency, and just humanity, which (in reason) he might have suffered his cruell heart to have been possessed with) bebaved himself most inhumanely towards Tamombey, to make him confess where his Treasure was, which Tamombey torhe had inherited of Campson: and being thrice tortured and racked with grievous torments, yet would tured to discohe not confess any thing; wherefore Selym would needs fee him, to question and confer with him, who wer his Treabeing brought into his chamber, remained as refolute and constant as ever he had been. Afterwards, when fures, he had been ignominiously led up and down the streets upon his Camell, his throat was cut in the common Shambles, on the thirteenth day of the moneth of April, in the year of our Lord one thouland five financially put hundred and seventeen, being of the Age of threescore and five years. But he was not publickly hanged, to death. as (amongst others) Paulus Jovius, and Munster have exprest in their Writings.

THE LIFE OF ATABALIPA, King of Peru.



Ann. Mund.

An. Dom. 1526.



He Tuga's were the most Noble, Richest, and powerfullest men of the Land of Pern ; a cruell , warlick , and extream politick people, descened from Tignicala, (a People to called) deriving their names from a City, fituated near to a Lake, in the Province of Colao, about ten leagues from Cufco, fo called from the abundance of Lead and other metals which are found there , by the inhabitants called Tichior.) The first King was called Zapalo, of whose linage Popaopangui and Guyanacapa were descended, who was the Grandsather of Atabalipa, who as he boasted, came from towards the River of Maragnon, being of the race of the Cannibals, which he evidently manifested by his bravado's, and the small account he

made of Christians, whenfoever he could get footing in their Countries. Yet the inhabitants are a civill people, peaceable, and of a reasonable good behaviour; but that they are as much troubled with defires to attain unto the honours and great preferments of the world, as the people of Cusco, and those of Popaian and the bordering Provinces do. Now Asabalipa King of Cusco had a Brother called Atoco, who was a Juga, that is a King of Guiafcart. This Atoco being arrived at Canna, was very well received, honoured and reverenced by the people, though he were cruel. Atabaliya being jealous of the fortune of his Brother, procured his death; and feizing on his Dominions, he upa.
Aubalips pro- made choice of the City of Cuseo, the chief and Metropolitan of all Pern to dwell in , it being the cures his bro- ancient habitation, and Court of the Juge's and Kings, as Rome formerly was of the Empresser; Constantinople of the Turks; Tauris of the Sophi's; Cathan of the great Cham of Tartaris, and Grand Cayro of the Sultan of Egypt. The faid Cufeo being best structed in all Parm, in the middle of those Provinces which were formerly governed by the Juga's. After the death of Atabalipa's great And alips any great Grandfather, he enlarged his Kingdoms, as well on the fide of the Sea of Su, or peacefull, as on the fide of the great Ocean making the people tributary unto him. But as misfortune fals Kingdom. often upon great ones, as well as upon poor men, it happened in my time, that the Spaniards being The Spaniards covetous of the worlds wealth, failed toward a Land called Numbre de dies, under the conduct of a under Frank under Francis

Franci barous people; and being informed of King Atabalipa's Treasures and Riches, to gain his friendthip, Pifarre lent unto him many gifts and prelents, letting him understand that they were offered him by his Master the Ciriftian Emperour, and that he defixed to contract an Amity with him, and

Asoco the Brothers death, feifes his Do-

The kindred

of Atabalipa

ATABALIPA

to treat freely with his Greatness without any sear; and that in case he did come to visit him, he should not be frighted to see them mounted on such great creatures which were very docil, and the which they had brought with them out of their Countrey, to carry them through the difficult passages, Rivers, Sands, and other inconveniences, which as he was told were in his Countrey, and Thepretended tould not be passed on foot without a great deal of danger to their persons. The Barbarian hearing Pilare toward this message, began to laugh and mock those which were sent by Pisarre, saying that those great Atabality. Mustaches (meaning the Spaniards) if they attempted any further than they had done, upon his Dominions, he swore by the Sun, and the Image which he worshipped, that he would cause them all to be cut in pieces : But Pifarre not being difmaied at Atabalipa's threats, performed an Exploit, befeeming a very valiant Commander; for being affured that the Enemies Army was not plots betterning a very variant Commander; not come affembled, and that it was but eight days fince he had furnisoned his Captains of the Provinces of The craft of Cusco, Quito, Calicuciva, Caxamalca, Tumbez, Pune, Nicaraga, and being moreover informed that he could not affemble his Army on a sudden, Pifarre fent other presents to the Heathen prize Arabasipa King, purposely to gain time, and the better to stave him off from uniting his Forces, he sent him two Horses richly harnessed, and Caparison'd, and thus by degrees gained upon him, defiring that before he went out of his Countrey, he might be permitted to fee the great magnificence and glory of his Court, that so he might make report thereof to the Emperour his Master; who would be very much pleafed to hear of the greatnels and magnificence of fo powerfull a Prince, as Atabalipa was.

And the better to entrap him, he caused him to be informed of the great Majesty and excellency of fuch an Emperour as his Mafter was, unto whom the Christians did take it for a great honour to render obeyfance, and to be fubject unto him : Inviting him by these means to be pleased to make a League, Confederacy, and Alliance with him, to the end that by this proceeding of his , two fuch great Princes might have the better opportunity to keep all fuch men under, as should dare to attempt any thing against their estates; which indeed is the true way, whereby States and Principalities may be fetled, for as much as it is an usuall practife; and that Force cannot so soon break an united body, chiefly when it is thus powerfull and strong. But this was not the thing Pifarre aimed at; for he onely attempted to get footing on the Frontires of Atabalipa's Territories, affuring himself that he would quickly fet it on his neck, as afterwards he did, as we shall understand by the enfuing part of this discourse.

Now this Mafter Spaniard obtained fo much by his smooth language, and forged inducements, as Pilarry Forces thow this matter by and approaching with all his Horfe and Foot near unto the City of Caffaget entrance,
malca, he discovered the Enemies forces to be at leaft thirry thousand in number, being for the discovered the second of the second o most part naked men, some excepted which were clothed with Cottons, interlaced with divers co- Enemies lours, and with plumes of Feathers, having for all defence nothing fave wooden fwords, clubs, and ftrength, Bows and Arrows. Pifarre beholding the fierce countenances of the favage people, approaching Pifarres labulations. by degrees the one near unto the other, gave order to the Spanife Cavalry to skirmish them on all tyto diaw the fides, and by their alluring them to Battel, to make feverall flews as if they did run away, and the Pernolans to a Foot to do the like, whereupon the Enemy began to take courage, chafing the Christians close at Battel. the heels; when as Pifarre commanded two and twenty pieces of Cannon to be fired upon them. which fore amazed these poor people, who had never seen any Horses before, much less heard such a noise of Ordinance, whereby above seven thousand of the Heathers were slain out right: The The Peravious refit took their flight to the upper grounds and mountains, being swiftly pursued by the Spaniards, overcome by who that day and the next killed twice as many of them, sparing neither strong nor weak, old nor young, except Atabalipa, and fix more of his Counfell, who were taken in a Tent, bravely adorned with Feathers, near unto a River called in their Gibbridge Chelcaion, as I was told by a Spaniard in the City of S. vill, who was in the Battel, and had received two shots with their Arrows. Pifarre having got the Victory, came near to Atabalipa, and laying his hand on his shoulders in token of friendship, he held many loving discourses with him; which being ended, the Captive King privately drew out of his bosom two round fine Pearls, as great as a Date-plum, joyned together Presents given with two Emeralds, the one made like a little Bell, the other like an Oval, of an incredible value, to Pifare. which he gave to the Conquerour, that he might be always continued in his favour, and that his life might be fived, promiting unto him infinite Treafures; and endeavouring by all means possible to content the covetous mind of the Spaniards, whose onely aim was to enrich themselves. But this Cacique now Captive Atabalipa could never fatisfic Pifarre; although he had paid him his ranfom Cuelty used in pure Gold, which he had sent for from all the Provinces which he possesses, evento the upon Atabalipa spoiling the golden Idols which were in the Temples, to the value at least of ten millions of Gold which did him but very little good, for as much as a few days after, his body was bound and made faft to a Tree with cords (as if he had been the most miserable creature in the world) three whole days and three nights together, to make him confels if he had any more wealth; upon which occasion not apprehending death in the least, he uttered a thousand reproaches against Pifarre; affuring him, that the God which Pifarre worthipped (and whom he faid was a just God) would in a short time punish him and his brother also, which likewise happened, for a while after Francis Pifarre was killed, and his brother Ferrand Pifarre was beheaded in the fame Countrey. Now those of Pifarres Counsel being at odds, and disagreeing, whether or no they should kill this Atabatics. King, or fend him to the Emperour Charles the fifth, at last they concluded that he should be strangled, which was done, the night after he was condemned, by the advice of a Counsel of

some Bistops and Monks, for fear he should be rescued by his own subjects. It was a Morian

Actbalica was not burnt.

Atabalica.

Atabalipa.

Atabatipa his

Tomb of the King Cufco, by Guichard and

with Mountains of Gold.

AT AB ALIP A. flave that strangled him with a match. Some I know have written that he was burned alive, which was but a meer supposition, as I was assured by one who was present at his death: And by the fentence, the Spaniards laid no other thing to his charge, fave that he had caused his brother Atoco of Guiefcart to be put to death, and had fpoyled his Countrey which he had invaded This King was a famous personage, and a great lover of vertue, and had caused many stately Temples to be built, and enriched about twelve years before his death. Pifarre suffered Arabalipa's body to be carried away by friends and confederates, and to be honourably buried in the place where his predeceffors lay; and although he had two hundred and twenty Wives alive at the lame time when he was taken, yet had he but two daughters of an indifferent age: He died being fifty two years old, Some ignorant Authours, 1 know, have wrote Atabalipa's life quite contrary to the truth; boafting that they had been in his Country, where I know they never were: and amongst others, one Jerom B. nzoni brags thereof, in a little book called The History of the New World, printed at Geneva; and I am vext that it was illustrated with so many discourses of M. Urban Chanveron, which small History was stoln out of the Works of Francis Loup de Gomarre, a Spaniard, which the rather induced me to write the History of Atabalipa, whose Picture I give you as I brought it from those parts with many others, which I keep by me as rarities, and things of value. Moreover I cannot choose but wonder at some giddy brain'd sellows, who are offended at Pifarre for giving leave unto Atabalipa's friends to bury h m honourably; and though I intend not to exclaim against the Spanards infidelity, mended for gi-by breaking his promife with this poor King, after he had received fo great and excellive a ranfom wing the for from him, yet 1 shall point at examples enough, amongst the Pagans themselves, who, after the death of their enemies, have honoured them with decent burials, acknowledging with Denosthenes the bury their ing of their enemies, have nonounced the bury their ing of Envy and Malice, during their life time, yet when they are dead, they are freed from it: Which reason moved so many brave and excellent Captains to treat their enemies more humanely after their death, then they would have done whilft they lived. To which purpose Hamibal (who acknowledged that it was better to kifs a dead tain have ho- enemy, than to fight with a live one, forafmuch as a dead enemy cannot bite) a fworn and Capital foeto the Romans, having defeated and killed the Confull Caise Flaminius, near unto the Lake of Perufe, with well nigh fifteen thousand of his Souldiers, he used all diligence to get the body of the dead Confull, for whom he made an honourable Funerall; and he used also the same piety toward Tiberim Gracehus, who he surprized by the Ambuscado's of the Lequeses. As also Marcus Marcellus and Emylim Panlm, deleated in the Battel of Cannes. So likewife the Conful Lucim Cornelim harboured the like neeknes, when he caused Hannon the Generall of the Carthaginians to be taken up from his own Tent, and to be carried honourably to his buriall. 1f then the Pagan Captains, (without fear of being difgraced)did permit, purchased and procured the Funerals of their mortal enemies, wherefore should any man find fault with Pifarre, for permitting the dead body of Atabalipa to be honourably buried by his own subjects? yet however we see some were offended at it. Others take unto themselves a licence to urge the most phantasticall buriall for him that can be imagined. In the fame fictitious mould (for otherwise I could hardly believe it) the Munsterian Reformer, and after others concer-ning the coll of him Guichard the Doctor of Funerall Ceremonies , have fancied stories , and published them, conthe Funerals of cerning the Sumptuous Tombs and Monuments of the men of Peru, which the judicious Reader those of Pern. may plainly discover at first view: as first, he seems much to imitate Rablais, when in the ninth (hapter of his third book of Funerals, he builds the Magazin for Mammies in the houls of the high Mountains of the Countrey and Kingdom of Cufco, and of the Tombs of Colao, to which purpoie he fends back the druggifts into these Countries all along the mountains, which lie most exposed to the Northwind. I will not here tax him with want of experience, forafmuch as I know that neither Guichard, nor his Author ever made a voyage to far as I have done. Onely I shall intreat them to enquire of the Spanish Merchants which trafique to the Fairs of Lyon, to wit, whether the good Mummies which the Druggifts use are found in those parts? and then (for I presume, had he known better, he durft never have written such an untruth) he will learn that there is no more new things there, than at his Laguien. Moreover he is the more ridiculous, for those trifles which he adds after his Benzoin , that the men of Pern, together with the dead bodies, do bury a great deal of wrought Gold and Silver, as also the fairest and choicest of all their Wives, servants, utenfils, bread, wine, and such other necessaries for them to eat and drink until they be gotten into the other world. These will need ounpeacount but one fingle word to make you schfible of the weakness of these tales: For how can it be imagined affected at the they should compals that wine which he saies they bestow on the dead? Since in the Continent of Peru, and the Land of America, from one Pole to the other, there is not one fingle Vine-flock planted that brings fruit to maturity: But it may be Guichard with the rest of his Authors, confounds the wine wah all other Liquors, orat least with that which all the great Lords of Peru use in stead of wines. And as to the Sepulchre of the King of Cufeo, which Guichard (after the Spaniard Lopez, in the fix score and sourth Chapter of his Indian History) represents, as being placed in the middle of a Chappe' the pavement whereof was all of Gold; Truly 'tis pity he made not the fides and feeling of the one; and though in his own conceit he had well adorned the Building, yet the Foundation is as unc a cain as the hopes of thiose who are accultomed to build Castles in the air, and feed themselves

The end of the Life of Atabalipa.

THE LIFE OF

fohm Guttemberg, a Moguntian, the Inventor of the Art of Printing.



Ann. Mundi 5390.

Nat. Christ!



Mongst the rarest and laudablest Inventions which were devised by the Ingenuity of man, we must needs confess, That the Art of Printing may at present justly claim the best and highest esteem; whereby all the other Arts and Sciences are so plainly and accurately rendred unto us; and whereby two men, in one day, may dispatch and Print off more Books whereby two men, in one day, may dupaten and rrint our more books then several men could before have written in a whole year. This Arr Printing where, where (as it is generally believed) was first invented at Moganita, or Mante, a and by whom City in Germany, in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred invented

fourty and two, by John Guttemberg, a German Knight, of an honoura-ble Family; who first of all did there make the experiment of the faid Art, and did also make the first trial of that Ink which to this very day is used by the Printers: Although some other Writers do af-firm that John Faultus, and Your Shopen, two years before invented this said Art, and so give them the A difference concerning praise of it; And onely say that this John Guttemberg, John Mantel, John Pres, Adolph Rusch, Pe- the Inventors zer Sheffee, Martin Flache, Uldric Hen, John Froben, Adam Peter, Thomas Wolff , and others, did of Printing. all at once very much perfect this faid Art of Printing , which they did spread throughout all Germany and the adjacent Countries. And indeed Corradus did use this Art at Rome, in the year fourteen Corradus prints' hundred. In the beginning of which Profession the grounds of it were known but to a very sew per, edar Rome, fons : for at fuch times as they had any thing to Set , they brought their Characters with them in bags, and when they had done, they carried them back again. And in those days, both the Printers, and such as did make the Letter-Moulds, were in a great repute, wealthy and opulent, and reverenced as Noble personages, making a vast profit by the said Art. But at present, by reason of the infinite multitude of Books which are printed, and that all men are permitted to profess that Science, although they have never fo little infight in it; it fo fals out, that both the Composers and Primers, reap thereby neither profit nor praise, but onely imploy their labour and time to the benefit of the Publick, with avery little Profit or Thanks to themselves.

Some Authours have written that the Art of Printing came first from China and Cathan, which was Printing agreat mistake in them, seeing the Kingdom of China and the East-Indies were not discovered by should have agrees muses in the process of the p Printing was invented and practifed in Enrope, in the year one thousand four hundred fourty and na and Cabbe.

No Printing among the Turks and fe-veral other

Printing should have of Mexico. The Mexican w. itten Chaglyphicks. Germany.

The Germans perfection,

The benefits

Modern Prin-

two, as we have formerly faid. True it is that Paul the Venerian did four hundred years ago, or thereabouts, write the first description and fituation of those Countreys, and their Cultoms, but he doth not at all mention that Printing was in use there; And that which makes me the more confident is, that both the Grecians, Armenians, Mingrelians, Abiffinians, the Turks, the Mores, the Arabiant, and the Tartars, do write all their Books : Which became in use amongst the Turks, by the copunsand of Bajazer their Emperour, the second of that Name, by a Decree which was published in the year one thousand four hundred sourscore and three, forbidding Printing, or the use of printed Books, upon pain of death; which faid Ordinance was confirmed by his fon Selimu, the The Egyptians first of that Name, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifteen: Moreover my fell being in Egypt, Characters like I did there fee feveral long Table-books, composed of the barks of Palm trees, which were so well writunto Printing, ten, that you would have thought they had been Printed. And likewife the Merchants who travel from the Indies by the Red Sea, and who do traffick amidft feveral Nations; do onely write upon fuch

An errour that Table-books, Some other Writers have maintained that the Art of Printing was extant even in the Territories of Mexico, which is quite opposite unto Cathat, the one being in Asia towards the Antartick Pole; and the other in America towards the Artick Pole; but the said Authors are might been uted in the Territories tilly militaken, for as much as the Mexicans did never make use of the Art of Printing. However, I must needs confess that the Mexicans do make use of several Characters, resembling several Terrestrial, and Aerial creatures, as also the head , legs, arms, and other members of man , whereby they do explain their conceptions, as formerly the Egyptians did by their Hieroglyphicks, and likewise the Ethiopians; feveral of the like Characters having been publick and extant, whereof I my felf have a nike to the E- couple, which were written in the Cuy of Themistison, full of fuch like Figures and Characters, together with the Interpretation of them: Now as the Ancients did suppose one Goddess Pallas, who presided over Learning and War, as having sounded Learning, and invented Warlick instruments; fo the German; above all other Nations may attribute this glory unto themselves, to the born away the prize of both these faculties; Bartholdus Schwartz a German, having been the first Inventor of Powder and Guns, and John Guttemberg of the Art of Frinting: one onely default there is, which doth not a little dim the luftre of their glory; and by readon whereof they may be very well likened unto the Magnanimous and Warlick General Hamnibal, of whom it is faid, That he very well knew how to overcome and affwage the fury and impetuousness of an Enemy, but that he very well knew how to overcome and affwage the fury and impetuousness of an Enemy, but that he were well knew how to overcake he was a full full formation of the contract of the second and neglect. In the like manner the Gemmans are full of Invention, but they are so negligent and careless in the throughly polishing and bringing their inventions to perfection, as by reason hereof, the fame thing befals them which happened to the *Hebrews*, who, as they may juftly term them bringing it to bringing it to be the fame thing befals them which happened to the *Hebrews*, who, as they may juftly term them bringing it to bringing it to be the first Inventors of all Sciences, yet however other Nations by their labour and before the desired in the first Inventors of all Sciences, who are the first Inventors of all Sciences, who are the first Inventors of all Sciences and the sciences and the first Inventors of all Sciences and the first Inventors of all Sciences and the sciences an industry, do appropriate them unto themselves, by their refining of them, and thereby in a manner laying a certain claim unto them, and accounting them as their own, they do rob the first Inventors of the honour which they ought to reap upon that account.

Finally, This Noble Art of Printing cannot be fufficiently praifed and valued, by reason of the manifeft and great benefit, which, as we see, it doth daily bring along with it: For thereby we are affured that the Law of God is spread abroad throughout all the world, even amongst Barbarous and Savage people; that ignorance is hereby suppressed; and that all the liberal Arts and Sciences have been and are as yet thereby greatly Illustrated and Ennobled, by the multitude of rare Treatifes and excellent Books (unvitiated by the hands of fuch ignorant Clerks, as had well-nigh corrupted all the good Authors, by their erroneus Transcriptions) which at present are extant; and do daily How as it were unto us by the facility and eafinels of this admirable Art. And that we may not omit thole that have imbellished this famous Art, we shall onely name some few unto you, whose memories deserve to live to Posterity; as Aldui Manutiu at Venice, Frobenu and Operinus at Basilea in Germany, Christopher Plantin at Antwerp, Robert, Stephen, Henry, and Francis Plantin brothers, at Paris, Griphius; and Tornes at Lyons; and several others most learned and exquisite men in his Art, who have enriched the same, and still continue so to do with a great deal of Honour and applause throughout the world, &c.

IIPON

UPON THE

URTRAITURE

GOHN GOTTEMBERG,

The Excellency of the ART

Translated out of Theuets French Copy.



Pollo's darling ; Of the Mules Nine Sole Favourite : thou off spring most Divine O'th' Gods : Splendid Adorner of our Age: The Memories first-born : Onthis our Stage Times Looking-glass: of Ages long fince past Sublime Recorder; Thou who didst make hast

T' out strip thy Grandsirs; and first to Essay This rare Composure; Thou did st lead the way By Characters , well marshald, to disclose (Upon the back of Nimble Time) to those Of fueure Ages, Mysteries unknown. Wrapt up in such dark shades, and shapes, that none Could them unfold, had not thy skilfull Art A means produc't, whereby thou doft impart What ere th' Almighty , by his powerfull hand, Effected hath, i' th' Heavens, i' th' Sea on Land : And unto us his Laws thou fetteft furth, In such an ample manner, as their worth Eternally to all Mankind appears; Their Praises Shall out-vythe length of Tears. Thy rare Invention, Guttemberg, doubtlefs, Not brooking Errour Should our Age oppress. Nor Ignorance flould gain the upper hand Of Knowledge, Learning, Science, and withstand The Truth; thee mov'd, those Treasures to bestow On us, which secrets were; and ne're did flow Save mid'ft the Gods; from Mortals being referv'd, Least such a knowledge (by them undeserv'd) Might elevate their generous Souls too high (A Soul too subtil, should she soar to nigh Th' Eternals secrets) and plodd to attain To hidden Mysteries; a Science vain, Which draweth down the Almightie's wrath on those, Who thereby strive his Dictates to oppose. But thou content'ft thy felf to make us know Th' Etherial Fabrick, and the Orbs below; And dost confine thy felf within the bounds Of th' Earth's round form, the which the Sea furtounds ? The ruddy circle of the daily Torch : The radiant Planets; and the Zones which forch: The wondross Changes of fair Cinthia's bowrs, Caufing both th' Ebbs and Floods, at certain bowrs; Which Noble Sciences, and many more, By Printing are disclos'd, and kept in ftore: And Guttemberg by his most Noble Art To me a thou sand such like doth impart: Thou canfest Savage Nations to be mild,

By reading of such Books as are compiled

On purpose to refine the stupid wit Of those who are unlearn'd, abfurd, unfit. Mid ft rationals t'appear, unless compos d By such rare dictates, as shou hast disclos d; For who can now excuse himself? and lay The blame on Ignorance? or Who can fay That fe is not unmaskt? fince by this skill, Gods Word is plainly known ; the which doth fill The world with wonder , for his Divine voice To as appears, in Characters most choice. And who can plead not guilty to the Laws, Since they are publick? It is that which aws The world , through which they run (on Paper fixt) Nay passthe Seas, where they are not Eclips't: But being there by all men under flood , A Terror to the bad , Reward to th' Good ; They home return again : where being observ'd, Each man may rest secure, and be preferv'd From harm. So when both letter, and the reason O' th' Law concurr, it needs muft be in feafon. God grant , in thefe our days , we neither mifs ; We need not hope, nor beg, a greater blifs. Hadnor the Art of Printing thus been found The Ancient Records must unto the ground, Useless have faln: And how should we have read (With so much ease, and little cost) or sped In the discoveries of things unseen? Thefe, as to me, extinguifhed had been : And though defirous to have understood Those rare composures, admirably good, Of grave Philosophers, and moft Divine Renowned Orators, whose Writings shine To all Posterities : These in a deep Ocean of mifts had fallen afteep with Guttemberg, had not his varer skill, Deriv'd them unto us , from their Learn'd quill. But now presented are unto our view Those Annals, which thoughold, are here made new. What Vertues Princes did poffefs, we read; And how they Afted many a Famous deed : How they their subjects Govern'd, and their State Preferv'd in Peace; feeking the Love, net Hate Of all men : Thefe were Courteous, Mild and Good : Others were Warlick, not to be withstood In their Attempts: Some Pions and Devout Others were Furious, Tyrants, Ruff and Stone.
What more by pleafing Hiltory may be known,
This Famous Art of Printing makes our OWN.

This Famous Art of Printing mages our ownish And to be brief; What can there be defir' as Or what thing was there as yet, e're inspired Into the mind of mortals, which this Art alone Doth not divustes, and anno us makes known? So that is may be call'd, The Art of Arts; The Memories relief; fince it imparts secrets unknown, and Myteries obfered:

Revives the Dead; And all men doth allowid I' Admire its worth: Chief Agent of the Gods It may be serm'd, fince things which are at odds It reconciles, and doubt ou we express
That which the Tonyne could not describe in less These hundreds of years, which is sets down

Ast wereven in a trice: And the we'l Crown Those Praises which to Guttemberg are due, With Laurels, which on Mount Parnassus grew.

Geo. Gerbier D'ouvilly.

SELECT

Collected out of

A THEVET

The French HISTORIOGRAPHER.

Englished by I. S. A. M.

Illustrated with the Effigies or Sculptures of the said worthy Personages in Copper Plates, according to the *French* Original.

(AMBRIDGE,

Printed by John Hayes, for William Lee, at the Turks Elead in Pleetfreet, London. Anno Dona. 1676.

THE IFF

FERDINAND CORTEZ A Spaniard.



Spaniard



Might be counted very discourteous, if I omitted the Life of this famous man. is Might be counted very discourteous, it I omatted the Life of this famous man, who not only courts vertue in his name, but careffes her in his noble and generous actions, whereby he firives to be really fush, as his name imports, and to shew himself courteous to those, whose Nobility and Valour are enammell'd with Learning and Piety. The present Discourse will prove this, and make you admit the Pericetions of this Spaniard, whose Pourtraiture I got from a Sevil Merchant, at what time I, and some others were brought before the Inquisitor (upon St. Thomas day) by certain persons, who would needs persuade him that and Cortect. But his good man found us from all danger, knowing he some conference we

(upon St. Thomas day) by certain persons, who would needs persuade him that nond Cortex.

We were Lutherans; But this good man saved us from all dangers, knowing by some constrence we had together that he had seen meat whe candrian Egypt, when I was going to the Holy Land. This Merchant shewed me his Cabinet, furnished with many Pourtraitures and Figures of those who had been Travellers, among the rest was this, the which with some others he freely gave me.

Cortex was born in the Year, 1485. Under the Reign of Lord Ferdinand and Lady Islabel His Birth and King and Queen of Cafile and Arragon. His Father was Martin Cortex of Morrey, Son of Parents.

Ferdinand Cortex, who Conquered the Kingdom of Mexico. His Mother was Pisarro Altamirano, insomuch that he descended from sour of the most ancient and Noble Families in all that Country.

trey, viz. Cortez, Monroy, Pifarro and Altamirano. It is true they had no great store of Riches.

but they were attended with great honours, conferred on them by their Neighbours, who respected

them, because they endeavoured to make themselves honourable in all their Actions. Being very

young ne was made Lieutenant or a company of Gennets, for his Comin Appoint at the transfer of Capital Lieutenant of a company of the Squeens mind would make himself Master of his Order, which caus d Don Allont of Cardenas, Master of St. James, to make open War against him. In the mean while Cortez all fick, and green to extream weak, that he was more like to die then live. And therefore his Fatherstearing left he thould endanger his health by overhearing

himself, took him off this Military Exercise, and so he sent him at sourteen years old to study in Sa-

wanted money, or else found no inclination to study, he returned to Medelin, where his Father and Mother being much troubled at his diffetuencis, that ply reproved him as one who had fruitzated their design of advancing him to great honours, would he but have studied the Civil Law But

then to decide a controverfie in Law either by Tongue or Pen. Wherefore feeing his Parents very much against his being a Souldier, herefolved to ramble about the Countrey and try his Fortune: Two opportunities presented themselves to content this young Warrier, viz. A Voyage to Naples with

Gonzala Hermandes of Corduba, called the Great Captain; and another into India with Nicholas

a' Ovando, or d' Olanda, Commander of Larez, who was now to be fent by King Ferdinand in

the quality of Vice-Roy to take Bombadilla. Cortez being at a stand which to chuse, in conclusi-

on determined to fail into India, because Ovando knew him and would take care of him, the Moun-

tains of Gold also, so much celebrated in India, made his mouth water, considering the vast riches he

might gain by this Voyage; but amidft the thoughts of fetting forward with Ovando's Fleet, lo he

relaps d into his Feaver, which marred all his defigns, whereat he was much grieved, hereby lofing

fooner recovered, but he fteers his course into Italy, which he formerly contemn'd to follow Ovando

and so goes to Valentia. But as the happy success of the Indians allured him to tread his former

paths, so after he had staid one year (not without many troubles) wandring about, he returned back

with a Refolution to go into India, from which his Parents could not divert him, although they ob-

long with him four more laden with Merchandile, and Sailing towards the West, he found out the Kingdom of Mexico; for leaving the Cape of Cuba, and the Illes of Jucarana and Coluacana on

the left hand where he caused his fame to be spread abroad, he arrived to the great River Panuco. And here he understood this River belonged to the firm Land, which in its course ran into Ura-

banes, and passed Northerly through the Countrey of Bacealaura: Long had he not been in these parts,

but he discovered by his two Interpreters which he brought out of the foresaid Isles, that in this

Region the great and rich Kingdom of the Mexicans extended it felf towards the West, being sto-

red with excellent and rare Workmen, Painters, Masons, and other very ingenious Artificers. At

this news Ferdinand pricked up his ears, and from that time attempted to become their Master,

but at the first he endeavoured to gain them by all possible kindness, and to win the hearts of the

Mexicans by his courteous and fweet comportment, and indeed he was so assable and loving, that

they thought him not to be a Spaniard. But this credulous People knew afterwards to their

forrow of what mettle he was made, being very active to employ his Forces. For perceiving that

these people fell out with one another about the boundaries and extent of their Countrey, he was

eafily perswaded to aid a neighbour of his, a certain Lord in that Land against his Enemies, and

therefore he makes a League with him tending much to his own Advantage, for he knew full well

that this poor Lord being straitned on all hands, and at a loss what Saint to implore, would think it

a great bappiness to have his affiftance, who had a company of Harquebuziers, Bow men and Pike-

men, with a Squadron of Horse, which seemed dreadfull to these wretched Barbarians. The

day of battle being come, Ferdinand placed his men (though few in number) in battle array,

caufing his great Guns to play, and his Horses to neigh. The enemies were so scared to hear the thundring Canons roar, that after the loss of many men, they confess'd themselves vanquished, and

submitted to the Conquerors; who at first seemed severe, because of a maxime received among them

Rerdinand Cor- young he was made Lieutenant of a company of Genners, for his Confin Alphonso de Hermosa in-

Ferdinant fent Jamanea, there for the space of two years he learned Grammar in the house of Francis Nunnez de to Salamanca. Valera, who married the Sifter of Martin Cortez': But whether he was kept under too much, or

quits the Mules they confidered for the are Nation of his Disposition, nor his Nature which was boiling, hafty, vato follow Mass rious, addicted to Arms, so that his Genius seemed rather destined to exploit high and Martial affairs,

Voyage to the an opportunity which he feared he might never fee again. Nevertheles he was fain to take courage, Inlies hinders and endeavour the recovery of his health, and afterwards fpy our a fitter opportunity. He was no

Gentry his ferring out for an experiment of the strong out for the str

to be cruel to those who rebel against them. Howbeit being advised by Cortez to take compassion on them, they kindly treated them for this Spaniards very fake; to whom they principally ascribed the Victory. After this Expedition Ferdinand perceiving himself strong in men and forces, began to quarrel with King Morzume or Montezume, who hearing of Cortez his power in that Countrey, conceived Morroune fets. a mortal hatred against the Christians, whom he perceived (being wife and subtil) inclined to usurp himself against the Territories and Dominions of Mexico, and therefore he consulted with one of his Lords and the Spiniards. Vaffals how to root them out, but this was done too rashly, seeing that Qualpopaca Lord of

Namblan or Nancutel fince called Almeria, put nine Christians to death, which ministred an occafion to Ferdinand of taking vengeance, and executing that which for a long time he had contrived, but never could find a pretence for it till now; The murder of these nine inlarged the way, so that the thick and numerous ranks of Morzumes Army could not reful the thunder of Ferdinands Ordinance, which fulminated on these wretched people, nor the bloody wounds of the Spanish Ordinance, which minimized on their wretures people, not the beginning on borfeback to be fiving Morganic words. This terrible flaughter fo frighted the Mexicans (who thought men on borfeback to be King Morganic Centaures, and their intimate acquaintance with Jupiter to procure lightning from heaven) that they vanquithed. were glad to yield. Motzume also surrendred himself, and left all his people to Cortez his kindness, but after he had thus submitted, Ferdinand hearing there was a secret Rebellion in the Countrey, put him in chains, which fo inraged these Barbarians, that they furiously ran to the place where Motzume was imprisoned (whether it was to deliver him from the indignity he suffer'd, or else were vexed at his compliance with [orrez] and threw great stones at their King, wherewith (notwithstanding all the Spaniard) endeavours to drive them away) they miserably killed him and dash d out his brains, chusing another in his place called Qualitimoc or rather (according to others) Cuetravacin, Mot- Motzumes zum's brother, Lord of Islandipa. But the greatest part of the Lords elected Correz, who pursued death his competitor with fire and sword, and though he was chosen King, yet he would not accept that instomperion was content to be called Fiee-Roy. Now it was much eafter for him to overcome this last Correz would King then Morzume, because he discomfited Captain Narvez, who came to the City of Uray- be but Vite-Croix with nine hundred men, and a Commission from Diego Velasquaz, Governour of Cuba, to slay Roy.

Correct deteast Cortez, or rid the Countrey of him by force, because he had not given him an Account of his Voy- Narvez. age, or late Discovery. Cortez in the mean while being busie in deseating Narvez, found the Mexicans quite changed, who having armed themselves fell fowl upon the Spaniards left in the Garrison at Mexico under his Lieutenant Captain Peter Alvarado, and drove Cortez out of the City, where he thought to refresh himself after his weary travels, but was forced with those Spaniards which he brought from Narvez his defeat (in the Year 1121) to beliege Themistican, which continued three Cortez belieges moneths, at the end whereof he entred the City, but yet he and his men were cheated by the Mexi- Themislian. cans, who feeing themselves unable to hold out any longer, nevertheless knew the Spaniards design was to enrich themselves with the Gold and Precious Stones of that wealthy City, wherefore gathering together all their Gold and Silver, they cast it into the bottom of their Lakes. By this means the Spaniards found nothing in the Nest, which so inraged them, that they used all manner of cruelty towards these miserable wretches. Cortez was extreamly abashed, when after much diligent searching, he could not find one grain of Gold or Silver in the whole Town, nor any of Morzumer Trea-fure. And feeing he could not make them confels where they had hidden it (although he forely threatned them, and burned Qualtopaca for his former cruelty) he took King Qualtimoc and his Secretary and put them upon the Rack, and so miserably disjoynted and pull'd assunder their bodies, that King Qualitthey could be wire-drawn no longer, thinking to extort that by force, which he could not do by mee and his commands or threatnings, and yet for all these bitter Torments he could not get a word from them.

Some fay the Secretary was fo resolute, that though they burnt him and fryed him at a small fire, yet he

Rack d. would confes nothing, nor utter any thing befides bitter complaints against the villany of the Spaniards; he was dying about six hours in the Executioners hands. Cortex seeing the King also very The death of obstinate, caused him to be taken down from the Rack, and presently hanged him. When he had the Secretary. dispatch'd this Enemy, he began to search further, because he had heard from many, that Mexico The death of abounded with Gold and most excellent rarities enough to awake the dullest foul to a vigorous enquiry the King of after them, and to enlarge the renown of his valour and generous conquests, for if the relation of Mexico. his Voyages be true, he deserved according to his quality and condition to be reckoned among the chiefest Conquerors. You have heard the subtile stratagems, cunning devises and brave exploits wherewith Cortez perfecuted the Indians (but if you throughly confider the whole matter, as we have de-

roick Warriour) who learned like fools at their own cost to be wife. Now I will profecute some other Journeys and Travells which Correz made, failing through divers Seas to compleat his prosperous Voyage. For brevity sake I omit the Discovery which he made of a great and high Mountain, at the top white with snow, at the bottom vomiting flames, and throwing out red hot ftones like Mount Ains in Sicily; not that I would here excuse their morose obstinacy who will not believe what is told them, unless truth put out their eyes, but because I am not certain that I have elsewhere cleared this point. It will tend more to Ferdinands praise if I here make mention of his Piety towards the Church of God, which moved him to conquer the greatest part of this People, and reduce them both to the Christian Faith, and obedience to the Emperour Charles the Fifth. Not that I would play the fool like Paul Jovius, who represents Correz as an Hypocrite, The errour of under pretence of certain devotions, which Historians observe (too unadvifedly) he used in casting Paul Forist. lots upon the twelve Apostles, but this was an action fitter for a small-coal man, then such a gallant and valiant undertaker. The zeal which he had for Gods glory made him bring thefe sheep to Christs sold, which for a long time had been detained in the Claws of Wolves and devouring Lyons. And so much he christianiz'd them, that by a publick Order, two of the most illustrious Barons in that Nation were Two Ambastafent as Ambaffadors (nobly attended) to the Emperor in Spain, and from thence to the Pope in Rome dors fent from to tender their homage, who entertain d them with great joy and fplendor. After this, Cortex built avery thrule home at Themselfician reflecting to Royal Bullea existed with Market. a very starely house at Themistian, resembling a Royal Pallace, enrich'd with Marble and carved Pope.

clared it in Morzumes Life, he was guilty of extreams misbecoming the Christian piety of an He-

Stone-work, which the Spaniards affirm to be moreglorious then the Alambre in Grenada, be-

cause the Frontis-piece was inlaid with beautiful stones of divers colours. Indeed he might well build fo goodly aftructure, having received fo many rich prizes; for befides others, I find in the Provinceof Castile he had five Emeralds valued at an hundred thousand Crowns. One cut like a Rose with its Cortez his fair leaves, the other in form of a Bugle-horn, the third like a Fifh, the fourth in the likeness of a Bell, booties. having for its Clapper, a great Pearl, shaped like a Pear: the fifth like a Cup, for the which alone a Genoa Jeweller offered fourty thousand Ducats, hoping to be a gainer by the bargain. This sudden increase of Cortex, exposed him to envy, which as it never quits their company, who are a little exalted above others, entertained Correz in the same manner as she had formerly done Columbus. Hereupon he was recalled into Spain, where he bestowed upon the Emperor precious stones of inestimable vain was retained into principle.

We, who in recompence gave him and his heirs the City of Vallio, and in his room was Don Antonio.

Mendeza, Son to the Earl of Tendil fent to the Mexicans Kingdoms with great Authority; and by this means Ferdinand (who first made way into Mexico, and conquered it for the Emperor Charles the Fifth) was deprived of all his Labours and Travels.

Corter in A-

Charles the Cortez his

And yet for all this, his zeal to serve the Emperor did not grow cold : For he followed him into Africa where he sustained a very great loss of his precious moveables in a Shipwrack at Algirra; and seven years afterward he died at his own house (but not very old) to the great grief of all lovers frica with the of Virtue, who ought to prize those, who endeavour for her fake to make themselves famous and re-

The honour which I have for this bright star, which enlighmed the world, invites me here to make a collection of the Elogies and Epitaphs, made in praise of Heroick Cortez; but to avoid prolixity, I will only fet down one translated out of the Italian Tongue.

> Great Hercules of old, did mighty things And overcame at last his sufferings. But Ferdinando fecond unto none . By nobler Alts has Hercules out-done. Cortez a greater Traveller then He Though not so strong, has compast'd Land and Sea. Made the Antipodes obey his Nod; And what is more, acknowledg one true God.

> > The end of the Life of Ferdinand Cortez.

THE

BASIL Duke of Moscovy.



Basile Duke of Muscovic Dixit Anno Christi 1518

Aving already at large described the Original manners and Government of the Moscovites in my Cosmography, I here omit them, and shall briefly touch upon the most remarkable things in this present History, not medling with the ancient regulation of this Countrey, nor the progress or various success of the Russian affairs: But yet I will not forget to make some singular Observations, which before I passed over in silence, and may serve now to illustrate this Narration. In the Year 1576. An English Lord, who had been an Embassa-

dor Refidentiary feven years in Mofeovy, told me, that the natural Inhabi-rants thereof are the most cruel men in the World against their Enemies, not that they devour their the great cru-Captives, but make them feel the Rigour of that Machiavilian Polition, viz. A dead enemy bites Molecoites. not. As for their Wives and young Children, they fell them to Tarkiso or Targaian Merchants, and though they are Christians, yet they commonly traffick in them. Printing was not known printing when to them until the Year, 1560. and then discovered by a Russian Merchant who fold Characters discovered in for the Prefs, by which means they afterwards Printed many Books. Neverthelefs they being fcru-Moforn, and pulous and fuperfluinors like the Grecious whom they imitate, fome among them by crafty devices, when put and flickling perfors caused these Characters to be burned, fearing the Prefs might occasion some alteration or disputation in their Religion, and thus the matter was never further examined by Prince of People. But ought they (out of the great homour they had for their Religion) thus in a moment to lose this precious and excellent Jewell, onely for a vain and idle conception, that the brightness hereof, might in time discover something which might discolour and dim the luftre of this Monastisal Basilian Religion?

The four Mendicants allowed in the Latin Church, are not received among the Mofeovites, no The four Menmore then among the Greeks, Armenians, Neftorians, Aboffines, Georgians, Jacobins, Myngre- dicaus not relians, Syrians and other Easterly Christians. The covy.

The Lords Prayer in their Tongue differs not from the Latin, and therefore having got a copy thereof in the Moscovite Language, I thought it not amifs to insert it here, for their fake who delight in novelties, I had used their Characters also: but I thought that would have been unintelligible and uselefs to most Readers.

The Lords Prayer in the Moscovian Language.

O che nass ije est nane besich, da suatitsa ima tuoa da prijdet tzerture tuce; da boudet vola tuoa jacco nane besech ina zemli. Chleb nash nasoushuij daiede nam due : I ostavi nam dolgi nassa, I acco I mui ostaulaem doleni com nassim, I neuedi nas vona past, no isbavinas ot loucavago, jacco tuoe est tzerture I sila, I slana vouechi. Amin.

It is time now that we return to Bafil, to whom this present Discourse is addressed, relating the many mileries and misfortunes which attended his Reign. We find amongst Historians, he was so unfortunate in War, that he seldom quitted the Field without difgrace. Some attribute this to his Hotortunate in War, and why, roscope and to I know not what kind of benevolent or malevolent inclination of the Constellations, predominant in the hour of his Nativity, but when they have turmoil'd themselves about such sooleries a long time, they gain nothing thereby but the title of fools or mad men, for striving to foar higher then they are able, they fuddenly fall into many groß and ridiculous abfurdities.

As for my own part without entring into Gods Cabinet counfels, I think his wicked and abominable

The curfed

life made him so miserable. Paul Jovisu faith he was addicted to vices against Nature, which I think implety of Ba- better to conceal then mention, though fome maintain this implety to be as usual amongst the Moscovites, as it was ordinary amongst the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorra. But how could they find in Bafil cruel and their hearts to hazard their lives for him, who was fo cruel and intolerable to them; Infomuch that he BARK CRUEI AND WOUld NOT Suffer his own Brethren, nor any Prince whatsoever to hold any Castles or Forts, nay they were forced at their own cost and charges to serve their Lord both in Court and Camp, as also in sending Embassies, and the greatest requital he made, was bestowing upon them some great Farms at a certain Rent, for the space or term of one year and half, which being expired, they were again compelled to ferve fix whole years on their own fcore, but if they refused to do it, the loss of goods and life immediately enfued; As it hapned to his great Favourite and Secretary, who, being delign'd Embalfador to the Emperor Maximilian, and aniwering he wanted accommodations for the Voyage, was flux up in Prison, where he died, and his goods were confiscated to the Prince, whereof his brethren could not get the value of a penny.

If at any time his Embaliadors returned home with prefents, this Bafil would feize upon them, alledging by the Law of Principality? that whattoever was given them, was his, feeing it was for his fake, that Princes formuch honour d them. This leffonhe taught the Embaffadors, fent by him to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, Who presented them with golden chains, and certain Spanish pieces of Gold, his brother Ferdinand also gave them Vessels of Silver, rich cloths, and many pieces of Gold coined in Germany. But affoon as they arrived home, this greedy glutton laid hands upon the belt and fairest presents, as though it had been a booty got from some enemy, whereof he would not onely have his share, but unjustly take that which a Captain would not resule to give his Souldier: I pass by the oppressions he used towards his subjects under pretence of an unlawfull and absolute power, seeing at this very day they who have the Soveraign Dominion over the rest, have liberty to exalt themfelves above and tyrannize over the poor Pelantry. Return we now to Bafil who was most commonly unfortunate in all his undertakings. In the Battle of Orfa under the conduct of Constantine Oftroges and John Suitzon, The Poloni-

discomined by anis descated the Moscovian Army (being 80000 ftrong) slew betwirt 35 or 40000, took all the Policy in their Captains, and Lords of note, the whole Senate, and 4000 others prisoners. Bafil had much ado to fave himself in his Royal City of Mosco, although 60 leagues distant, so panted he for fear, left King Sigismond puff d up with victory, should attempt to purite him. Behold what coin Tyrants are paid in, who confider not the injuries, vexations, and indignities which they do their fubjects. You see this Duke (who was wont to tame his foes) by his too rudely handling his People, so weakned in his forces, that an handfull of Polonians routed his vaft Army, enough to swallow up Signimond and all his Souldiers.

In like manner the tharge which he received from the two Brothers Girees Mahomet, and Abfa, fo clipped his Wings, that he was forced to oblige himself by a promise under his hand, to be Mah mers perpetual Tributary, by this means he fent back the Tartars loaden with great spoils, having almost fired his whole Country, and triumphing over the great numbers of Molecoviet, which they had taken Prisoners, and fold in Taurica to the Tarks, and to divers others at Citraca dwelling upon the Caspian Sea. Now had Bast cherished, loved and honoured his People; he might have had enough valiant Captains who would have been able to have made work with these two Tartarian Kings ; but he fo trampled upon them, that they would not fir a foor for him, much lefs hazard their lives and fortunes, to fecure him, who fo cruelly tyrannized over them.

At last this Prince grew better, and took deliberation in high enterprizes, and being very subtil and and great fue- circumfpect obtained many fair Victories against the Tartars, took Smolenzko from the Polonians by the secret intelligence of Knez. Michil Liniki, and not onely kept what his brother John left him, but alfo added many more Provinces to his Empire; and befides Smolenzke he fubdued Plefcovy.

This man was the first who usurp'd the Name and title of King, for all his Predecessors were contented with the Name of Great Dukes, onely his Father would be called Great Lord of Russia, and The titles and this appellation Bafil also retained; and moreover caused himself to be stilled Emperor, a Title suitable appellations of the ambition and we remained to the King of Baland he does suitable himself King of Baland to his ambition, and yet writing to the King of Poland, he durft not fubfcribe himself King, but was contented with the name of Vuelichi Knezi, or Great Duke; and this he did because the neighbouring Princes would not receive letters from him with new Titles. But loe how he ftiles himself: The Great Lord Bafil, by the grace of God, King and Prince of Ruffia, Great Duke of Volodimeria, Moscovy, Novogard, Plescovy, Smolludby, Tuvery, Jugary, Permy, Viaky, Bulgary, &c. Great Lord and Duke of Low Nevogard, Exemisors, Rezaire, Volothia, Riferry, Bellyar, Roffony, Farsy, Bellyary, Condiny, Sec. But these of King and Emperor wherewith he adorned himself are comprized under the word Czar, which in the Ruffian tongue fignifies King, and by the Slavonians, Polonians, Hungarians and Bobemians is taken for Emperor or tation of the Cafar. And well may it be fo, for there is little difference betwirt Czar and Cafar. The reason word Caar. why he was called the white King is the same with the Persian King, who was termed Kisil passa, or Cafelhaz, because his Turbant was red, and so the Moschoute is called white from his labit, as you may see in this Dukes portraiture, which was copied out of an old book Printed in the Mescovian Bess's portrai-Language and Character, where he is just represented in the very fame drefs.

He first married Salomea a Subjects Daughter, with whom he lived above twenty years, but had His Wives, no issue, whereat being offended, he divorced her (say some) for her barrenness, but the effect declared he neigh'd after others, for either being over glutted or cloyed with her, or discovering a greater beauty, he pretended the was uncapable of child bearing, and therefore that her up in a Monastery, where the brought forth a Son, which not onely interrupted the defign of Marriage between Bafil and Helen, who died before the perfect confummation thereof, but also hindred him from another, whereat he was greatly vexed, because among the Russians many Wives are abominable. I find one diffi- Polygamy oculty moved concerning the infant of Salomea, for some seeing Demetrius Son to John deceased, and dious among Nephew to Basil, installed in the Dutchy, write that this poor Lady had this child by an unlawfull the Mosconier. conjunction; or elfe in all probability he had fucceeded Bafit as being his next heir. But then confider The Authors why he might not as well fucceed Bafit, as he did John; fome will alledge that Bafit to make himfelf thoughts of saabsolute Master, took Demetrius prisoner after his Fathers death, and therefore by his consent he was lomes's Son confecrated Duke of Moscovy, and so they are not to be compared together. Lastly Basil usurped the Dukedom, and Demetrins obtained it by his Uncles Election.

The end of Bafil's Life.

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SEBASTIAN.

SEBASTIAN, I.

King of Portugall.



Sebastian King of Portugai.



Ever was there a braver Subject to Discourse upon, then this present, especially to fuch as are defirous to know the affairs and State of Portugall: now the Life of this King invites you to take a prospect of that fair and flourishing Kingdom. For my own part I should take great delight in expatiating upon this subject, for the honour I bear to the Portugall Commanders, did I not fear my tediousness would be distaftefull. Moreover I am perswaded a lover of curious Relations, will be much pleased to read the History of Hierom Oforium, Bishop of Algarva, and that excellent

Collection of Goulard in twenty Books; whose diligence I cannot sufficiently commend not only in this, but all his other Works which he hath treely communicated to the World. Wherefore I wholly address my self to Sebastian, who as he was indued with many rare qualities, so had he been very happy, had he not been over mastered by some bad passions, and had hearkned to fuch counfell, as might have prevented him from rash and indifferent actions, as it will evidently appear in this following Narrative. Sebastian then was Son to John Prince of Portugall, and Jane Daughter of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who was delivered of him, Jan. 20. In the Year of our Lord, 1554. fitteen or eighteen days after her husbands death; fo that

Schassian being about four year old succeeded John the Third, his Grandsather, who died Jung Ar what age the eleventh, 1557, aged sity sive. Who though he held his Father Emanuel's place, yet did schassian benot imitate him in preserving and establishing his Throne; For he more minded the Spanish in-gan his Reign quistion and vain tales of others, then regarded the means of making his Kingdom shourish. If then this Realm began to be despicable in his time, it was much more so under the rigid Government of Sebastian, who all on a sudden surned what remained upside down. In brief after his defeat, it hailed so excessively, that there was not a whole tyle lest, everything became barren, and sell to their share, who at this day affirm the Portugall Crown also to belong unto them. But I will not concern my felf in these Quarrels, Return we therefore to Sebastian, whose corpulent body promised an Heroick and Martial disposition. Indeed he was a sebastian was comely Prince and of a brave Stature, as men report, I never faw him, though I faw his Grand- corpulent, father and Father, when I was at Lubon, returning back from my second Voyage into the Southern parts. At the first he was much loved and honoured amongst his Subjects, but afterwards fitting to make himself formidable, he loft his Peoples cordial affection, who seeing him sebastian by furnounded with a very strong Guard, and the number of his Courtiers augmented, presently augmenting entertain'd an ill opinion of him, and seared him with a servile and compulsive sear. But he got his Guards and nothing by it. Nevertheless Great Politicians set forth a Prince in the very colours of a Tyrant, Court, diminot suffering the common People to come near him, but these I remit to that great Justice nilhed his Sub-Robert Garnier Lieutenant criminall of Maine, who in his Tragedy of Mark Anthony jest love. brings in Cafar and Agrippa controverting this point, viz. Whether a Ruler ought to make himself formidable. The Words are to this effect.

Agr. What good reaps he, whom all the World does fear?
Cxl. This makes his Enemies to disappear.
Agr. But commonly such fear dosh batted gain,
Cxl. Hate without power is commonly but vain. Agr. Who fears his Prince, doth wish his Princes Death, Cal. Who fear; him not, will rob him of his Breath. Agr. There is no stronger Guard, safer defence, Then what doth from the Peoples love commence. Cal. Nothing is more uncertain, feeble, rude Then the favour of the fickle multitude.

If you believe Buffoons, Courtiers and Pick-thanks, you will then take Cafar's fide. But they who are right in their Wits, will incline to Agrippa. As for those who contradict his truth, the very confideration of King Sebaftian may make them bluth for shame. The simplicity of former Perungal Kings made their Soveraignty venerable and Reverend. But Sebaftian by in The decilining creating his Guards and Courtiers, decreased his State, and annihilated the ancient grandeur of the of the Perucreating his Guards and Courtiers, decreated his State, and annihilated the ancient grandeur of the of the PortuPortugalls. Yet to lay all the fisht on this young King, would be an injury to his generofity, gal Kingdom,
who by inclining to bad counfell, cauted this lamentable decay, whereof at this day we behold too
evident figns amongst the ruines of this ancient Kingdom of Portugall. Wherefore I will not altogether either justifie or condemn him, feeing his weakness and inhancy serves as a Shield against
The good conthose dangerous blows which malled his Kingdom during his Minority. For it was after he began to be a Man, that he ingaged in those designs which totally ruined his Kingdom, the which in schifflin
he found very rich, because of the Indian traffick, which many followed for the gain and advantage found his
kingdom, which accrued to the Merchants thereby.

The City Likes increased to all mens thinking, being one of the most principal, not onely of Portugal, but of all Europe, and perhaps the fairest Sea-port Town upon the Ocean. From the Indiest his King received vast profit, where after the King of Cambaia's deseat, the Citadels were repaired, and all things peaceably smiled upon him. Finally the Kingdom of Portugal, had as it feems arrived to the Zenith of its happinels. But lo, all on a fudden it was overwhelmed, turned topfic turvy, and reduced to that extremity wherein we now behold it, by rea-fon of this young Prince, who was taken out of the World, in the flower of his age, as I elsewhere have declared. Nevertheless, it will not be amis to give a hint of this as we pass along.

Sebastian then being of a restless spirit, and addicted to Arms, having discovered the Wars in Barbary, be wint Auley Mahomet and Muley Abdalustich, for the Kingdoms of Fez. and Morocco, fent an Embaffador twice to Mahomet, offering what aid or affiftance he wanted to fubdue Abdalustich, but Mahomet flighted it, thinking he had forces enough to defroy his Uncle, but at laft, to his cost, being foundly beaten, he saw his errour in refulfing the Portugal The occasion excitairies. This induced him to feek Subalians friendship, and request his affiltance formerof schaffing the Abdalladors needed not many Arguments to incite him hereumo, who hugged woyage into his file the Social Subdement of the Abdalladors needed not many Arguments to incite him hereumo, who hugged woyage into his file the Social Subdement of the Abdalladors needed not many Arguments to incite him hereumo, who hugged woyage into his file the Social Subdement of the Abdalladors needed not many Arguments to incite him hereumo, who hugged woyage into himself for finding such an opportunity to fail into Africa. Whether he did well or ill to Barbary. intermeddle with these Princes quarrels, the judicious Reader may easily determine. They were both Barbarians who made mutual War; the Question then is, Whether Sibasian, who carning these continues the continues noth Europersons who made mutual War; the Querton then is, who were starting the went not to reconcile them; had not better have flaid at home, then have taken along with him gain 3000 Spearmen, 600 Italians, 2000 Spaniards, 600 Tingites, 2500 Volonteers, 600 Horfe stellitus exfrom Tingi, 1500 common Souldiers and Gentlemen of Portugali? Indeed that which most pedition.

rondemns Sebastian is, that he favoured an unjust cause. For when Mahomet had conquered his Uncle. Christianity was not advanced hereby, because still the power was in an Infidels hand. Again he fought to destroy Abdelmelech, who supported Christians, to extend Mahomets power : And yet he pretended this Voyage was undertaken for the rooting up of Maho-

To this end he took along with him the Popes Legate, who was impowered to grant thoufands of Pardons to those, who adhered to the King. But fecret Articles made between him and Muley Mahomet, canled him to fet forward his vast Fleet, presuming he might take two or three Sea-ports in Barbary, to maintain and secure it : Howbeit, Mulay Xeq Mahomets Son, and Sebastians Hostage, could not save him from Death; for through his own fault he rashly rushed into the unhappy Battle, sought between Abdelmelech and Mahomet , Aug. 4. 1378. At which time a Blazing Star appeared in Heaven, for the space of eighteen days, which the Aftrologers were pleased to interpret as a sad Omen and Presage of that worful calamity, that should befall the Portugall Kingdom. However, I will not trouble my self with these niceties and vain curiofity, but distinctly inform you, how this Valiant Prince came to his

When the two Armies drew nigh to one another, Abdelmelechs Troops made a stop to fix twist sebaftion their great Guns , expecting Sebaftian's approach ; immediately upon this they played their Canand Abdeline- nons; but before they had charged thrice, the Enemy re-faluted them, and then the two Vanguards desperately encountred each other with such an hail and tempest of Calivers and thundering Artillery, that all things feemed to be in a combustion. Forthwith the 500 Vanguard men, led by the Duke of Avero, routed Abdelmelech's left Wing, 10000 Alarbian Horse also fled 20 Leagues distant, and reported the news of the Christians Victory. Other Alarbs on the right Wing , began in like manner to give back , which so inraged Abdelmelech, that he went to rally his left Wing now almost quite defeated. But the Souldiers of his Guard feeing his weakness, detained him, and would not let him advance further, which so much grieved him and augmented his forrow, that he tumbled (like one in a fwoon) off his horse, faying nothing to them, but onely that he would have them advance more forward, this they did, The Death of putting him also into an Horse-litter, where he died about half an hour after. Nevertheless they concealed his Death, reporting he was onely taking his Reft: But certainly it was a profound fleep, out of which he never could awake again.

After this Rout of Abdelmelechs Vanguard, the Duke of Avero feeing himfelf not purfued, and fearing to ingage too far, was forced to retire with his Forces. The Moors perceiving that 500 Horse had shaken their whole Army, resumed courage, and sent a 1000 Harquebusiers to their Horle, and abundance of foot, to fall upon the Duke of Avero both before and behind, which they did with so much resolution, that the Duke and his Regiment were beaten and put to flight, and ran over their Infantry with great disorder and confusion; Sebastian seeing this, presently mounted his horse, being covered with green Armour, and attended by the Duke of Avero and a Squadron of Horse, gave an onset and repelled the Moors. But because he had not above 500 men, he was constrained to turn back, and so this second Retreat sped no better then the first. For then the whole body of Abdelmelechs Army, especially the Rereguard, fell fo furiously upon Sebastians Troops, that it is impossible to describe it. In this encounter were slain the Duke of Avero and many brave Gentlemen, the Artillery also was taken, to Sebastians great grief, who perceiving that the Rereguard wanted his recruits, being attended with 500 Horse, charged the Moors a third time in Muley Hameds Quarters, and so daunted them, that they fled above half a League from him. But unable to pursue them, he was forced to retreat to the reft of his Army, there to behold his approaching ruine: For the enemy having feifed his pieces of Ordinance, purfued the Victory, defeated the left Squadron on the River side, and broke into Muley Mahomets Troops (who marched betwirt the Rereguard and the River) and thus they made cruell havock of Mahomets men, wherefore Mahomet fled towards the River, thinking to ford it, but the water being muddy, his Horse fluck fast in the mire, and gave such a violent yerk, that Mahomes lost his Stirrops, and being not able to swim, The Death of was drowned and choaked in the mud. On the other hand, the Moors were so numerous, that they encompassed Sebastian and his men on every side, discomsted the greatest part of them, for they were left defenceles, by reason that most of their Ammunition was that very day lavishly and indiscreetly spent. And though some discharged, it was onely to get to their Chariots, for the number of run-aways increated their misfortune, so that they ran one over another, and the Horsemen trampled upon them. The 8600 Pikemen left their Pikes to the enemy, which caused Sebastians deseat, having not Harquebusiers enough to supply their room. Nevertheless Sebastian laid about him on all sides, though commonly attended but with seven or eight Tingises which never forfook him. The Portugall Horse being tired and out of heart, quitted their saddles, and hid themselves under their Chariots; and seeing all lost, lest the King in the conslict, and fled some on soot, some on horseback towards Arzilla, but they were hostly pursued, and most of them cut in pieces. Sebastian at length sought with some Horseand beat down so many men, that his enemies durft not come nigh him. Yet at laft fixty of the most valiant Souldiers inclosed him . fo that seeing himself no longer in a condition to fight, or escape with life, he commanded one of his Souldiers to hold up the white colours at his Spears-end, in token of

his furrendring. But such was his hard fate, that they being Alarbes who incompassed him, underflood not the fignal, but thought on the contrary he called his men to help him, wherefore affailing flood not the ugnat, our through on the contact. The Victors purfued the chale untill midnight, him furiously on all hands, they slew him in the place. The Victors purfued the chale untill midnight of the Contact of all being dispersed or taken, and thus nothing remained of the Portugall Army but dead bodies. The prisoners then taken were above 14000 which afterwards were sent to several places, where they King sebistian were made Slaves: Those who escaped were about 200, the number of the slain above 12000, Among which the principal were King Sebafiian, the Duke of Avere, the Marquels of Ireland, the Bishops of Conimbria and Port, Christopher Tavora the Popes Legatt, Alvaro Perez his Brother, and many others; besides a great number of Captains, Knights and Gentlemen. Who had they survived, had recovered the glory of the Portugall State. But behold so it is, He that begins a thing untowardly, ends it ill-favouredly.

Sebastian hazarded his Life, Forces and Estate, to espouse the Quarrell of an Enemy to Christi- It is very danans, but at last was dismounted and slain. And indeed it could not otherwise be, but he should light geron some on some missortune, seeing Necessity is an invincible Enemy, and he also had ingaged against a defeating a despe-

perate Adversary.

took their King Prisoner.

We cannot produce a better example to confirm this, then that of King John, who chose rather to hazard his own Person, State and Nobility in the midst of his Kingdom, then make Peace with the English Army, who onely desired to escape with their Lives utterly despairing of Victory. Yet it so hapned, that 10000 of them, deseated the French Army confisting of 40 or 50000 and

Gaßon de Foix committed the fame fault, who having got the day in the Battle of Ravenna, would needs pursue a Squadron of Spaniards, and so loss his life, and less all that he had conquer-

ed in Italy as a prey to his Enemies.

More wifely acted Fabins the Great, who rather endured to becalled coward, then incounter the Foe after the rate of other Captains, who were foundly beaten for their too forward boldness. Thus

he had the honour of faving his Countrey by paufing.

But our Sebastian was so busie, that as his fingers itched, so he took delight to meddle with o ther mens quarrels fo far, that in deciding them, he loft the fair and precious Jewel of his Life, to the great grief of many Christian Princes.

The end of the Life of Sebastian

THE

LIFE

OF

Quoniambec.



Quoniambec AGiantlike man



Any persons intending to speak of those wonderfull rarities which God has dispersed in these Countries not long since discovered unto us, are as a stand, whether they ought to believe those, who have travelled through these Regions and unknown Lands. That they have reason to be aftonished, it cannot be denied, if we restect upon what they have common with us, which though not so curiously dressed, as the European skill can refine it, yet may if throughly considered ravish those with admiration, who carry themselves highest. For they will find themselves much mistaken, when they understand how the

Americans excell us in many things.

Not to mention the pleafantnefs and fertility of the Countrey, though this would afford matter enough to amaze us, God having given them such mighty plenty, and endued them with such excellencies, that some ignorant fools not understanding how the Almighty causes his Sun to shine upon the first and unjust, have attempted to consirely his liberality, who hath watered this fourth part of the World with such infinite blessings. But this is (as one may say) little in respect of those graces, wherewith the Instabitants of this new World are adorned, who though far remote from the true Son of righteousness, whose light they perceive very dimly, are nevertheless decked with many exquisite perfections both of body and soul. For a Demonstration hereof I will onely produce this dreadfull Quaniambee, of whom I may well discourse, for I have seen him, and sufficiently observed him upon the River of Januara, where the Lord of Visla-gaignon caused us to stay. This place is situated under the Tropick of Capricorn 23; degrees distance from the Equator and 66; degrees from the Anarcick Pole. Wherefore they are mithate, who relying upon Lary's calculation, place it 23 degrees from the Anarcick Pole. Quaniambee was remarkable above all other persons in that Countrey,

both for his Gigantine Stature, and eminent degree, which made him appear higher then others. Ever and anon our Captain difcourfed with him concerning things worthy to be fought and prized.

This Demy-Gyant had a great body proportionably gross, exceeding strong, and he knew well how to use his bodily strength, which he chiefly imployed in overcoming his enemies, and making them vield to his power. I remember I have elsewhere written something touching this person, whose pouryield to his power. I truitement Hard through from that Countrey) with two green Rones in his cheeks traiture I here represent which I brought from that Countrey) with two green Rones in his cheeks and one on his chin. He was so strong, that without burning himself, he could carry a great Vessel The wonderful of wine in his Arms, and to attonish his enemies, he lifted up two pieces of Ordinance, (which by force The wonders of which is the had taken from a Portugall ship) and laid them on his shoulders, rurning the mouth of these Cannons towards his approaching see, he commanded one of his men to fire them, and when they were discharged, he took more, untill he had scattered his gnemies, and then God knows how much he did deride them. This is a story not common, nor indeed credible to every one, but to men of profound urrue mem. 111115 a toty in the matter to believe it politible, confidering his valt bulk and lyrength. And underflanding it is no hard matter to believe it politible, confidering his valt bulk and lyrength. And yet John de Lery who would perfuvab himself, that he has incloided the fiercets of the new World in John Lery team Oyfter-shell, will not vouchfafe to believe, that this Savage could in this manner differarge thele two proved. pieces, without burning himfelf, or hurting his shoulders by their recoyling. I will not produce experience against him, because I know he never saw the man of whom I speak, and therefore will not condescend to reason without experience, which along makes wife men fools. Yet nevertheless he has not gained his cause, though he and others cannot represent this as a truth. For I may lawfully affirm, that this great Prince could do, what I have related concerning him. But because I will not be so critical as to produce Philosophical reasons, I will bring Lery himself to prove my affertion. First I will suppose that he composed those books, which are entitled his, concerning the siege of Sancerre, and his Voyage into America, though none that know him, will believe he was the Author of them ; nis voyage nio America, incogning at l'Epine who dwelt twelve years in that Count ey at the amongst whom we may reckon Monsteur at l'Epine who dwelt twelve years in that Count ey at the fame time as Lety did. Moreover 1 might challenge him for stealing a great deal out of other mens Works, but not to draw up a new inditement against him, I am content to stand to my former charge, and allow him to be the Author, fo, fo. And yet it will hardly be granted, that he being a Mechanick could write fo well. However I will not upbraid him onely with his profession, let us see whether he has not written something in his Books far more incredible then the History of Quoniambec.

I am affamed thus to employ my pen in correcting this Embroiderer, who has ftuffed his writings with fo many lies, that those who bear him the leaft ill-will, are forced to blush at his fopperies and Lery's Lies, toyes, wherewith he endeavours to feed the eyes of his Readers.

He is 6 impudent, as to affirm that his name in the Savage Language, fignifies an Oyster, which is Lety an Oyster a manifest untruth. But admit it were so, it is not fo great a matter as he makes it, because he was not an Oyster inclosed in his two natural shells, but in the Castle of Coligny, where the Sieur of File-aignon shut him up. What think you of those productions Tortoites (which he says are under the gaignon shut him up. What think you can to those productions of the says are under the Tortid Zone) so exceeding big, that one alone will dine so men (perhaps such who have no stomachs) Lety's product and the shell thereof cover a dwelling house. I cannot think he defigned these formans use, but rather our Tortoises' for Flies and such other forts of Insects. But omitting his great Whales, Crocodites of an hundred foot long, and the rest of his fabulous Fibs, I will now return to Quoniambee.

This Quantumbee was greatly feared by the Margageans, Partuguifes and others, for the mighty Quantumbee's frength of his great and ponderous Body: But more for his prudence, which fo gracefully he used, commendable that at the same time he involved his foes in the skins of the Lyon and Fox.

In my Cosmography I observed how he was bespangled withmany Virtues, no great enemy to piety, for he believed the immortality of the foul, and took great delight to see us exercise our Religion; yea, and would kneel down with us, when we made our grayers.

yea, and wome since a own wine and the second of the second of the second of the was the greateft Boaster, that ever I heard speak, for he told us he had overcome many thousands. Indeed his Pallace was hung round with his enemies heads. His Territories in my time were well peopled, and bounded with Mountains and Rivers, from whence also the River Veses had its name, the River of because they who fail therein behold the tops of hills and Rocks, naturally representing the shape of v.siels, Vesses both ancient and modern. Insomuch that at Revermont, betwitt Chastillon and Colonges, they call it the Bridge of Pots, because the Rocksare cut and fashioned like the Vessels which are called in The Bridge of France Onles from the Latin word Olas. Some say the Rhone resounding at the foot of Mount Pots.

Creature resembles a great Pot or Kettle.

The end of Quoniambec's Life.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS A Genoese.



Christopher Columbus Genevois Dixit, 1493

le common Proverb, They who promife Mountains of Gold, propose what cannot be accomplished, will be contradicted by the diligent fearch of this excellent Pilot, who having promised the Kings of England, Porengall and Spain fuch Mountains, did indeed make it good to those who followed his wife Counfell. Upon his name some have more pleasantly then prudently defeanted, comparing him to the Pigeon in Noah's Ark, which after the flood brought tidings of the Earth. Because Columbus failed so far, that he discovered unknown Lands. But omitting these subtilities, I will briefly relate his

life, whose pourtraiture with many others I got at Lisbon in Portugall. He was born at Cugnero or (as some say) at Albizolo, a poor small Village on the River Gennes

He traffiqued into Portugall, and passing by the Streights of Gibraltar, observed by long experience, that at a certain feafon of the Year, there were fome Sea-winds came from the West, which blew equally one way, many days together without any variation. And confidering they could not proceed but from the Earth beyond the Sea; he so deeply fixed the Idea hereof in his Head; that at the new World laft he resolved to find it out.

Hereupon being aged about fourty Years (as M. Urban Chauveton relates in his History of the

new World after Don Peter Martyr of Millain) he goes to the State of Gennes or Genoa, and propofes to them his Defign of paffing beyond the Streights of Gibratia, and failing so far westward, that he would encompals the World, and finally arrive to those Lands which brought forth Spices.

He promised to enter into Bond to go through with this defign, if they would but supply him with Columbus defome thips well armed, and furnished with provisions and men. The attempt feemed to them too bold fires the Geand too wonderfull. On that they would not advantage to simplify the state of the state and too wonderfull, fo that they would not adventure to give him any encouragement. Therefore him in the diffrom thence he failed into Portugall, where he found King Alfonfus the Fifth employed in his Ex- covery of a peditions into Africk and fending his ships to the East-Indies, and the King of Castille had then his new World. hands full of the War against the Moors of Granada. He had fent his Brother Bartholomew into England, to propose the business to Henry the seventh, a rich and powerfull Prince, but he found His brother him unwilling to entertain any fuch motion. At his brothers return from England, he made known Bartholomewin his define to the King of Particular who cave him as little and the Control of England for this design to the King of Portugall, who gave him as little encouragement as the English and Genoofe that purpose, had before. For at his Court they had the misfortune to meet with the Bishop of Viso, with Don Rodrigo, and other pragmatical fellows who fancied themselves very well skilled in all the mysteries of Cosmography. When therefore Columbus discoursed to them of another world full of Gold and riches, they treated him in a proud manner as an extravagant, affirming that there could be no fuch Columbias refuthing. So that he got nothing from the Genoefee for his labour but the efteem of a Lunatick, from fed by the K. the English, but of a Fool fit to make sport, and from the Portuguises, the reputation of a Dreamer of Portuguis. whose brains were cracked. Notwithstanding all these discouragements he for sook not his design, but sailed to Paby de Moguer, where he acquainted himself with John Perez, a Franciscan of Rubida a famous Cosmographer, he advised him to open his defign to Henry Duke of Medina Sidonia, and afterwards to Louys Duke of Medina Celi; but they gave him no other encouragement than the Kings of England and Portugall had done before. This caused him to travel to the Court of Castille to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabelle, unto whom he declared his business and what likelihood there Columbus in was of fuccefs, affuring them that he wanted only means to put it in execution. At his first arrival he the Court of met with many repulles, but in time he found a favourable reception, for the Queen spoke in his behalf, and Don Alfonfus Quinte ville high Treasurer of the Kingdom, introduced him to Don Peter Gonsales de Mendozza Archbishop of Toledo. Assoon as Ferdinand had put an end to the wars of Granada, he granted him his request and liberty to fearch out another World, giving him by Letof Grandal, the granted him his requert and incerty to learen our another worth, giving him by Letters Patents the Tenth part of all the Kings Rems and Cultions, in all the Lands that he thould difcover. And because the King had no Money ready for this Expedition, Don Lowy, his Secretary of conditions the State, lent him seventeen thousand Ducats. With this Money Columbus prepared a great Ship and King of Ciffille two Barques, hiring fax(core Mariners and Souldiers for his purpose.

Martin Alfonson Prinzen grants Columnanded in one, in the other, Francis Vinner and Eneas, Martin's brother were Captain and bus his request. Master. In the great Ship he commanded in chief with his brother Bartholomew. He set fail from Paby upon a Friday the third day of August, 1492. In his Voyage hemet with as many difficul-Columbus fails ties as he had done to perswade the enterprize, for he was mightily troubled by such as did accompany him ; when they wanted victuals they were ready to kill him, and when they were fale arrived to Land, they could not abide him, because of the punishment of such as did behave themselves ill in their places, as we shall see in the sequel of this History. He failed many days without discovering any Land, which made the Souldiers mutiny, afterwards in good earnest they rose up and threatned him The Souldiers more grievously, when they had failed about 35 days further without discovering any Land. This of Columbus in a Mutiny, aftonished the poor Genoese, who had no other means to satisfie them, but by his entreaties and Prayers he defired them to have a little more patience. At last their Voyage had been so long that their fresh water was almost all spent, therefore they threatned again to cast him over-board, if he did not fail back again: So that to fatisfie them, he was forced to promife to obey their defires, in case they did not find Land within three days. The next day Columbia commanded the fails to be lower'd, because he faw a far off at Sun rifing fome black Clouds very low in the Sky, and fmelt the fresh air, which caused him to judge the Land to be very near. The next night, which was that of the 11th of November, 1492. Roderick, a skilfull Marriner of Leppa, looking out from the top of the Main-mast, he cryed 1492. Roderick, a skilled marring of Leppin, rooming our tome fire at a diffrance, and to the Ships company to take good courage, for that he did fpy out fome fire at a diffrance, and The first Dif-Salfeda, a fervant of Columbus affored them, that the Admiral his Mafter had feen the fame. A covery of debout two hours after midnight, Columbus called to a Gentleman of Spain, named Escobedo, who nerica waited upon the King in his Chamber, and told him that he did fee fire very near them, and that they could not be far from Land. The first Land that they espied was Guana Bay, one of the American Islands, situated between Florida and Cuba, where they landed and took possession of the New World. From thence they failed to Barucon, a Sea-port of Cubs, where they took aboard some few Indians; with them they returned back to the Isle of Hayes, where in the Haven they dropt their Anchor, in the place which Columbus named the Royal Haven. But they were forced all to land on a sudden, because their great Ship had struck against a Rock, and was by that missortune split. When the Indians perceived these strangers provided with short iron staves that made so loud a report, they ing were frighted from the Sea-coast into the Mountains. By chance the Spaniards caught a Woman, whom they treated very kindly, giving unto her Bread, Wine, Sweetmeats, Linen and other cloath-ing. When the reft of the Inhabitants faw how kindly this Woman had been treated by them, they came to their Ships in Multitudes, to exchange their Gold, their Bread, and other commodities for the Bracelets, Beads, Bells, Glasses, and other Babbes of the Spaniards. Christopher Columbius and

Goacanagars or Guacanari, a Prince of this Island, entertained one another very nobly with mutual

Columbus com pared to the Pigeon in Na ab's Ark.

The place of his Birth.

back to Spain.

His fecond

A tumult at Ifabella.

fent bound in to Spain,

His fourth Voyage.

gifts and many expressions of kindnels. After this our Genoefe longed to return and carry news of his fuccessfull Voyage to the King of Spain. To secure the Spanish interest the better in this new found Land, with the confent of the Indian King, he built a hafty Fort with wood and earth, where he left 38 Spaniards, under the Command of a Captain named Rodericus d' Arma of Cordona. When the Castle was finished, he took a Ship-board ten Indiane, fourty Parrots, many Tortels, and many other Animals ftrange to our World, with all the Gold that he had got for his Trifles; fo in so days he arrived fafe with a prosperous gale to the Haven of Paby. When the King and Queen had understood that this Countrey was easie to be conquered, and that it was full of inestimable riches because of the Mountains sull of Gold there, they hastned thither a stronger Fleet than before, under the command of this Columbus, unto whom they confirmed all his priviledges in the City of Barcelona the 28th day of May, 1493. They gave him many Religious men, Mechanicks, to go along with him, and Horles, Cows, Sheep, Goats, Sows, Affes, to fill and flock the Countrey. With all this Equipage he took his leave of the Bay of Cadiz the 23 day of September, 1493. with much more courage than in his first Voyage. He was much troubled when he heard at the Isle of Hayri, called Hispaniola, that the 38 men left with their Captain Roderigo had been killed by the Inhabitants, becaule of the vexations and violences which they did offer to their gods, and to the honour of their women. At this time he did not dare to punish the Indians, but lest it till another opportunity. There he landed and built a Town which he named Ifabilla, and a Fort near the Mines of Gibao, to protect the Spaniards employed in the preparing of the Gold, from the affaults of the Natives: His Brother he made Governour of the Island. From hence he failed with three Ships to discover the Land towards the South of Cuba, the Island of Jamaica, and several other places, and then returned again to Hifpaniela, where he found a very commodious Haven, which he named Port St. Nicholas. He had a delign to destroy all the Natives, named the Caribies, but his fickness hindered him, and the difturbance that happened at I fabella by the baseness and cruelty of the Spaniards, who had by their filthy behaviour scandal zed all the chief inhabitants of the Island. He endeavoured to gain their efteem and affection, by putting to death all the Spaniards that had been guilty of any unworthy action. This execution of the Spaniards, and especially of Gaspar Freiz of Arragon, whom he caused to be hanged, did offend all his Company fo much, that as foon as he was recovered of his diftemper, he failed in all haste towards Spain, to justifie himself from the crimes of which he had been accused by some that did countenance the offenders. The King had dispatched his Chamberlain John Aguado, to send home Columbus as a Prisoner into Spain. When he came to Medina del Campo where the Court was then kept, he presented the King and Queen with many gifts, and then shewed the processes of all the Spaniards that had been executed by him. Which gave such satisfaction to the King and the Court, that they declared him to be innocent, and free from the crimes that had been imputed to him. His third Voy- Therefore the King equipped another Fleet of eight Ships, for to feek for and discover more Land. Columbus fent two of them before with Provision and Ammunition, and with the fix others he fet fail from St. Lucars of Barrameda the 28th day of May, 1497. and directed his course straight to the Madera, one of the Illands of the Portuguefes, named Affores; from whence he fent three Ships to Hispaniola with three hundred banished men, and with the three other Ships he failed to the Islands of Cape Verd, from whence he went under the Equinoctial Line into the West-Indies. He arrived at the Gulf of Paria, and cast Anchornear the Isle of Cubaqua, which he named the Isle of Perles. Celumbus made several expeditions against the Islanders, and found out many other Islands. At last Roldan Xime- lie was hated by the Spaniards, fo that Roldan Ximenes the Judge would not obey his Orders, he with 70 more mutinied against him and departed from him to Siragua, from whence they fent grievous complaints against him and his brothers to the King, who was mightily displeased to see the affairs of the Indies managed fo ill. Therefore he fent thither Francis Bonaldello a Knight to be Governour. He arrived fale in Hispaniola with his Fleet of four Ships, in the year 1499. When he had well inquired into the behaviour of Columbus and of his Brethren Bartholomew and James, he sent them in chains into Spain. Where when their causes had been heard before the King, he found no reason to give credit to the acculations and calumnies fent against them. Therefore to honour Columbia's fidelity and innocency, he fent him about three years after with three Ships the 9th of May, 1502. to feek for more land. When he was come to the Island of Hispaniola near the River Ocana, Nicholas d' Quanda, the Governour of the Illand, would not suffer him to fet foot in the Town of St. Domingo. This refulal grieved him to the heart, because he had been the first Founder of it. Therefore he sailed from thence towards the West, and discovered the Island of Guanaxo, which is not far from a large Province of the Main Land, called by the Natives Higuera, and by the Spaniards el Capo de Honduras. Afterwards he parted from thence and directed his course Eastward, where he found out the Countrey named Veragua. He landed upon the Islands of Zorobaro near the Continent, where the Inhabitants told him, how that all the Province of Veragna did abound in Gold. This report made him fail all along the coast, to the Gulf of Uraba, where he fet foot ashore and heard of the South-Sea. From thence he returned back to Cuba, and then to Jamaica, where he lost two Galleys; with the other two he went further to find out new Countries, but he endured many troubles and dangers, for many of his company fell fick, and the Spaniards themselves could not suffer him. The Indians knew well enough how to make advantage of it, when they faw that Francis de Porras, and James, Columbus's brother were gone with their Barks to the Island of Hispaniola. Columbus was then in diftress for want of Victuals, neither could be obtain any by Love, Prayers or force of Arms. Meer

necessity forced him to this Invention. He sent for some of a neighbouring Village, whom he afford,

that if they did not furnish him in his need, that God would fend them such Plagues that they should all die most miserably. And for affurance of the truth of what he faid, he told them that they should Hienorables fee the Moon in Eclipse of a bloody colour, if they would take notice of it. When according to his fubriley. prediction they faw the Moon of such a red colour, they brought to him plenty of Victuals all the time that he ftaid amongst them in that Island, intreating him to pardon them, and not to be offended any more with them. After all his Voyages and labours, this skillfull Sea-man fickned and died at Valadolid the 8th of May, 1506. He commanded in his Will that his body should be transported to Sivil, to the Convent of the Monks of Gerrofa. Thele Verles have been written in his praife in Ita-

> Con L'altrui navic, & col proprie ingegne, N novomundo trovasti & nuove gensi Magnanimo Colombo, ove altri venti Diero ale vele tue di correr segno : Tuquei popoli rozi, al cielo afdel Ch' adoravan per dei fonti correnti, Alberi Carchi, O fior vaghi, & ridenti, Fariverire il Dio, del facro Regno. Ne contento di cio, loro infegnasti, L' humane leggi il matrimonio fanto. Et città con le mura edificasti, Et pero havendo a lei giovato tanto L' Indiatichiaina, come meritasti, Padre : el Giovi si dà fra eli altre il vanto.

He left behind him two Sons: Don Diego was married to Mary of Toledo the Daughter of Don Hischildren Ferdinando, the great Commendator of Leon: the other was Don Ferdinando, who never was married, and who had a stately Library of above twelve thousand Volumns, at present in the Convent of The rich librathe Dominicans of Sivil, the was a worth gift of for excellent a Pather. The Spaniards endeavour ryo Don Ferto deprive him of the honour of having found out the proft-Indies, for they fay that a certain Sea. The Spaniards

and Madeluca, who did trade up and down about the Congriss and the Madera, about this labout to desime died in the house of Christopher Columban, and left him some Books and notes of the cleva- prive Columban tion of this new World, and that by this means Columbas had the first knowledge of the Indies. He of the honor of underflood well the Lais tongue, and was well skilled in Cosmography; this enabled him to find by having first distance the Amipodes, and the rich Countrey of Cipango, mentioned by Mark Paul a Venetian. He had covered the read also the Times, and the Critics of Plato, where he makes mention of a great Island named At-Tantea, and of a Countrey under water greater then all Asia and Africk together. He had read also what Arishule saith to Theophrassus in his book of the Worlds Wonders, that some Merchants of Carthage had been carried beyond the straits of Gibraltar towards the South and the West, where they had discovered a great Island, when they had failed a long time upon the Sea, which was without inhabitants, but was well furnished with all things needfull to the life of man, and watered with great Navigable Rivers. To stop the mouth of these persons envious of the honour of Columbus, I will mention nothing but what he himself said to some Spanish Gentlemen at a feast unto which he had been invited; when they were discoursing of the discovery of the Indies, he called for an Egg, then he defired them one after another to make the Egg stand upright without leaning in the middle of a Table. A very good when every one had tried what he could do, he took the Egg and knockt the end of it against the first the first the could be a support to the tried what he could do, he took the Egg and knockt the end of it against the first them. Table, to that when he had broken it, he caused it to stand upright of its own accord,

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